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THE CHALLENGE OF CULTURE CHANGE
The Cross-cultural Adaptation
of Hong Kong Chinese Adolescent Immigrants
in New Zealand

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submitted for the Degree
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Abstract

This study aimed to investigate changes in adaptive outcomes within Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants from pre-migration to four years after arrival to New Zealand. The study used a quasi-longitudinal design, in which information was collected from one sample of respondents before migration and several samples of respondents after migration. Based on John Berry's (1980) cross-cultural model, four cultural identity states were identified: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization. Other adaptive outcomes were indicated by a variety of daily living activities and different modes of social-psychological functioning. A total of 283 Hong Kong Chinese adolescents in three phases of migration to New Zealand (pre-migration, less than two years in New Zealand, and between two and four years in New Zealand) participated in the study. Each respondent completed a booklet containing six questionnaires and a cultural identity scale. The study showed that respondents across cultural identity states and within migration phases differed significantly in adaptive outcomes. The proportion of respondents in the assimilation and integration states increased with length of migration, while those in the separation and marginalization states decreased. Across migration phases, respondents in the pre-migration phase differed significantly from the two post-migration groups in behaviours, preferences, attitudes and social support ratings; but the two post-migration groups did not differ significantly from each other. Across cultural identity states, assimilated, integrated, separated and marginalized respondents differed significantly from one another. Assimilated respondents manifested behaviours, preferences and attitudes indicating non-maintenance of ethnic culture;

integrated respondents were characterized by both maintenance of ethnic culture and penetration into the host society; separated respondents were characterized by both maintenance of ethnic culture and a lack of penetration into the host society; whereas marginalized respondents showed a desire to penetrate into the host society but an inability to do so. Family separation, the desire to stay in the host society, causal attribution for cultural learning performance and social support, also influenced the respondents' ability to adapt. Finally, the dynamic changes of the respondents' cultural identity states over time were studied. Using the findings, seven paths of adaptation taken by a majority of Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand are derived.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Why should they make me feel a stranger? Why should they ask me every time I go near: "And what are you doing in a London garden?" They burn with arrogance and pride. And I am the little Colonial walking in the London garden patch -- allowed to look, perhaps, but not to linger. If I lie on the grass they positively shout at me: "Look at her, lying on our grass, pretending she lives here, pretending this is her garden, and that tall back of the house, with the windows open and the coloured curtains lifting, is her house. She is a stranger -- an alien."

Katherine Mansfield¹

Immigrants undergo many kinds of changes in adapting to their new environment (see, for example, Hurh and Kim, 1984; U. Kim and Berry, 1985; Taft, 1965). Some changes involve behaviours which are directly observable, such as giving up previous lifestyles, learning new languages and participating in new sports; others involve attitudes or feelings which are more private, such as rejecting previous moral standards, acquiring new food preferences, and transforming their cultural identities. The degree of each kind of change differs among immigrants (Clark, Kaufman and Pierce, 1976; Scott and Scott, 1989). For example, one immigrant may use the host society language and adopt a new lifestyle, but maintain a strong ethnic identification. Another one may retain some aspects

¹ Katherine Mansfield (1888 - 1923), a novelist, was born in New Zealand and migrated to England at the age of nineteen. From *Journal of Katherine Mansfield*, edited by J.M. Murry (1954), p. 157.

of his or her traditional culture, and also participate frequently in host society social activities. And a third one may live in an ethnic enclave, not belong to any clubs or organizations, and never learn the language of the host society.

Adaptive changes take place over time. Some studies have found that immigrants' descendants who were born in the host society also undergo changes in cultural identity, and that the changes can take place over several generations (Nahirny and Fishman, 1965; Scourby, 1980; Taft, 1973). However, other studies conducted among new immigrants (Adler and Taft, 1966; R.C. Nann, 1982; Taft, 1979) suggest that new immigrants usually require three to six years to settle themselves into the life of the host society. Hence, some of the most crucial adaptive changes may take place within new immigrants during the initial transition period.

More than that, the host environments within which immigrants' adaptations take place differ. For example, variations in host society cultural backgrounds, and in their policies toward immigrants may lead to different outcomes of adaptation (Rosenthal and Feldman, 1990, 1992; B. Wong, 1978).

This research focuses on the psychological adaptation of newly arrived Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand. It identifies what the adaptive changes are, and examines how they differ among immigrants and over time. This chapter gives a broad background to the study, including a review of the context of immigrant adaptation, and an outline of the thesis.

Context of Immigrant Adaptation

The psychological adaptation of immigrants cannot be fully understood in isolation from the context in which the changes take place (Berry, Kim, and Boski, 1988; Y.Y. Kim, 1988). Characteristics of the host society, characteristics of the immigrants' own ethnic community, and the immigrants' individual backgrounds are three basic dimensions to be studied.

Characteristics of the host society

Host societies differ in receptivity toward immigrants (Y.Y. Kim, 1988) and tolerance for cultural diversity (Berry et al., 1988). Receptivity refers to the extent to which the host society shows acceptance toward immigrants. Societies which have a relatively favourable reception tend to allow immigrants opportunities to become an integral part of their economic, social, cultural and political processes. In contrast, societies whose reception is relatively unfavourable tend to impose discriminatory policies and practices on immigrants, restricting their economic, social, cultural and political participation in the dominant society (Y.Y. Kim, 1988; Portes and Borocz, 1989).

Tolerance for cultural diversity refers to the degree to which the host society allows immigrants to maintain their distinctive cultures and lifestyles. Societies that are relatively open and pluralistic tend to manifest a substantially high tolerance level toward cultural diversity. In contrast, societies that are relatively rigid and monistic tend to exercise pressure on immigrants to conform to their cultural patterns and behavioral norms (Berry, 1990; Y.Y. Kim, 1988; Kunz, 1981).

Variations in host society characteristics can play a part in influencing the outcomes of immigrant adaptation. Research conducted in four countries -- Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States is especially relevant to this study because these countries have undergone similar changes and development in their treatment of immigrants, which will be discussed below.

Historically, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States had restrictive policies which affected the settlement of non-white immigrants (Price, 1974). The Chinese were the main target for discrimination from the 1880s through to the middle of the 1940s. For over six decades, Chinese immigrants in these countries were subjected to overt racism, antagonism and social injustice. A brief history of Chinese immigrants' adaptation in New Zealand will be given in the next chapter. For a historical account of the Chinese in Australia, see C.Y. Choi (1975); in Canada, see Suen and Ng (1987); in the United States, see Sung (1967).

In a climate of adverse discrimination, the early Chinese never really became a part of the dominant communities: they withdrew into niche occupations, occupied inferior social status, and lived exclusively in tight ethnic communities. But their isolation only led to further nonacceptance. Until the 1960s and early 1970s, immigrants to North America, Australia and New Zealand were expected by their host countries to become assimilated into the dominant community (M. Gordon, 1964; Kovacs and Cropley, 1975; Shand, 1968). This attitude is referred to as "assimilationist" while the actual process of adjustment made by the immigrants is described as "assimilation". In essence, the assimilationist position requires that all immigrants should relinquish their original culture and acquire the culture of their host country. This attitude is based on the assumptions that immigrants' cultures are incompatible with those of the dominant

society and that assimilation is the only desirable way of overcoming social conflict (Park and Burges, 1921). In practical terms, assimilation can be achieved through intermarriage, participation in dominant society relationships, identification with the values of the dominant society and adoption of their behaviours and attitudes (M. Gordon, 1964).

The assimilationist perspective was variously criticized in the late 1960s and the 1970s (Gans, 1979; Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Price, 1969). One line of criticism pointed out that complete cultural assimilation for non-white immigrants and minorities is unnecessary for the maintenance of social harmony in the society (see, for example, Inglis, 1972). Since the Second World War, restrictive immigration policies and discriminatory legislation against Chinese were gradually eased in North America, Australia and New Zealand (C.Y. Choi, 1975; Fong, 1959; Sung, 1967). A number of studies conducted in the 1970s on Chinese in Australia (C.Y. Choi, 1975; Inglis, 1972), New Zealand (Greif, 1974) and North America (Kuo and Lin, 1977; Yao, 1979) found that the Chinese to a considerable degree had become structurally and socially assimilated into the dominant society (as evidenced by integrated residence, occupational adjustment, membership in professional organizations, and social acceptance), yet the majority of them also retained a number of key cultural characteristics, such as the Chinese language, Chinese food habits, Chinese friendship ties and Chinese values pertaining to family life.

As noted earlier, underlying the assimilationist perspective is the assumption that complete assimilation is necessary for social harmony in the society. However, the incomplete assimilation of Chinese had not led to social conflict in their host countries. Inglis (1972) therefore argued that:

the Chinese are not completely assimilated in so far as they retain many of their traditional cultural traits and their physical distinctiveness. ... [This] highlights the fact that the existence of differences is not in itself sufficient reason for the development of social conflict, that, in other words, complete assimilation is unnecessary for social harmony. (p. 279)

Another criticism is that host societies are not themselves homogeneous, but are made up of various age, economic, regional, religious and political groups (Inglis, 1972; Price, 1969). Where the host society is not homogeneous, the critics argued that assimilation is an unrealistic ideology because there is no one cultural model available for the immigrants to adopt.

Countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States have for many years become increasingly heterogeneous as a result of continuing immigration of people from diverse cultural origins (Berry, Kalin, and Taylor, 1977; Fawcett and Carino, 1987). Since the 1970s, a differing attitude concerning immigrant adaptation in culturally pluralistic societies has been promoted by scholars and policy reformers (Berry et al., 1977; Inglis, 1972; Kovacs and Cropley, 1975). This attitude is referred to as "pluralist". It encourages immigrants to retain their cultural distinctiveness, while allowing them to adopt elements of the host society's culture. The pluralist perspective is different from the assimilationist perspective in that it does not demand that immigrants abandon their original cultural characteristics and identity, nor require them to conform fully to the values and lifestyle of the dominant culture. Underlying the pluralist perspective is the assumption that immigrants of different cultural backgrounds can live in harmony in a pluralistic society which recognizes their contributions, and seeks to promote mutual understanding and respect among individuals.

Depending on whether or not the immigrants choose to retain their cultural

distinctiveness and to adopt elements of the host society's culture, four forms of immigrant adaptation may be manifested within a culturally pluralistic society (Berry et al., 1988; Berry, Kim, Power, Young, and Bujaki, 1989). They are: assimilation -- adopting elements of the host society's culture and relinquishing one's own cultural identity; integration -- conforming to the basic tenets of the host society's culture while retaining one's own cultural identity; separation -- maintaining one's own ethnic identity and culturally ignoring the host society; and marginalization -- relating only marginally with both the host society and one's traditional culture.

In recent years, Australia, Canada and the United States have all adopted policies which seek to eliminate discrimination, promote the value of cultural pluralism and foster full and equal participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities. For detail, see the 1964 Civil Rights Act (Lescott-Leszczynski, 1984, pp. 42-47) and the 1981 Affirmative Action (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1981) of the United States, the 1971 Multiculturalism Policy (Trudeau, 1971) and the 1988 Multiculturalism Act (Elliott and Fleras, 1990, pp. 69-71) of Canada and Australia's multicultural policies in 1989 (Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1990).

In New Zealand, there has been no adoption of a pluralist policy. The 1986 Immigration Policy Review, however, committed the Government to encourage immigrants "to participate fully in New Zealand's multicultural society while being able to maintain valued elements in their own heritage" (Burke, 1986, p. 11). The Review also stated that:

the old notion of assimilation is no longer seen as the desirable outcome of immigration to New Zealand. Our society clearly now sees a positive value in diversity and the retention by ethnic minorities of their cultural heritage. Active celebration of the many different ethnic heritages which contribute to modern

New Zealand is now a noticeable and welcome feature of festivals or public occasions and daily life and culture. That vitality and stimulation and infusion of new elements to New Zealand life has been of immense value in the development of this country to date and will, as a result of this Government's review of immigration policy, become even more important in the future. (p. 48)

In summary, there are broad similarities in four host countries' experiences with immigrants. Initially, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States all had discriminatory attitudes toward non-white immigrants. These attitudes subsided in the 1940s, but immigrants were still required to abandon their original culture and adopt the culture of the host society. The assimilationist approach was accepted as impractical by the 1970s. The concept of cultural pluralism, in which immigrants are allowed to preserve their cultural distinctiveness and have full and equal participation in their host society, is now promoted in all four countries.

There are, of course, differences in the policies and programmes applied to immigrants by these countries (Trlin, 1986; Van den Berghe, 1983). Even within one country, some immigrant groups are treated differently from others (Glazer, 1975; Li, 1990; Spoonley, Macpherson, Pearson, and Sedgwick, 1984). So far I have only examined the changes and development of four host societies' overall attitudes towards immigrants, and how they influence methods of immigrant adaptation. However, specific policies and programmes of each host country, and their effects on different immigrant groups are also likely to influence the newcomers' adaptation process. As this research is concerned with Chinese immigrants in New Zealand, an overview of the Chinese adaptation in New Zealand will be presented in the next chapter.

Characteristics of the immigrants' own ethnic community

Ethnic communities are important sources of social support for immigrants (Breton, 1964; Brody, 1970; Murphy, 1977; Portes and Borocz, 1989). The way ethnic communities are organized varies among different immigrant groups in different host countries. At one extreme, there are communities which consist of no formal organization; immigrants get help from members of their own ethnic group through informal contact. At the other extreme, there are communities which have a formal structure and a high degree of institutional completeness (Breton, 1964). These communities may sustain a number of commercial and welfare organizations, operate their own radio and television stations and publish their own newspapers and periodicals; some may even have their own churches and schools. Where a community has a high degree of institutional completeness, immigrants get help from their ethnic fellows through various services provided by their ethnic institutions (R.C. Nann and To, 1982).

In North America, Australia and New Zealand, ethnic institutions first came into being in the early nineteenth century as a protective structure for members who encountered rejection, hostility, prejudice and discrimination from the dominant society (R.C. Nann and To, 1982; Sedgwick, 1985; Wickberg, 1994). At that time, ethnic institutions also performed the function of helping members to maintain their ethnic identity (R.C. Nann and To, 1982). The formation of these ethnic institutions was seldom encouraged by members of the host societies, particularly when the assimilationist perspective was dominant, because their existence was considered to have the effect of retarding immigrants' rate of assimilation (Kovacs and Cropley, 1975; B. Wong, 1978). However, since the 1970s, many scholars have pointed out that ethnic institutions can

serve to promote, not hinder, immigrants' integration into their host society (Brody, 1970; Kovacs and Cropley, 1975; Yee, 1982).

First of all, ethnic institutions may act as a "mediating mechanism" (Brody, 1970) by helping members in their relations with, and adaptations to, the host society. This function is particularly relevant for new immigrants. When new immigrants enter an unfamiliar environment, they usually need many kinds of help: finding a job, securing a place to live, sending their children to school, getting emotional support and so on. If they do not speak the language of the host society, they probably also need help in language translation and interpretation, as well as learning the new language. Ethnic institutions which provide services to meet the immediate needs of new immigrants can facilitate their integration into the host society (R.C. Nann and To, 1982; Streuning, Rabkin, and Peck, 1970).

Secondly, ethnic institutions may help members to maintain their ethnic identity, which actually also serves to promote immigrants' social integration. Immigrants who are required to give up their ethnic culture must alienate themselves from their original identity, often before they have developed a new one. Giving up one's own ethnic identity is likely to lead to socially unacceptable behaviours, or mental health problems (Kovacs and Cropley, 1975; Murphy, 1977). On the other hand, immigrants who are encouraged to maintain their ethnic identity tend to have a sense of belonging and self-worth, which is likely to facilitate their integration into the host society (Kovacs and Cropley, 1975; Phinney and Rotheram, 1987).

In summary, within a culturally pluralistic society, the formation of ethnic institutions is encouraged. Ethnic institutions not only provide social support for immigrants, but help promote their integration into the host society. In the next chapter,

the position of Chinese communities in New Zealand society will be further explored.

Immigrants' individual backgrounds

Finally, immigrants' individual demographic backgrounds, such as their age, socioeconomic status and education, also play a part in influencing outcomes of adaptation (see, for example, Scott and Scott, 1989). As this study deals with the adaptation of adolescent immigrants, the importance of understanding adolescents who are involved in migration is focused upon here.

Developmental psychologists normally consider individuals between 12 and 18 years to be at the stage of adolescence (Nielsen, 1987). In contemporary developed societies such as Australia, Hong Kong, New Zealand and the United States, adolescence is an important stage of growth and development in the human life-span (Feldman and Elliott, 1990; E.S. Ho and Shae, 1990; Phillips, 1979; Ritchie and Ritchie, 1984). It is a time when individuals are confronted with profound changes within themselves. The problem of identity reaches its crisis at adolescence (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980). It is at this time that individuals have to make a commitment to their future position in the social world (Josselson, 1980). It is also a time at which individuals are expected to develop new kinds of relationships with their community (Coleman, 1980; Conger, 1980). As well as coping with their own developmental changes, adolescents involved in migration also have to deal with their dual cultural environments.

In Australia and the United States, there is a substantial literature discussing the problems of dealing with two cultures among adolescent children of immigrant parents. In a number of studies, children of immigrant parents were referred to as "second

generation immigrants" (Child, 1943; Johnston, 1972). They were born in the host country, or came to the host country in infancy or early childhood. The literature in the 1920s to early 1970s suggested that when second generation immigrants entered their adolescence, they showed higher rates of rebelliousness, occupational instability and mental health problems than nonimmigrant adolescents (Derbyshire, 1970; Koenig, 1952; Myerson, 1922; Zubrzycki, 1964). It was also suggested that second generation immigrant adolescents had more conflicts with their parents than nonimmigrant adolescents, and that their special conflicts typically involved the immigrant adolescents' attempts to put into practice the values of the host society on the one hand, and the parents' attempts at preserving the values of the old society on the other (Banchevska, 1966; Derbyshire, 1970).

Within the assimilationist perspective, culture conflict seemed inevitable when immigrant parents objected to the adoption of host society values by their adolescent children. On the other hand, if immigrant parents encouraged their children to adopt the values of the host society, they actually encouraged their children to separate from themselves and in so doing, reduced their own influence and support towards their children. Thus, second generation immigrant adolescents were often seen as being caught between two cultures and belonging to neither (Child, 1943; Kovacs and Cropley, 1975). This state of cultural conflict was believed to be the main cause for the additional problems in adaptation faced by second generation immigrants at adolescence.

In recent decades, as the assimilationist perspective became unpopular in North America, Australia and New Zealand, the culture conflict model, which was used in the 1920s to the 1970s to explain the greater levels of adaptation problems in second generation immigrant adolescents than nonimmigrant adolescents, was also criticized by

many social scientists. A few studies conducted in Australia in the late 1960s and early 1970s demonstrated that culture conflict between second generation immigrant adolescents and their parents was not high (Hills, 1973; Johnston, 1972; Taft and Johnston, 1967). A number of studies were also conducted by Rosenthal and her associates in the 1980s, in which the relationship between culture conflict and outcomes of adaptation across different groups of second generation immigrant adolescents in Australia was examined. They found that Italian- and Greek-Australian adolescents reported more conflict with their parents than nonimmigrant adolescents (Rosenthal, 1984), and that Italian-Australian adolescents had a lower self-image, a weaker sense of ethnic identity and a stronger desire to become assimilated into the dominant host society than did Greek-Australian adolescents (Rosenthal and Hrynevich, 1985). Nonetheless, another study found that Greek-Australian adolescents were not inferior to nonimmigrant adolescents in solving their identity conflict (Rosenthal, Moore, and Taylor, 1983). Hence, contrary to the predictions of the culture conflict model, the studies by Rosenthal and her associates suggest that second generation immigrant adolescents do not necessarily have lower self-image and greater problems in adaptation than their contemporaries in the dominant society. However, those who reject the old culture in favour of the new are likely to experience greater feelings of identity conflict than those who are well integrated in both the dominant society and in their own ethnic community.

While there is a considerable literature on second generation immigrant adolescents (Child, 1943; Derbyshire, 1970; Hills, 1973; Johnston, 1972; Rosenthal, 1984; Rosenthal and Hrynevich, 1985; Rosenthal et al., 1983; Taft and Johnston, 1967), recently arrived adolescent immigrants have not been widely researched. In this thesis, the term "adolescent immigrant" is used to refer to the immigrant between 14 and 18

years of age who entered late childhood or adolescence prior to arriving in the new country. In a broad sense, newly arrived adolescent immigrants and second generation immigrant adolescents are both coping simultaneously with the developmental issues of adolescence as well as the stresses concomitant to living in two cultures. But they are also different in a number of ways (Baptiste, 1990). One major difference is that most newly arrived adolescent immigrants have to cope, in addition, with the transitional problems related to immigration and culture change.

Entering a new culture is a potentially frustrating and confusing experience (Furnham and Bochner, 1982; Oberg, 1960). Adolescent immigrants are especially vulnerable because they are coping concurrently with culture changes as well as their own developmental changes. In Australia, Hong Kong, New Zealand and the United States, adolescents have unique patterns of leisure behaviour, different styles of speaking and dressing, and their own food and music preferences (Brown, 1989; Fine, Mortimer, and Roberts, 1990; Gray, 1988; P.P. Ng, 1984; Phillips, 1979; Stewart, Auckerman, and Kerr, 1976). Most of them are also involved within their own peer groups prior to emigrating (Baptiste, 1990; Stewart, Auckerman, and Kerr, 1976). Upon immigrating to a new cultural milieu, adolescent immigrants must adapt to new morals and values, new friends, a new school, and a changed social life (Ashworth, 1982; Baptiste, 1990). Many of them also have to learn a new language, and cope with a different family life (Cox, 1990; B. Nann, 1982). Because of the many kinds of changes adolescent immigrants have to undergo during the initial transition period, a few studies conducted in Australia and the United States have looked into the newcomers' adaptation processes as they change over time (Adler and Taft, 1966; Arredondo, 1984; Pacheco, Lucca, and Wapner, 1985; Taft, 1979).

In Berry's (1980, 1990) cross-cultural model, adaptation process refers to changes over time that take place within an individual as a result of being in contact with both the dominant society and his or her own ethnic culture. Immigrants' adaptation within a culturally pluralistic society can be described as assimilation, integration, separation or marginalization (see p. 7). Each refers to an overall cultural identity state, or a set of specific strategies used by the immigrant to deal with his or her dual cultural environments. In this study, the cross-cultural model is used to interpret the adaptation of newly arrived Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand. In chapter 3, a full discussion of the cross-cultural model will be presented.

Outline of the Thesis

The process of adaptation to a new culture of Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand is examined in this study. Key issues addressed are:

- (1) what are the changes newly arrived Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants have to make in adapting to a new cultural environment?
- (2) in what ways do their cultural identities change over time?
- (3) in what ways do their adaptive strategies change over time and across cultural identity states?
- (4) how do background characteristics of the newly arrived Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants influence their adaptations to a new environment? and
- (5) what paths of adaptation do Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants

go through over time in a new cultural environment?

Chapter 2 gives an overview of the history of Chinese adaptation in New Zealand and examines the recent demographic trend of Hong Kong immigration to New Zealand. Chapter 3 provides a critical review of the literature on the cross-cultural model, from which the theoretical framework of this study has been developed. Chapter 4 discusses factors influencing the cross-cultural adaptation of adolescent immigrants, and chapter 5 presents the research framework, aims and hypotheses of the study. The methods and results of the pilot survey are reported in chapter 6. In chapter 7, the research design and procedures of the main study are described.

The findings of the main study are presented in chapters 8 to 11. Chapter 8 examines the frequency distribution of Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants' cultural identity states at different migration phases. Chapter 9 explores how adaptive strategies change over time and across cultural identity states. Chapter 10 looks into the relationships between background characteristics of Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants and their methods of adaptation. In chapter 11, the dynamic changes of cultural identity states over time are further examined, and a number of paths of adaptation of Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand are described. Finally, chapter 12 considers the theoretical, methodological, and practical implications of the study, and identifies areas in which future research is desirable.

Chapter 2

CHINESE IN NEW ZEALAND

This research is focused on Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants entering New Zealand since 1987. In order to understand who they are and why they have come to this country, it is necessary to place them against the background of the Chinese migration experiences in New Zealand. This chapter gives a history of the immigration of the Chinese in New Zealand, and an overview of the current demographic trend of Hong Kong immigration to New Zealand.

Three Phases of Chinese Immigration to New Zealand

At the 1991 census, the total Chinese population in New Zealand (including persons of full and those of mixed Chinese ethnic descent) reached 44,000. They comprise the fourth largest ethnic group, after European, New Zealand Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian.

The Chinese have been coming to New Zealand for over 120 years. During this period, variations in New Zealand's immigration and social policies have considerably affected the adaptation and settlement of this ethnic group. Broadly speaking, three phases of Chinese immigration are identifiable.

The phase of discrimination, 1866 - 1934

Chinese people first came to New Zealand in significant numbers in the mid-nineteenth century. They were attracted by the discovery of gold in Otago. In 1866, twelve Chinese miners were brought in by the Otago Provincial Council and the Chamber of Commerce to work in the goldfields (J. Ng, 1972; Taher, 1970). In the following year, the total number of Chinese miners in New Zealand increased to 1,219, and in 1874, to 4,816 altogether (Fong, 1959).

As the number of Chinese miners increased substantially in New Zealand, they were subjected to much criticism and hostility from Europeans. Allegations against their presence were that they were carriers of infectious diseases, a danger to public morality and security, and above all, an economic threat (Butler, 1977). In 1871, a Select Committee was appointed by the Parliament to examine the Chinese question (Alley and Alley, 1938). Although the Committee's report dismissed all charges against the Chinese, this was not sufficient to stop public outcry against their presence.

Beginning in 1881, prejudice against Chinese was also manifested in a number of laws designed to restrict Chinese immigration into New Zealand (O'Connor, 1968; Roy, 1970). For example, in 1881, the number of Chinese permitted entry was limited to one for every 10 tons of the ship's weight, and a poll tax of 10 pounds per person was imposed. In 1888, the tonnage equivalent of one Chinese was raised to 100 tons. This was doubled to 200 tons in 1896 and the poll tax was increased to 100 pounds. In 1907, Chinese were subjected to a reading test in English upon entry into New Zealand. In the following year, all Chinese leaving or entering New Zealand were further required to give thumbprints.

In 1920, an entry permit system was introduced. It required every intending immigrant not of British or Irish birth to apply to the Minister of Customs for a permit before entry into New Zealand. In the 1920s and the early 1930s, the permit system was enforced effectively to cut off further Chinese immigration, with the exception of wives and families of Chinese already naturalized or born in New Zealand (Fong, 1959).

Other than restrictive immigration laws, a number of social laws also discriminated against Chinese (Fong, 1959). For example, in 1896, Chinese were specially excluded from old age pension benefits. In 1901, the Opium Act allowed the police to enter without a search warrant any Chinese homes where the presence of opium was suspected. Then in 1907, Chinese lost their right to naturalization.

The effect of restrictive legislations on the Chinese population was dramatic (Table 2.1). It dropped steadily from 5,004 in 1881, to its lowest recorded number of 2,147 in 1916. The early Chinese emigrants were young and male dominated, and came from rural districts in the Guangdong province of South China (Alley and Alley, 1938; J. Ng, 1972). Most of them left their home country to avoid the poor economic conditions prevalent in China at that time. Their main intentions, therefore, were to work hard and to remit their earnings to support their families back home. They had no real desire to settle permanently in New Zealand.

Table 2.1
Chinese Population in New Zealand, 1874 - 1991

Census	Males	Females	Total	% of Total Population
1874	4,814	2	4,816	1.4
1881	4,995	9	5,004	0.9
1886	4,527	15	4,542	0.7
1896	3,773	86	3,859	0.5
1906 ^a	2,515	55	2,570	0.3
1916	2,017	130	2,147	0.2
1926	2,927	447	3,374	0.2
1936	2,432	511	2,943	0.2
1945	3,414	1,526	4,940	0.3
1956	4,026	2,705	6,731	0.3
1966	5,700	4,583	10,283	0.4
1976	8,081	6,779	14,860	0.5
1981	9,579	8,901	18,480	0.6
1986	13,353	13,170	26,547	0.8
1991	22,188	22,602	44,793	1.3

^a omit Chinese of mixed descent.

Source: New Zealand Population Census (1971, 1976, 1981, 1986, 1991), Department of Statistics.

The early Chinese in New Zealand were equipped with no special skills, capital or the language to participate in a predominantly European society. They also faced adverse discrimination and antagonism from Europeans. As a result, most of them only lived marginally in New Zealand. In the 1870s and the 1880s, they were confined to the mining centres in Central Otago, and their settlements were segregated from those of the European miners (Taher, 1970). When gold mining declined in the late 1880s, many Chinese returned to their homelands, as indicated by the decrease in the total Chinese

population between the 1880s and the 1910s. Of those who managed to stay, many moved northwards to the larger urban centres, particularly Auckland and Wellington, and took up occupations which would not compete directly with those of European workers. These occupations included laundry service, market gardening, and fruit and vegetable vending (Lian, 1988; Sedgwick, 1985).

In the 1880s, a few Chinese associations were set up in the large urban centres by Chinese merchants (Sedgwick, 1985). In addition to providing support to ethnic fellows, they also set about articulating their needs to the dominant society by means of petitions. Between 1883 and 1907, a total of 19 petitions were submitted to the New Zealand Government (Sedgwick, 1985), many of which appealed against discrimination. However, there was little success in their efforts.

The phase of assimilation, 1935 - 1985

After the Labour Party came into power in 1935, the status of Chinese in New Zealand underwent a significant change. In 1936, Chinese were no longer excluded from old-age benefits. In ¹⁹³⁸~~1936~~, the Social Security Act made available to them benefits such as unemployment and sickness pay and free medicine. In 1944, the poll tax was removed. Then from 1952, Chinese were once again allowed to be naturalized as New Zealand citizens (Fong, 1959).

Immigration restrictions against Chinese were eased during the Japanese invasion of China (1937-45). In 1939, a total of 249 wives and 244 dependent children of permanent Chinese residents were allowed to enter New Zealand (Fong, 1959). At first they were only allowed in on temporary refugee permits but, in 1947, they were

permitted to stay in New Zealand permanently on humanitarian grounds. After the Second World War, more wives and children were granted permission to re-unite with their families in New Zealand (Ip, 1990b). However, it was not until 1978 that parents, brothers and sisters of Chinese who were New Zealand citizens or permanent residents were also allowed permanent entry to New Zealand (Brawley, 1993; Trlin, 1986). Until the early 1980s, only few Chinese could enter New Zealand on occupational grounds because New Zealand maintained a policy which gave preference to skilled migrants from "traditional source countries" such as the United Kingdom, Western Europe, Canada and the United States (Trlin, 1986).

The problem of adjustment and assimilation was given by the New Zealand Government as one of the major considerations in placing stricter limitations on the Chinese entry. In 1968, the Minister of Immigration stated that:

people who share a common heritage of language and tradition integrate very quickly. The greater and more obvious the differences between the immigrant and the average New Zealander, the longer and more difficult the period of assimilation, and the greater the tendency of immigrants to hive off into little colonies which become self sufficient and resistant to the process of assimilation. ... The peoples of Asia and Africa being of a culture alien both to that of European and Polynesian New Zealand, present more difficult problems of assimilation than any others. (Shand, 1968, pp. 2 & 4)

Nonetheless, in the 1950s to the early 1980s, a number of studies found that Chinese were substantially assimilated in New Zealand in terms of language, occupation and their choice of clothes, although they were slow to assimilate in food and eating habits, religious outlook and family values (Fong, 1959; Greif, 1974; Kong, 1975; Ngan, 1987).

Between 1936 and 1981, the Chinese population in New Zealand increased steadily from less than 3,000 to over 18,000 (Table 2.1). There was a growing proportion of young New Zealand-born Chinese in the population (E.S. Ho and Farmer, 1994). In 1921, only 10 percent of the Chinese population were of New Zealand birth. By the early 1980s, over 40 percent were New Zealand-born.

Certain conditions were favourable to the assimilation of Chinese in New Zealand during this phase. Anti-Chinese sentiments subsided in the late 1930s. The permitting of refugee wives and minor children to enter New Zealand in 1939, and the granting of permanent residence to them in 1947, further helped change the attitude of the Chinese towards New Zealand (Fong, 1959). They no longer regarded New Zealand as a country of sojourn, but as a country in which they might wish to reside permanently.

However, first-generation Chinese immigrants were mostly unskilled and their knowledge of English was limited. These factors hindered their assimilating into New Zealand society. Even after 30 or 40 years' stay in New Zealand, a number of first-generation Chinese immigrants still spoke mainly the Chinese language, and maintained their Chinese customs and traditions (Fong, 1959). They were engaged in niche occupations such as fruiterers, restaurateurs, import-export merchants, grocers and supermarket proprietors, which required long hours of work, but slight knowledge of English and little capital (M.L. Young, 1973).

On the other hand, the New Zealand-born Chinese showed higher degrees of assimilation in New Zealand than the foreign-born Chinese (Fong 1959; M.L. Young, 1973). A great majority of the New Zealand-born Chinese received formal education in New Zealand schools. They also spoke more English than Chinese, mixed with New Zealand friends and adopted New Zealand ways of life.

A study by Lian (1988) showed that in the 1980s, the Chinese population in New Zealand had shifted away from the occupations of the earlier generations (Table 2.2). Between 1945 and 1981, the percentages of Chinese involved in market gardening, fruit and vegetable retailing and laundry service declined steadily, while significant gains were made in those employed in finance and business services, community and social services, and manufacturing. Within the education arena, Chinese students in New Zealand in the 1980s have surpassed all other ethnic groups in academic achievement (Chung, 1988). In 1981, 24.3 percent of all Chinese males and 16.2 percent of all Chinese females aged 15 years and over studied in tertiary institutions, compared with the New Zealand average of 7.1 percent for males and 6.1 percent for females.

Table 2.2
Employment of Chinese in Selected Industries in New Zealand, 1945 - 1981

	1945		1966		1981	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Mining and quarrying	2	0.1	7	0.2	9	0.1
Agriculture	946	41.3	854	21.8	855	11.3
Manufacturing	121	5.3	618	15.8	1,647	21.8
Wholesale and retail trade	897	39.1	1,457	37.2	2,715	36.0
Financial and business services	1	0.0	36	0.9	678	9.0
Transport, storage and communication	77	3.4	289	7.4	387	5.1
Public administration and defence	28	1.2	51	1.3	303	4.0
Community and social services	28	1.2	317	8.1	819	10.9
Personal services	193	8.4	290	7.4	126	1.7
TOTAL	2,293	100.0	3,919	100.0	7,539	100.0
TOTAL CHINESE POPULATION	4,940		10,283		19,248	

Source: Lian, 1988, p. 519.

During this phase, Chinese associations played a major part in maintaining culture and ethnicity among Chinese. Language classes were organized, together with sports and other cultural activities as well as the celebration of major Chinese festivals (Sedgwick, 1985; Wah, 1986, 1987). However, the New Zealand Government took no active steps to encourage the development of ethnic identity in the Chinese communities.

Towards cultural pluralism, 1986 - present

In 1986, a major review of immigration policy established a non-discriminatory approach to the selection of prospective immigrants. Under the new legislation (which came into effect in November 1987), the "traditional source" restrictions on occupation immigration were removed, and prospective occupational immigrants were to be selected on personal merit without discrimination on grounds of race, national or ethnic origin. A business immigration policy was introduced, which allowed for the selection of people "with proven entrepreneurial ability who wish to invest money and establish businesses in New Zealand" (Burke, 1986, p. 20). A personal establishment fund of NZ\$150,000 (later raised to NZ\$200,000) was required, but no specific amount of investment capital needed for transfer to New Zealand was specified. No restrictions on age, occupation or national origin were imposed.

The eligibility criteria for family reunification were made more flexible. It allowed for parents to be considered for entry to New Zealand if more family members were resident in New Zealand than in their home or any single third country. A new avenue for family immigration was established, which permitted New Zealand residents to sponsor the entry of close relatives with worthwhile occupational skills and permanent job offers.

In November 1991, the "worthwhile skills" extension to the family reunification category was removed. Guaranteed job offers were also not required for occupational immigration to New Zealand. Instead, a new General Category (commonly known as the points system), which rated prospective occupational immigrants on their qualifications, work experience, age and settlement factors, was introduced. With regard to business

immigration (renamed the Business Investment Category), provisions were made to ensure that prospective business immigrants would transfer to New Zealand a business investment fund of at least NZ\$500,000 for a minimum period of two years (New Zealand Immigration Service, 1991). Overall, the immigration programme of 1991 affirmed the intention of the 1986 legislation to attract quality immigrants from diversified origins (Wilson, Brown, and Davies, 1991).

The liberalization of immigration controls significantly altered the composition of immigrants intending permanent residence in New Zealand. Prior to 1986, immigration to New Zealand was predominantly from Europe and the Pacific Islands (Burke, 1986; Trlin, 1987). From 1986 onwards, Asian immigration has increased substantially. Since 1990, about half of the migration intakes have been from Asia (Friesen, 1993).

Since 1990, Chinese immigrants have constituted over 65 percent of the Asian immigration to New Zealand (Friesen, 1993). Between the censuses of 1986 and 1991, the overseas-born Chinese population in New Zealand increased by 15,000 persons, or 100 percent. Auckland showed the greatest increase, having in 1991 a Chinese population of 23,640, equivalent to 52.8 percent of New Zealand's total Chinese population (E.S. Ho and Farmer, 1994).

The new wave of Chinese immigration has a number of common features. Firstly, immigrants tend to be well educated, highly skilled professionals and relatively wealthy entrepreneurs (E.S. Ho and Farmer, 1994). Many of them do not have connections with the earlier generation of Chinese migrants in New Zealand (Trlin and Kang, 1992).

Secondly, the new Chinese immigrants come from diversified origins. Table 2.3 shows that between November 1987 and June 1992, a total of 34,270 persons from

China, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan have been given residence visas or permits in New Zealand. They account for 32.2 percent of the total approved applications during this period.

Table 2.3
Total Persons Approved Residence Visas and Permits in New Zealand by Category of Approval:
Selected Countries of Citizenship, November 1987 to June 1992

Country of Citizenship	Category of Approval				Total
	Business	Occupation	Family Reunion	Humanitarian and others	
China, People's Republic	165	1,879	1,850	721	4,615
Hong Kong	10,457	1,506	1,482	85	13,530
Malaysia	2,870	3,463	1,318	310	7,961
Singapore	155	321	316	43	835
Taiwan	6,774	336	194	25	7,329
Other countries	3,733	25,085	31,502	11,776	72,096
All Countries	24,154	32,590	36,662	12,960	106,366

Source: Unpublished Immigration Permit Information (IMPI) statistics, New Zealand Immigration Service.

The peoples from China, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan have vastly different backgrounds. They undergo different degrees of industrialization and westernization, place different values on their cultural heritage, and display a variety of lifestyles, attitudes and behaviours. Their arrivals in the late 1980s have brought diversity to the once homogeneous Chinese community in New Zealand (Ip, 1990a).

New Zealand's immigration policies since 1986 have favoured cultural pluralism, in which immigrants are encouraged to preserve their cultural distinctiveness and have full and equal participation in their host society. However, although policies towards

Chinese immigration have been relaxed, public opinion as represented by the media suggest that some undercurrents of racial tensions and jealousies exist, particularly in Auckland which has received substantial numbers of new Chinese immigrants (Friesen, 1993; Lee, 1990).

Since 1987, the media and talkback radio programmes in Auckland have given increasing publicity to the arrivals of Asian immigrants. In July 1988, a popular magazine printed a report on the "Asian Invasion":

We're putting out the welcome mat for wealthy Asians. And they're keen to come -- from Malaysia, from the Philippines, from Hong Kong, from Singapore. They bring with them their families, half a million dollars on average, and some bright ideas for new businesses. Businesses that will make money for them and jobs for us. (R. Gordon, 1988, p. 151)

A large proportion of media coverage is given to the new Asian immigrants who come to New Zealand under the business immigration policy. In a number of media reports, Asian business immigrants are portrayed as leading luxurious lives and possessing expensive cars and properties. In one media report, wealthy Asian immigrants were described as having flooded the affluent suburbs of Auckland and started an "Asian buying spree" there:

Howick and Pakuranga, once whiter than white, are now home to increasing numbers of Asian immigrants. ... Mainly from Hong Kong and Taiwan, the new immigrants are attracted to Howick-Pakuranga because the housing is modern, made of low-maintenance materials, and the schools are good. ... It's an affluent area and they are affluent people -- a natural match. (McLauchlan, 1991, pp. 114 & 116).

Some media reports further suggested that many Chinese business immigrants are "ripping off" New Zealand's health, education and social resources because they leave their children in New Zealand while they are themselves still running businesses in their home countries (Chapple, 1992; Reid, 1990). One media viewpoint even gave the impression that continued Asian immigration would turn New Zealanders into "second-class citizens":

[The Asians'] presence is going to get stronger here. The government has extended the stereotype once reserved for Maoris -- that they were lazy and profligate -- to all New Zealanders, and tells us we need Asians to show us how to look after ourselves. (McLauchlan, 1991, p. 118)

The portrayal of new Chinese immigrants by the media since immigration policy changes in 1986 has done little to enhance positive race relations (Lee, 1990). Moreover, the New Zealand Government has taken no active steps to promote cultural pluralism (Ip, 1993). On the part of the new Chinese immigrants, many of them keep a low public profile. In making their initial economic and cultural adaptation to a new environment, many new Chinese immigrants have concentrated on establishing ethnic support networks (E.S. Ho and Farmer, 1994). In the past few years, many new ethnic services, including a Chinese business directory, Chinese telephone counselling service, Chinese radios, newspapers and magazines, and a number of Chinese clubs and associations, have emerged in Auckland. These ethnic institutions help promote mutual aid and the maintenance of culture among new immigrants, but they have had little effect in fostering better understanding between new immigrants and members of the wider community.

Recently, an incident prompted the Chinese community and the Government to raise their concern about race relations issues in Auckland. It started with the publication

of a sensational article entitled "The Inv-Asian" in a widely distributed suburban newspaper in April 1993. The article stereotyped new Asian immigrants as brash, status symbol conscious and materialistic. It also suggested that Asian business immigrants have no real commitment to New Zealand because they only treat Auckland as "a branch operation from a Hong Kong/Taipei head office". However, they were described as buying expensive homes and prestigious cars, sending their children to the best schools, and it was predicted that they would eventually bring their extended families to New Zealand (*Harbour News*, 16 April 1993).

Overall, the article gave a fairly negative image of the new Chinese immigrants and this antagonized the Auckland Chinese. In response, members of the Auckland Chinese community filed a complaint with the Race Relations Office and carried out a petition for racial harmony. It collected over one thousand signatures. The matter was eventually settled after a meeting between the editor and some representatives from the Chinese community, and the newspaper published an apology (*New Zealand Herald*, 29 April 1993 and 14 May 1993).

The experiences of the new Chinese immigrants in Auckland in the 1990s illustrate that the successful adaptation and settlement of immigrants to a new culture involves not simply favourable government legislations, but acceptance by the community as a whole. After the publication of the "Inv-Asian" article, methods of enhancing understanding, tolerance and constructive interactions between members of the host community and new immigrants have been suggested by the public, as well as a number of Chinese associations in Auckland. The suggestions include: teaching Asian languages, literature and culture in New Zealand schools (*New Zealand Herald*, 5 May 1993), and giving out more information on New Zealand laws, lifestyles and services to new

immigrants (*New Zealand Herald*, 13 May 1993). Meanwhile, the goal of cultural pluralism in New Zealand has yet to be achieved.

Hong Kong Immigration to New Zealand Since 1987

Of the significant numbers of Chinese immigrants who have entered New Zealand since the liberalization of immigration legislation in November 1987, the Hong Kong Chinese contribute the largest inflow.

Since the mid-1980s, the people of Hong Kong have become increasingly nervous about the resumption of Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997, and they have been emigrating in growing numbers (Table 2.4). According to official Hong Kong Government estimates (Skeldon, 1994), in the early 1980s, the number of emigrants from Hong Kong fluctuated at around 20,000 people per year. Then in 1987, three years after the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration on the future of Hong Kong, the number started to accelerate, to 30,000 in 1987, 45,800 in 1988 and 42,000 in 1989. In 1990, the outflow of people further increased to 62,000, and in the following two years, the figures were 60,000 and 66,000 respectively.

Table 2.4
Official Hong Kong Government Estimates of Emigration, 1980 - 1992

Year	Number of Emigrants
1980	22,400
1981	18,300
1982	20,300
1983	19,800
1984	22,400
1985	22,300
1986	19,000
1987	30,000
1988	45,800
1989	42,000
1990	62,000
1991	60,000
1992	66,000

Source: Skeldon, 1994, p. 30.

The emigrants from Hong Kong are predominantly young, well educated and highly skilled (Table 2.5). Of the 42,000 Hong Kong people who emigrated in 1989, 33.1 percent were under 24 years of age and 48.8 percent were in the 25-44 age groups. About 14.5 percent of the Hong Kong emigrants, as compared with 5.6 percent of the total Hong Kong population at the 1986 census, had a first degree or postgraduate qualification. About 23.3 percent of them were in professional, technical, administrative and managerial positions before they left, while the corresponding percentage in the total population in 1986 was only 5.9 (Skeldon, 1990; S.L. Wong, 1992).

Table 2.5
Hong Kong Government Estimated Emigrant Profile for 1989, Compared with
the Profile of the Total Hong Kong Population at the 1986 Census

	Estimated Hong Kong Emigrant Profile 1989		HK Population at 1986 Census
	Number	%	%
<i>Age</i>			
0 - 24	13,900	33.1	41.9
25 - 34	11,300	26.9	20.3
35 - 44	9,200	21.9	12.0
45 - 54	3,600	8.6	9.7
55 - 64	2,600	6.2	8.5
65 and above	1,400	3.3	7.6
Total	42,000	100.0	100.0
<i>Occupation</i>			
Professional, technical, administrative and managerial	9,800	23.3	5.9
Other workers	13,000	31.0	43.1
Students	10,300	24.5	24.8
Not working	8,900	21.2	26.2
Total	42,000	100.0	100.0
<i>Education</i>			
First degree/postgraduate	6,100	14.5	5.6
Post-secondary	4,100	9.8	2.9
Matriculation (Form 6-7)	2,500	5.9	7.1
Secondary (Form 1-5)	18,900	45.0	46.6
Primary and below	10,400	24.8	37.8
Total	42,000	100.0	100.0

Source: Skeldon, 1990, p. 508.

New Zealand is one of the popular destinations for the Hong Kong emigrants. In 1991, it ranked fourth, after Canada, Australia, and the United States of America (*South China Morning Post*, 12 October 1991). Between November 1987 and June 1992, a total of 13,530 Hong Kong citizens were granted permanent resident visas or permits in New Zealand. Business immigration accounted for 77.3 percent of the total approved applications, while the percentages for occupation, family and humanitarian immigration

were 11.1, 11.0 and 0.6 respectively (Table 2.6).

Table 2.6
Hong Kong Citizens Approved Resident Visas and Permits in New Zealand
by Category of Approval, November 1987 to June 1992

	Category of Approval				Total
	Business	Occupation	Family Reunion	Humanitarian and others	
1.11.87 to 31.3.88	171	60	56	1	288
1.4.88 to 31.3.89	613	210	176	17	1,016
1.4.89 to 31.3.90	2,097	264	269	10	2,640
1.4.90 to 30.6.90 ^a	749	82	78	0	909
1.7.90 to 30.6.91	4,442	460	405	15	5,322
1.7.91 to 30.6.92	2,385	430	498	42	3,355
Total	10,457	1,506	1,482	85	13,530

^a In 1990, the end of financial year was changed from 31 March to 30 June. This created a "catch-up" period of three months in 1990.

Source: Unpublished Immigration Permit Information (IMPI) statistics, New Zealand Immigration Service.

A majority of the Hong Kong applicants lodge their permanent residence applications at the New Zealand Commission in Hong Kong. If their applications are approved, they are given residence visas which are normally valid for six months. Before their visas expire, they have to arrive in New Zealand to establish their residence status formally. Once residence status in New Zealand is established, many of them also obtain a Returning Resident's Visa which, normally current for a period of four years, enables them to make multiple journeys to and from New Zealand while the visa remains valid. Between November 1987 and June 1992, over 11,000 Returning Resident's Visas were issued to Hong Kong citizens (Table 2.7).

Table 2.7
Returning Resident's Visas Issued to Hong Kong Citizens,
November 1987 to June 1992

Returning Resident's Visas Issued	
1.11.87 to 31.3.88	47
1.4.88 to 31.3.89	520
1.4.89 to 31.3.90	1,586
1.4.90 to 30.6.90	475
1.7.90 to 30.6.91	3,607
1.7.91 to 30.6.92	4,977
Total	11,212

Source: Unpublished Immigration Permit Information (IMPI) statistics, New Zealand Immigration Service.

Since 1987, the movements of Hong Kong citizens to and from New Zealand increased markedly (Table 2.8). Between April 1987 and March 1992, there was a net gain of 6,819 permanent and long-term Hong Kong migrants. There was also a large volume of short-term movements, a total of 50,002 arrivals and 51,135 departures. E.S. Ho and Farmer (1994) identified four main types of short-term movements between New Zealand and Hong Kong: (1) familiarization tours to New Zealand by prospective Hong Kong immigrants prior to applying for permanent residence in New Zealand; (2) short-term stay in New Zealand of Hong Kong families who have residence status in New Zealand but have not yet settled permanently; (3) holidays back to Hong Kong by new settlers from Hong Kong; and (4) circulatory movements by entrepreneurs who frequently fly back and forth between New Zealand and Hong Kong to visit their families in New Zealand and to pursue their business activities in Hong Kong. These movements suggest that many prospective Hong Kong immigrants have sought to establish networks in New Zealand prior to permanent migration to New Zealand, and that among those

who have settled in New Zealand, many do not completely cut off their roots from Hong Kong.

Table 2.8
Hong Kong Citizens Arriving in and Departing from New Zealand,
April 1987 to March 1992

Year ending 31 March	Category of Migrant					
	Permanent and Long-term ^a			Short-term		
	Arrivals	Departures	Net figure	Arrivals	Departures	Net figure
1988	267	7	260	3,822	2,244	1,578
1989	767	49	718	5,217	5,533	-316
1990	1,592	45	1,547	12,028	12,477	-449
1991	1,844	104	1,740	12,475	13,199	-724
1992	2,707	153	2,554	16,460	17,682	-1,222
Total	7,177	358	6,819	50,002	51,135	-1,133

^a Migration for periods of 12 months or more.

Source: Migration Statistics, Department of Statistics.

Auckland has received a substantial proportion of the Hong Kong Chinese migrating to New Zealand since 1987, its attractions lie in its being a cosmopolitan city, a major commercial and financial centre, and the largest established Chinese community in New Zealand. Based on unpublished data from the 1991 Census, E.S. Ho and Farmer (1994) conducted a study of about 2,740 recent Hong Kong Chinese immigrants in Auckland. The sample comprised the Auckland Chinese population at the 1991 Census whose place of birth was either Mainland China or Hong Kong and who had been living in Hong Kong five years previously.

Table 2.9 shows the age-sex structure of the sample. A total of 45.6 percent of

the Hong Kong Chinese in Auckland were under 20 years of age, and 50.6 percent were in the 20-59 age groups. Also clear is the strong dominance of females in the 20-49 years age groups, which is suggestive of the existence of "astronaut" households: female-headed households being established in New Zealand with the male back to work in Hong Kong. The term "astronaut" refers to the males frequently flying back and forth to visit their families in New Zealand. However, further research of female-headed households will be required before more definitive conclusions can be drawn.

There is also a substantial proportion of young people: full 45.6 percent of the sample were under 20 years of age, compared to 29.2 percent for the Hong Kong Population in 1991. This suggests the existence of "parachute kids", a term used by Skeldon (1994, p. 45) to refer to children being left behind in the country of destination while their parents remaining in Hong Kong and returning only from time to time to visit. As pointed out by Skeldon and others, "astronaut" households and "parachute kids" are also an integral part of the Hong Kong Chinese migration flows to Australia (Inglis and Wu, 1992; Kee and Skeldon, 1994) and North America (Lam, 1994; Leung, 1992); such arrangements are often made by parents who have made the decision to emigrate to give their children security and a better future, but are themselves unwilling to give up their well-paid jobs or business ventures in Hong Kong.

Table 2.9
Hong Kong Chinese in Auckland by Sex and Age, 1991

Age Group	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0 - 4	54	4.0	39	2.8	93	3.4
5 - 9	129	9.5	111	8.0	240	8.8
10 - 14	198	14.6	192	13.9	390	14.3
15 - 19	294	21.7	231	16.7	525	19.2
20 - 24	84	6.2	90	6.5	174	6.4
25 - 29	57	4.2	75	5.4	132	4.8
30 - 39	207	15.3	297	21.5	504	18.4
40 - 49	201	14.9	228	16.5	429	15.6
50 - 59	96	7.1	51	3.7	147	5.4
60 - 69	21	1.6	36	2.6	57	2.1
70 and over	12	0.9	33	2.4	45	1.6
Total	1,353	100.0	1,383	100.0	2,736	100.0

Source: Unpublished New Zealand Population Census, 1991.

A large proportion of the Hong Kong Chinese under study resided in the affluent suburbs in Auckland (Figure 2.1). There were high concentrations of them in the Eastern suburbs of Pakuranga and Howick, and some areas in Central Auckland and North Shore. Relatively few settled in South Auckland.

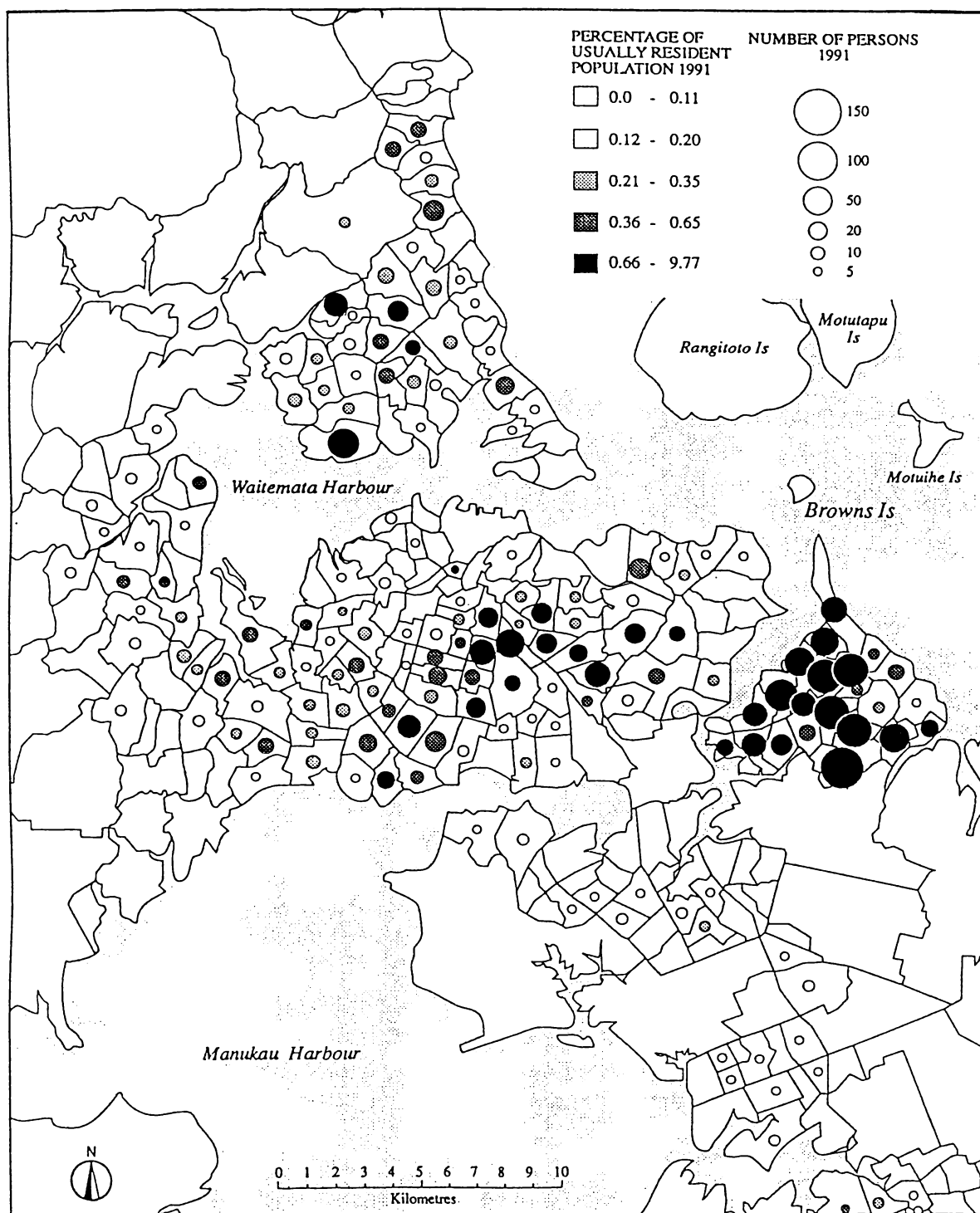


Figure 2.1
Mainland China- and Hong Kong-born Chinese Who Were Resident in Hong Kong in 1986
and Living in Auckland in 1991

Table 2.10 presents the education and labour force characteristics of Hong Kong Chinese aged 20 and over in Auckland, and compares them with their counterparts in the New Zealand population according to the 1991 census. One-third of the Hong Kong Chinese aged 20 and over in Auckland had a tertiary qualification, but their labour force participation rate was lower, and their unemployment rate was higher than their counterparts in the general population. The comparisons further showed that the Hong Kong Chinese who were in the labour force had higher proportions in self-employment and as employers. Their occupational structure also showed higher proportions in the "legislators, administrators and managers" and "service and sale workers" categories, and lower proportions as clerks, trades workers and labourers.

Table 2.10
Education and Labour Force Characteristics of Hong Kong Chinese Aged 20 and Over in Auckland
Compared with the New Zealand Population Aged 20 and Over at the 1991 Census

	Hong Kong Chinese Aged 20 and Over in Auckland at the 1991 Census	New Zealand Population Aged 20 and Over at the 1991 Census
	%	%
<i>Tertiary Qualification Status</i>	33.5	38.3
<i>Labour Force Participation</i>	43.8	61.9
<i>Employment Status (for those in the labour force)</i>		
Wage or salary earner	56.2	70.0
Self-employed and not employing others	20.7	11.1
Employer of others in family business	9.2	7.6
Unpaid family worker	2.8	1.4
Unemployed and seeking work	10.1	8.9
Not specified	0.9	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0
<i>Occupational Distribution (for those gainfully employed)</i>		
Armed forces	0.0	0.5
Legislators, administrators and managers	25.1	12.4
Professionals	10.8	12.8
Technicians and associate professionals	9.7	11.2
Clerks	9.7	14.1
Service and sales workers	22.1	10.9
Agriculture and fishery workers	0.0	9.9
Trades workers	6.7	10.5
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	10.3	9.6
Elementary occupations	2.6	6.6
Not adequately defined	3.1	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Unpublished New Zealand Population Census, 1991.

The above data show that in addition to cultural changes, many Hong Kong Chinese probably experience economic and occupational dislocations after migrating to New Zealand. The lack of language fluency, an absence of New Zealand working experience, and having qualifications which are not recognised in New Zealand are likely to be some of the main causes. Some also experience a change in family life and a loss of traditional social support. The impacts of these changes on their adaptation to New Zealand life are yet to be explored.

Newly Arrived Chinese Students in Auckland

There have not been any official data showing the total number of Hong Kong Chinese immigrant students entering New Zealand schools since 1987. The Ministry of Education only keeps statistics of Business Immigration Policy (BIP) students, which refers to children of business immigrants who are studying in New Zealand schools (Lee, 1990; Ministry of Education, 1992). Hong Kong and Taiwan are the two main sources of business immigrants to New Zealand. Together they comprised 71 percent of the total approved business immigration applications between November 1987 and June 1992 (Table 2.3, p. 27). Table 2.3 also shows that business immigration comprised 92 percent of the total approved permanent residence applications from Taiwan, but only 77 percent of those from Hong Kong. Hence, statistics of BIP students do not give a full picture of the newly arrived Chinese immigrant students in New Zealand. Imperfect though these statistics are, they are the only source of information which may be used to give a rough indication of the numbers and general pattern of distribution of new Chinese immigrant

students in different localities in Auckland.

Information on BIP students compiled by the Ministry of Education in 1990 was obtained from the New Settlers Coordinator in Auckland. A total of 1,141 BIP students were identified in 149 primary schools (Junior 1 to Form 2) and 1,075 BIP students in 34 secondary schools (Form 3 to Form 7) in Auckland. These figures did not give the total number of BIP students in Auckland, as the information was only gathered from those schools which had applied for English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) discretionary staffing in 1990. Based on the location of the schools, Table 2.11 gives the distribution of BIP students in different localities in Auckland in 1990. Forty percent of BIP students in primary and secondary schools were concentrated in the Eastern Suburbs. Another 36 percent of BIP students in primary schools were located in Central Auckland and 12 percent in the North Shore. The BIP students in secondary schools located outside the Eastern suburbs were concentrated in a few schools in Central and West Auckland and in the North Shore. Only a small proportion of BIP students were located in South Auckland schools.

Table 2.11
Distribution of Business Immigration Policy Students in
Auckland Schools in 1990

	Primary Schools		Secondary Schools	
	Number	%	Number	%
Central Auckland	410	35.9	167	15.4
Eastern Suburbs	463	40.6	421	39.2
West Auckland	98	8.6	236	22.0
North Shore	134	11.7	203	18.9
South Auckland	36	3.2	48	4.5
TOTAL	1,141	100.0	1,075	100.0

Source: Unpublished information from the Ministry of Education, 1990

A report published by the Ministry of Education (1992) gave a total of 4,338 BIP students in Auckland schools and 5,965 BIP students in all New Zealand schools at 1 March 1992. These figures were obtained from a survey which involved all schools in New Zealand. The length of residence of BIP students in New Zealand was also surveyed, the results of which showed that 60 percent of the BIP students in Auckland had resided in New Zealand for two years or less (Table 2.12). About 73 percent of all BIP students in New Zealand were located in Auckland schools.

Table 2.12
Business Immigration Policy Students in Auckland and New Zealand Schools at 1 March 1992
by Length of Residence in New Zealand

	BIP Students in Auckland Schools		BIP Students in New Zealand Schools	
	Number	%	Number	%
Born in New Zealand	141	3.2	268	4.5
Immigrants			1,651	27.7
less than 1 year	1,283	29.6	1,767	29.6
1 to 2 years	1,330	30.7	1,729	29.0
2 to 5 years	1,240	28.6	281	4.7
over 5 years	110	2.5		
Not Known	234	5.4	269	4.5
TOTAL	4,338	100.0	5,965	100.0

Source: Ministry of Education, 1992.

The Ministry of Education Report in 1992 showed that BIP students comprised 14 percent of the 31,056 non-English speaking background (NESB) students in Auckland. While the Report also showed that NESB students differed in terms of their competence and needs in English, the difficulties faced by Auckland schools in coping with the arrival of BIP students have been singled out for publicity by the media and other communication channels in the last few years (Parker, 1989, p. 219; *New Zealand Herald*, 10 August 1989 and 24 September 1994; *Sunday Star*, 1 July 1990). In May 1993, a suggestion that Asian immigrant children should take English language courses before being allowed to start school in New Zealand was made at the National Party Auckland divisional conference (*New Zealand Herald*, 3 May 1993). This raised serious debates from teachers and principals (*New Zealand Herald*, 5 May 1993; *Hamilton Press*, 12 May 1993), as well as members of the Chinese community (*Asian Economic Weekly*, 6 May 1993; *Hamilton Press*, 2 June 1993). The proposal was eventually dropped.

The arrival of Chinese students into Auckland schools has also attracted a number of media reports which suggested that there is "conflict and tension between races" and that some new Chinese students "sense resentment from other pupils of their perceived wealth and their academic achievements" (*Sunday Star*, 1 July 1990). More recently, there is a growing concern about school violence developed between Asian and non-Asian students (*Sunday Star*, 16 May 1993; *New Zealand Chinese Magazine*, September 1993); and about absentee parents (McLauchlan, 1991, p. 122; *New Zealand Herald*, 5 November 1991) and the possible social problems which they may cause.

Among these media reports, nonetheless, only very few have sought to obtain comments directly from Chinese adolescents themselves. As Lee (1990) pointed out,

it would seem that reporters (with the assistance of bilingual speakers) could have gleaned more information about students and presented a more informative, and indepth picture of how they perceived schooling in their new environment. It is unfortunate that the press has missed an opportunity to discover and to draw on the views of this important group of students who at secondary level are highly educated and articulate in their own language. (p. 26)

Moreover, problems, tension and conflict have been emphasized in most of the reports. By focusing on these issues, the media may have given a distorted picture of the recently arrived Chinese students' adjustment in the new environment.

The present research is an exploratory study using data obtained directly from the Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants who have entered New Zealand since 1987. The study is also based on a cross-cultural model of immigrant adaptation, and takes into consideration different domains, modes and phases of adaptation as well as the interrelationship between cultural identity and adaptive strategies. The characteristics and components of cross-cultural adaptation are presented in the next chapter, after a review of the literature on existing theories and studies of adolescent immigrant adaptation.

Chapter 3

THE CROSS-CULTURAL MODEL

This chapter and the next draw on research and literature that contribute to the understanding of adolescent immigrants' adaptation processes. This chapter begins with a review and analysis of two major models of immigrant adaptation: the culture conflict model and the cross-cultural model. Based on the review and analysis, the cross-cultural approach is chosen for this study. In the second part of the chapter, some theoretical issues concerning the cross-cultural model are examined. They include: the process and state of cross-cultural adaptation, changes in cultural identities over time, and domains and modes of cross-cultural adaptation. In the next chapter, factors influencing the course of cross-cultural adaptation are discussed.

From Culture Conflict Model to Cross-cultural Model

A few sociological articles published in the 1920s and the 1930s in the United States began the study of culture conflict in immigrants. These articles revealed that culture conflict is pervasive among second-generation descendants of immigrants, and that its presence can be inferred from the high rates of delinquency, mental disorders and occupational instability found among these individuals (Duncan, 1929; Myerson, 1922; Sellin, 1938). One of the early psychological studies on culture conflict was undertaken

by Child (1943), who examined the adaptive experiences of young Italian immigrants who were either born in the United States, or came to that country at a very young age. Child's study used a culture conflict model, which assumes that immigrants' own cultural values, behaviour and identity are, at least to some extent, incompatible with those of the host society. Culture conflict arises when they attempt to cope with both cultures simultaneously.

In the 1960s and the 1970s, the phenomenon of culture conflict among adolescent children of immigrant families in Australia (Doczy, 1966, 1969; Hills, 1973; Johnston, 1972; Taft, 1973, 1974; Taft and Johnston, 1967) and New Zealand (Herbert, 1977; Lane, 1976) was also studied. However, the term "culture conflict" was conceptualized in a variety of ways by different investigators. According to Child (1943), culture conflict represents a conflict in cultural identity. His study identified three typical ways in which young, second-generation Italian immigrants in the United States reduced their culture conflict: identification with host society's culture, identification with own ethnic culture, and oscillation between the two. Doczy (1966, 1969), on the other hand, defined culture conflict as a conflict in values and social norms rather than identity, and its presence as being associated with poor emotional adjustment. Doczy's (1966) study found that adolescent children of European-born parents in Australia perceived a divergence between the norms held by their parents and peers, but contrary to his predictions, they showed no pathological signs in their emotional adjustment.

In some studies conducted in Australia (Hills, 1973; Johnston, 1972; Taft, 1973; Taft and Johnston, 1967) and New Zealand (Herbert, 1977; Lane, 1976), cultural conflict represents a conflict between immigrant parents and their adolescent children, which may lead to arguments and other forms of tension in the families. To establish that

such tension is culture conflict, these studies made an important distinction between culture conflict and general family conflict. The former is the conflict centred around the problem of culture, while the latter is the conflict by virtue of the generation gap, which has no necessary cultural connotation.

In the Australian studies, the phenomenon of culture conflict between European immigrants and their adolescent children was examined; in the New Zealand studies, culture conflict between Polynesian immigrants and their adolescent children was investigated. These studies all found that the degree of culture conflict between immigrant parents and their adolescent children was not high. Moreover, general family conflict experienced by immigrant adolescents was not found to be significantly different from that felt by nonimmigrant adolescents in the host society.

Despite varying usages of the term culture conflict, all of these studies using a culture conflict model assumed that the ideal way for immigrant adolescents to resolve their culture conflict is by replacing their own cultural values, behaviour and identity with those of the dominant society, eventually alienating themselves from their own culture. In other words, adaptation implies assimilation.

In recent decades, increasing numbers of social scientists and policy reformers have regarded the assimilationist perspective as impractical in pluralistic societies (Gans, 1979; Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Inglis, 1972; Price, 1969). The culture conflict model, which promotes assimilation as the most desirable outcome of immigration, has also been criticized. As mentioned above, a number of studies conducted in Australia and New Zealand in the 1960s and the 1970s failed to demonstrate that culture conflict is inevitable among immigrant adolescents, and that its presence is necessarily associated with problems in adjustment.

The assumption of cultural loss and replacement has also been questioned. In a study of the cultural orientation of Blackfeet Indians in the United States, McFee (1968) found that some members of this indigenous minority group participated actively in the dominant society without abandoning their own cultural identity. McFee called these bicultural persons "the 150% men" [sic], suggesting that they have attained a high degree of adaptation to the dominant culture without the concomitant loss of their original culture.

More recently, a Canadian psychologist, John Berry (1980, 1984) has proposed a cross-cultural model which can be applied to explain the adaptation of immigrants. According to this model, immigrant adaptation is a multilinear phenomenon. Immigrants can decide to move in and establish relations with the dominant society without giving up their own cultural identity and characteristics, as these are two independent decisions.

By considering an individual's responses to these decisions separately, four styles of adaptation are formulated: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization. In the case of assimilation, characteristic attitude and behaviour patterns of the host society are acquired, while the heritage culture and identity are relinquished. Integration, in contrast, emphasizes the maintenance of heritage culture and identity as well as active participation in the host society. Separation reflects the desire of an individual to maintain his or her heritage culture and identity and reject the host society. Finally, marginalization implies that the individual is out of cultural and psychological contact with both the host society and his or her own culture.

Unlike the culture conflict model which assumes that assimilation is the only adaptive choice for immigrants, the cross-cultural model considers that integration is the preferred option. According to Berry and his associates (Berry, Kim, Minde, and Mok,

1987; Berry et al., 1988; Berry et al., 1989), because assimilation represents cultural loss, individuals choosing the assimilation option may experience more psychological stress than those taking the integration option, where selective involvement in both the dominant society and their own ethnic culture may provide the most supportive sociocultural base for their mental health.

Immigrants with a high degree of integration have the ability to function in two cultures by switching between two sets of values and attitudes (Phinney and Rotheram, 1987). To Bochner (1981, 1982), these people are called "mediating persons" and have a high degree of psychological flexibility that enables them to adapt their behaviour to the demands of different situations and therefore avoid conflict. Preference for the integration option over all the other options is also the result of a number of recent studies of immigrant adaptation in Australia (Beattie, 1986; Bottomley, 1979; Smolicz and Seacombe, 1979), Canada (U. Kim and Berry, 1985), and the United States (Hurh and Kim, 1984; Y.Y. Kim, 1978; L.C. Young, 1983).

In the case of adolescents, the culture conflict model predicts poorer adjustment and lower self-image for immigrants than for their contemporaries in the dominant society. However, a number of studies conducted in the late 1970s and the 1980s in North America (Arredondo, 1984; Fu, Hinkle, and Korlund, 1983; George and Hoppe, 1979) gave no apparent support for these predictions. Moreover, within the cross-cultural framework, recent literature suggests that immigrant adolescents who are well integrated in both the dominant society and in their own ethnic community are the most adaptive. For example, Rosenthal and her associates conducted a number of studies of immigrant adolescents of various ethnic backgrounds in Australia. They pointed out that a strong and stable sense of cultural identity in adolescence can help resolve identity conflict and

foster the development of a positive self image (Rosenthal, 1987; Rosenthal et al., 1983). They also found that a greater emphasis on assimilation into the dominant culture than on the maintenance of cultural heritage and identity may lead to greater feelings of conflict in immigrant adolescents (Rosenthal, 1984; Rosenthal and Cichello, 1986).

Ramirez and Castaneda (1974) in the United States also advocated the development of bicultural learning in immigrant children. Their study suggests that Mexican immigrant children with competence in bicultural learning have higher self esteem, greater understanding and higher achievement than those immigrant children who are educated to accept only "mainstream" values. Other researchers in Australia (Vasta, 1980), Europe (Lofgren, 1985; Verkuyten, 1986) and North America (Ascher, 1990; Wong-Rieger and Quintana, 1987) also agree that bicultural learning in immigrant children and adolescents is desirable for the development of identity, positive relationships with the home environment, pride in their cultural background, and success in school and in the labour market.

Whether by assimilation or integration, adolescent children of immigrant families who choose these adaptive options tend to have positive relationships with the host society. On the other hand, separation and marginalization represent decisions to maintain minimal contact with the dominant group. In separation, the choice is to remain "ethnic", that is, to reject the new culture and retain the old, as in Rosenthal and Hrynevich's (1985) study of Greek immigrant adolescents in Melbourne.

The other alternative is marginalization, that is, maintaining minimal relations with both the host society and one's own ethnic culture. Among the four styles of adaptation, marginalization is associated with the poorest mental health (Berry and Kim, 1987). In essence, it is not really a form of adaptation but a transient state in which the

individual is suspended among options (Berry et al., 1988).

The transient nature of the marginalization state was initially raised by McFee (1968), who studied the adaptation of indigenous minorities in the United States. McFee remarked that many of the individuals who have been considered to be "lost between two cultures" may just be "shifting their orientation, or temporarily outside the range of their ability or experience to accommodate to some aspect of the bicultural situation" (p.1101). He suggested that the people in this situation still retain the knowledge and skills that will allow them to return to their own group or to handle other situations in the future.

According to Johnston (1979), marginalization is a state of indecision. It arises among those immigrants who "show a lack of decisiveness regarding the choice between the two cultures within which they live" (p. 67). These immigrants probably do not realise that they can decide to integrate, in which case, they can choose to conform to the basic tenets of the host culture without abandoning their own culture. Johnston also pointed out that marginalized immigrants are likely to have a strong desire to assimilate and identify with the host culture, yet have been unable to sever themselves from the past, or have been rejected by the host society.

Berry and his associates (Berry et al., 1988; U. Kim and Berry, 1985) found that marginalization is associated with feelings of stress and ambivalence, which may arise when the immigrant's desire to penetrate the host society is thwarted by a lack of skills (language, social and/or education), or by forms of prejudice, discrimination or rejection.

To summarize this section, two models of immigrant adaptation have been discussed. Until the early 1970s, the psychological study of immigrant adaptation in North America, Australia and New Zealand mainly used a culture conflict model, which identifies culture conflict as an important factor mediating the adjustment of adolescent

children of immigrant families. The culture conflict model is also based on the assimilationist perspective, and considers that the only desirable way for immigrants to reduce culture conflict is by replacing their original culture with that of the host society. In recent decades, however, there has been a movement from the culture conflict model to the cross-cultural model. The cross-cultural model is based on the pluralistic perspective, which assumes that immigrants can adopt elements of the host society's culture without abandoning their own cultural distinctiveness. Within the cross-cultural framework, assimilation is only one of the several varieties of adaptive responses of immigrants.

Since the late 1970s, the cross-cultural model has been tested in many studies conducted in Australia, Canada, and the United States (see, for example, Hurh and Kim, 1984; U. Kim and Berry, 1985; Rosenthal, 1984). It has been found superior to the culture conflict model because it can more accurately describe the contemporary situation, and can make better predictions of the psychological adaptation of immigrants. In the sections that follow, the characteristics and different components of the cross-cultural model, on which the present study is developed, will be further discussed and analyzed.

Process and State of Cross-cultural Adaptation

Within the cross-cultural framework, adaptation can refer both to a process and to a state (Berry, 1990; Berry et al., 1988). As a process, it refers to changes over time that take place within an individual as a result of being in contact with both the dominant society

and his or her own ethnic culture. As a state, it refers to an outcome of the process.

Most of the studies which were reviewed in the previous section assessed the outcomes of adaptive processes only (see, for example, Hurh and Kim, 1984; U. Kim and Berry, 1985; Rosenthal, 1984). These studies dealt with established immigrants or children of immigrants, and assumed that their adaptive processes have become relatively stable. Consequently, they only focused on the outcomes of adaptation without actually studying the adaptive processes themselves.

However, in the case of new immigrants making their transition from the familiar environment of the home country to an alien society and culture, their adaptive processes are far more complex and dynamic than those of established immigrants and children of immigrants. A few studies conducted in North America (R.C. Nann, 1982) and Australia (Adler and Taft, 1966; Taft, 1979) suggested that when new immigrants are in the first three to six years after arriving in the host society, they are required to make the most crucial changes, such as learning new behaviour and lifestyles, making new friends, and in general, experimenting with different strategies of adaptation before settling themselves into a preferred way of living. After that time, a relatively stable pattern of behaviour and identity may be exhibited.

Consequently, in order to understand the adaptive processes of new immigrants, changes in adaptive outcomes themselves should be examined, as well as the processes by which they are achieved. Merely assessing the adaptive outcomes at a single point in the adaptive process does not show the dynamics of change over time. For example, when the new immigrants' adaptive responses are assessed at six months after arrival, only the result of adaptation up to that point is assessed. However, when the changes in outcomes are examined at various points in time over a period, a more complete

description of the adaptive processes may be obtained.

Changes in Cultural Identities Over Time

Of the many kinds of changes that immigrants undergo as a result of adapting to a new environment and culture, the change in their cultural identities forms a crucial area for study. In the 1960s, a number of studies investigated the relationship between length of residence and cultural identities of Dutch, Italian, Polish, British and Hungarian immigrants in Australia (Johnston, 1965; Taft, 1961, 1965; Wiseman, 1971). In all of these studies, immigrants' identification with Australia and with their country of origin was assumed to form a bipolar continuum. Immigrants were asked to describe themselves as completely Australian, more Australian than Dutch (or Italian, Polish, etc.), equally Australian and Dutch (or Italian, Polish, etc.), more Dutch (or Italian, Polish, etc.) than Australian, or completely Dutch (or Italian, Polish, etc.). The findings showed that immigrants' identification with Australia tended to be higher among those with 10 years or more of residence in Australia.

However, the bipolarity of the Australian-ethnic identity construct implies that immigrants achieve an Australian identity only by giving up their own ethnic identity (e.g., a Dutch, Italian, or Polish identity). As discussed in chapter 1, in pluralistic societies which have greater tolerance for cultural diversity, immigrants are encouraged to adopt elements of the host society's culture without abandoning their own cultural distinctiveness (p. 6). Consequently, the method of measuring the majority-minority identity on a continuum has been challenged by Zak (1973, 1976). In his studies of the

cultural identities of Jewish students in the United States and Arab students in Israel, Zak assessed the subjects' two identities (i.e., the American and Jewish identities, or the Arab and Israeli identities) separately. His findings suggested that the two identities were not necessarily in conflict with each other.

Using the method developed by Zak (1973, 1976), Der-Karabetian (1980) studied the two cultural identities of recent immigrants and native-born Armenian-American teenagers in the United States. He found that native-born Armenian-American teenagers scored significantly higher than recent immigrants on the American identity, but the two groups did not differ in their Armenian identity scores. The results support the notion that majority and minority identities are two independent constructs. Hence, the two identities should be assessed independently.

More recently, Rosenthal (1984) examined the two cultural identities of Greek- and Italian-Australians by asking them to rate on a 10-point scale (from 1 showing "very much" to 10 showing "not at all") "How Australian do you feel?" and "How Greek (Italian) do you feel?" Responses to these questions were coded as strongly (1-5) or weakly (6-10) Australian, Greek, or Italian. Of the Greek-Australians, 15 percent were classified as strongly Australian but not Greek, 41 percent as strongly Australian and Greek, 39 percent as strongly Greek but not Australian, and 5 percent neither Australian nor Greek. Comparable figures for the Italian-Australians were 19 percent, 33 percent, 42 percent and 6 percent, respectively (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1
Classification of Cultural Identities of Greek- and Italian-Australians
in Rosenthal's (1984) Study

	Greek-Australians		Italian-Australians	
	Number	%	Number	%
Strongly Australian but not Greek (Italian)	20	15	26	19
Strongly Australian and Greek (Italian)	55	41	45	33
Strongly Greek (Italian) but not Australian	53	39	57	42
Neither Australian nor Greek (Italian)	7	5	9	6
Total	135	100	137	100

Source: Rosenthal (1984), p. 61.

Rosenthal's (1984) classification of immigrants' cultural identities into four different states is similar to that used by John Berry (1980, 1984) to describe immigrants' general styles of adaptation discussed on p. 51 above; each cultural identity state refers to a way by which immigrants in a culturally pluralistic society deal with their dual cultural identities. The four cultural identity states are: assimilation (majority identity strong, minority identity weak), integration (majority and minority identities both strong), separation (minority identity strong, majority identity weak), and marginalization (majority and minority identities both weak).

In a pluralistic society where immigrants are relatively free to choose their styles of adaptation, cultural identity states describe an important aspect of the adaptive process. An individual's cultural identity state is not static; it is susceptible to change over time as the individual negotiates and modifies his or her dual cultural identities in the adaptive process (Atkinson, Morten, and Sue, 1983; Collier and Thomas, 1988). Hence, in order

to give a more complete description of the adaptive process, the ways in which immigrants change their cultural identity states over time should be examined. As has been argued in the previous section, studying changes of adaptive responses over time is particularly relevant in understanding the adaptive processes of new immigrants, which is the central concern of this study.

No direct studies on the ways in which new immigrants change their cultural identity states over time have been found. As well, only a few studies have investigated the adaptive processes of new immigrants. As far as adolescent immigrants are concerned, a longitudinal study undertaken by Arredondo (1984) investigated the immigration experiences of 17 young immigrants of different ethnic backgrounds who arrived in the United States during adolescence. They were interviewed about one year after arrival, and then four years later. The results showed that in the first year after arrival at the new environment, most respondents were in a state of cultural anxiety. They felt a sense of loss arising from being uprooted from their original environment and a feeling of estrangement in the new one. Many also experienced racial and ethnic prejudice and discrimination. Five years after arrival, their acceptance of the host society's culture and lifestyle had increased. Nonetheless, many respondents also reported that their ethnic identity and attachment to their home culture had not decreased with time.

Another study (Pacheco et al., 1985) investigated how Puerto Rican adolescent immigrants in the United States dealt with their dual cultural environments. They were interviewed within the first three months after arrival, and then eight months or more after arrival. The result showed that in the first three months after arrival, many respondents were heavily tied to their own extended family members in the new

environment. In eight months or more after arrival, they gradually extended their social networks and made friends from the new environment. At the same time, they also maintained close contacts with their family and friends from the old environment.

In Australia, Taft (1979) studied the initial adaptation of immigrant schoolchildren from South America, Malta and Britain. The immigrants were interviewed, and teachers' assessments of their social integration, emotional adjustment and academic performance were obtained soon after their arrival, then one year and again two years after arrival. For all groups, there was a steady improvement in their social integration with time. For the South American and British immigrants, but not for the Maltese, there were also improvements in their emotional adjustment and attitudes to learning with time. However, all three groups of immigrants increasingly reported feelings of unhappiness in the host country after one year, and such feelings were often associated with experiences of rejection, loneliness, and missing friends or relatives back home. Among the Maltese, emotional adjustment, academic performance and attitudes to learning deteriorated between one and two years after arrival, and their unhappiness in the host country also became quite great at that time.

The U-curve hypothesis was used by Taft (1979) to explain the increase in immigrants' unhappiness in the host country one year after arrival. The U-curve hypothesis was put forward by Lysgaard (1955) and other writers (Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1963; Jacobson, 1963) to describe three main phases through which foreign students progress in the new culture: an initial stage of elation and optimism, followed by a period of frustration, depression and confusion, then followed by a gradual recovery in confidence and satisfaction. Taft suggested that the immigrants who felt increasingly unhappy in the host country after one year might be in the second phase of the U-curve,

which could turn into an improvement as the immigrants developed strategies for coping with the new environment. However, empirical support for the U-curve hypothesis is inconclusive and weak (Church, 1982; Scott and Scott, 1989). Even in Taft's study, the U-curve hypothesis is not confirmed as there is no evidence of a recovery trend.

Based on the reasons the immigrants gave for their unhappiness in the new country (rejection, loneliness and missing friends or relatives back home), Taft (1979) explained that the unhappiness represented no deep disaffection, nor antagonism towards the host country. In the case of the South American and British immigrants who showed steady improvements over time in their social, emotional and academic adaptations in the new country, unhappiness alone was probably insufficient to suggest that they had major adaptation problems. However, the case of the Maltese, who showed increased unhappiness in addition to a deterioration in emotional adjustment, academic performance and attitudes to learning after one year, deserves closer examination.

As Taft (1979) described, nearly all Maltese knew some English on arrival in Australia, while few of the South Americans did, but within two years the latter had almost caught up with the Maltese in academic performance. Besides, many Maltese were brought to Australia by relatives who were already there, while few of the South Americans had any relatives in Australia. Hence, language problems and social isolation did not seem to be the major reasons for the decline in adaptation and satisfaction among the Maltese over time. One explanation so this may be found is by examining the strategies these immigrants used for dealing with their dual cultural environments. As discussed before, immigrants who have a strong desire for assimilation but do not have the necessary skills or have been rejected by the host society are prone to marginalization (see p. 54). The Maltese immigrants could have been in this situation, seeking on arrival

to assimilate into the host society with enthusiasm. One year later, those who found that their goals had not been achieved could well have become disillusioned and unhappy, and be in a transient state of indecision. If they could eventually come to a realistic decision regarding their choices with the two cultures, they would move out from their marginalization state and unhappiness at a later time.

Without actually examining the adaptive strategies used by the Maltese immigrants, this line of speculation cannot be taken further here. However, the above discussion highlights the situation of the marginalized immigrants, and suggests that the change over time in the distribution of marginalized immigrants is likely to show a curvilinear trend. That is, the number of immigrants in the marginalization state should tend to increase about one year after arrival, and then decrease with time.

The change over time in the distribution of immigrants in the assimilation, integration and separation cultural identity states can also be derived from the three longitudinal studies discussed above. The majority of adolescent immigrants tend to be in the separation state on arrival, but the number decreases with time. On the other hand, immigrants in the assimilation and integration states will increase with time. In other words, most adolescent immigrants are able to make improvements over time in coping with their new environment and culture; many of them also retain their ethnic identity and their attachment to the old primary networks of friends and family.

Domains and Modes of Cross-cultural Adaptation

In a number of studies undertaken by Berry and his associates (see, for example, Berry et al., 1989; U. Kim and Berry, 1985), the term "acculturation attitude" is used to refer to an overall orientation that an individual can adopt towards the dominant society and towards his or her heritage culture. Each of the acculturation attitudes of assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization is also found to be related to a variety of domains of daily activities, language, friendships and organization participation.

In the study of Korean immigrants in Canada (U. Kim and Berry, 1985), individuals who had a high score on the assimilation attitude were found to view less Korean television programmes, read less Korean newspapers, and have fewer Korean and more Canadian friends. Thus, non-maintenance of Korean culture correlated with assimilation. Individuals who had a high score on the integration attitude chose English as the language of interview, read more Canadian newspapers, and had greater participation in Canadian clubs and organizations. Thus, high integration scorers tended to have a greater penetration into Canadian society. Individuals who had a high score on the separation attitude used less English, had more Korean than Canadian friends, and were less likely to have Canadian citizenship but maintained their Korean identity. Thus, maintenance of Korean culture combined with a lack of penetration into Canadian society correlated with separation. Finally, individuals who had a high score on the marginalization attitude maintained their Korean identity, reported higher feelings of stress and marginality, and had low education. Thus, a lack of skills necessary to penetrate the Canadian society correlated with marginalization.

Another study examined the behavioral correlates of acculturation attitudes among

Hungarian immigrants in Canada (Berry et al., 1989). It showed that a distancing from the Hungarian community correlated with assimilation, a retention of Hungarian culture correlated with integration, and a maintenance of Hungarian culture combined with an isolation from Canadian society correlated with separation. Marginalization was not assessed in this study.

In the two studies discussed above, each acculturation attitude was found to be associated with a fairly consistent pattern of behaviours in a variety of domains of daily and cultural activities. However, both studies examined the relationship between overall acculturation attitudes and specific adaptive behaviours at a single point in time only. In other words, they only focused on the result, not the process of adaptation.

In order to understand the adaptation of new immigrants, the cross-cultural model should be applied to study the adaptive process as it changes over time. In other words, any relationship between overall cultural orientations and specific adaptive responses should be studied by examining such relationships at various points in time over a period.

In addition to changes in a variety of domains of daily and cultural activities, some scholars suggest that the changes encountered by new immigrants also affect different modes of social-psychological functioning (Taft, 1977; Wong-Rieger, 1982, 1984; Wong-Rieger and Quintana, 1987). Taft (1977) differentiated among the cognitive, performance and dynamic processes of adaptation. The cognitive process refers to changes in attitudes, values, and belief systems which are necessary for effective functioning in the new environment. The performance process refers to the acquisition of language, cultural and social skills which are necessary for carrying out the appropriate role performances in the new environment. Finally, the dynamic process refers to changes in feelings, preferences and self-identification which are needed to

incorporate new social roles and values, and to provide a sense of belonging.

According to Taft (1977), the cognitive, performance and dynamic processes of adaptation are interrelated. Full participation in a culture requires the immigrant to learn the cultural norms of the new environment, perform the culturally relevant role behaviours, and identify with the new culture.

More recently, Wong-Rieger (1982, 1984; Wong-Rieger and Quintana, 1987) in the United States has proposed a consistency model of cross-cultural adaptation which is based on concepts similar to those developed by Taft (1977) in Australia. According to this model, cross-cultural adaptation involves three modes of functioning: cognitions, behaviours and self-identification. In order to function effectively in a society, most individuals need to maintain consistency among the three modes. However, the newcomer often does not adapt to all these modes simultaneously. This results in discrepancies within the system. For example, an immigrant who manages to mix with members of the host society with a high degree of competence but identifies only with his or her heritage culture and rejects the host culture would feel a "mismatch in self-identity" (Wong-Rieger, 1982). Resolution of the discrepancy requires a change in either behaviour or identity.

The consistency model of adaptation was tested in a study conducted in the United States which involved groups of immigrants who are more permanently settled and sojourners who are in contact with the dominant society only temporarily (Wong-Rieger and Quintana, 1987). The results showed that all groups were more assimilated in their involuntary behaviours (i.e., work and place of residence) than in their voluntary behaviours (i.e., friendships and daily activities) and self-identification. Immigrants were more assimilated than sojourners in terms of involuntary behaviours, whereas sojourners

were more ethnically biased in terms of cognitions and self-identification. Moreover, immigrants who had five years or more of residence in the United States were more assimilated in their cognitions and involuntary behaviours than in their voluntary behaviours and self-identification. Residents for less than one year showed the least convergence in their behavioral, cognitive and self-identity orientations. Hence, all results supported the consistency model. In the case of new immigrants who may not adapt to all the three modes initially, time is needed for greater congruence in actions, thinking and identification.

Some Concluding Remarks

As pointed out in the above literature review, the cross-cultural model is useful and can be applied to provide considerable information about the adaptation of immigrants. Nonetheless, it has not been applied as well as it can be over time. As reviewed earlier, new immigrants undergo a great amount of adaptive change over time. In terms of cultural identities, new immigrants tend to show greater acceptance of the host society's culture and lifestyles with time, but their attachment to the home culture does not necessarily decrease. Some immigrants feel marginalized in the new country because they give up their own cultural identity too quickly, often before they have been assured of membership in the new culture. At about one year after arrival, feelings of marginalization tend to be highest, and then they will decrease with time.

Besides, new immigrants' cultural identities are correlated with the changes they undergo over time in different domains of daily activities. Assimilation is correlated with

non-maintenance of ethnic culture; integration is correlated with both maintenance of ethnic culture and penetration into the host society; separation is correlated with both maintenance of ethnic culture and a lack of penetration into host society, and marginalization is correlated with a desire to penetrate into the host society but an inability to do so.

The changes encountered by new immigrants also affect different modes of social-psychological functioning. On arrival to a new environment, new immigrants often do not adapt to their cognitive, affective and behavioral modes of functioning simultaneously. However, they tend to show greater congruence in these modes over time.

The present study is an attempt to apply the cross-cultural model to provide information on how new immigrants adapt to these changes over time. A number of hypotheses specifying the direction of change are generated from this literature review and analysis, and are summarized in chapter 5. In the next chapter, some factors influencing the course of cross-cultural adaptation will be further discussed.

Chapter 4

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE COURSE OF CROSS-CULTURAL ADAPTATION

Within the cross-cultural framework, assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization are the four options of adaptation available to immigrants. This chapter reviews literature on four broad sets of factors influencing the option that a particular cultural group or individual may choose. These factors include: the nature of current ideology and policy in the dominant host society, the type of cultural group being studied, previous exposure to other cultures prior to migration, and individual differences in demographic, cognitive and social characteristics.

Nature of the Dominant Society

According to Berry (1984), the degree of tolerance for cultural diversity that is present in a society is a major factor influencing the choice of adaptive courses by cultural groups and individuals. In societies that attempt to reduce cultural diversity, assimilation is more likely to occur, while in those more tolerant of diversity, integration or separation are more likely. However, if attitudes to out-groups are hostile in the host society, separation and marginalization are more likely than assimilation and integration.

Until recently, New Zealand had an immigration policy which severely restricted

the entry of Asians (see p. 22). Cultural diversity was also seen as a problem that needed to be reduced. Hence, assimilation into the dominant society was the only viable choice for Asian immigrants.

In the mid-1980s, New Zealand began to liberalize its immigration regulations, which has resulted in significant numbers of immigrants from diverse cultural origins, particularly Asian, entering the country in recent years (see p. 26). However, there is no official policy in New Zealand to deal with cultural diversity. At the community level, attitudes towards Asians are varied. A survey conducted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in 1994 revealed that while 29 percent of New Zealanders were positive about Asian immigration and 13 percent were against it, the remaining 58 percent were neutral, or had mixed feelings about Asian immigration (*Vista*, 1994, pp. 6-7). The survey also showed that while Asian immigrants were perceived by New Zealanders as hardworking, wealthy, and law-abiding, they were also criticized for "sticking to themselves as a group", and not adopting a New Zealand lifestyle.

In short, the New Zealand society has become somewhat more tolerant of cultural diversity in recent years. However, in the absence of a clear ideology or policy to deal with cultural diversity, the newly arrived Hong Kong Chinese immigrants are left to decide for themselves which course of adaptation they may choose.

Type of Cultural Group

Within a particular society, various cultural groups may take different courses of adaptation. Berry, Kim, and Boski (1988) distinguished among five types of cultural

groups: immigrants, refugees, indigenous peoples, ethnic groups, and sojourners (Figure 4.1). They differ in terms of voluntariness of contact, permanence of contact, and mobility; all factors are likely to influence the psychological adaptation of members of the group.

VOLUNTARINESS OF CONTACT		
MOBILITY	VOLUNTARY	INVOLUNTARY
SEDENTARY	Ethnic Groups	Indigenous Peoples
MIGRANT	Immigrants (relatively permanent) Sojourners (temporary)	Refugees

Figure 4.1
Types of Cultural Groups

Source: Berry et al., 1988, p. 71.

Voluntary immigrants and ethnic groups are more likely to assimilate or integrate than involuntary refugees and disadvantaged indigenous peoples. Sojourners who are in contact with the dominant society only temporarily are less motivated to assimilate than ethnic groups who are more permanently settled and established. Finally, sedentary ethnic groups and indigenous peoples who have more available resources with which to maintain distinct identity, language and culture than mobile sojourners and refugees, are more likely to pursue the integration or separation option.

Using the above typology, the Hong Kong Chinese who have entered New Zealand since the liberalization of immigration legislation in 1986 can be classified as voluntary immigrants, who are likely to choose the assimilation or integration style of adaptation. Nonetheless, voluntariness of migration is not an all-or-none phenomenon. Since the mid-1980s, with the prospect of the resumption of Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997, large numbers of well educated and highly skilled professionals and reasonably wealthy entrepreneurs from Hong Kong have emigrated to western democratic countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States (pp. 31-33). Many of them, in the hopes of securing a politically stable environment for their children and families to live in, have had to take up much less fulfilling careers, or less interesting jobs in the new country. They may be reluctantly voluntary in their desires to migrate (K.Y. Mak and Chan, 1990; Skeldon, 1994; Tang, 1990).

Whether or not children of immigrants can be considered as "voluntary migrants" seems a very moot point. Children are often regarded as appendages of adults, and their ideas and wishes are ignored when their parents make decisions about migration (Sung, 1987; Wang, 1990). Although most immigrant children are able to adjust satisfactorily to a new environment and culture, some of them are not adequately prepared for the move and may experience great difficulties, or manifest signs of behavioral and emotional problems in the new society (Baptiste, 1990; T.K. Choi, 1991; Yip, 1991). Hence, in recent years, when more and more people are emigrating from Hong Kong, a number of psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers have pointed to the potential impact that migration can have on children's development and well-being (Beiser, 1990; T.K. Choi, 1991; Cox, 1990; K.T. Lau, 1991; Y.S. Mak, 1991a, 1991b; Yau, 1990). They also suggested that parents, as well as the home and host societies, should assist

immigrant children in their move and subsequent integration into a new culture.

Previous Exposure to Other Cultures

About 98 percent of the Hong Kong population are Chinese people. The majority of the Hong Kong Chinese are proud of their Chinese culture and identity. A recent study (The Chinese Culture Connection, 1987) conducted in 22 countries using a Chinese Values Survey revealed a strong factor previously not found in Western cultural values research. This factor, which is named by the authors as Confucian Work Dynamism, is composed of eight Chinese concepts: reciprocation of greetings, favours and gifts; ordering relationships by status and observing this order; personal steadiness and stability; thrift; persistence; having a sense of shame; protecting your "face"; and respect for tradition. The Confucian Work Dynamism factor was most emphasized in the responses of subjects in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, South Korea and Singapore.

While most Hong Kong Chinese tend to maintain their cultural identity and values, they are also exposed to Western modernizing influences in many aspects of life. Indeed, the Chinese society in Hong Kong has been subjected to Western cultural influences since the Opium War in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1841, Hong Kong became a British colony. As a colony, the legal system of Hong Kong is based on British common law. The civil service is modelled along typical colonial lines, and its educational planning mainly follows the British system. In the primary schools, learning is basically in Chinese while in the secondary schools, it is mainly in English and the textbooks are mostly written in English. Beginning in the 1960s, thousands of students

also left Hong Kong each year to pursue their studies in Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States. In the late 1970s, the numbers rose to over 10,000 each year (Skeldon, 1991). The majority of overseas students returned to Hong Kong after completion of their education. They brought back Western knowledge, experiences and lifestyles, and maintained connections with the Western society.

In a study conducted by Bond and King (1985), Hong Kong Chinese were found to have adapted to Western institutions and ways of life, and maintained their Chinese identity and cultural values such as filial piety, frugality, and respect for teachers. In other words, they tend to deal with the Chinese and Western cultural influences by adopting a bicultural orientation.

Many Hong Kong Chinese bring with them an acceptance of biculturalism when they migrate to a Western country such as New Zealand. Having this attitude, the Hong Kong Chinese are likely to choose to integrate into their new society, that is, to participate in the host society's social and cultural activities while retaining their Chinese identity, language and culture (E.S. Ho, 1991a and 1991b).

Alternatively, the assimilation option may be chosen by some Hong Kong Chinese. Historically, Chinese in New Zealand were required to relinquish their original culture and become assimilated into the dominant community (see p. 4). In the absence of a clear policy to deal with cultural diversity, some newly arrived Hong Kong Chinese immigrants may prefer to seek acceptance by the host society by putting aside their ethnic pride and adopting dominant cultural values and norms (*Contemporary*, 3 March 1990; *Ming Pao*, 3-4 August 1989).

Nonetheless, there are various barriers to the complete assimilation of Chinese into a Western society (C.Y. Choi, 1972; Kuo and Lin, 1977; Yao, 1979). The

language, values and behaviours of Chinese differ substantially from those of members of the Western societies. Their high visibility also affects their full acceptance by the dominant group. Moreover, when Chinese over-identify with the Western culture, they are commonly labelled as "bananas" (yellow outside, white inside), and may be rejected by members of their own group (Spencer and Dornbusch, 1990; Sung, 1987).

Separation is not a realistic option for Chinese. Although somewhat reluctant to move, adult Hong Kong Chinese are primarily voluntary immigrants who are unlikely to advocate separatism. However, feelings of marginality are commonly experienced during the transition process of settling in a new country, especially by children and adolescents (*Contemporary*, 3 March 1990; *Sing Tao Daily*, 4 June 1989). Marginality arises out of an inability to deal with two conflicting cultural systems. Sung (1985) points to a number of areas of bicultural conflict which commonly confront the newly arrived Chinese adolescent immigrants in the United States. These are discussed in brief.

Aggressiveness

Chinese adolescents are brought up to refrain from aggressive behaviour, whereas the ability to fight is a sign of manhood in American culture. Chinese males tend to be more troubled by this bicultural conflict than females.

Sexuality

Sexual attractiveness is expressed subtly according to Chinese custom, but it is emphasized and explicit according to American customs.

Sports

According to the Chinese way of thinking, development of the mental faculties is more important than development of the physique. Hence, sports are viewed by many Chinese as a waste of time and energy, but they are a consuming pastime for the American people.

Tattling

Chinese adolescents feel that they are duty-bound to report wrongdoing, but telling tales is a serious offence in the eyes of their American peers.

Demonstration of affection

The physical expressions of love and affection are customary among American adolescents, but many Chinese adolescents are unable to reciprocate or be demonstrative in their relations with their peers because of their detached emotional upbringing.

Education

Education and scholastic achievement are highly valued among Chinese, but the bright student who studies hard and gets good grades is often not the one who is respected and looked up to in American schools.

Thrift

Thrift is regarded by the Chinese as a worthy character trait, whereas conspicuous consumption of material possessions is favoured by the Americans.

Dependency

Chinese parents do not encourage early independence in their children. As a result, Chinese adolescents are discouraged from socializing outside the family until a much later age than their American peers.

Respect for authority

Respect for authority is a highly prized Chinese value, yet challenge against established authority is a notable feature of American youth culture. Many Chinese adolescents tend to find it hard to accept the lack of respect for authority -- especially toward teachers -- among their peers in school.

Heroes and heroines

Chinese heroes and heroines tend to be persons of high moral virtues, whereas American idols tend to be entertainment stars, sports figures, or persons who have achieved tangible success in terms of wealth or material attainment.

Individualism

The Chinese way of life encourages the individual to find a satisfactory adjustment with the external social environment, whereas the American way is based on individualism.

A survey of cultural values in 40 countries by Hofstede (1982) showed that both the United States and New Zealand values are associated with high individualism and small power distance (i.e., low concentration of authority), whereas the Hong Kong Chinese values are characterized by low individualism and large power distance. In recent years, some of the fundamental differences between the New Zealand and Chinese cultural values and behavioral norms have been discussed in the New Zealand media (Chapple, 1992; McLeod, 1993; Reid, 1990; Rivers, 1994; Yarwood, 1993). In all of these reports, the high values that the Chinese placed upon the family, education, endurance and hard work are stressed. These values would sometimes be at odds with the New Zealand values emphasizing individualism, independence, personal freedom and healthy living (Gold and Webster, 1990; Hofstede, 1982; S.H. Ng et al., 1982). However, further research will be required to determine if the types of bicultural conflict which confronted the Chinese adolescent immigrants in the United States are also experienced by the Chinese adolescents in New Zealand.

Among adolescent immigrants, failure to deal with the conflicting demands of the cultures at home and in the host society is likely to result in feelings of marginality. Sung (1985) pointed out that Chinese adolescents in the United States

perceive of their marginality as a dilemma. They are faced with a situation where courses of action are diametrically opposed or radically different. ... The choices are painful and more often than not immobilizing. Not having the maturity to evaluate or modify their courses of action or to adjust their values, they do nothing; the vacuousness of their indecision or their inability to decide is extremely uncomfortable. (p. 268)

Nonetheless, bicultural conflict in adolescent immigrants can be moderated to a large degree if majority attitudes towards the maintenance of minority cultural identity are positive. The presence of other adolescents from the same ethnic group also helps provide support and retain traditions and customs for newcomers. Finally, there are individual differences in the ability of adolescents to cope with bicultural conflict within themselves.

Individual Differences

Within the same cultural group in a particular society, not all members take the same adaptive course. Studies of a variety of cultural groups in Australia (Rosenthal, 1984, 1987; Scott and Scott, 1989), Canada (Berry et al., 1988, 1989), and the United States (Clark et al., 1976; Hurh and Kim, 1984) point to a number of within-group variables, such as age, sex, socioeconomic status, education, and length of residence, all of which may affect individual ability to adapt. In this section, variables relevant for this study are discussed.

Gender

In traditional Chinese society, males occupied a higher status than females, and sex roles between them were clearly differentiated (D.Y.F. Ho, 1986, 1989). In the family, sons were brought up to take over the family name and property, and look after parents in their old age, while daughters were brought up to be dependent on their father before their marriage, their husband after they married, and their eldest son when they were old.

In the nineteenth century, a large number of young Chinese males left their native villages to earn their living overseas, but this did not change the traditional pattern of sex role differentiation in the family. In accordance with Chinese traditions, the main duty of the young men who went abroad, including those who came to New Zealand, was to work hard and support their families back home with remittances, while that of their wives was to remain at home and care for their elders and children (Ip, 1990b; J. Ng, 1972). Hence, although many of the early Chinese emigrants could only afford a short time at home to see their parents, wives and children once every 5 to 10 years (Fong, 1959), their sense of obligation and responsibility to the family remained strong.

In China and overseas, the status of Chinese women in the family and in society has risen considerably in recent decades (Baker, 1979; Chinese Canadian National Council, 1993; Ip, 1993; Wolf and Witke, 1975; Yang, 1959). Education, economic independence, industrialization, mobility and contact with Western culture have all helped bring about the change. In the case of Chinese women in Hong Kong, there has been a general trend towards greater participation in education. Between 1961 and 1990, the percentage of women in secondary education increased from 40.1 percent to 50

percent, and that in university education increased from 26.5 percent to 42.3 percent (P.K. Choi, 1993). Women's labour force participation rates have also increased steadily. The overall rate rose from 36.8 percent in 1961, to 49.5 percent in 1991 (Census and Statistics Department, 1991).

Despite important changes that have taken place over time, certain features of the traditional pattern are still apparent. Recent studies showed that Chinese working women in Hong Kong continue to shoulder major responsibilities in child care and household chores (Lai, 1989; S.K. Lau and Wan, 1989). Moreover, traditional values of filial piety still play an important role in Chinese patterns of child training (D.Y.F. Ho and Kang, 1984).

The above literature review is relevant when considering whether or not Hong Kong Chinese males and females differ in their ability to adapt to a Western culture. In many contemporary Western societies, there has been a breakdown of the traditional division of labour between the sexes, resulting in greater freedom to choose among behavioral options for both males and females (Archer, 1984; Hargreaves and Colley, 1986; Kaplan and Sedney, 1980). As a result, when women from societies where female roles are restricted move to live in a liberal Western society, the sudden increase of options is potentially confusing and conflicting. In Australia, Rosenthal (1987) found that immigrant adolescent girls who came from cultures where sex roles are sharply differentiated and where the male role is accorded high prestige, were likely to experience greater difficulties in adjustment than those who came from cultures where there is less sex role differentiation.

As discussed earlier, although traditional Chinese culture valued boys over girls and imposed different roles upon members of both sexes, socioeconomic changes and

westernization in the last few decades have resulted in a more equalitarian gender relationship, and less sex role differentiation in the contemporary Chinese society in Hong Kong. Consequently, Hong Kong Chinese adolescent boys and girls may not differ in their ability to adapt to a Western culture.

Family separation

As pointed out in chapter 2, a number of Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand are separated from one or both of their parents who have returned to Hong Kong to continue their professions or carry on business activities (p. 37). In Canada and the United States where a similar situation occurs, adolescents who are separated from their parents in the course of migration are considered to have greater stress in adapting to their new society than those who are living with their parents (Cox, 1990; Lam, 1994; Tang, 1990). Often, Chinese adolescents who do not live with their parents are required to assume greater responsibilities in the family, such as looking after younger siblings, handling money and dealing with people outside the family. In New Zealand, the effect of family separation on Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants' ability to adapt has yet to be assessed.

The wish to stay in the new country

In Australia, the immigrant's wish to stay permanently in Australia has been used as an index of identification with the host country (Johnston, 1972; Taft, 1965). Having a positive identification with the host society may be a factor influencing the Hong Kong

Chinese adolescent immigrants' ability to adapt.

The uncertain political future in Hong Kong after 1997 is the main reason for most people emigrating from Hong Kong since the mid-1980s. Although some of them may not like the idea of emigration, they have chosen to leave in order to obtain foreign passports, while intending to return to Hong Kong. According to Hong Kong government estimates, 43,000 former Hong Kong emigrants have returned from overseas between 1982 and 1991 (Kwong, 1993). During this period, an estimated 343,600 persons have emigrated from Hong Kong (see Table 2.4, p. 32). Hence, the number of return migrants forms a small proportion of the total number of emigrants, but those who have returned are likely to have achieved the assurance of securing foreign passports.

A survey conducted in 1990 in Hong Kong showed that the opportunity to earn more money, the wish to have happier and more fulfilling lives, and the need for emotional support from family and friends in Hong Kong, are the three main "pull" factors for former emigrants returning to Hong Kong. Difficulties in adapting to a foreign culture and racial discrimination are the main "push" factors (*Ming Pao*, 12 July 1990). Another survey in 1992 in Toronto found that many new Hong Kong immigrants who were unhappy in Canada had no jobs or at best an unsatisfactory one, and longed to return to Hong Kong (Kwong, 1993).

In the studies reviewed above, only the views of adult immigrants were investigated. Those of young children and adolescents were neglected because they were seen as having little control over family movement. Nonetheless, their desire to stay in the new country should be investigated as it may affect their ability to adapt. In New Zealand, individuals who have permanent residence status and have lived in the country for three years are eligible for citizenship. Given that some Hong Kong Chinese emigrate

for the main purpose of obtaining foreign passports, immigrants who wish to continue to stay in New Zealand after three years may be more likely to assimilate or integrate than those who are prepared to stay for no more than three years.

Causal attributions for cultural learning performance

Learning the appropriate interactional habits and cultural skills in the new environment is a crucial aspect of the immigrant's adaptive process (Argyle, 1982; Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie, and Yong, 1986). Immigrants differ in the levels of their cultural performance in the host society (pp. 64-65). The reasons they provide for their learning success or failure in the host society may be a factor explaining the differences in their cultural learning performance.

In the early 1970s, Weiner and his associates (Weiner et al., 1971) formulated an attribution theory which proposed that people generate explanations for their learning success and failure. The theory was originally developed to explain performance differences in adults. It has later been successfully applied to account for learning performance differences of children and adolescents in school and in other real-world settings (Frieze, 1980; Frieze and Snyder, 1980; Little, 1985). In this section, studies relating to the school performance of adolescents are discussed.

The original theory by Weiner et al. (1971) also proposed four basic causes commonly used by people to explain success and failure. They are: ability, effort, luck and task difficulty. Later studies have identified other causal factors. Frieze (1976), for example, found that other causes used by American students to explain for academic success and failure include the teacher, being in a good or bad mood, feeling sick, and

help or hinderance provided by other people. Little (1985) examined the free response attributions provided by British students to explain for academic success and failure, and established 18 categories for causal attributions. The 18 categories and an example of each are listed below.

1. Performance ability (e.g., he does nice writing).
2. Specific competence (e.g., she can write quickly).
3. General competence (e.g., he is intelligent).
4. Previous achievement (e.g., he did good work in the primary school).
5. Effort and interest (e.g., she is interested in what she is doing).
6. Motivation (e.g., he wants to get a star).
7. Time spent (e.g., he started school before the other one).
8. Other persons (e.g., his parents help him).
9. Task difficulty (e.g., the work is too easy for students in primary five).
10. Behaviour (e.g., he talks during lessons).
11. Age (e.g., she is older than the other one).
12. Facilities (e.g., he had a nice paint brush).
13. Mood and physical state (e.g., she was in a temper).
14. Domestic situation (e.g., she has got problems at home).
15. Speed (e.g., she works faster than he does).
16. Sex stereotype (e.g., girls think that boys are supposed to be good at maths).
17. Personality (e.g., she is a nice girl).
18. Chance (e.g., there is a low chance of being moved up from a low group and a high chance of being moved down from a high group).

Since there are so many possible causes for success and failure, Weiner (1979) has classified them into three logical dimensions (Figure 4.2). The first dimension, locus of causality, concerns whether the cause of an event is associated with the primary actor in the situation and is thus internal, or whether it relates to something in the environment or to some other person and is thus external. Hence, a student may succeed on an examination because of an internal cause of ability or effort, or an external cause such as luck, or someone else's help. The second dimension, stability, concerns whether the cause is perceived to change relatively little over time, or as changing from moment to

moment or from situation to situation. Thus, factors such as ability and task difficulty are considered as stable while mood and luck are classified as unstable. The third dimension, controllability, concerns whether the cause relates to something considered within the person's control or outside of the person's control. Thus, effort is categorized as controllable, whereas abilities and moods are viewed as uncontrollable.

	INTERNAL		EXTERNAL	
	STABLE	UNSTABLE	STABLE	UNSTABLE
CONTROLLABLE	Typical effort	Immediate effort	Teacher's bias	Unusual help from others
UNCONTROLLABLE	Ability	Mood	Task difficulty	Luck

Figure 4.2
Dimensions of Causality Identified by Weiner (1979)

Source: Weiner, 1979, p. 7.

As pointed out by Russell (1982), the researcher and the attributor may differ in their placement of causal attributions in terms of the three dimensions of locus, stability and controllability. For example, the researcher may consider ability to be a stable factor, while the attributor may perceive it as modifiable through extra studying and therefore as unstable. Hence, in some studies, subjects were asked to categorize their attributions on the three causal dimensions themselves. This avoids the problem of the researcher making inaccurate interpretations of the meaning of the subjects' attributions (Lillas, 1986; Mutiga, 1991).

Causal attributions for success and failure influence expectancies for future success or failure, emotional reactions and subsequent performance (Harvey and Weary,

1984; Kelley and Michela, 1980). The model predicts, for example, that success attributed to internal, stable and uncontrollable factors such as one's ability produces a strong sense of pride, expectancies for continued success, and a tendency to persist at subsequent learning tasks, whereas failure attributed to low ability results in feelings of shame, inadequacy and helplessness, expectation of future failures, and a tendency to avoid subsequent learning tasks (Valle and Frieze, 1976; Weiner, 1979, 1986; Weiner, Nierenberg, and Goldstein, 1976). In addition, some studies have suggested that failure attributed to external, stable and uncontrollable factors such as task difficulty result in expectancies for continued failure, whereas failure attributed to internal, unstable and controllable factors such as insufficient effort may help the attributor maintain high expectations for future success by increased effort (Abramson, Seligman, and Teasdale, 1978; Lillas, 1986; Nicholls, 1975).

To date, a large number of studies have been carried out utilizing Weiner's attribution theory to account for performance differences between males and females (Nicholls, 1975, 1978; Parsons, Adler, and Kaczala, 1982), high and low achievers (Hau and Salili, 1991; Salili and Mak, 1988; Weiner, 1980) and members of different national or cultural groups (Chandler, Shama, Wolf, and Planchard, 1981a, 1981b; Lillas, 1986; Schuster, Forsterlung, and Weiner, 1989). However, there have been no studies on the relationship between causal attribution patterns and cultural learning performances in immigrants. As pointed out in chapter 3, immigrants who have an assimilation or integration orientation tend to show a higher level of cultural learning performance in the host society than those who have a separation or marginalization orientation (pp. 64-65). Hence, causal attribution in terms of the three dimensions of locus, stability and controllability provided by immigrants who have an assimilation or integration orientation

may differ from those who have a separation or marginalization orientation.

Social support

Dealing with situations of ambiguity, uncertainty and change in a new culture is a potentially stressful experience for newcomers (Furnham and Bochner, 1982; Taft, 1977). In the 1970s and the 1980s, the stress buffering role of social support has been widely investigated (Andrews, Tennant, Hewson, and Valliant, 1978; Cobb, 1976; Lin, Simeone, Ensel, and Keo, 1979; Wilcox, 1981). The presence of social support may facilitate coping with stress and adaptation to change, while its absence or withdrawal may have a negative effect on coping behaviour.

More recently, the burgeoning literature on social support has distinguished among types, sources, amount and quality of social support (Cohen and McKay, 1984; Dunkel-Schetter and Bennett, 1990; Heller and Swindle, 1983; Procidano and Heller, 1983; Sarason and Sarason, 1984; Schaefer, Coyne and Lazarus, 1981). Schaefer et al. (1981) differentiated among three types of social support: (1) tangible support, involving the provision of material aid (e.g., money) and services (e.g., offer to do a chore) which can help a person cope with stress; (2) informational support, such as giving information and advice which can help a person solve a problem, and providing feedback about how one is doing, and (3) emotional support in the form of acceptance and assurance, contributing to the feeling that one is loved, valued or cared about. In a theoretical discussion on social support in cross-cultural adaptation, Adelman (1988) pointed out that all three types of support can function to enhance the newcomers' capacity to cope with culture change.

The mechanisms hypothesized as responsible for moderating stress effects in each type of support are different. Emotional support may buffer people against stress by helping them restore self esteem and increase sense of belonging (Cohen and McKay, 1984), or by encouraging them to sustain or renew coping efforts which increase the likelihood of stress management or mastery (Gore, 1978). Informational support may help to moderate stress effects by helping people reappraise a situation in the direction of stress reduction (LaRocco, House, and French, 1980; Pearlin and Schooler, 1978). Few studies have examined the effectiveness of tangible support as a buffer of stress (Adelman, 1988). However, tangible and informational support both may also serve an emotional support function, when they signal caring and are not viewed as resulting from obligation (Schaefer et al., 1981). To sum up, emotional, informational and tangible support serve a variety of stress-buffering functions. For this reason, it is useful to assess each type of support separately.

Sarason and Sarason (1984) clarified the distinction between the amount and quality of social support. They argued that studying only the amount of contact with others oversimplifies the nature of social support, as social contacts are not always supportive. Therefore, Sarason, Levine, Basham, and Sarason (1983) developed a Social Support Questionnaire (SSQ) directed towards assessing: (1) the perception that there is a sufficient number of available others to whom one can turn in times of need; and (2) the degree of satisfaction with the available support. Their Social Support Questionnaire consists of 27 items designed to sample a variety of situations in which social support might be important to people. Some sample items of the Social Support Questionnaire are listed below.

Who can you really count on to listen to you when you need to talk?

Who can you count on to console you when you are very upset?

Who can you really count on to give you useful suggestions that help you avoid making mistakes?

For each item in the questionnaire, the subject is asked to: (1) list the people to whom he or she can turn for support; and (2) indicate how personally satisfying this social support is.

The Social Support Questionnaire yields two scores: perceived number of persons who give social support (SSQN), and satisfaction with the social support that is available (SSQS). Research with the SSQ has indicated the importance of making the distinction (Sarason et al., 1983). One large sample of college students in the United States was administered both the Social Support Questionnaire and a special version of the Life Experiences Survey (Sarason, Johnson, and Siegel, 1978), which was designed to ask subjects to rate how much each life event had affected their lives, how much they had expected the events to occur, and how much they perceived themselves in control.

People high in SSQN were found to report more positive life events, greater effects of positive events, stronger expectations that positive life events would occur, and more control over positive events than low SSQN scorers did. The SSQS only yielded significant differences on the rated effects of positive events, and these differences were similar to, but weaker than, the SSQN comparisons. Significant in the SSQS, but not the SSQN comparisons, were differences in the degree to which reported negative events had been expected. Subjects low in SSQS were more likely than high SSQS subjects to have expected negative events. Overall, the modest correlation of .34 between SSQN and SSQS provides a strong basis for analyzing perceived number of persons who give social

support and satisfaction with support separately in future research (Sarason et al., 1983).

Making a distinction between the amount and quality of social support in cross-cultural adaptation research is important. Moving to a new country entails the disruption of former support systems and the initiation of new relationships. During the initial phase of cultural entry, most newcomers are inclined to seek help from persons undergoing a similar experience (Adelman, 1988; Bokestijn, 1988). Similar others can act as helpers, mirrors and models by offering emotional support, positive feedback and reassurance (Gruder, 1977; Wills, 1983). However, support provided by people undergoing similar cross-cultural stress may not always be helpful (Albrecht and Adelman, 1987; Fontaine, 1986; Y.Y. Kim, 1987). For example, feelings of homesickness can be easily stirred among newcomers as they share their problems and unpleasant experiences in the new country. Therefore, the amount of social support may not be related to the satisfaction with the support provided.

Finally, Procidano and Heller (1983) contrasted social support from friends with support from family members. They found that individuals who reported high levels of support from their friends tended to have greater initiation and higher skills in linking to others than individuals with low friend support. The correlations between family support and measures of social skills were considerably smaller. On the other hand, individuals with low family support tended to be more detached from their parents and had more conflicts in the home than individuals with high family support. Overall, the correlations indicated that while friend support is related to social skills, family support is related more to measures of the family environment (Procidano and Heller, 1983).

The distinction between family and friend support parallels the distinction in role theory between "ascribed" and "achieved" networks. Whereas an achieved network of

friends and intimates requires greater interpersonal skills for network entry and maintenance (Heller, 1979), there is little one needs to do to join an ascribed network such as a family, as membership is ours by birth.

Most newcomers derive support from diverse sources in the process of cross-cultural adaptation. Other than family and friends, people such as neighbours, school teachers, shopkeepers, bus drivers and landlords may serve a variety of support functions (Adelman, 1988). For this reason, it may be more appropriate for studies on immigrant adaptation to make a distinction between family and non-family support, than the traditional distinction between family and friend support as proposed by Procidano and Heller (1983). Nevertheless, research on the relationship between differential sources of social support and migration success remains limited (Adelman, 1988).

To summarize this section, emotional, informational and tangible support can help increase new immigrants' capacity to cope with culture change. Immigrants taking different courses of adaptation may differ in the source, amount and quality of social support that is available.

Some Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, different methods of adaptation used by Chinese immigrants in New Zealand have been examined. A greater tolerance for cultural diversity in the New Zealand society in recent years has allowed many Chinese immigrants to choose to retain their cultural distinctiveness and integrate into the host society. Integration is likely to be the most preferred option for the Hong Kong Chinese, who have previous experiences

of dealing with both Chinese and Western cultural influences in many aspects of life before they emigrate. Alternatively, assimilation may be preferred by some Hong Kong Chinese, because this method had been commonly used in the past by many overseas Chinese seeking acceptance by the host society. Separation is not a realistic option, as the majority of Hong Kong Chinese are voluntary immigrants to New Zealand. Because of fundamental differences between Chinese and New Zealand cultural values and behavioral norms, feelings of marginality may be experienced by many new Chinese immigrants during the transition process of settling in New Zealand, but such feelings are expected to decrease over time.

In addition, gender, family separation, the wish to stay in the new country, causal attributions for cultural learning performance and social support are some of the factors influencing individual immigrants' ability to adapt. A number of hypotheses specifying how each factor may influence the course of adaptation are generated from this literature review and analysis, and are summarized in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK, METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES, AIMS AND HYPOTHESES

Relevant literature on the cross-cultural adaptation of adolescent immigrants were reviewed and analyzed in the last two chapters. On the basis of this review and analysis, a general framework incorporating the study of cultural and psychological changes in different phases, domains and modes of immigrant adaptation, has been developed for this study. The research framework is presented in this chapter. In addition, a number of methodological issues, and the aims and hypotheses of the study, are discussed.

Research Framework

In this thesis, the term cross-cultural adaptation is defined as the cultural and psychological changes over time which take place within individuals as a result of their participation in the dominant society as well as their own ethnic culture. The literature on cross-cultural adaptation has made a distinction between the process and state of adaptation (p. 56): process refers to changes in a system, while state refers to an outcome of the process.

As a process which takes place over time, the cross-cultural adaptation of immigrants may be considered as a series of phases: pre-migration phase, initial entry

phase, and adaptation phase. In the pre-migration phase, prospective immigrants may start to make preparations for the move, such as by obtaining information about the new culture, and learning the new language. During this phase, the amount of cultural and psychological change experienced is low. In the initial phase of cultural entry, most immigrants experience crucial changes in identity, friendship pattern, behaviour and lifestyles as they adapt to a new environment and culture. After three to six years of residence in the new society, an adaptation phase may occur, in which the amount of cultural and psychological change experienced by the immigrants becomes moderated as they settle themselves into a preferred way of living.

Various outcomes of adaptation may be investigated across phases of migration. One of them is indicated by assessing the immigrants' identifications with the host culture and their own ethnic culture in terms of four cultural identity states: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization (see p. 59). The frequency distribution of the four cultural identity states across migration phases is expected to vary. In the pre-migration phase, a majority of the prospective immigrants are in the separation state. The proportion of immigrants in the separation state will decrease, while those in the integration and assimilation states will increase after migration. The proportion of immigrants in the marginalization state will increase between the pre-migration phase and the initial entry phase, but it will decrease between the initial entry phase and the adaptation phase. Table 5.1 summarizes the relationships among migration phases, frequency distribution of cultural identity states and the relative degree of cultural and psychological changes experienced by immigrants.

Table 5.1
Relationships among Migration Phases, Distribution of Cultural Identity States
and the Relative Degree of Cultural and Psychological Changes Experienced by Immigrants

Migration Phase	Relative Degree of Change	Frequency Distribution of Cultural Identity States
Pre-migration	Low	A large proportion comprise individuals in the separation state; a small proportion in the assimilation, integration and marginalization states.
Initial entry	High	Between Pre-migration and Initial Entry, the proportion of individuals in the separation state will decrease, while those in the assimilation, integration and marginalization states will increase.
Adaptation	Moderate	Between Initial Entry and Adaptation, the proportions of individuals in the assimilation and integration states will increase, while those in the marginalization and separation states will decrease.

Other outcomes of adaptation may be indicated in a variety of daily and cultural activities and modes of social-psychological functioning. Immigrants' lifestyles, languages, friendships and organization participation are expected to vary across migration phases and cultural identity states. Their behavioral, affective and attitudinal modes of functioning tend to change towards achieving greater congruence over time.

The nature of the dominant society, the type of cultural group being examined, and the group's previous exposure to other cultures may influence the method of adaptation used by the immigrants. Adult Hong Kong Chinese in New Zealand tend to prefer the integration and assimilation options (p. 74). In addition, social experiences such as family separation, the wish to stay in the new country, causal attributions for cultural performance, and social support may influence whether the immigrant will become assimilated, integrated, separated or marginalized.

Some Methodological Issues

Having outlined a general framework for studying cross-cultural adaptation, two methodological limitations associated with previous research should be highlighted. The first one is related to the choice of research design. Previous studies on immigrant adaptation have commonly used a cross-sectional design, in which information is collected from at least two samples of respondents at one time only (see p. 56). This design does not have a time dimension and, therefore, gives a limited understanding of the adaptation process that takes place over time.

Relatively few studies that investigated the change of adolescent immigrants' behaviours and attitudes over time were found (Arredondo, 1984; Pacheco et al., 1985; Taft, 1979). These studies used a longitudinal design, involving collecting information from the same sample of respondents at more than one point in time. However, two of the studies were disadvantaged because of the shortness of their longitudinal investigation. In the study by Taft (1979), immigrant schoolchildren were interviewed at three points of time within the first two years of their arrival to Australia. In the one by Pacheco et al. (1985), information was collected from Puerto Rican adolescent immigrants at two points of time during the first year of their arrival in the United States. The study by Arredondo (1984) was disadvantaged by the high drop out rate. Thirty respondents participated at the onset of the study, but only 17 (57%) of the original sample could be contacted for interview four years later.

As cultural adaptation is a long and slow process, a longitudinal study which aims to measure changes over time should ideally be a long-term study of at least 10 years, which collects information from respondents at regular intervals. However, the main

drawbacks of a long-term study are those of having to wait for a long time before results can be collected, and of maintaining contact with the same respondents over time. Maintaining contact with immigrants over time in a survey research is particularly difficult, as immigrants tend to show a considerable amount of movement within a new country after they arrive (R.C. Nann, 1982). Besides, a substantial number may move on to other countries, or return home. For these reasons, many researchers are constrained by both time and money from using the longitudinal design.

A feasible alternative is to use a quasi-longitudinal design, which involves obtaining information from different samples of respondents at two or more stages of the migration process. The change over time is measured by comparing the results across time points. However, the main problem of the quasi-longitudinal design is that of being unable to fully match the samples at different time points (deVaus, 1990).

Another alternative which can also provide a time dimension to the study is to use a retrospective design, which involves obtaining information from respondents at one time only but asking them to recall their attitudes or values (or whatever variables under study) at two or more time points. This design has the difficulty of selective memory and is open to the possibility that people will reinterpret the past in the light of the present (devaus, 1990).

The second methodological issue is related to the choice of data collection techniques. Questionnaires and interviews have been the main methods of collecting data in previous studies on adolescent immigrants (see, for example, Rosenthal et al., 1983; Taft and Cahill, 1978). Each method has its own advantages and disadvantages. If the sample is large and the respondents can read, understand and answer questions, questionnaires may be a good method of collecting data (Pareek and Rao, 1980). This

method is usually less expensive than interviews in terms of both time and money. However, interviews provide a means of checking and assuring the effectiveness of communication between the respondent and the interviewer (Bouchard, 1983). Hence, information which is more complete and of greater depth may be obtained by using interviews than questionnaires.

The present study used a quasi-longitudinal design, in which information was collected from one sample of respondents before migration and several samples of respondents each at a different stage after migration. The retrospective method was also used in the post-migration groups to provide supplementary information. To collect data, both interviews and questionnaires were used to supplement one another. Interviews were used in a pilot survey for collecting preliminary information. Following this, questionnaires were developed for the main study. The methodology of the study will be discussed in full in chapters 6 and 7.

Aims and Hypotheses

The overall aim of the study was to investigate the changes in adaptive outcomes within Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants from pre-migration to four years after arrival in New Zealand. The specific aims and working hypotheses were as follows.

AIM 1. To identify areas of change in a variety of daily activities.

AIM 2. To compare the frequency distribution of cultural identity states across migration phases.

Hypothesis 1a. Compared with pre-migration, the proportion of immigrants in the assimilation state will increase after migration. It will continue to increase between the initial entry phase and the adaptation phase.

Hypothesis 1b. Compared with pre-migration, the proportion of immigrants in the integration state will increase after migration. It will continue to increase between the initial entry phase and the adaptation phase.

Hypothesis 1c. Compared with pre-migration, the proportion of immigrants in the separation state will decrease after migration. It will continue to decrease between the initial entry phase and the adaptation phase.

Hypothesis 1d. The proportion of immigrants in the marginalization state will increase between the pre-migration phase and the initial entry phase. It will decrease between the initial entry phase and the adaptation phase.

AIM 3. To study the relationships, across migration phases, between the immigrants' cultural identity states and their behaviours, preferences and attitudes in a variety of daily activities.

Hypothesis 2a. In each migration phase, the assimilation state will be characterized by behaviours, preferences and attitudes indicating non-maintenance of ethnic culture.

Hypothesis 2b. In each migration phase, the integration state will be characterized by behaviours, preferences and attitudes indicating both maintenance of ethnic culture and penetration into the host society.

Hypothesis 2c. In each migration phase, the separation state will be characterized by behaviours, preferences and attitudes indicating both maintenance of ethnic culture and a lack of penetration into the host society.

Hypothesis 2d. In each migration phase, the marginalization state will be characterized by a rejection of ethnic culture, and a desire to penetrate into the host society but an inability to do so.

AIM 4. To determine social experiences influencing whether immigrants will become assimilated, integrated, separated or marginalized.

Hypothesis 3. The distribution of males and females who are in the assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization states will not differ.

Hypothesis 4. Compared with immigrants who are living with both parents, a greater proportion of those immigrants who are separated from one or both of their parents in the course of migration will be in the separation and marginalization states.

Hypothesis 5. Compared with separated and marginalized immigrants, a greater proportion of assimilated and integrated immigrants will have the intention to stay in New Zealand for over five years.

Hypothesis 6a. Assimilated and integrated immigrants will differ from separated and marginalized immigrants in the proportion of internal or external attributions used to account for successes and failures in cultural learning.

Hypothesis 6b. Assimilated and integrated immigrants will differ from separated and marginalized immigrants in the proportion of stable or unstable attributions used to account for successes and failures in cultural learning.

Hypothesis 6c. Assimilated and integrated immigrants will differ from separated and marginalized immigrants in the proportion of controllable or uncontrollable attributions used to account for successes and failures in cultural learning.

Hypothesis 7a. Assimilated, integrated, separated and marginalized immigrants will differ in the number of family members who are perceived as supportive in times of need.

Hypothesis 7b. Assimilated, integrated, separated, and marginalized immigrants will differ in the number of non-family members who are perceived as supportive in times of need.

Hypothesis 7c. Assimilated, integrated, separated, and marginalized immigrants will differ in the perceived level of satisfaction with family support.

Hypothesis 7d. Assimilated, integrated, separated, and marginalized immigrants will differ in the perceived level of satisfaction with non-family support.

AIM 5. To describe differential paths of adaptation chosen by the immigrants at different stages of their migration process.

Chapter 6

THE PILOT SURVEY

As described in the previous chapter, the first aim of this study was to identify areas of change experienced by Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants as they adapt to the life in New Zealand. When this study was conceived in 1990, no previous studies on the newly arrived Chinese immigrants in New Zealand could be found. Only a few media reports gave a biased portrayal of the newcomers (see pp. 28-30). Although there were a number of studies on New Zealand Chinese in the 1950s to the 1980s (see, for example, Chung, 1988; Fong, 1959; Kong, 1975; Lian, 1988; M.L. Young, 1973), the Hong Kong Chinese who come to Auckland in the 1990s differ from their predecessors in terms of family background, socio-economic status and reasons for immigration (pp. 31-33). The kinds of change experienced by them are, therefore, also likely to be different from those of their predecessors.

In order to provide preliminary information for the main study, a pilot survey was conducted in November 1990. Specifically, the pilot survey aimed to: (1) identify areas of change commonly experienced by Hong Kong Chinese adolescents in adapting to life in New Zealand, and (2) test the appropriateness of using a cultural identity scale with Hong Kong Chinese adolescents. The method and results of the pilot survey are described below.

Method of Data Collection

Participants

Twenty-three Hong Kong Chinese students (11 males and 12 females) participated in the pilot survey. Their ages ranged from 14 to 18, and their length of residence in New Zealand varied from one to eighteen months.

All of the participants were recruited from a high school located in an eastern suburb of Auckland. This school was chosen because it has a high enrolment of Chinese students.

Materials

Data were collected through three group interviews. A discussion outline (Appendix A) was prepared. It served to gather demographic information, as well as engage the participants in a discussion about their past and present experiences as they were affected by immigration.

Procedure

An ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) teacher helped recruit students who would participate in the pilot survey. During her ESOL lessons, the teacher asked the Chinese students who were immigrants from Hong Kong to identify themselves. She then asked these students if they would be willing to participate in a group discussion

conducted by a Chinese researcher from the University of Waikato. The purpose of the group discussion was briefly explained. If the students agreed to participate, they were withdrawn from their ESOL class to meet with the researcher in another classroom.

The participants came in three groups of six to nine. All group interviews were held in a classroom next to the ESOL classroom. Prior to each interview, the chairs in the classroom were arranged to form a circle.

Each group interview lasted for about an hour. Cantonese was used in all group interviews. At the beginning of each group session, the purpose of the meeting was explained. The respondents were told that a study was being undertaken to find out how new immigrants of their age adapt to life in New Zealand. The meeting was to learn about their past and present experiences as they were affected by immigration to New Zealand. The respondents were assured that the researcher was acting independently of their school teachers, and that all information obtained through the interview was to be used for the research only.

At the start of the interview, the respondents were asked to introduce themselves by telling the group what their names were, how old they were, how long they had been in New Zealand and with whom they were living. They were also asked to talk about the things which they found most difficult to cope with in New Zealand. Each respondent was then guided to answer the questions in turn.

After all the respondents had spoken, their answers were summarized into a number of areas in which coping was necessary, such as language, social life, family life and school learning. The discussion which followed was focused on each of these specific areas of adaptation. In the course of discussion, the respondents were asked to share their personal experiences, recall their usual ways of living in Hong Kong, and explore how

their behaviours, attitudes and preferences had changed since coming to New Zealand. All respondents were encouraged to contribute to the discussion. This was done by encouraging further comments from those respondents who seemed hesitant to talk, and, when the issue was especially important, by talking to each respondent in turn and progressing systematically around the circle.

About fifteen minutes before the end of the group session, information was obtained on the respondents' current cultural identities. They were asked to rate, on a 10-point scale, (1) how much they felt like a New Zealander, and (2) how much they felt like Chinese. They were told that a rating of 1 would indicate "not at all like a New Zealander" (or Chinese), while a rating of 10 would indicate "very much like a New Zealander" (or Chinese). Each respondent was given a piece of paper to write their answers. When they had finished, their answer sheets were collected. If there was still time left, a short discussion on cultural identity would be held. Finally, the respondents were thanked for participating in the group session.

Respondent participation in all group sessions was high. The tactic of starting the interview by proceeding around the circle was useful. It served to acquaint the respondents with one another quickly. It also allowed the researcher to show that she was interested in what each one of them said. Conducting the group discussions in Cantonese was also useful. Most respondents were able to use the group to reflect on past events, and to explore how they had changed in various day-to-day aspects of living since coming to New Zealand.

Adaptation to Day-to-day Aspects of Living in New Zealand

At the request of the school principal, no tape recording was used in the group interviews. The following section, based on detailed notes made by the researcher at the completion of each group session, covers major areas of change experienced by the respondents upon immigration to New Zealand.

Language

"Coping with language problems is most difficult." This was the most frequently mentioned answer from the respondents when they were asked what were the things they found most difficult in coping with in New Zealand. English is required in daily living and in mixing with New Zealand people, and it is a must in the school.

Although all respondents had learned English for a number of years before coming to New Zealand, many of them found that they were unable to use English effectively in a variety of social situations, such as when they made enquiries about how to open an account in the bank, described the nature of their illness in a visit to the doctor, or talked with the shopkeeper when they went shopping. Problems with English also arose when they mixed with New Zealand friends and neighbours. In all of these situations which required them to speak in English, many respondents found that they had a very limited vocabulary, and that they could not clearly express what they wanted to say. In comparison, using English in school learning situations was considered less difficult to cope with. Most respondents came from Hong Kong schools which used English as the medium of instruction. They said they were able to understand what their

teachers said in class.

At home, Chinese was used most of the time. A number of respondents spoke with their brothers and sisters in English occasionally. All of them rarely spoke English with their parents as many parents knew little English. Besides, some parents wanted them to retain the ability to use Chinese, and encouraged them to read Chinese books and speak in Cantonese at home.

Social life

Over half of the respondents described their social life in New Zealand as boring. In Hong Kong, they used to take part in a great variety of activities after school and on weekends. These included: participating in extra-curricular activities organized by the school, playing sports, going to the movies and shopping. Most of them enjoyed spending their leisure time with peers.

Upon immigration to New Zealand, their social life changed drastically. Many respondents expressed great frustration because making friends in New Zealand was not as easy as they had expected. Their limited language ability, and their lack of understanding of New Zealand culture were the main barriers to making New Zealand friends. Many had also found that they had to take the initiative. If they did not reach out to others, they would never make a friend.

Apparently, making friends with Chinese was easier because they shared similar backgrounds and interests. A few respondents commented that New Zealand teenagers were not keen on playing certain kinds of sports such as table tennis and badminton. Therefore, they could play these sports mainly with Chinese friends.

According to the respondents, their social life was much more restricted in New Zealand than in Hong Kong because in New Zealand, (1) extra-curricular activities organized by the school were limited, (2) most shops were closed at nights and on Saturdays and Sundays, and (3) public transportation was inconvenient. Only one bus went between the eastern suburb and central city, and it ran quite infrequently on weekends.

Most respondents stayed at home after school. On weekends, they enjoyed going to the Chinese restaurants with their families. Other favourite pastimes included reading books, listening to records, watching television and Chinese video programmes at home.

Family life

All respondents agreed that they spent more time with their families after immigration to New Zealand. Most of them also did more domestic chores, such as mowing lawns, shopping at the supermarket, and washing dishes. In Hong Kong, few of them were required to do household chores because their families had domestic helpers.

Over half of the respondents interviewed had one parent (usually the father) still working in Hong Kong while they lived with the rest of the family in New Zealand. In these families, most respondents, particularly if they were the eldest, reported that their parents required them to take up a lot of responsibilities in the family, such as looking after younger siblings, managing family finance, communicating with English-speaking people, and contributing to family decision making. Many of them expressed feelings of stress in coping with the role change. One 17-year-old male respondent said,

My worst fear is that my mother is sick. Last time when she was not well, I had to do everything. I took my younger brother to school before I went to mine. I even had to represent my mother to see my brother's teacher. After school, I bought food from the supermarket, cooked the meal, and washed the dishes before I did my homework. I prayed everyday for my mother to get well soon. I wished that I was sick myself, not she.

School learning

Diverse opinions were expressed on the topic of school learning. A number of respondents said they enjoyed going to New Zealand schools. However, three respondents regarded school learning as one of the things which they had difficulty in coping with in New Zealand.

The respondents who enjoyed schooling in New Zealand explained that they liked the education system in New Zealand because it was less competitive than that in Hong Kong. They did not have to spend a lot of time doing homework and revising their lessons after school. Although other respondents also agreed that after coming to New Zealand, they could spend less time in studying after school, some said they would have preferred to have more homework.

The respondents who found school learning difficult to cope with were not satisfied with their performance in a number of subjects such as English, Economics, Science and Social Studies. They attributed their difficulties to poor English, a lack of understanding of New Zealand society, and a different curriculum. On the other hand, most respondents pointed out that Mathematics is an easy subject because the standard is lower than that taught in Hong Kong schools.

Differences in teaching and learning methods between New Zealand and Hong

Kong schools were explored. In Hong Kong, students mainly used textbooks and teachers' handouts to learn. They were also accustomed to rote memorization. In New Zealand, students were encouraged to learn by exploration. They were frequently given assignments which required them to use a variety of sources and not just one text book. They were also required to discuss their work with other classmates.

There was no consensus among respondents as to which method was better. Some respondents liked the New Zealand teaching method and found learning more interesting and challenging here. However, others disliked it and thought that their teachers should have given them more guidance in class. One female respondent who arrived two months ago and was studying in F.6 said,

When I was given the [Economics] assignment, I was at a loss. I didn't know where to start and how to get the materials I wanted. The teacher gave us no clear guidelines. Other students also seemed to have no idea how much work should be involved. One wrote a report of a few pages only, another one produced a report of half an inch thick! ... I think education is too free here. Even if you do not hand in your assignment, you are free to do so. In Hong Kong, if you did not do your homework, you would be chased after by your teacher everyday.

Other areas of change

All respondents agreed that their present living condition was very much improved. Spacious houses, fresh air, clean and green environment -- these were the things all respondents said they could never have in Hong Kong.

One respondent mentioned food as an area which he found difficulty in coping with in New Zealand. Other respondents in the discussion group showed that this was

not a problem for them. In general, most respondents retained their Chinese eating habits at home. A majority of them were accustomed to Western food (especially fast-food takeaways) before they came to New Zealand.

Assessment of the New Zealand and Chinese Identities

Rosenthal (1984) developed a cultural identity scale to assess the Australian, Greek or Italian identity of Greek and Italian immigrants in Australia (p. 58). The appropriateness of adapting this scale to assess the New Zealand and Chinese identities of Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand was tested in this pilot survey.

In the pilot survey, respondents were asked to rate their New Zealand and Chinese identities separately (p. 107). Two identity scores were obtained (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1
New Zealand and Chinese Identity Scores of 23 Respondents in the Pilot Survey

	New Zealand Identity Scores	Chinese Identity Scores	Cultural Identity State¹
Respondent A	1	6	Separation
Respondent B	4	5	Marginalization
Respondent C	5	5	Marginalization
Respondent D	7	7	Integration
Respondent E	3	10	Separation
Respondent F	10	10	Integration
Respondent G	2	9	Separation
Respondent H	1	2	Marginalization
Respondent I	2	7	Separation
Respondent J	5	10	Separation
Respondent K	1	8	Separation
Respondent L	1	10	Separation
Respondent M	1	10	Separation
Respondent N	1	10	Separation
Respondent O	3	10	Separation
Respondent P	1	10	Separation
Respondent Q	7	10	Integration
Respondent R	5	5	Marginalization
Respondent S	1	10	Separation
Respondent T	1	10	Separation
Respondent U	5	10	Separation
Respondent V	1	6	Separation
Respondent W	1	10	Separation

¹ For the method of using the New Zealand and Chinese Identity Scores to assign a cultural identity state, see pp. 58-59.

A Pearson product-moment coefficient of correlation between the total New Zealand and Chinese scores was obtained. The low correlation of .02 indicated that the New Zealand and Chinese identities are two relatively independent constructs.

On the basis of the respondents' ratings in the cultural identity scale, four cultural identity states can be derived. Table 6.1 shows that 16 respondents in the pilot survey were in the separation state, four in the marginalization state, three in the integration state, while none was in the assimilation state.

Group discussions provided tentative evidence that the respondents' cultural

identities changed over time. The respondents who had lived in New Zealand for less than one year largely regarded themselves as Chinese only. Their New Zealand identity was weak. At times, a situational New Zealand identity might be felt, such as when they were in school or playing with New Zealand friends. Some of them thought that they might feel more like New Zealanders when they had lived here for three years or more. A few respondents were less sure of this. They intended to return to Hong Kong, or emigrate elsewhere in a few years' time.

Advantages of the Pilot Survey

This pilot survey provided useful ideas and information about different areas of change commonly experienced by newly arrived Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in Auckland. Such ideas and information greatly helped the researcher develop appropriate questionnaires for the main study.

The pilot survey provided tentative evidence that the respondents' New Zealand and Chinese identities are two relatively independent constructs. It also demonstrated that the cultural identity scale is a valid instrument which can assess the two identities separately.

Finally, the pilot survey also permitted a preliminary testing of the hypothesis that the respondents' cultural identities change over time. With the help of these data from the pilot survey, the main study was designed.

Chapter 7

METHOD OF THE MAIN STUDY

The main study was carried out in two stages. The first stage of the study was undertaken in Hong Kong between October and December 1991, and involved collecting data from one sample of respondents prior to their emigration to New Zealand. The second stage of the study was conducted in New Zealand between February and April 1992, and involved collecting data from four samples of respondents from Hong Kong who had lived in New Zealand for up to four years. This chapter describes the samples, measures, data-gathering procedures and data analyses of the main study.

The Samples

The pre-migration sample was recruited in Hong Kong and included 60 Hong Kong Chinese adolescents (29 males and 31 females) who had obtained permanent residence status in New Zealand. The four post-migration samples were recruited in Auckland and comprised 223 Chinese adolescent immigrants (121 males and 102 females) from Hong Kong who had lived in New Zealand for up to four years. All of the respondents were between 14 and 18 years of age. Table 7.1 shows the mean age and gender distribution of the samples.

Table 7.1
Sample Size and Respondents' Mean Age and Gender Distribution

	Sample Size			Mean Age	Std Dev
	Male	Female	Both Sexes		
Pre-migration	29	31	60	15.7	1.4
Post-migration					
Less than 1 year in NZ	38	41	79	15.9	1.4
Between 1 and 2 years in NZ	37	31	68	15.7	1.5
Between 2 and 3 years in NZ	34	18	52	16.0	1.3
Between 3 and 4 years in NZ	12	12	24	15.7	1.1
Total	150	133	283	15.8	1.4

Some of the characteristics of the samples are briefly described below.

Gender

Fifty-three percent of the respondents were males and 47 percent of them were females. Chi-square analysis revealed no significant variation across groups in these proportions.

Age

The mean ages of the respondents across groups ranged from 15.7 to 16.0 years. One-way analysis of variance revealed no significant variation between groups from the total sample mean of 15.8 years, standard deviation = 1.4.

Family size

The mean family sizes across groups ranged from 4.8 to 5.2 persons. One-way analysis of variance revealed no significant variation between groups from the total sample mean of 4.9 persons, standard deviation = 1.2.

Immigration status

Ninety-one percent of the respondents entered New Zealand under the Business Immigration category, and 9 percent under the Employment and Family categories. There was no significant variation across groups in these proportions.

According to immigration permit information, business immigration accounted for 77 percent of Hong Kong citizens granted permanent residence in New Zealand between 1 November 1987 and 30 June 1992. Employment immigration accounted for 11 percent of the total approved applications during this period, family immigration 11 percent, and humanitarian immigration 1 percent (Table 2.6, p. 34). These figures suggested that the children of business immigrants might be over-represented in this study, while those of family and employment immigrants under-represented.

In the pre-migration sample, there might be a selection bias towards children of business immigrants because half of the respondents in this sample were referred by immigration consultants, who mainly dealt with business immigration applications. The post-migration samples were mainly obtained in the affluent suburbs of Auckland, which were likely to have a high concentration of business immigrants.

Age of parents

Sixty-seven percent of the respondents' fathers were in the 40 - 49 age group, and 33 percent in other age groups. There was no significant variation across groups in these proportions.

Seventy percent of the respondents' mothers were in the 40 - 49 age group, and 30 percent in other age groups. There was no significant variation across groups in these proportions. Overall, respondents' mothers were younger than fathers.

Parental education

Thirty-two percent of the respondents' fathers had a tertiary (i.e., university/technical/trade) qualification, and 68 percent did not have a tertiary qualification. There was no significant variation across groups in these proportions.

Nineteen percent of the respondents' mothers had a tertiary qualification, and 81 percent did not have a tertiary qualification. There was no significant variation across groups in these proportions. Overall, respondents' fathers were better qualified than mothers.

Parental residence pattern

Pre-migration respondents were asked if their parents lived in Hong Kong for most of the time in a year, while post-migration respondents were asked if their parents lived in New Zealand for most of the time in a year. Respondents' answers suggested that there

were three types of residence pattern among the families: (1) both parents usually lived with the respondents, (2) only one parent usually lived with the respondents, and (3) neither parent usually lived with the respondents. Table 7.2 shows the distribution of the three types of residence pattern. They differed significantly across groups ($\chi^2 = 68.03$, $df = 8$, $p < .001$).

Table 7.2
Residence Pattern of Respondents' Parents

	Pre-migration	Post-migration				All samples
		Less than 1 year	Between 1 and 2 years	Between 2 and 3 years	Between 3 and 4 years	
Both parents usually lived with respondents	59 (98%)	23 (29%)	29 (43%)	30 (58%)	13 (54%)	154 (55%)
Only one parent usually lived with respondents	1 (2%)	32 (41%)	23 (34%)	15 (29%)	8 (33%)	79 (28%)
Neither parents usually lived with respondents	0 (0%)	24 (30%)	15 (23%)	7 (13%)	3 (13%)	49 (17%)
Total	60 (100%)	79 (100%)	67 (100%)	52 (100%)	24 (100%)	282 (100%)

To determine where in the table the major differences were, the degrees of freedom in the 5 x 3 contingency table were partitioned (Castellan, 1965; Siegel and Castellan, 1988). The results showed that compared with pre-migration respondents, a larger proportion of those respondents in the post-migration groups were separated from either one of both of their parents ($p < .001$). While 98 percent of the pre-migration respondents lived with both parents, only 43 percent of the post-migration respondents lived with both parents, 35 percent being separated from one parent, and 22 percent from

both parents. Among post-migration respondents, a larger proportion of the respondents in the "less than 1 year" group were separated from both parents than those respondents who had resided in New Zealand was over one year ($p < .05$).

Table 7.3 shows the living arrangements of the respondents who were separated from both parents. Fifty-one percent of them lived with other family members, 32 percent lived with relatives or friends, 10 percent lived in a hostel, 4 percent lived alone and 2 percent lived with homestay families.

Table 7.3
Living Arrangements of the Respondents Who Were Separated from Both Parents

	Number	%
live with other family members	25	51
live with relatives	8	16
live with friends	8	16
live in a hostel	5	10
homestay	1	2
live alone	2	4
Total	49	100

Parental employment

Tables 7.4 and 7.5 show the employment pattern of respondents' fathers and mothers respectively. Parental employment was classified into three categories: (1) wage or salary earners, (2) self-employed, and (3) not working. The chi-square test was used to determine if the samples differed in types of parental employment. They differed significantly across groups (for fathers, $\chi^2 = 19.11$, $df = 8$, $p < .01$; for mothers, χ^2

= 27.52, $df = 8$, $p < .001$). Compared with parents of those in the pre-migration group, a larger proportion of parents in the post-migration groups were not working.

Table 7.4
Employment Pattern of Respondents' Fathers

	Pre-migration	Post-migration				All samples
		Less than 1 year	Between 1 and 2 years	Between 2 and 3 years	Between 3 and 4 years	
Wage or Salary Earners	16 (27%)	9 (12%)	12 (18%)	10 (20%)	7 (35%)	54 (20%)
Self-employed	44 (73%)	53 (70%)	39 (58%)	27 (53%)	12 (60%)	175 (64%)
Not Working	0 (0%)	14 (18%)	16 (24%)	14 (27%)	1 (5%)	45 (16%)
Total	60 (100%)	76 (100%)	67 (100%)	51 (100%)	20 (100%)	274 (100%)

Table 7.5
Employment Pattern of Respondents' Mothers

	Pre-migration	Post-migration				All samples
		Less than 1 year	Between 1 and 2 years	Between 2 and 3 years	Between 3 and 4 years	
Wage or Salary Earners	14 (23%)	6 (8%)	8 (12%)	3 (6%)	4 (18%)	35 (13%)
Self-employed	25 (42%)	15 (20%)	11 (17%)	16 (31%)	5 (23%)	72 (26%)
Not Working	21 (35%)	53 (72%)	46 (71%)	33 (63%)	13 (59%)	166 (61%)
Total	60 (100%)	74 (100%)	65 (100%)	52 (100%)	22 (100%)	273 (100%)

As pointed out previously, some parents in the post-migration groups did not live in New Zealand for most of the time during the year. Table 7.6 shows the employment pattern of parents by their usual place of residence. Compared with the parents who did not live in New Zealand, a larger proportion of those parents who lived in New Zealand were not working (for fathers, $\chi^2 = 574.9$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$; for mothers, $\chi^2 = 48.65$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$). Specifically, 45 percent of respondents' fathers and 80 percent of mothers in the post-migration groups who lived in New Zealand were not engaged in employment activities. Many Hong Kong Chinese women who lived in New Zealand did not work because they had to look after their families in the new country while their husbands continued to work in Hong Kong. A large number of Hong Kong Chinese men who did not work in New Zealand were business migrants. They probably needed a settling-in period to learn the regulations and practices of doing businesses in their new country (E.S. Ho and Farmer, 1994).

Table 7.6
Employment Pattern of Respondents' Parents in the Post-migration Groups by Residence Status

	Father's Usual Residence		Mother's Usual Residence	
	in NZ	not in NZ	in NZ	not in NZ
Wage or Salary Earners	12 (12%)	26 (22%)	10 (6%)	11 (21%)
Self-employed	42 (43%)	89 (77%)	22 (14%)	25 (48%)
Not Working	44 (45%)	1 (1%)	129 (80%)	16 (31%)
Total	98 (100%)	116 (100%)	161 (100%)	52 (100%)

Summary

To summarize this section, the samples in this study did not differ to a statistically significant degree in sex ratio, age, family size, immigration status, parental age and education. However, post-migration respondents differed significantly from pre-migration respondents in terms of parental residence and employment patterns.

Measures

A cultural identity scale and six questionnaires were administered. Before the actual study was undertaken, a pre-test of these measures was carried out. The pre-test involved five respondents in Hamilton and five respondents in Hong Kong. Respondents who lived in a city other than Auckland was chosen for the pre-test because Auckland was to be left to supply the respondents of the main study. The five respondents in Hong Kong came from two secondary schools in Hong Kong. They were students who would be emigrating to Australia in the next 12 months. A destination country other than New Zealand was chosen because students emigrating to New Zealand were to be left to supply the respondents of the main study.

The pre-test was intended to find out if the language used in the questionnaires was easily understood by respondents in both the pre-migration and post-migration groups. Initially, all items in the questionnaires were written in English only. The respondents in Hamilton had lived in New Zealand for at least one year and were able to understand the English version of the questionnaires. However, two respondents in

Hong Kong had difficulties in understanding English, and preferred that the questionnaires were written in Chinese. Consequently, it was decided that all the measures used in the study were to be written in both English and Chinese. The English items in all measures were translated into Chinese by two Chinese bilingual teachers in Hong Kong. A back translation was undertaken to ensure the accuracy of the translation (Brislin, 1980).

Cultural Identity Scale

The Cultural Identity Scale was adapted from a scale developed by Rosenthal (1984), which had been used to assess the Australian, Greek and Italian identities of Greek and Italian immigrants in Australia. The suitability of an adaptation of this scale to assess the New Zealand and Chinese identities of Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand had been tested in the pilot survey (pp. 113-115).

The Cultural Identity Scale consists of two items: (1) "how much like a New Zealander do you feel?" and (2) "how much like a Chinese do you feel?" Respondents rated each item on a 10-point scale, from 1 showing "not at all like a New Zealander (or Chinese)", to 10 showing "very much like a New Zealander (or Chinese)". On the basis of their ratings to each item, the respondents were classified into four cultural identity states. An assimilation state was assigned to respondents who had high (6-10 points) New Zealand identity scores but low (1-5 points) Chinese identity scores. An integration state was assigned to respondents high in both New Zealand and Chinese identity scores. A separation state was assigned to respondents who had high Chinese identity scores but low New Zealand identity scores. Finally, a marginalization state was assigned to

respondents whose New Zealand and Chinese identity scores were both low.

Respondents in the post-migration groups were further asked to rate, in retrospection, their New Zealand and Chinese identities 12 months ago. Using the same method described above, respondents' cultural identity states 12 months ago were obtained. The dynamic change in respondents' perceived cultural identities over time was studied by comparing these two sets of data.

The Cultural Identity Scale is placed at the end of the Cross-cultural Preference Questionnaire (as items 49 to 52), which is presented in Appendix C.

Cross-cultural Performance Questionnaire

A Cross-cultural Performance Questionnaire was developed for the purpose of this study. Based on information gathered from respondents in the pilot survey, an initial pool of items assessing language use, social relations and school learning across a variety of situations was generated. Two Chinese secondary school teachers in Auckland were then asked to provide comments by pointing out those items they felt as relevant for assessing the changes over time faced by Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants living in New Zealand. Their comments helped eliminate unsuitable items and select the most relevant ones for the Questionnaire.

The Cross-cultural Performance Questionnaire consists of three subscales: the Language Performance Subscale, Social Performance Subscale and Learning Performance Subscale. There are 14 items in the Language Performance Subscale. For each item, respondents' answers were rated from 1 to 5 points. A response of using "only English" was scored as 1, "mainly English and some Chinese" as 2, "each equally" as 3, "mainly

Chinese and some English" as 4 and "only Chinese" as 5.

The Social Performance Subscale consists of 10 items. For each item, respondents were asked how much time they spent in the past seven days on a particular after-school activity (less than 5 hours, 5 to less than 10 hours, 10 to less than 15 hours, or 15 hours and over). In addition, they were also asked if they mixed with only New Zealanders, both New Zealanders and Chinese, or only Chinese on each activity. Their answers were rated from 1 to 3 points: a response of mixing with "only New Zealanders" being scored as 1, "both New Zealanders and Chinese" as 2, and "only Chinese" as 3. Respondents in the pre-migration group were asked if they mixed with (1) non-Chinese, (2) both Chinese and non-Chinese, or (3) only Chinese.

The Learning Performance Subscale consists of 8 items. For each item, respondents' answers were rated from 1 to 5 points, with 1 indicating a New Zealand learning style and 5 indicating a Chinese learning style. For example, item 1 asked about classroom learning. Respondents were asked if the school lessons they attended in the last two weeks involved (1) only class activities, (2) mainly class activities, and some note-taking, (3) each equally, (4) mainly note-taking, and some class activities, or (5) only note-taking.

Results of the Cross-cultural Performance Questionnaire in this report are expressed as three mean performance scores: the language performance score, social performance score, and learning performance score. Each score was derived from the respondent's mean response across the items belonging to that particular subscale. Both the Language and Learning Performance Subscales have a possible score range of 1 to 5, whereas the Social Performance Subscale has a possible score range of 1 to 3.

The reliabilities of the three subscales were examined by calculating Cronbach's

alpha (Carmines and Zeller, 1979; Cronbach, 1951). The Language Performance Subscale has an overall alpha value of .79 while the alpha values for the Social Performance and Learning Performance Subscales are .76 and .53 respectively. A copy of the Cross-cultural Performance Questionnaire is presented in Appendix B.

Cross-cultural Preference Questionnaire

In the pilot survey, some respondents pointed out that, although they used English quite often in a variety of social situations, they preferred using Chinese if they were free to choose. Differences also existed between actual performances and personal preferences in the areas of social relations and school learning.

For the purpose of studying these preferences, a Cross-cultural Preference Questionnaire was developed. It consists of 48 items: ten of which (items 2, 8, 10, 11, 13, 18, 24, 35, 45 and 48) assess respondents' preferences in using the English language; ten (items 5, 15, 16, 21, 26, 30, 38, 40, 44 and 46) assess their preferences in using the Chinese language; six (items 17, 19, 22, 28, 29 and 39) assess their preferences in mixing with New Zealanders; six (items 7, 23, 27, 33, 34 and 41) assess their preferences in mixing with Chinese; eight (items 3, 4, 6, 25, 31, 32, 43 and 47) assess their preferences in using New Zealand learning methods, and the remaining eight (items 1, 9, 12, 14, 20, 36, 37 and 42) assess their preferences in using Chinese learning methods.

Respondents rated each item on a 10-point scale, with 1 indicating an activity which they did not like doing at all and 10 indicating an activity which they liked doing very much.

Results of the Cross-cultural Preference Questionnaire in this report are expressed as six mean preference scores: the English language preference, Chinese language preference, New Zealand friends preference, Chinese friends preference, New Zealand learning method preference and Chinese learning method preference scores. Each score was derived from the respondent's mean response across the items belonging to that particular subscale.

The reliabilities of the Cross-cultural Preference Questionnaire were examined by calculating Cronbach's alpha. The alpha values for the six subscales are as follows: English Language Preference (.87): Chinese Language Preference (.81), New Zealand Friends Preference (.88), Chinese Friends Preference (.85), New Zealand Learning Methods Preference (.74) and Chinese Learning Methods Preference (.71). A copy of the Cross-cultural Preference Questionnaire is presented in Appendix C.

Cross-cultural Attitude Questionnaire

A Cross-cultural Attitude Questionnaire was developed to assess respondents' attitudes towards using the English or Chinese languages, mixing with New Zealand or Chinese friends, and using New Zealand or Chinese learning methods. It consists of 9 items.

Items 2, 4 and 9 measure language attitudes. Specifically, item 2 asked the respondents how important it was for them to have good English in New Zealand; item 4 asked how important it was for them to retain the use of Chinese in New Zealand, and item 9 asked how difficult it was for them to have good English while retaining their ability in using Chinese.

Items 1, 6 and 8 measure social attitudes: item 6 asked how important it was for

them to mix with New Zealand people, item 8 asked how important it was for them to keep Chinese friends in New Zealand, and item 1 asked how difficult it was for them to mix with New Zealand friends while keeping Chinese friends.

Items 3, 5 and 7 measure learning attitudes: item 3 asked how important it was for them to adopt New Zealand learning methods, item 7 asked how important it was for them to continue with the Chinese study methods they were used to, and item 5 asked how difficult it was for them to adopt New Zealand learning methods while retaining the Chinese learning methods they were used to.

Respondents were given four answer choices in each item. They were asked to choose an answer which best conformed with their view. Their answers were rated from 1 to 4 points, with 1 indicating not important or not difficult, and 4 indicating very important or very difficult.

Results of the Cross-cultural Attitude Questionnaire in this report are expressed as nine attitude scores, each referring to an item in the Questionnaire. A copy of the Cross-cultural Attitude Questionnaire is presented in Appendix D.

Social Support Questionnaire

The Social Support Questionnaire was adapted from a questionnaire developed by Sarason et al. (1983). It consists of 2 items: (1) "who can you really count on to give you useful suggestions that help you to avoid making mistakes?" and (2) "who can you really count on to comfort you when you are very upset?"

Respondents were asked to list, in each item, no more than nine persons whom they could count on for useful suggestions or emotional support. They were asked to give

the person's initials and his/her relationship to them. This information would be used to distinguish between family and non-family support.

For each person listed in each item, respondents were also asked to record how satisfied they were with the suggestion or support they received. They rated their satisfaction on a 5-point scale, with 1 indicating not satisfied at all and 5 indicating very satisfied. This information would be used to measure respondents' satisfaction with family and non-family support.

Consequently, the Social Support Questionnaire yields four scores: perceived number of family members who give social support, perceived number of non-family members who give social support, satisfaction with family support, and satisfaction with non-family support. A copy of the Social Support Questionnaire is presented in Appendix E.

Personal Background Questionnaire

A Personal Background Questionnaire was developed to obtain demographic information such as respondents' age, gender, family size, parental age, education, employment and residence patterns. In addition, respondents were asked about their immigration status, how long they intended to stay in New Zealand, the main reason for leaving Hong Kong, and their preferred country of settlement. A copy of the Personal Background Questionnaire is presented in Appendix F.

Attribution Questionnaire

The Attribution Questionnaire was adapted from a questionnaire developed by Mutiga (1991). Respondents were asked to: (1) identify situations in which they were successful, or not successful in using languages, making new friends and learning in school, (2) explain to what causes they attributed their success or failure in each situation, and (3) classify the attributions they used on the three dimensions of locality, stability and controllability. A copy of the Attribution Questionnaire is presented in Appendix G.

Procedures

Pre-migration respondents

The target population of the pre-migration study were Hong Kong Chinese adolescents of both sexes whose ages ranged from 14 to 18 and who had obtained permanent residence status in New Zealand. Ten months prior to the study, a visit was made to Hong Kong and the Chief Migration Officer of the New Zealand Commission contacted. Information regarding the demographic characteristics of Hong Kong Chinese families who were approved permanent residence in New Zealand since 1987 was requested to help identify the target population. However, this information was available at neither the New Zealand Commission in Hong Kong, nor the New Zealand Immigration Service in Wellington. Given this inability to identify the actual size and characteristics of the population being studied and how to reach them, the convenience sampling approach

(i.e., selecting cases based on their availability for the study. See Henry, 1990, p. 18) was the only viable approach to obtain data.

A variety of methods were therefore used to recruit pre-migration respondents in Hong Kong. First of all, a letter introducing the study was prepared (Appendix H), and was sent by the New Zealand Commission in Hong Kong to about 100 families whose applications for New Zealand residence were approved between October and December 1991. Participation in the study was on a voluntary basis. There was a reply slip attached to the researcher's letter. Families who wished to participate in the study were requested to complete the reply slips by giving their names and telephone numbers, and send them to the researcher. Subsequently, the families were contacted to arrange for individual interviews with the adolescent children. Four respondents were recruited using this method.

Another method of recruiting respondents made use of the assistance provided by two immigration consultants. Initially, the names of five immigration consultants were supplied by the Chief Migration Officer in Hong Kong, but only two were willing to render assistance. Each immigration consultant provided a list of their clients whose applications for New Zealand residence had been approved, who had not yet emigrated from Hong Kong and who also had adolescent children. The two lists gave the names and telephone numbers of 30 families. All of them were contacted. Four families did not have children who met the age requirement of the study. Two declined to participate due to time limitations. From the remaining 24 families, 32 respondents were recruited.

Finally, referrals were obtained from a number of secondary school teachers. Between 1987 and 1990, the researcher had been a Senior Lecturer and coordinator of a school counselling course in the Department of Applied Social Studies, Hong Kong

Polytechnic. When the pre-migration study was carried out in Hong Kong in 1991, the Head of Department kindly made available to the researcher a list of secondary schools which had sent teachers to attend the Department's school counselling course since 1987. The list consisted of about 80 secondary schools in Hong Kong. A letter (Appendix I) was written to the teacher counsellors in these schools, asking them to refer cases for the researcher's study. If they knew any student who would be emigrating to New Zealand and who also satisfied the age requirement of the study, they were asked to give the student a copy of the researcher's letter (Appendix H). If the student as well as his or her parents agreed to participate in the study, the teacher counsellor would arrange a time for the researcher to interview the student in the school. Altogether 23 respondents were recruited by this method.

Table 7.7 shows the number and percentage of respondents recruited by each of the method described above. Among the 60 respondents who participated in this study, 47 expected to settle in New Zealand within 1 to 18 months, while the remaining 13 did not know when they would leave Hong Kong for New Zealand.

Table 7.7
Methods of Recruiting Respondents of the Pre-migration Study

	Male	Female	Total
Researcher's letter sent from NZ Commission in HK	2	2	4 (7%)
Direct contacts with clients of immigration consultants	19	13	32 (53%)
Referrals from secondary school teachers	8	16	24 (40%)
Total	29	31	60 (100%)

The pre-migration respondents were interviewed either at the Hong Kong Polytechnic (where the researcher worked as a Visiting Lecturer), or in their own schools. All sessions took place after school, or on Saturdays and Sundays.

Thirty-two respondents were met individually, and the rest in groups of two or three. Group sessions were arranged for respondents in the same school, or siblings who wished to come together. Prior to the meetings, respondents were given a letter introducing the study (Appendix H).

Cantonese was used in all meetings. The introduction, when translated from Cantonese, was as follows:

I am from the University of Waikato in New Zealand and am doing a study of the adaptation of Hong Kong Chinese adolescents in New Zealand. I would like you to fill out some questionnaires related to this topic. You will be asked to answer questions about your background, aspects of your lives in Hong Kong, and your feelings and thoughts about living in New Zealand.

All questionnaires are written in both English and Chinese. You may answer in either English or Chinese. If you need help, please ask me.

There are no right or wrong answers -- just give the answer that is true for you. All the information you give will be completely confidential. No one's name will be identified in this study.

The researcher then gave each respondent a booklet containing the Cross-cultural Performance Questionnaire, Cross-cultural Preference Questionnaire, Cultural Identity Scale, Cross-cultural Attitude Questionnaire, Social Support Questionnaire, and Personal Background Questionnaire. Respondents typically took about 60 minutes to complete all the questionnaires.

When the questionnaires were completed, the respondents were thanked for their

cooperation. They were then asked if they had any questions. Most respondents were interested in finding out more about New Zealand, such as the prices of daily commodities, types of leisure activities available, and the school system. Several respondents also remarked spontaneously that they enjoyed filling in the questionnaires, which helped them reflect on their thoughts and feelings about emigrating to New Zealand. The discussion usually lasted for 15 to 30 minutes.

Post-migration respondents

The target population of the post-migration study were Chinese adolescent immigrants from Hong Kong whose ages ranged from 14 to 18 and who had lived in New Zealand for up to four years. Post-migration respondents were recruited in Auckland between February and April 1992.

When the post-migration study was carried out, the 1991 census had been completed but no regional data had been released. No other statistics were available to help identify how many Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants were there and how to reach them. For example, immigration permit information (Table 2.6, p. 34) only gave the annual number of Hong Kong citizens approved permanent residence in New Zealand, but there was no information regarding the age-sex composition of these people. Migration statistics (Table 2.8, p. 36) gave the annual number of Hong Kong citizens arriving in and departing from New Zealand, but they did not show how many of them came from, or went to, Auckland.

In view of these limitations, identifying Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in Auckland's secondary schools was the only practical choice. Auckland was

chosen because it is New Zealand's major entry point, and has received a substantial proportion of Hong Kong Chinese immigrant families since 1987 (p. 36). At the time when this study was undertaken, education in New Zealand was compulsory for children aged 6 to 15 (now 16). Hong Kong Chinese immigrant families are likely to encourage their children to stay in school beyond the age of 15, because many of these families have migrated at least in part to get a good education for their children (E.S. Ho and Farmer, 1994).

The New Settlers Coordinator of the Education Advisory Service, and a Liaison Officer in the Ministry of Education who had regular contacts with secondary schools in Auckland, were approached for information on the number and distribution of Hong Kong Chinese secondary students in Auckland. Both of them pointed out that there were no official statistics showing the number of Hong Kong Chinese students in Auckland schools. According to their knowledge, there was a high concentration of Hong Kong Chinese secondary students in the Eastern suburbs schools. A number of secondary schools in Central Auckland also had a medium to high concentration of Hong Kong Chinese students, while the schools in other districts of Auckland did not have many Hong Kong Chinese students. They also named some schools in each district which the researcher might approach to recruit respondents.

Using the information provided, six state secondary schools (two in the Eastern suburbs, two in Central Auckland and two elsewhere in Auckland) were selected. Three other schools, one from each district, were also identified as substitutes in case the selected school declined to participate in the study.

A letter was written to the principal of each school, requesting participation in the study (Appendix J). Attached to this letter was a reference letter from the New Settlers

Coordinator, indicating her endorsement of the study (Appendix K). Only one school in Western Auckland declined to participate in the study. It was substituted by another school in the same district.

The six schools which agreed to participate in the study comprised one girls' school, two boys' schools and three co-educational schools. Four samples of respondents were to be recruited. They were Hong Kong Chinese students whose ages ranged from 14 to 18 and whose length of residence in New Zealand was: (1) less than 1 year, (2) between 1 and 2 years, (3) between 2 and 3 years, and (4) between 3 and 4 years. Within each group, a quota sample of 30 students in each sex was aimed for. This quota was chosen because it would provide enough individuals in each part of the research design to permit adequate statistical comparisons to be made.

A total of 287 Hong Kong Chinese students who satisfied the age and residence requirement of the study were invited to participate. Each student was sent a parents' letter providing information on the research project and asking for permission to participate (Appendix L). Completed data were obtained from 223 respondents (121 males and 102 females), and their distribution by length of residence in New Zealand was shown in Table 7.1 on p. 117. In the "less than 1 year" and the "between 1 and 2 years" groups, the predetermined quota of cases was obtained. However, there were not enough female respondents in the "between 2 and 3 years" group, while less than half of the desired quota of cases could be obtained for the "between 3 and 4 years" group. Apparently, respondents in the last two groups were difficult to obtain because not many Hong Kong Chinese families had entered New Zealand prior to 1990.

For the convenience of the schools, two sessions were arranged to collect data from the post-migration respondents in their own schools. Each session took place during

the normal one-hour school period.

In each school, all students who agreed to participate in the study were informed of the date, time and venue of the first session in a letter (Appendix L) distributed to them by their class teachers prior to the session. In the schools where over 40 students were expected to participate, the session took place in a lecture theatre, or in the library. In schools which had a small number of Hong Kong Chinese students, the students were met in a classroom.

Cantonese was used in both sessions. The introduction which was given in the first session, when translated from Cantonese was as follows:

I am from the University of Waikato in Hamilton and am doing a study of the adaptation of Hong Kong Chinese adolescents in New Zealand. I would like you to fill out some questionnaires related to this topic. You will be asked to answer questions about your background, aspects of your lives in New Zealand, and your feelings and thoughts about New Zealand since you came here.

All questionnaires are written in both English and Chinese. You may answer in either English or Chinese. If you need help, please ask me.

There are no right or wrong answers -- just give the answer that is true for you.

All the information you give will be completely confidential. No one's names will be identified in the study. I only need your name because you will be asked to complete another questionnaire in the next session, which I will arrange with you shortly. Your name can help me collate the questionnaires you complete today with the one you will complete in the next session. You can give me your full name, or your initials. No matter which name you use, please use the same name in both sessions.

The researcher then distributed to each respondent a booklet containing the Cross-cultural Performance Questionnaire, Cross-cultural Preference Questionnaire, Cultural

Identity Scale, Cross-cultural Attitude Questionnaire, Social Support Questionnaire and Personal Background Questionnaire. Most respondents took 40 to 50 minutes to complete all the questionnaires. When they had completed the questionnaires, an appointment for the second session was arranged.

In all schools, the second session was arranged in small groups, ranging from 8 to 14 respondents per group. Altogether 23 groups were held. All second sessions were held within one week after the first sessions were completed.

The same data-gathering procedures were followed in all group meetings. The introduction of the group meeting, when translated from Cantonese, was as follows:

In this session, you will be asked to fill in a questionnaire about your social experiences in New Zealand. The instruction of this questionnaire is written in both English and Chinese. You may answer in either English or Chinese.

Before you start, please write your name in the right hand corner of the questionnaire. Remember to use the same name you have used in the previous session. This will help me collate this questionnaire with the ones you have completed in the last session.

The Attribution Questionnaire was then distributed to each respondent. All of them completed the questionnaire in about 30 minutes.

When the respondents had completed the questionnaires, there was usually some time left to discuss aspects of their living in New Zealand in general. The group discussions were used to supplement information obtained from the questionnaires. Most respondents actively participated in the discussion. At the end of the session, they were thanked for their participation.

Data Analysis

Four cultural identity states were derived from the Cultural Identity Scale. The chi-square test was used to test if the frequency distribution of the four cultural identity states differed significantly across migration phases.

For respondents in the post-migration groups, their cultural identity states at two points in time were obtained. A Markov analysis (Thie, 1983) was used to describe the dynamic changes in respondents' cultural identities over time.

Two-way analyses of variance on the scores obtained from the Cross-cultural Performance, Cross-cultural Preference, Cross-cultural Attitude, and Social Support Questionnaires were used to test for significant differences across cultural identity states and migration phases. Significant F-ratios were followed by multiple t-tests using the Scheffe procedure to test for significant differences between groups.

Attributions for successful and unsuccessful performances in using languages, making new friends and learning in schools were obtained from the Attribution Questionnaire. Under each situation, chi-square tests were used to test for significant differences in the locality, stability and controllability of attributions across cultural identity states and within migration phases. In addition, the reasons which respondents gave to account for their successes and failures were categorized and compared across groups.

Personal data such as age, gender, immigration status, reasons for migration, expected length of residence in New Zealand, and preferred country of settlement were obtained from the Personal Background Questionnaire. The data were categorized and compared across cultural identity states and migration phases. Chi-square tests were used

to test for significant differences across groups.

The SPSS/PC+ (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) programme was used for computer analysis of the data. Results of the study are reported in the following four chapters.

Chapter 8

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY STATES ACROSS MIGRATION PHASES

The second aim of this study as set out in chapter 5 was to compare the frequency distribution of cultural identity states across migration phases. Four research hypotheses specifying the direction of the differences were generated (p. 100). In order to determine if the proportions of respondents in the assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization states differed in the specified directions across migration phases, the chi-square test for independence was used. Results of the analysis are discussed in this chapter.

The Chi-square Analysis

Respondents were asked to identify themselves as belonging to one of five migration phases: (1) pre-migration; (2) less than one year in New Zealand; (3) between one and two years in New Zealand; (4) between two and three years in New Zealand; and (5) between three and four years in New Zealand. A Cultural Identity Scale further placed the respondents into one of four cultural identity states: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. As a result, a 5 x 4 contingency table was derived (Table 8.1).

Table 8.1
Distribution of Cultural Identity States in Five Migration Phases

Cultural Identity State	Phase 1: Pre-migration	Post-migration			
		Phase 2: Less than 1 year in NZ	Phase 3: Between 1 and 2 years in NZ	Phase 4: Between 2 and 3 years in NZ	Phase 5: Between 3 and 4 years in NZ
Assimilation	1 (3.6)	2 (4.8)	5 (4.1)	6 (3.1)	3 (1.4)
Integration	5 (10.6)	7 (14.0)	15 (12.0)	15 (9.2)	8 (4.2)
Separation	47 (38.6)	58 (50.8)	37 (43.7)	29 (33.4)	11 (15.4)
Marginalization	7 (7.2)	12 (9.5)	11 (8.2)	2 (6.3)	2 (2.9)
TOTAL	60	79	68	52	24

Numbers in brackets show the expected frequencies.

Before applying the chi-square test, the expected frequencies of the four cultural identity states in each migration phase in Table 8.1 were computed and were shown in brackets. Seven (35%) of the cells have an expected frequency of less than 5. Since proper application of the chi-square test required that no more than 20 percent of the cells have an expected frequency of less than 5 and no cell have an expected frequency of less than 1 (Cochran, 1954; Siegel and Castellan, 1988), migration phases 2 and 3, and phases 4 and 5 were combined to increase the expected frequencies in the various cells.

Table 8.2 shows the new 3 x 4 contingency table. In this table, three migration phases were defined: (1) pre-migration; (2) initial entry (less than two years in New Zealand); and (3) adaptation (between two and four years in New Zealand). Table 8.2 also shows in brackets the expected frequency in each cell. Only two (16.7%) of the cells have an expected frequency of less than 5.

Table 8.2
Distribution of Cultural Identity States in the Pre-migration,
Initial Entry and Adaptation Phases

Cultural Identity State	Pre-migration Phase	Initial Entry Phase	Adaptation Phase	Combined
Assimilation	1 (3.6)	7 (8.8)	9 (4.6)	17
Integration	5 (10.6)	22 (26.0)	23 (13.4)	50
Separation	47 (38.6)	95 (94.5)	40 (48.9)	182
Marginalization	7 (7.2)	23 (17.7)	4 (9.1)	34
TOTAL	60	147	76	283

Numbers in brackets show the expected frequencies.

As the research hypotheses indicated the predicted direction of the differences, a one-tailed test was used. Results of the chi-square analysis showed that the distribution of cultural identity states differed significantly across migration phases ($\chi^2 = 24.91$, $df = 6$, $p < .001$, one-tailed). To determine where in the table the major differences were, the partitioning method (Castellan, 1965; Siegel and Castellan, 1988) and the analysis of residuals (Haberman, 1973; Siegel and Castellan, 1988) were applied. Results of these analyses are considered in turn.

1. *Partitioning the degrees of freedom in the contingency table*

The successive partitions are listed in Table 8.3. The first three partitions compared the initial entry phase with the adaptation phase. In the last three partitions, these two groups were pooled (post-migration) and compared with the pre-migration phase. Each partition was tested by using a chi-square statistic. The critical value for the significance of each partition was adjusted from .05 to .05/6

= .0083 (Siegel and Castellan, 1988, p. 197).

Table 8.3
Partitions Derived from Contingency Table in Table 8.2

(1) Initial Entry versus Adaptation,
comparison on Assimilation (A)
versus Integration (I)

Cultural Identity State	Initial Entry Phase: (less than 2 years in NZ)	Adaptation Phase: (between 2 & 4 years in NZ)
A	7	9
I	22	23

$X^2 = 0.22$, ns

(4) Pre-migration versus Post-migration,
comparison on Assimilation (A) versus
Integration (I)

Cultural Identity State	Pre-migration	Post-migration
A	1	16
I	5	45

$X^2 = 0.13$, ns

(2) Initial Entry versus Adaptation,
comparison on Assimilation (A) + Integration (I)
versus Separation (S)

Cultural Identity State	Initial Entry	Adaptation
A + I	29	32
S	95	40

$X^2 = 11.10$, $p < .001$

(5) Pre-migration versus Post-migration,
comparison on Assimilation (A) + Integration
(I) versus Separation (S)

Cultural Identity State	Pre-migration	Post-migration
A + I	6	61
S	47	135

$X^2 = 8.34$, $p < .01$

(3) Initial Entry versus Adaptation,
comparison on Assimilation (A) + Integration (I)
+ Separation (S) versus Marginalization (M)

Cultural Identity State	Initial Entry	Adaptation
A + I + S	124	72
M	23	4

$X^2 = 5.11$, ns

(6) Pre-migration versus Post-migration,
comparison on Assimilation (A) + Integration
(I) + Separation (S) versus Marginalization (M)

Cultural Identity State	Pre-migration	Post-migration
A + I + S	53	196
M	7	27

$X^2 = 0.01$, ns

Results of the partitioned X^2 s showed that differences between the assimilation and integration states were not statistically significant, but when the combined assimilation and integration states were compared with the separation state, the resulting X^2 value in the initial entry phase versus adaptation phase was significant at the .001 level, while that in the pre-migration versus post-migration cell was significant at the .01 level. Differences between the combined assimilation, integration and separation states versus marginalization state were not statistically significant.

Compared with pre-migration, the proportion of respondents in the assimilation and integration states increased after migration, while that in the separation state decreased. The proportion of assimilated and integrated respondents continued to increase, while that of separated respondents decreased between the initial entry phase and the adaptation phase.

2. *Analysis of Residuals*

Analysis of residuals involved the analysis of discrepancies between observed and expected values in Table 8.2 to determine which were larger than might be expected by chance. Results of the analysis are shown in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4
Standardized Residuals for the Various Cells in Table 8.2

Cultural Identity State	Pre-migration Phase	Initial Entry Phase	Adaptation Phase
Assimilation	-1.26	-0.45	1.82*
Integration	-1.69*	-0.59	2.45*
Separation	2.01*	-0.07	-1.82*
Marginalization	-0.08	0.94	-1.70*

* significant at the .05 level (one-tailed)

Two of the cells in the pre-migration phase, and all four cells in the adaptation phase were significantly different from the other cells at the .05 level. This result added further support to the previous results obtained from the partitioning method showing that the distribution of cultural identity states differed significantly over time. Specifically, the proportion of assimilated and integrated respondents tended to increase, while that of separated respondents decreased between the pre-migration phase and the adaptation phase. The proportion of marginalized respondents tended to increase between the pre-migration phase and the initial entry phase, and then decreased between the initial entry phase and the adaptation phase.

Summary of Results and Discussion

Results of the chi-square test showed that there were overall differences in the distribution of cultural identity states across migration phases. Further analyses using the

partitioning method and the analysis of residuals showed that Hypotheses 1a to 1d set out in chapter 5 (p. 100) were confirmed. Compared with pre-migration, the proportions of assimilated and integrated respondents increased, while that of separated respondents decreased after migration. The proportion of respondents in the marginalization state increased between the pre-migration phase and the initial entry phase, and then decreased between the initial entry phase and the adaptation phase.

Whether by assimilation or integration, the respondents who choose these adaptive options have positive identification with the host society. Figure 8.1 shows that about 20 percent of the respondents in the initial entry phase, and 42 percent of those in the adaptation phase, chose either the assimilation or integration option. These results suggested that Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants' positive identification with the New Zealand host society tended to increase with time.

Separation represents a decision to retain the heritage culture and identity while maintaining minimal contact with the host society. Almost 80 percent of the Hong Kong Chinese adolescents in the pre-migration phase were in the separation state. After migration, 65 percent of the respondents in the initial entry phase, and 53 percent of those in the adaptation phase, remained separated. This result showed that the proportion of Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants who were in the separation state tended to decrease with time.

In the case of marginalization, the individuals are out of cultural and psychological contact with both the host society and their own culture. About 16 percent of the Hong Kong Chinese adolescents in the initial entry phase, and 5 percent of those in the adaptation phase, were culturally marginalized. This result showed that feelings of marginality tended to be highest during the first two years of arrival to a new country,

and that they then decreased with time.

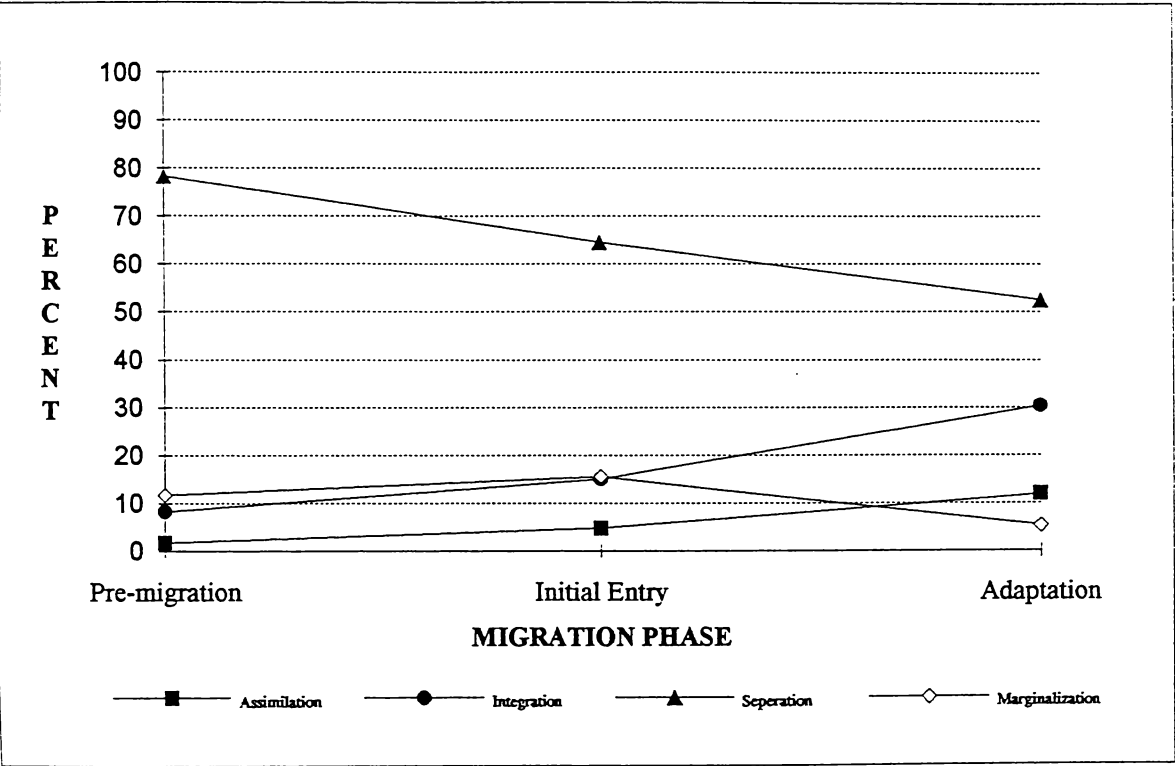


Figure 8.1
Percentage Distribution of Cultural Identity States Across Migration Phases

In short, the methods of adaptation used by Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand vary among individuals and over time. These findings are in agreement with the predictions of the cross-cultural model discussed in chapter 3.

In order to further understand the special features associated with each cultural identity state, a number of adaptive outcomes were studied across cultural identity states and within migration phases. The results of this investigation are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 9

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL IDENTITY STATES AND OTHER ADAPTIVE OUTCOMES

The third aim of this study was to examine the relationships between Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants' cultural identity states and their behaviours, preferences and attitudes in a variety of daily activities. Four research hypotheses specifying the direction of the relationships were formulated (p. 101). To test these hypotheses, the scores obtained from the Cross-cultural Performance, Cross-cultural Preference, and Cross-cultural Attitude Questionnaires were compared across cultural identity states and migration phases, using two-way analyses of variance.

In this study, the number of respondents in the four cultural identity states was not equal in the pre-migration, initial entry and adaptation phases. To analyze data in this "non-orthogonal" design, the hierarchical approach (Iversen and Norpoth, 1976; Norusis, 1982) is appropriate. Specifically, it involves computing the sum of squares of the migration phase variable first and allowing it to pick up as much variation in the dependent variable as possible. The sum of squares of the cultural identity state variable was then computed; it picked up only the variation which had not already been tapped by the first variable.

By entering the cultural identity state variable after the migration phase variable, the direct effect of migration phase on the various dependent variables was taken into consideration first. This decision was based on the argument developed in the earlier part

of this report, that respondents' adaptive processes should be studied as they change over time (pp. 56-57).

When the results of the analyses of variance were statistically significant, multiple t-tests using the Scheffe procedure (Frude, 1987) was used to test for significant differences between groups. The critical value for the significance of each multiple t-test was specified at the .05 level.

The results of the analyses of variance and multiple t-tests are discussed in this chapter.

Cross-cultural Performances

Three types of performance scores were derived from the Cross-cultural Performance Questionnaire. They were: the language performance score, social performance score and learning performance score. Three two-way analyses of variance were performed.

1. Language performance

Results of the two-way analysis of variance on language performance are presented in Table 9.1 and the related mean language performance score and number of observations in each cell in Table 9.2. The main effects for both migration phase and cultural identity state were significant at the .001 level, but the interaction effect was not statistically significant.

Table 9.1
Analysis of Variance on Language Performance (in mean scores)

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	22.00	2	11.00	34.79	.001
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	9.36	3	3.12	9.87	.001
Interaction	1.80	6	.30	.95	.463

Table 9.2
Language Performance Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	Mean
Pre-migration	3.93 (1)	3.96 (5)	4.04 (47)	3.79 (7)	4.00 (60)
Initial Entry	2.77 (7)	3.21 (22)	3.42 (95)	3.31 (23)	3.34 (147)
Adaptation	2.72 (9)	3.03 (23)	3.56 (40)	3.54 (4)	3.30 (76)
Mean	2.82 (17)	3.20 (50)	3.61 (182)	3.43 (34)	3.47 (283)

The Scheffe multiple comparison procedure was used to determine which mean language performance scores in the three migration phases, as well as the four cultural identity states, were significantly different from each other. The results showed that respondents in the pre-migration phase differed from those in the post-migration phases by using Chinese more often. The two post-migration groups did not differ significantly in any of the language performance variables studied.

Assimilated respondents differed from separated and marginalized respondents by using English more often. Integrated respondents also differed from separated respondents by using English more. No other pair of cultural identity groups was found to be significantly different.

2. *Social performance*

Tables 9.3 and 9.4 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on social performance, and the related mean social performance score and number of observations in each cell. The main effects for both migration phase and cultural identity state were significant at the .001 level, but the interaction effect was not statistically significant.

Table 9.3
Analysis of Variance on Social Performance (in mean scores)

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	4.70	2	2.35	20.29	.001
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	2.00	3	.67	5.75	.001
Interaction	.77	6	.13	1.11	.359

Table 9.4
Social Performance Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	3.00 (1)	2.91 (5)	2.95 (47)	2.91 (7)	2.94 (60)
Initial Entry	2.39 (7)	2.68 (22)	2.69 (95)	2.74 (23)	2.68 (147)
Adaptation	2.20 (9)	2.68 (23)	2.56 (40)	3.00 (4)	2.57 (76)
Mean	2.32 (17)	2.70 (50)	2.73 (182)	2.80 (34)	2.71 (283)

Results of the Scheffe multiple comparison procedure showed that pre-migration respondents differed from post-migration respondents by mixing with Chinese people more often. The two post-migration groups did not differ significantly in any of the social performance variables studied.

Assimilated respondents differed from integrated, separated and marginalized respondents by mixing with New Zealanders more. The latter three cultural identity groups did not differ significantly in any of the social performance variables studied.

Figures 9.1 to 9.10 show the amount of time that respondents in different migration phases spent on various after-school activities. Chi-square tests were used to test for significant differences across migration phases, and the results are presented in Table 9.5. Compared with respondents in the pre-migration phase, those in the post-migration phases spent less time doing homework and revisions, and more time visiting friends' home and having leisure activities with family

members. The two post-migration groups did not differ significantly in the amount of time spent on after-school activities.

Table 9.5
Summary of Chi-square Analyses on Time Spent on After-school Activities

After-school activities	χ^2	df	p	Partitions significantly different at the .05 level
1. with classmates	3.7	4	ns	--
2. in social clubs	0.3	2	ns	--
3. playing sports	4.2	2	ns	--
4. entertaining relatives at home	0.4	2	ns	--
5. entertaining friends at home	3.0	2	ns	--
6. visiting relatives' homes	3.0	2	ns	--
7. visiting friends' homes	6.6	2	$p < .05$	pre-migration versus post-migration respondents, comparison on less than 5 hours to 5 hours and more per week
8. with family members	11.7	4	$p < .05$	pre-migration versus post-migration respondents, comparison on 10 hours or less to over 10 hours per week
9. doing homework and revision	82.2	4	$p < .001$	pre-migration versus post-migration respondents, comparison on 10 hours or less to over 10 hours per week
10. leisure activities by oneself	3.5	4	ns	--

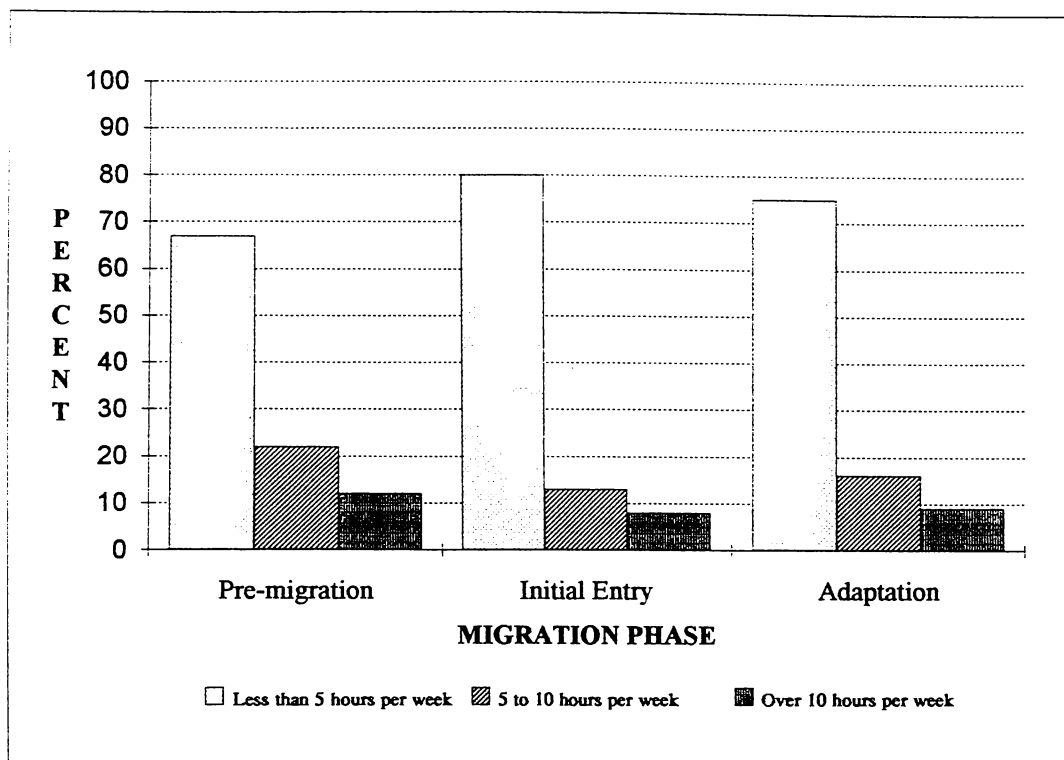


Figure 9.1
Time Spent on After-school Activities With Classmates by Migration Phase

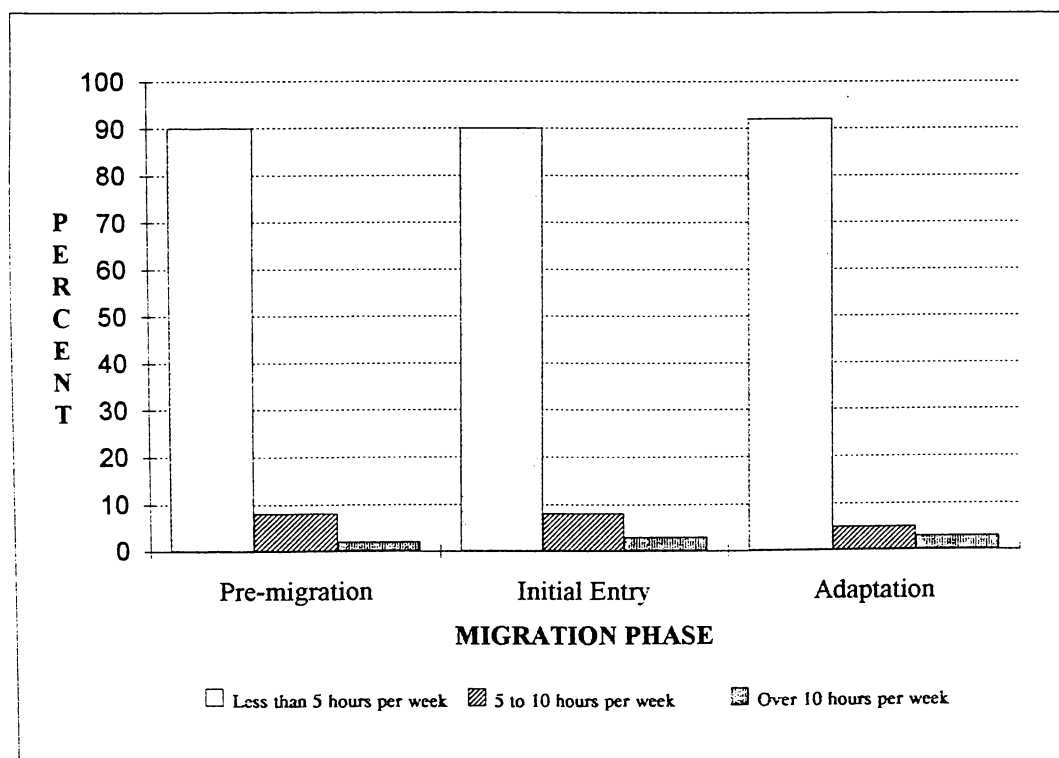


Figure 9.2
Time Spent in Social Clubs by Migration Phase

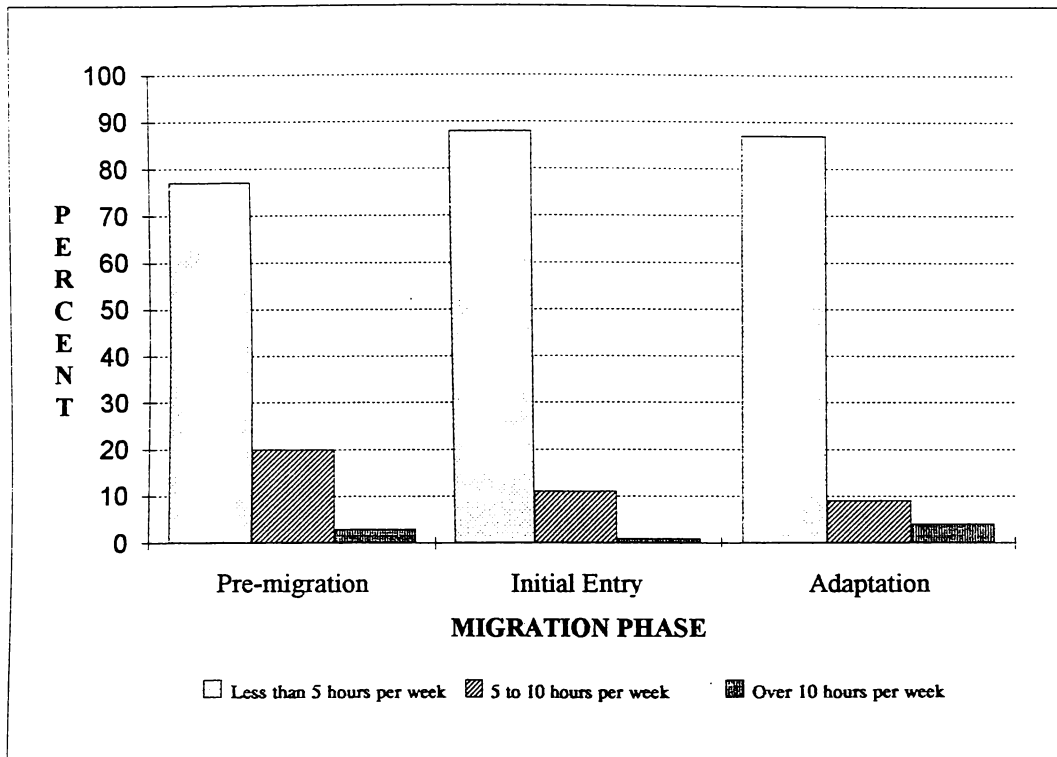


Figure 9.3
Time Spent on Playing Sports by Migration Phase

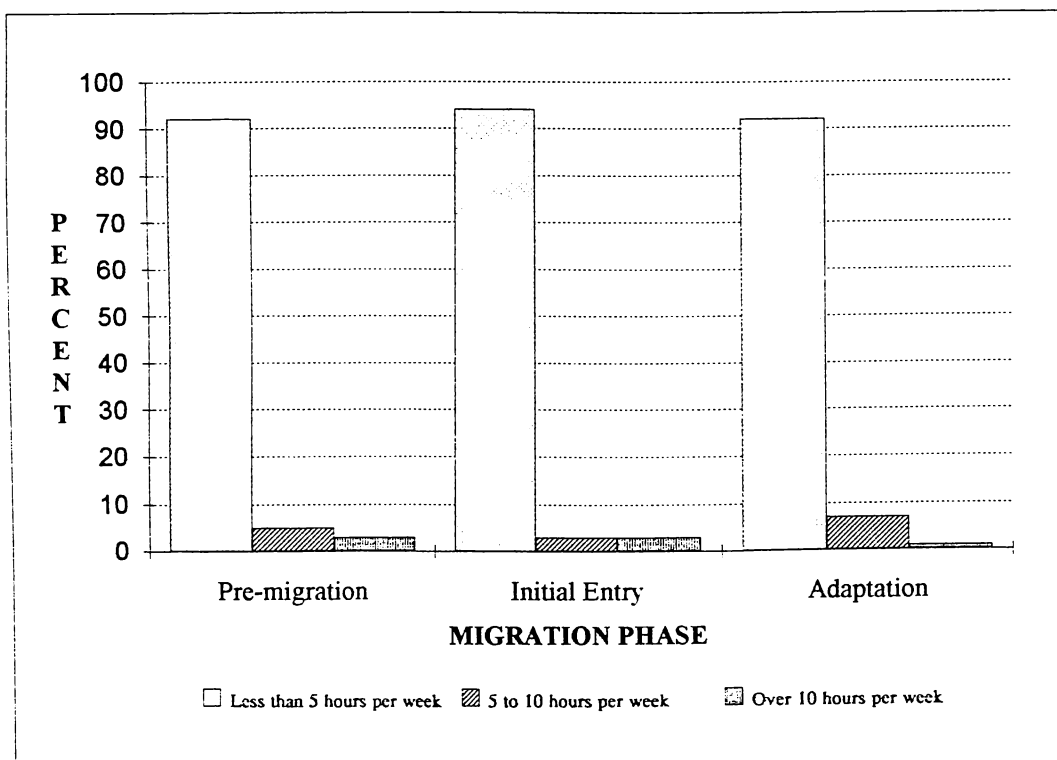


Figure 9.4
Time Spent on Entertaining Relatives at Home by Migration Phase

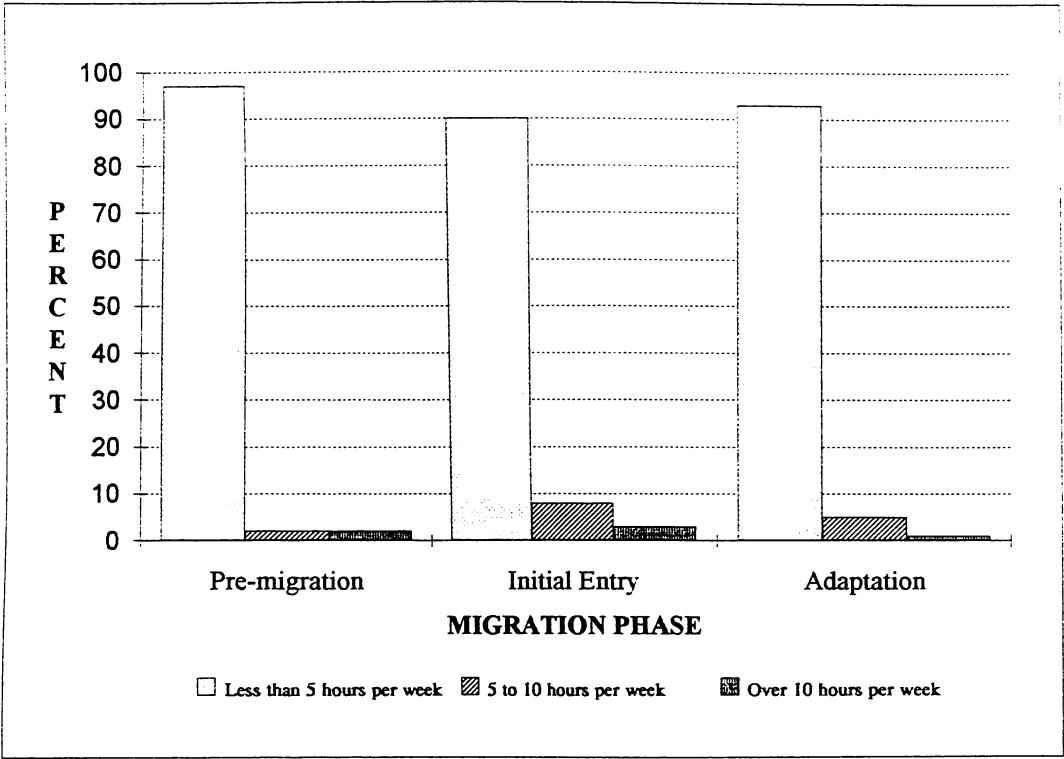


Figure 9.5
Time Spent on Entertaining Friends at Home by Migration Phase

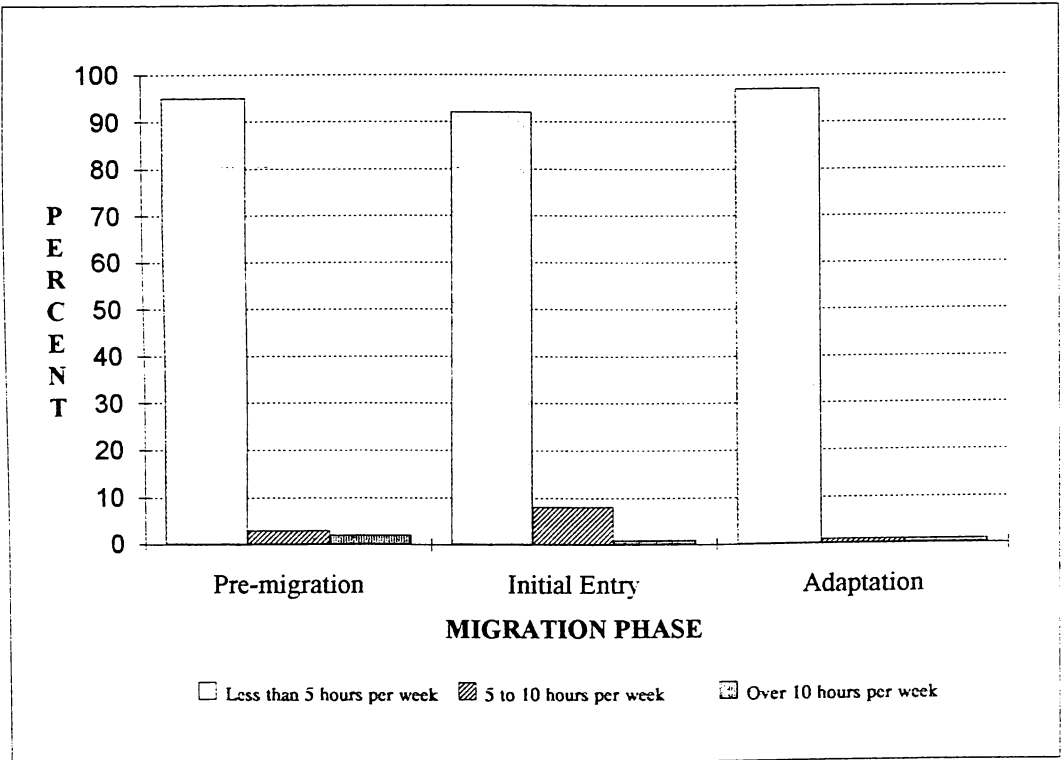


Figure 9.6
Time Spent on Visiting Relatives by Migration Phase

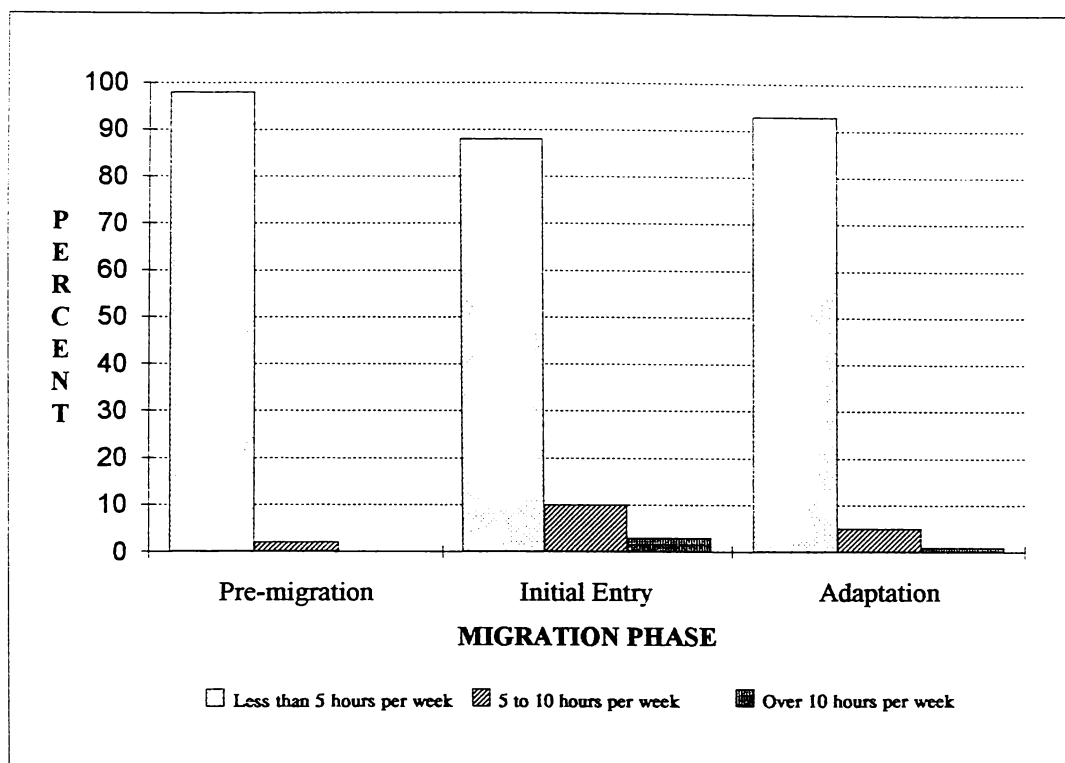


Figure 9.7
Time Spent on Visiting Friends by Migration Phase

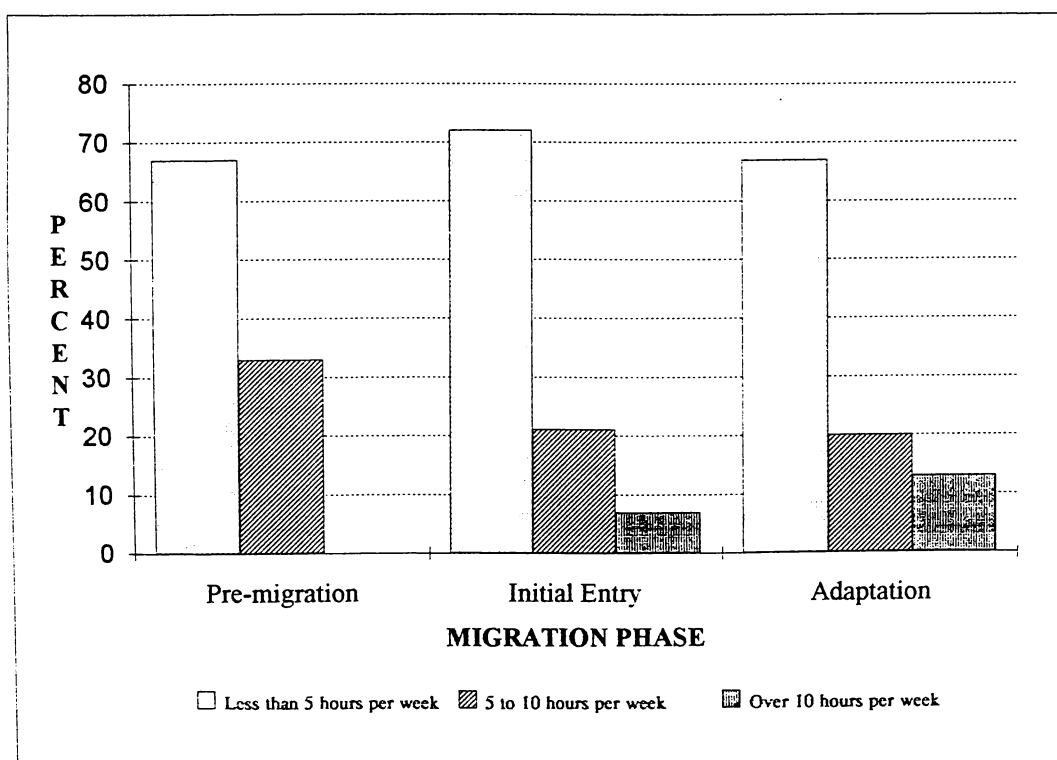


Figure 9.8
Time Spent With Family Members by Migration Phase

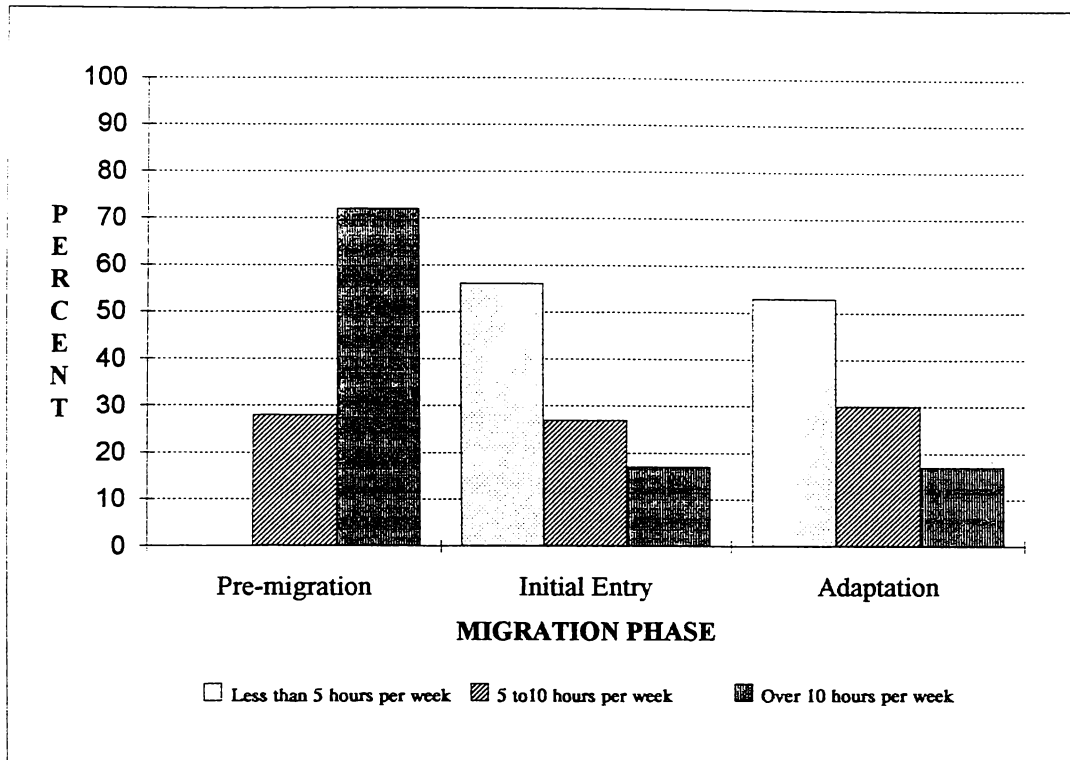


Figure 9.9
Time Spent on Doing Homework by Migration Phase

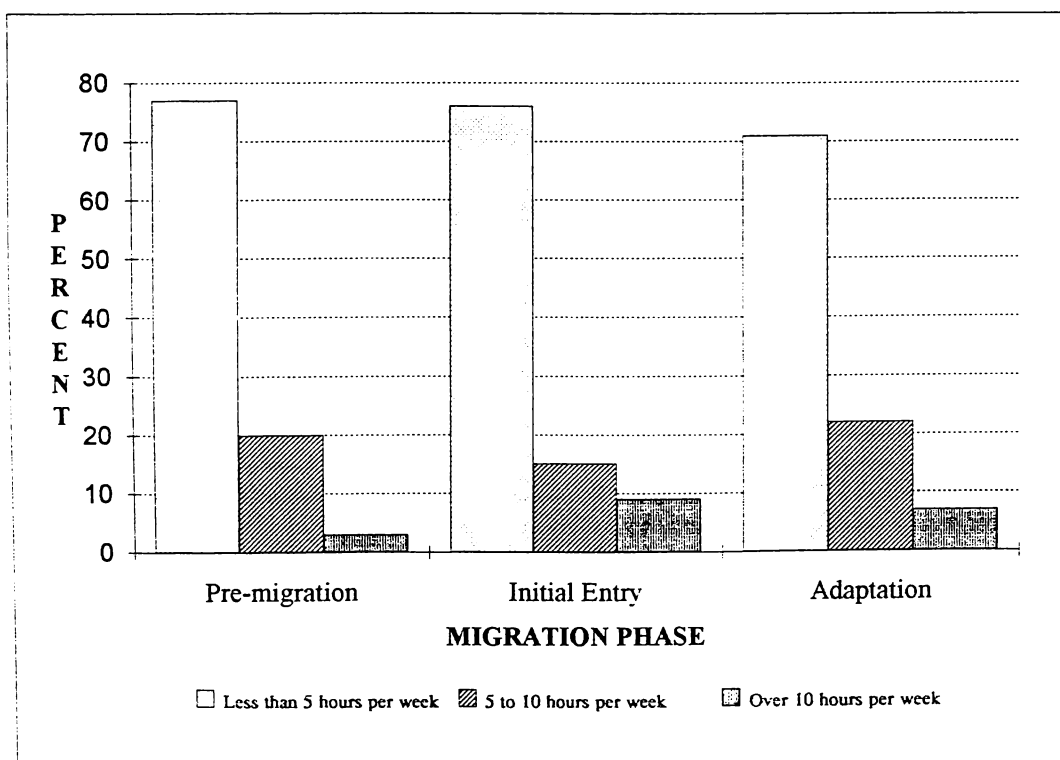


Figure 9.10
Time Spent on Leisure Activities by Oneself by Migration Phase

Overall, 72 percent of the respondents in the pre-migration phase, compared with only 17 percent of those in the post-migration phases, spent over 10 hours per week doing homework and revision. Only 2 percent of the pre-migration respondents, compared with 10 percent of the post-migration respondents, spent over 5 hours per week visiting friends' homes. None of the pre-migration respondents, compared with 9 percent of the post-migration respondents, spent over 10 hours per week having leisure activities with their own family members.

3. *Learning performance*

Results of the two-way analysis of variance on learning performance showed that the main effects for both migration phase and cultural identity state were not statistically significant. The interaction effect was also not significant. Respondents in the three migration phases did not differ in the learning methods they used. The four cultural identity groups also did not differ in their learning methods.

Cross-cultural Preferences

Six types of preference scores were derived from the Cross-cultural Preference Questionnaire. They were: the English language preference score, Chinese language preference score, New Zealand friends preference score, Chinese friends preference

score, New Zealand learning methods preference score and Chinese learning methods preference score. Six two-way analyses of variance were performed. The results are presented below under three headings: (1) language preferences; (2) social preferences; and (3) learning preferences. Each section begins with a summary of results in the form of tables, followed by a description of the findings.

1. *Language preferences*

Tables 9.6 and 9.7 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on English language preference, and the related mean English language preference score and number of observations in each cell. The main effects for both migration phase and cultural identity state were significant at the .001 level. The interaction effect was not statistically significant.

Table 9.6
Analysis of Variance on English Language Preference (in mean scores)

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	113.94	2	56.97	24.06	.001
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	82.68	3	27.56	11.64	.001
Interaction	21.48	6	3.50	1.51	.175

Table 9.7
English Language Preference Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	6.00 (1)	7.10 (5)	6.89 (47)	7.44 (7)	6.96 (60)
Initial Entry	6.88 (7)	5.90 (22)	4.96 (95)	5.82 (23)	5.31 (147)
Adaptation	7.37 (9)	6.43 (23)	4.86 (40)	4.57 (4)	5.65 (76)
Mean	7.11 (17)	6.26 (50)	5.47 (182)	6.03 (34)	5.78 (283)

Tables 9.8 and 9.9 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on Chinese language preference, and the related mean Chinese language preference score and number of observations in each cell. The effect for cultural identity state was significant at the .001 level. The effect for migration phase and the interaction effect were both not statistically significant.

Table 9.8
Analysis of Variance on Chinese Language Preference (in mean scores)

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	12.62	2	6.31	2.65	.072
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	79.98	3	26.66	11.21	.001
Interaction	6.74	6	1.12	.47	.828

Table 9.9
Chinese Language Preference Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	6.20 (1)	5.52 (5)	6.29 (47)	4.99 (7)	6.07 (60)
Initial Entry	4.74 (7)	6.70 (22)	6.89 (95)	5.88 (23)	6.59 (147)
Adaptation	4.63 (9)	6.24 (23)	6.73 (40)	6.13 (4)	6.28 (76)
Mean	4.77 (17)	6.37 (50)	6.69 (182)	5.71 (34)	6.40 (283)

Pre-migration respondents differed from post-migration respondents by expecting after migration to use English more often. The two post-migration groups did not differ significantly in any of the language preference variables studied.

Assimilated and marginalized respondents differed from separated and integrated respondents by preferring to use Chinese less. Assimilated respondents also differed from separated respondents by preferring to use English more. No other pair of cultural identity groups was found to be significantly different.

2. *Social preferences*

Tables 9.10 and 9.11 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on New Zealand friends preference, and the related mean New Zealand friends preference score and number of observations in each cell. The main effects for

both migration phase and cultural identity state were significant at the .001 level.

The interaction effect was not statistically significant.

Table 9.10
Analysis of Variance on New Zealand Friends Preference (in mean scores)

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	247.31	2	123.66	38.06	.001
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	117.01	3	39.00	12.01	.001
Interaction	14.68	6	2.45	.75	.608

Table 9.11
New Zealand Friends Preference Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	8.17 (1)	7.73 (5)	7.41 (47)	7.71 (7)	7.48 (60)
Initial Entry	6.88 (7)	5.82 (22)	4.84 (95)	5.12 (23)	5.13 (147)
Adaptation	7.31 (9)	6.31 (23)	4.42 (40)	4.75 (4)	5.35 (76)
Mean	7.19 (17)	6.23 (50)	5.42 (182)	5.63 (34)	5.69 (283)

Tables 9.12 and 9.13 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on Chinese friends preference, and the related mean Chinese friends preference score and number of observations in each cell. The effect for cultural identity state was significant at the .001 level. The effect for migration phase and the interaction effect were both not statistically significant.

Table 9.12
Analysis of Variance on Chinese Friends Preference (in mean scores)

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	15.63	2	7.82	2.60	.076
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	87.66	3	29.22	9.71	.001
Interaction	26.33	6	4.39	1.46	.193

Table 9.13
Chinese Friends Preference Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	7.67 (1)	6.97 (5)	7.70 (47)	6.36 (7)	7.48 (60)
Initial Entry	6.33 (7)	7.41 (22)	7.32 (95)	5.80 (23)	7.05 (147)
Adaptation	4.56 (9)	7.20 (23)	7.03 (40)	7.33 (4)	6.80 (76)
Mean	5.47 (17)	7.27 (50)	7.36 (182)	6.09 (34)	7.07 (283)

Pre-migration respondents differed from post-migration respondents by expecting after migration to mix more with New Zealanders. The two post-migration groups did not differ significantly in any of the social preference variables studied.

Assimilated and marginalized respondents differed from separated and integrated respondents by preferring to mix less with Chinese. Assimilated respondents also differed from separated respondents by preferring to mix more

with New Zealanders. No other pair of cultural identity groups was found to be significantly different.

3. *Learning preferences*

Tables 9.14 and 9.15 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on New Zealand learning methods preference, and the related mean New Zealand learning methods preference score and number of observations in each cell. The main effects for both migration phase and cultural identity state were significant at the .001 level. The interaction effect was not statistically significant.

Table 9.14
Analysis of Variance on New Zealand Learning Methods Preference (in mean scores)

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	103.96	2	51.98	36.02	.001
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	39.65	3	13.22	9.16	.001
Interaction	5.61	6	.94	.65	.691

Table 9.15
New Zealand Learning Methods Preference Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	7.00 (1)	8.18 (5)	7.74 (47)	7.30 (7)	7.71 (60)
Initial Entry	7.13 (7)	6.89 (22)	6.08 (95)	5.46 (23)	6.16 (147)
Adaptation	6.85 (9)	6.95 (23)	6.08 (40)	6.31 (4)	6.45 (76)
Mean	6.97 (17)	7.05 (50)	6.52 (182)	5.94 (34)	6.57 (283)

Tables 9.16 and 9.17 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on Chinese learning methods preference, and the related mean Chinese learning methods preference score and number of observations in each cell. The main effects for migration phase and cultural identity state were significant at the .01 and .05 levels respectively. The interaction effect was not statistically significant.

Table 9.16
Analysis of Variance on Chinese Learning Methods Preference (in mean scores)

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	19.66	2	9.83	6.04	.003
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	14.60	3	4.87	2.99	.031
Interaction	14.27	6	2.38	1.46	.192

Table 9.17
Chinese Learning Methods Preference Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	5.50 (1)	6.55 (5)	6.81 (47)	7.16 (7)	6.80 (60)
Initial Entry	6.52 (7)	6.32 (22)	6.25 (95)	5.34 (23)	6.13 (147)
Adaptation	6.75 (9)	6.79 (23)	6.17 (40)	5.72 (4)	6.40 (76)
Mean	6.58 (17)	6.56 (50)	6.38 (182)	5.76 (34)	6.35 (283)

Pre-migration respondents differed from post-migration respondents by expecting after migration to prefer to use New Zealand learning methods more often. Respondents in the initial entry phase differed from those in the pre-migration phase by preferring to use Chinese learning methods less often.

Marginalized respondents differed from assimilated, integrated and separated respondents by preferring to use Chinese learning methods less often in their studies. Marginalized respondents also differed from integrated respondents by preferring to use New Zealand learning methods less often. No other pair of cultural identity groups was found to be significantly different.

Cross-cultural Attitudes

The Cross-cultural Attitude Questionnaire consists of nine items: three items measure language attitudes, three items measure social attitudes, and the remaining three items measure learning attitudes. Each item was analyzed using a two-way analysis of variance. The results are presented below under three headings: (1) language attitudes; (2) social attitudes; and (3) learning attitudes.

1. *Language attitudes*

Three types of language attitude scores were derived from the Cross-cultural Attitude Questionnaire: the English language score measures the importance of having good English in New Zealand, the Chinese language score measures the importance of retaining the use of Chinese in New Zealand, and the language difficulty score measures the perceived difficulty of both having good English and retaining an ability in using Chinese.

Results of the two-way analysis of variance on attitude towards the English language showed that the main effects for both migration phase and cultural identity state were not statistically significant. The interaction effect was also not significant.

Tables 9.18 and 9.19 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on attitude towards the Chinese language, and the related Chinese language score and number of observations in each cell. The main effects for migration phase and cultural identity state were both significant at the .05 level.

The interaction effect was not statistically significant.

Table 9.18
Analysis of Variance on Attitude towards the Chinese Language

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	6.92	2	3.46	4.51	.012
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	8.70	3	2.90	3.78	.011
Interaction	7.21	6	1.20	1.57	.157

Table 9.19
Chinese Language Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	3.00 (1)	2.60 (5)	2.66 (47)	2.71 (7)	2.67 (60)
Initial Entry	2.43 (7)	2.82 (22)	3.11 (95)	2.61 (23)	2.95 (147)
Adaptation	2.33 (9)	3.43 (23)	3.08 (40)	3.50 (4)	3.12 (76)
Mean	2.41 (17)	3.08 (50)	2.98 (182)	2.74 (34)	2.94 (283)

Tables 9.20 and 9.21 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on attitude towards language difficulty, and the related language difficulty score and number of observations in each cell. The effect for migration phase was significant at the .01 level. The effect for cultural identity state and the interaction effect were both not statistically significant.

Table 9.20
Analysis of Variance on Attitude Towards Language Difficulty

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	14.24	2	7.12	5.89	.003
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	8.71	3	2.90	2.40	.068
Interaction	6.96	6	1.16	.96	.453

Table 9.21
Language Difficulty Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	1.00 (1)	1.40 (5)	1.85 (47)	2.57 (7)	1.88 (60)
Initial Entry	2.14 (7)	2.38 (22)	2.39 (95)	2.48 (23)	2.39 (147)
Adaptation	2.22 (9)	2.04 (23)	2.73 (40)	3.25 (4)	2.49 (76)
Mean	2.12 (17)	2.12 (50)	2.32 (182)	2.59 (34)	2.31 (283)

Compared with respondents in the pre-migration phase, those in the post-migration phases considered it more difficult to have good English while retaining an ability in using Chinese in New Zealand. Compared with respondents in the pre-migration phase, but not with those in the initial entry phase, respondents in the adaptation phase considered it more important to retain the use of Chinese in New Zealand. Respondents in all three migration phases did not differ in holding the attitude that having good English in New Zealand was important.

Assimilated respondents differed from separated and integrated respondents by considering it less important to retain the use of Chinese in New Zealand. The four cultural identity groups did not differ in holding the attitudes that having good English in New Zealand was important, and that having good English while retaining an ability to use Chinese in New Zealand was moderately difficult.

2. *Social attitudes*

Three types of social attitude scores were derived from the Cross-cultural Attitude Questionnaire: the New Zealand friends score measures the importance of mixing with New Zealand people, the Chinese friends score measures the importance of keeping Chinese friends, and the social difficulty score measures the perceived difficulty of both mixing with New Zealand friends and keeping Chinese friends in New Zealand.

Tables 9.22 and 9.23 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on attitude towards New Zealand friends, and the related New Zealand friends score and number of observations in each cell. The main effects for migration phase and cultural identity state were statistically significant at the .001 and .01 levels respectively. The interaction effect was not significant.

Table 9.22
Analysis of Variance on Attitude Towards New Zealand Friends

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	11.20	2	5.60	9.58	.001
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	7.15	3	2.38	4.08	.007
Interaction	3.86	6	.64	1.10	.362

Table 9.23
New Zealand Friends Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	3.00 (1)	3.60 (5)	3.53 (47)	3.43 (7)	3.52 (60)
Initial Entry	3.43 (7)	3.14 (22)	2.99 (95)	3.10 (23)	3.05 (147)
Adaptation	3.67 (9)	3.26 (23)	2.75 (40)	2.50 (4)	3.00 (76)
Mean	3.53 (17)	3.24 (50)	3.08 (182)	3.09 (34)	3.14 (283)

Tables 9.24 and 9.25 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on attitude towards Chinese friends, and the related Chinese friends score and number of observations in each cell. The effect for cultural identity state was significant at the .001 level. The effect for migration phase and the interaction effect were both not statistically significant.

Table 9.24
Analysis of Variance on Attitude Towards Chinese Friends

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	1.33	2	.66	1.08	.340
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	15.58	3	5.19	8.46	.001
Interaction	6.49	6	1.08	1.76	.107

Table 9.25
Chinese Friends Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	4.00 (1)	3.00 (5)	3.36 (47)	2.43 (7)	3.23 (60)
Initial Entry	2.86 (7)	3.29 (22)	3.23 (95)	2.61 (23)	3.12 (147)
Adaptation	2.44 (9)	3.26 (23)	3.45 (40)	3.50 (4)	3.28 (76)
Mean	2.71 (17)	3.24 (50)	3.31 (182)	2.68 (34)	3.19 (283)

Tables 9.26 and 9.27 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on attitude towards social difficulty, and the related social difficulty score and number of observations in each cell. The effect for migration phase was significant at the .001 level. The effect for cultural identity state and the interaction effect were both not statistically significant.

Table 9.26
Analysis of Variance on Attitude Towards Social Difficulty

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	15.59	2	7.80	9.25	.001
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	1.82	3	.61	.72	.542
Interaction	3.00	6	.50	.59	.736

Table 9.27
Social Difficulty Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	1.00 (1)	1.20 (5)	1.55 (47)	1.57 (7)	1.52 (60)
Initial Entry	2.00 (7)	1.73 (22)	1.89 (95)	2.22 (23)	1.93 (147)
Adaptation	2.33 (9)	2.17 (23)	2.23 (40)	1.75 (4)	2.20 (76)
Mean	2.12 (17)	1.88 (50)	1.88 (182)	2.03 (34)	1.91 (283)

Compared with respondents in the pre-migration phase, those in the post-migration phases considered it less important to mix with New Zealand people, and more difficult to mix with both New Zealand and Chinese friends. Respondents in all three migration phases did not differ in holding the attitude that keeping Chinese friends in New Zealand was important.

Assimilated and marginalized respondents differed from separated and integrated respondents by considering it less important to keep Chinese friends in

New Zealand. Compared with respondents in the separation state, but not with those in the integration and marginalization states, assimilated respondents also considered it more important to mix with New Zealand people. The four cultural groups did not differ in holding the attitude that mixing with New Zealand friends while keeping their Chinese friends in New Zealand was moderately difficult.

3. *Learning attitudes*

Three types of learning attitude scores were derived from the Cross-cultural Attitude Questionnaire: the New Zealand study methods score measures the importance of adopting New Zealand study methods, the Chinese study methods score measures the importance of continuing with own (i.e., traditional Chinese) study methods, and the learning difficulty score measures the perceived difficulty of both adopting New Zealand study methods and retaining Chinese study methods.

Tables 9.28 and 9.29 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on attitude towards New Zealand study methods, and the related New Zealand study methods score and number of observations in each cell. The effect for migration phase was significant at the .01 level. The effect for cultural identity state and the interaction effect were both not statistically significant.

Table 9.28
Analysis of Variance on Attitude Towards New Zealand Study Methods

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	9.52	2	4.76	5.65	.004
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	2.95	3	.98	1.17	.323
Interaction	5.53	6	.92	1.10	.366

Table 9.29
New Zealand Study Methods Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	4.00 (1)	3.40 (5)	3.02 (47)	3.43 (7)	3.12 (60)
Initial Entry	3.00 (7)	2.73 (22)	2.63 (95)	2.57 (23)	2.66 (147)
Adaptation	2.56 (9)	2.91 (23)	2.53 (40)	3.50 (4)	2.70 (76)
Mean	2.82 (17)	2.88 (50)	2.71 (182)	2.85 (34)	2.77 (283)

Tables 9.30 and 9.31 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on attitude towards Chinese study methods, and the related Chinese study methods score and number of observations in each cell. The effect for migration phase was significant at the .001 level. The effect for cultural identity state and the interaction effect were both not statistically significant.

Table 9.30
Analysis of Variance on Attitude Towards Chinese Study Methods

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	13.93	2	6.97	8.34	.001
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	4.02	3	1.34	1.61	.188
Interaction	2.71	6	.45	.54	.777

Table 9.31
Chinese Study Methods Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	2.00 (1)	2.40 (5)	2.66 (47)	2.14 (7)	2.57 (60)
Initial Entry	2.00 (7)	2.48 (22)	2.71 (95)	2.61 (23)	2.62 (147)
Adaptation	3.11 (9)	3.04 (23)	3.18 (40)	2.75 (4)	3.11 (76)
Mean	2.59 (17)	2.73 (50)	2.80 (182)	2.53 (34)	2.74 (283)

Results of the two-way analysis of variance on attitude towards learning difficulty showed that the main effects for migration phase and cultural identity state were both not statistically significant. The interaction effect was also not significant.

Compared with respondents in the pre-migration phase, those in the post-migration phases considered it less important to adopt New Zealand study methods, and more important to continue with the Chinese study methods they

were used to. Respondents in all three migration phases did not differ in holding the attitude that adopting New Zealand study methods while continuing with their Chinese study methods was moderately difficult.

The four cultural identity groups did not differ in any of the learning attitude variables studies. They considered that adopting New Zealand study methods while continuing with their Chinese study methods was moderately difficult.

Summary of Results and Discussion

Results of the cross-cultural adaptation of Hong Kong Chinese adolescents in a variety of domains of daily activities and different modes of social-psychological functioning have been presented in the preceding sections. In this section, the results are summarized and discussed across migration phases and cultural identity states.

Across phases of migration, respondents in the pre-migration phase differed from those in the two post-migration phases in language use and social relations, but not in school learning. The two post-migration groups did not differ from each other. Prior to migration, Hong Kong Chinese adolescents adopted a predominantly Chinese lifestyle. They used the Chinese language and mixed with Chinese friends most of the time. They also spent a large amount of their time after school doing homework and revision, and little time visiting friends or having leisure activities with families. In general, pre-migration Hong Kong Chinese adolescents put great emphasis on getting good grades in school. Their learning methods involved mainly note-taking during lessons, and

memorization of factual materials taught by teachers. If they did not understand something in class, they usually asked for help from their classmates rather than from the teachers.

Nonetheless, pre-migration respondents were prepared to change. Most of them expected after migration to use English, mix with New Zealand friends, and use New Zealand learning methods more often. Many of the expected lifestyle changes, especially in the language and social domains, actually occurred in the initial entry phase, and continued more slowly in the adaptation phase.

Post-migration respondents also spent less time doing homework and revision after school than those in the pre-migration phase. However, they did not differ from pre-migration respondents in learning methods. Many Hong Kong Chinese adolescents had not adjusted to the learning methods of the New Zealand host society after three years.

Discussions with post-migration respondents after they completed the questionnaires provided further information on what they thought about their schooling in New Zealand. A majority pointed out that their present school life was less stressful and less competitive when compared with that in Hong Kong. They were not required to spend most of their time after school doing homework, and preparing for tests and examinations. They enjoyed having more time for recreation and leisure activities.

Many respondents considered that English was the major problem they faced in New Zealand schools. They experienced difficulty in doing written assignments which required them to write down in their own words what they had learned in class. They also read very slowly, and had to use the dictionary frequently. Although many said they could understand most of what they were taught in class, they seldom participated in

class discussions. A number of respondents thought that if their English improved, they could do better in their school work.

Some respondents believed that they had difficulties coping with New Zealand learning methods as well. In New Zealand schools, students are often required to do research projects independently. In carrying out these projects, they are asked to define the research tasks, set out achievable objectives, collect relevant information from a variety of sources, analyze the data, present them in a logical manner, and evaluate the outcomes. Hong Kong Chinese students are not used to this learning approach. Many said they would like their teachers to give them specific guidelines and direct assistance at various points during the research process, but were too shy to ask for help. As a result, they were not able to take advantage of the independent research approach to learning.

In general, Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants considered that doing well in school was very important. They knew that their parents had high expectations for them. Many said their parents wanted them to get good grades in school, and eventually enter the university. However, as new immigrants who had to make the transition from the familiar Hong Kong education system to a new one, the Hong Kong Chinese adolescents had to cope with many kinds of changes. Some felt that their parents had too high an expectation of them, and that their parents did not understand the difficulties they had to face in this transition process.

Many Hong Kong Chinese students expected the teachers to give them extra help during the transition period. They were grateful when teachers cared about them, and assisted them to cope with their new school life. However, they felt that many teachers seemed too busy to give them the attention and guidance they needed.

While many students were unable to articulate specifically what kinds of assistance they wished to have in the transition process, some of the results of this study can provide a guideline. As most Hong Kong Chinese students have learned English for a number of years before coming to New Zealand, they do not have great difficulties in understanding teachers' instructions. However, they may need help in reading and writing skills. They also need encouragement to ask for help, and to take part in class discussions.

In addition, Hong Kong Chinese students are not accustomed to the exploratory learning approach often used by teachers in New Zealand. When these newcomers are given research projects to do, they need extra help, guidance and reassurance from their teachers at various points in the learning process. Finally, their parents also need to be encouraged to participate in school activities as well, so that they can learn more about the New Zealand education system, and give appropriate assistance to their children.

As well as providing information on the characteristics of individuals in different migration phases, the results of this study also give insight into the characteristics of individuals across cultural identity states. Each cultural identity state was associated with a fairly consistent pattern of behaviours, preferences and attitudes in a variety of domains of daily activities. Hypotheses 2a to 2d set out in chapter 5 (p. 101) were confirmed.

Individuals in the assimilation state were found to use English more, and mix more with New Zealanders than those in the separation state. They also preferred to use English more and Chinese less, and mix with New Zealanders more and with Chinese people less than did separated individuals. In terms of attitudes, assimilated individuals considered it more important to make New Zealand friends, and less important to retain

the Chinese language and keep Chinese friends in New Zealand. On the other hand, separated individuals considered it more important to retain the use of the Chinese language, and keep Chinese friends in New Zealand. Hence, individuals in the assimilation state were characterized by behaviours, preferences and attitudes indicating both non-maintenance of ethnic culture and penetration into the host society; whereas those in the separation state were characterized by behaviours, preferences and attitudes indicating both maintenance of ethnic culture and a lack of penetration into host society.

Individuals in the integration state differed from those in the assimilation state by preferring to use Chinese more and mix with Chinese people more often. In terms of attitudes, integrated individuals considered it more important to retain the use of Chinese language and mix with Chinese friends in New Zealand. However, they did not differ from assimilated individuals in terms of the amount they used English, and the degrees of importance they attached to using English language, and mixing with New Zealand friends. Hence, individuals in the integration state were characterized with behaviours, preferences and attitudes indicating both maintenance of ethnic culture as well as penetration into the host society.

It was pointed out in chapter 3 that individuals in the marginalization state are in a transient state of indecision. They are likely to have a strong desire to assimilate and identify with the host culture, but in practice, they are unable to participate fully in the host society because they lack the skills, and/or have been rejected by it (p. 54). Results of the present study are consistent with these predictions. Individuals in the marginalization state differed from those in the other three cultural identity states by using Chinese learning methods less often in their studies. They also differed from those in the separation and integration states by preferring to use Chinese less, and considering

it less important to keep Chinese friends in New Zealand. However, they did not differ from assimilated individuals by preferring to use English over Chinese, and to mix with New Zealanders rather than Chinese friends. Hence, individuals in the marginalization state, like those in the assimilation state, showed a desire to relinquish their own ethnic culture and penetrate into the host society. Nonetheless, in terms of actual behaviours, marginalized individuals did not use the English language, nor mix with New Zealanders as often as assimilated individuals.

Unlike individuals in the assimilation, integration and separation states who were congruent in their behavioral, cognitive and affective modes of functioning, those in the marginalization state were more assimilated in their attitudes and preferences than in their actions. According to Wong-Rieger (1982, 1984), individuals who do not adapt to all three modes to an equivalent extent may require a change in behaviour, cognition or identity to resolve the discrepancies. Marginalized individuals are, therefore, expected to change their cultural identities, and achieve greater congruence in actions, thinking and identification over time.

In the next chapter, a number of factors influencing why individual immigrants use different methods of adaptation will be further examined.

Chapter 10

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN CROSS-CULTURAL ADAPTATION

The fourth aim of this study was to determine social experiences influencing whether Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants would become assimilated, integrated, separated or marginalized in New Zealand. Five research hypotheses were generated to examine the effects of (1) gender, (2) family separation, (3) expected duration of stay in the new country, (4) causal attributions for cultural learning performance, and (5) social support on the methods of cross-cultural adaptation chosen by the immigrants (pp. 101-103). The social support variable was studied across migration phases and cultural identity states, using two-way analysis of variance. For the other four variables, chi-square analysis was used to test for significant differences across cultural identity states and within migration phases. Results of these analyses are reported below.

Gender

Chi-square analysis revealed no significant variation in the distribution of males and females across cultural identity groups and within migration phases. In all migration phases, the proportion of males and females found in each cultural identity state was approximately the same.

Family Separation

Table 10.1 shows the distribution of respondents who lived with both parents and those who lived with one or neither parents. Over 98 percent of pre-migration respondents, but only 43 percent of post-migration respondents, lived with both parents. Chi-square analysis was used to determine if, across cultural identity states and within migration phases, significant differences existed in the proportion of respondents who lived with both parents and those who did not. A one-tailed test was used because the research hypothesis indicated the predicted direction of the differences (p. 102). A larger proportion of integrated, separated and marginalized respondents in the post-migration phases, compared with those in the pre-migration phase, were separated from one or both parents. Across migration phases, no significant differences were found in the distribution of assimilated respondents who were separated from one or both parents and those respondents who lived with both parents.

Among post-migration respondents, a larger proportion of separated respondents in the initial entry phase, compared with those respondents in the adaptation phase, were separated from one or both parents.

Table 10.1
Family Residence Patterns by Cultural Identity State and Migration Phase

	Assimilation		Integration		Separation		Marginalization	
	Gp 1	Gp 2	Gp 1	Gp 2	Gp 1	Gp 2	Gp 1	Gp 2
Pre-migration	1	0	5	0	46	1	7	0
Initial Entry	3	4	9	13	30	64	10	13
Adaptation	7	2	14	9	21	19	1	3
	$X^2 = 2.69$, df = 2, ns		$X^2 = 6.18$, df = 2, p < .05		$X^2 = 54.83$, df = 2, p < .001		$X^2 = 8.3$, df = 2, p < .01	

Gp 1 respondents who lived with both parents.

Gp 2 respondents who lived with one or neither parents.

Expected Duration of Stay in New Zealand

Table 10.2 shows the distribution of post-migration respondents who wished to stay in New Zealand for less than five years, and those who wished to stay for more than five years. A one-tailed test was used because the research hypothesis indicated the predicted direction of the differences (p. 102). Results of the chi-square analysis showed that respondents' expected duration of stay in New Zealand differed significantly across cultural identity groups ($X^2 = 18.02$, df = 6, p < .01). Compared with respondents in the integration, separation and marginalization states, a larger proportion of assimilated respondents intended to stay in New Zealand for over five years.

Table 10.2
Respondents' Expected Duration of Stay in New Zealand by Cultural Identity State

Expected duration of stay in New Zealand	Assimilation		Integration		Separation		Marginalization	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1 to 5 years	2	12.5	21	46.7	55	40.7	13	48.1
over 5 years	13	81.3	16	35.6	42	31.1	8	29.6
don't know	1	6.2	8	17.7	38	28.2	6	22.3
TOTAL	16	100	45	100	135	100	27	100

In order to further understand the characteristics of respondents who wished to stay in New Zealand for less than five years and those who wished to stay for over five years, their length of residence in New Zealand, preferred country of settlement, and reasons for leaving Hong Kong were studied. Table 10.3 shows the relationship between length of residence and expected duration of stay in New Zealand. A larger proportion of the respondents who had lived in New Zealand for over three years, compared with those whose length of residence was less than three years, wished to stay in New Zealand for over five years ($\chi^2 = 16.6$, $df = 6$, $p < .01$).

Table 10.3
Length of Residence by Expected Duration of Stay in New Zealand

Expected duration of stay in NZ	Length of Residence in New Zealand							
	Less than 1 year		Between 1 & 2 years		Between 2 & 3 years		Between 3 & 4 years	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1 to 5 years	33	41.8	35	51.5	18	34.6	5	20.9
over 5 years	20	25.3	23	33.8	22	42.3	14	58.3
don't know	26	32.9	10	14.7	12	23.1	5	20.8
TOTAL	79	100	68	100	52	100	24	100

Table 10.4 shows the relationship between preferred country of settlement and expected duration of stay in New Zealand. A larger proportion of the respondents who wished to stay in New Zealand for more than five years, compared with those who wished to stay for less than five years, chose New Zealand as the country which they most wished to settle in ($\chi^2 = 18.78$, $df = 6$, $p < .001$).

Table 10.4
Preferred Country of Settlement by Expected Duration of Stay in New Zealand

Preferred Country of Settlement	Expected Duration of Stay in New Zealand					
	1 to 5 years		over 5 years		don't know	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
New Zealand	10	11.0	29	36.7	8	15.1
Hong Kong	52	57.1	31	39.2	26	49.1
Other countries¹	29	31.9	19	24.1	19	35.8
TOTAL	91	100	79	100	53	100

¹ Twenty-one respondents chose USA as their preferred country of settlement. Others include: Australia (16), Canada (13), Japan (7), United Kingdom (3), China (2), and undecided (5).

Three main reasons were given by respondents to explain why they left Hong Kong: (1) uncertainty in Hong Kong after the resumption of Chinese sovereignty in 1997, (2) the decision of the family to emigrate, and (3) study. The chi-square analysis was used to test if significant differences existed in the distribution of respondents who wished to stay in New Zealand for less than five years and those who wished to stay for over five years in respect to the reasons they gave for leaving Hong Kong. No significant differences were found.

Causal Attributions for Cultural Learning Performance

The Attribution Questionnaire provides information on: (1) the types of attributions post-migration respondents used to explain their successes and failures in using languages, making new friends, and school learning in the host society; and (2) classification of the attributions on the three dimensions of locality, stability and controllability. Results of the Attribution Questionnaire are presented below under three headings: (1) language attributions; (2) social attributions; and (3) learning attributions.

1. Language attributions

A total of 358 free response attributions were provided by the respondents to explain their successful language performance. Nine categories were established for the causal attributions given (Table 10.5). Two hundred and seventy-seven, or 77 percent of the attributions were placed within the categories of specific competence, effort, other people's help and personality. The remaining attributions (81 or 23%) were placed within five other categories.

Table 10.5
Causal Attributions for Successful Language Performance by Cultural Identity Group

	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	ROW TOTAL
1. Specific competence (e.g. I spoke clearly.)	8	16	75	2	101
2. Effort (e.g. I listened to the radio to improve my English.)	5	26	28	12	71
3. Other people's help (e.g. She listened attentively.)	4	5	38	14	61
4. Personality (e.g. I am self-confident.)	4	9	27	4	44
5. Interest (e.g. I was interested in the topic.)	5	5	17	3	30
6. Task ease (e.g. I could use simple English to get what I wanted.)	0	2	12	8	22
7. Longer time in NZ (e.g. I could understand people speaking with a NZ accent.)	4	5	6	3	18
8. Behaviour (e.g. I used body language to help people understand what I meant.)	0	2	5	0	7
9. Luck	2	2	0	0	4
COLUMN TOTAL	32	72	208	46	358 ¹

¹ One hundred and thirty-five respondents cited two causal attributions to explain their performance successes. Eighty-eight respondents cited one attribution only.

Eight categories were established for the 404 free response attributions cited by the respondents to explain their unsuccessful language performance (Table 10.6). Three hundred and eight, or 76 percent of the attributions were placed within the categories of lack of competence, other people's hinderance, too short a time in New Zealand and lack of effort. The remaining attributions (96 or 24%) were placed within four other categories.

Table 10.6
Causal Attributions for Unsuccessful Language Performance by Cultural Identity Group

	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	ROW TOTAL
1. Lack of competence (e.g. My English was not good.)	7	28	106	26	167
2. Other people's hinderance (e.g. They spoke too fast.)	4	6	40	6	56
3. Too short a time in New Zealand (e.g. I didn't understand NZ slang.)	5	2	35	2	44
4. Lack of effort (e.g. I did not try hard.)	5	16	20	0	41
5. Task difficulty (e.g. I did not know how to describe to the hairdresser the hair style I wanted.)	0	5	32	0	37
6. Personality (e.g. I am very shy.)	0	8	25	3	36
7. Lack of ability (e.g. English is my second language.)	0	2	8	2	12
8. Lack of interest (e.g. I was not interested in the topic.)	3	3	2	3	11
COLUMN TOTAL	24	70	268	42	404 ¹

¹ One hundred and eighty-one respondents cited two causal attributions to explain their performance failures. Forty-two respondents cited one attribution only.

Chi-square analyses were used to determine if significant differences existed across cultural identity groups in the proportions of successful language attributions rated as internal or external, stable or unstable, and controllable or uncontrollable. No significant differences were found. Across cultural identity groups, 82 percent of successful language attributions were rated as internal, 75 percent as unstable, and 78 percent as controllable.

Concerning the classification of attributions used to account for unsuccessful language performance, no significant differences were found across cultural identity groups on the proportions of attributions rated as internal or

external, and controllable or uncontrollable. Across cultural identity groups, 84 percent of unsuccessful language attributions were rated as internal and 55 percent as controllable. However, there were significant differences among the four cultural identity groups in the proportion of unsuccessful language attributions that were rated as stable or unstable ($X^2 = 14.25$, $df = 3$, $p < .01$). A larger proportion of assimilated and integrated respondents, compared with those respondents in the separation and marginalization states, rated their unsuccessful language attributions as unstable (Table 10.7).

Table 10.7
Contingency Table for Stability in Unsuccessful Language Performance

Count <i>Expected Value</i>	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	ROW TOTAL
STABLE	0 3.1	2 8.7	35 26.0	6 5.2	43
UNSTABLE	16 12.9	43 36.3	100 109.0	21 21.8	180
Column Total	16	45	135	27	223 ¹

¹ For respondents who cited two attributions, one was randomly selected for inclusion in this table.

2. *Social attributions*

Seven categories were established for the 304 free response attributions provided by the respondents to account for their successful social performance (Table 10.8). Two hundred and seventy, or 89 percent of the attributions were placed within the categories of effort, personality, motivation and interest, and other people's help. The remaining attributions (34 or 11%) were placed within three other categories.

Table 10.8
Causal Attributions for Successful Social Performance by Cultural Identity Group

	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	ROW TOTAL
1. Effort (e.g. I took the initiative.)	6	8	54	4	72
2. Personality (e.g. I am an easy going person.)	10	24	29	6	69
3. Motivation and Interest (e.g. We have common interest.)	0	11	41	13	65
4. Other people's help (e.g. She is very willing to help.)	6	14	36	8	64
5. Competence (e.g. I speak good English.)	4	4	7	0	15
6. Luck	0	5	7	3	15
7. Longer time in NZ (e.g. My NZ friends introduced me to other new friends.)	0	2	2	0	4
COLUMN TOTAL	26	68	176	34	304 ¹

¹ Eighty-one respondents cited two causal attributions to explain their performance successes. One hundred and forty-two respondents cited one attribution only.

Seven categories were established for the 318 free response attributions cited by the respondents to explain their unsuccessful social performance (Table 10.9). Two hundred and sixty-one, or 82 percent of the attributions were placed within the categories of lack of competence, task difficulty, lack of motivation and other people's hinderance. The remaining attributions (57 or 18%) were placed within three other categories.

Table 10.9
Causal Attributions for Unsuccessful Social Performance by Cultural Identity Group

	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	ROW TOTAL
1. Lack of competence (e.g. My English was not good.)	5	9	75	10	99
2. Task difficulty (e.g. Different cultures and background)	6	12	44	11	73
3. Lack of motivation (e.g. I didn't like him.)	0	15	30	0	45
4. Other people's hinderance (e.g. She was very rude.)	3	10	25	6	44
5. Too short a time in NZ	3	1	13	5	22
6. Personality (e.g. I am a very shy person.)	0	0	14	6	20
7. Effort (e.g. I did not try hard enough.)	1	1	13	0	15
COLUMN TOTAL	18	48	214	38	318 ¹

¹ Ninety-five respondents cited two causal attributions to explain their performance failures. One hundred and twenty-eight respondents cited one attribution only.

Chi-square analyses were used to determine if significant differences existed across cultural identity groups in the proportions of successful social attributions rated as internal or external, stable or unstable, and controllable or uncontrollable. No significant differences were found. Across cultural identity groups, 74 percent of successful social attributions were rated as internal, 56 percent as unstable and 72 percent as controllable.

Concerning the classification of attributions used to account for unsuccessful social performance, no significant differences were found across cultural identity groups on the proportions of attributions rated as stable or unstable, and controllable or uncontrollable. Across cultural identity groups, 60 percent of unsuccessful social attributions were rated as unstable and 60 percent

as uncontrollable. However, there were significant differences among the four cultural identity groups in the proportion of unsuccessful social attributions that were rated as internal or external ($\chi^2 = 13.95$, $df = 3$, $p < .01$). Compared with respondents in the assimilation, separation and marginalization states, a larger proportion of integrated respondents rated their unsuccessful social attributions as external.

Table 10.10
Contingency Table for Locus of Causality in Unsuccessful Social Performance

Count <i>Expected Value</i>	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	ROW TOTAL
INTERNAL	13 9.6	17 27.0	85 81.1	19 16.2	134
EXTERNAL	3 6.4	28 18.0	50 53.9	8 10.8	89
Column Total	16	45	135	27	223 ¹

¹ For respondents who cited two attributions, one was randomly selected for inclusion in this table.

3. *Learning attributions*

Table 10.11 shows that Mathematics was cited by 61 percent of the post-migration respondents as their most successful subject; Science by 13 percent and Accounting by 11 percent of the respondents. On the other hand, 32 percent of the sample cited English as their least successful subject, followed by Social Studies (18%), Science (16%), Accounting (12%) and Economics (7%).

Table 10.11
Most Successful and Least Successful Subjects Cited by Post-migration Respondents

Most successful subjects		Least successful subjects	
Mathematics	61 %	English	32 %
Science	13 %	Social Studies	18 %
Accounting	11 %	Science	16 %
Art	5 %	Accounting	12 %
Other subjects	10 %	Economics	7 %
		Other subjects	15 %
Total	100 %	Total	100 %

A total of 426 free response attributions were provided by the respondents to account for their successful school learning. Three hundred and fifty, or 82 percent of the attributions were placed within the categories of task ease, effort and interest. The remaining attributions (76 or 18%) were placed within four other categories (Table 10.12).

Table 10.12
Causal Attributions for Successful School Learning by Cultural Identity Group

	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	ROW TOTAL
1. Task ease (e.g. The subject was easy.)	10	40	150	18	218
2. Effort (e.g. I spent more time on this subject.)	11	22	42	7	82
3. Interest (e.g. I am interested in this subject.)	7	8	32	3	50
4. Other people's help (e.g. The teacher taught well.)	0	8	24	6	38
5. General competence (e.g. I am clever.)	0	8	12	3	23
6. Luck	2	0	10	1	13
7. Specific competence (e.g. My English was not bad.)	2	0	0	0	2
COLUMN TOTAL	32	86	270	38	426 ¹

¹ Two hundred and three respondents cited two causal attributions to explain their performance successes. Twenty respondents cited one attribution only.

Four hundred and thirty-four causal attributions were cited by the respondents to account for their unsuccessful school learning. Three hundred and sixty-three, or 84 percent of the attributions were placed within the categories of lack of competence, task difficulty, lack of effort, different learning methods and other people's hinderance. The remaining attributions (71 or 16%) were placed within five other categories (Table 10.13).

Table 10.13
Causal Attributions for Unsuccessful School Learning by Cultural Identity Group

	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	ROW TOTAL
1. Lack of competence (e.g. My English was not good.)	4	36	67	21	128
2. Task difficulty (e.g. The subject was difficult.)	8	9	66	8	91
3. Lack of effort (e.g. I was too lazy.)	3	12	31	4	50
4. Different teaching methods (e.g. The teaching method in NZ was different from that in HK.)	5	15	21	7	48
5. Other people's hinderance (e.g. The teacher taught badly.)	3	8	33	2	46
6. Lack of interest (e.g. I had no interest in this subject.)	1	3	32	2	38
7. Too short a time in NZ (e.g. I knew very little about NZ history.)	3	7	10	0	20
8. Lack of ability (e.g. English is my second language.)	0	0	6	0	6
9. Lack of specific competence (e.g. I am not clever.)	0	0	4	2	6
10. Bad luck	1	0	0	0	1
COLUMN TOTAL	28	90	270	46	434 ¹

¹ Two hundred and eleven respondents cited two causal attributions to explain their performance failures. Twelve respondents cited one attribution only.

Chi-square analyses were used to determine if significant differences existed across cultural identity groups in the proportions of successful and unsuccessful school learning attributions that were rated as internal or external, stable or unstable, and controllable or uncontrollable. No significant differences were found. Across cultural identity groups, 69 percent of successful academic attributions were rated as internal, 66 percent as unstable and 67 percent as controllable, whereas 66 percent of unsuccessful academic attributions were rated as internal. 56 percent as unstable and 63 percent as controllable.

Social Support

The Social Support Questionnaire measures two kinds of support: informational support and emotional support. For each kind of support, four types of scores are derived: perceived number of family members who give support, perceived number of non-family members who give support, satisfaction with family support, and satisfaction with non-family support.

In order to determine if there were significant differences in these scores across migration phases and cultural identity states, eight two-way analysis of variance were performed. The results are presented below under two headings: (1) informational support, and (2) emotional support.

1. Informational support

Results of the two-way analysis of variance on the perceived number of family members who gave informational support are presented in Table 10.14, and the related family support score and number of observations in each cell in Table 10.15. The main effect for migration phase was significant at the .001 level. The effect for cultural identity state and the interaction effect were both not statistically significant.

Table 10.14
Analysis of Variance on the Perceived Number of Family Members
Who Gave Informational Support

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	22.24	2	13.62	7.51	.001
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	3.48	3	1.16	.64	.590
Interaction	3.51	6	.59	.32	.925

Table 10.15
Family Support Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	2.00 (1)	2.00 (5)	2.02 (47)	1.71 (7)	1.98 (60)
Initial Entry	1.29 (7)	1.09 (22)	2.41 (95)	1.04 (23)	1.30 (147)
Adaptation	0.89 (9)	1.39 (23)	1.08 (39)	0.75 (4)	1.13 (75)
Mean	1.12 (17)	1.32 (50)	1.50 (181)	1.15 (34)	1.40 (282)

Results of the two-way analysis of variance on the perceived number of non-family members who gave informational support showed that the main effects for migration phase and cultural identity state were not statistically significant. The interaction effect was also not significant.

Tables 10.16 and 10.17 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on satisfaction with informational support provided by family members, and the related satisfaction with family support score and number of observations

in each cell. The effect for migration phase was significant at the .001 level. The effect for cultural identity state and the interaction effect were both not statistically significant.

Table 10.16
Analysis of Variance on Satisfaction with Family Members
Who Gave Informational Support

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	63.74	2	31.87	7.91	.001
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	15.22	3	5.07	1.26	.289
Interaction	9.16	6	1.53	.38	.892

Table 10.17
Satisfaction With Family Support Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	4.50 (1)	2.92 (5)	3.48 (47)	2.86 (7)	3.38 (60)
Initial Entry	2.03 (7)	2.52 (22)	2.53 (95)	1.57 (23)	2.35 (147)
Adaptation	1.80 (9)	2.04 (23)	2.09 (39)	2.50 (4)	2.06 (75)
Mean	2.05 (17)	2.34 (50)	2.68 (181)	1.95 (34)	2.49 (282)

Tables 10.18 and 10.19 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on satisfaction with informational support provided by non-family members, and the related satisfaction with non-family support score and number of observations in each cell. The effect for migration phase was significant at the .005 level. The effect for cultural identity state and the interaction effect were both not statistically significant.

Table 10.18
Analysis of Variance on Satisfaction with Non-family Members
Who Gave Informational Support

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	26.52	2	13.26	5.33	.005
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	14.94	3	4.98	2.00	.114
Interaction	21.68	6	3.61	1.45	.195

Table 10.19
Satisfaction With Non-family Support Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	4.00 (1)	4.12 (5)	3.69 (47)	2.93 (7)	3.64 (60)
Initial Entry	4.00 (7)	2.38 (22)	2.97 (95)	2.44 (23)	2.85 (147)
Adaptation	3.60 (9)	3.42 (23)	2.69 (39)	3.67 (4)	3.08 (75)
Mean	3.79 (17)	3.03 (50)	3.10 (181)	2.69 (34)	3.08 (282)

The Scheffe multiple comparison procedure was used to determine which social support scores in the three migration phases, as well as the four cultural identity states, were significantly different from each other. Compared with pre-migration respondents, post-migration respondents reported having fewer family members who provided informational support, and being less satisfied with the family support available. Respondents in the initial entry phase differed from pre-migration respondents by reporting being less satisfied with the informational support provided by non-family members. The two post-migration groups were not significantly different from each other. In addition, the four cultural identity groups also did not differ significantly in any of the informational support scores studied.

2. *Emotional support*

Tables 10.20 and 10.21 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on the perceived number of family members who gave emotional support, and the related family support score and number of observations in each cell. The main effect for migration phase was significant at the .001 level. The effect for cultural identity state and the interaction effect were both not statistically significant.

Table 10.20
Analysis of Variance on the Perceived Number of Family Members
Who Gave Emotional Support

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	22.30	2	11.15	7.42	.001
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	4.10	3	1.37	.91	.437
Interaction	10.01	6	1.67	1.11	.356

Table 10.21
Family Support Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	1.00 (1)	1.40 (5)	1.55 (47)	1.57 (7)	1.53 (60)
Initial Entry	1.71 (7)	0.50 (22)	0.89 (95)	0.65 (23)	0.84 (147)
Adaptation	1.00 (9)	1.17 (23)	0.72 (39)	0.25 (4)	0.87 (75)
Mean	1.29 (17)	0.90 (50)	1.03 (181)	0.79 (34)	0.99 (282)

Tables 10.22 and 10.23 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on the perceived number of non-family members who gave emotional support, and the related non-family support score and number of observations in each cell. The main effects for cultural identity state was statistically significant at the .05 level. The effect for migration phase and the interaction effect were both not significant.

Table 10.22
Analysis of Variance on the Perceived Number of Non-family Members
Who Gave Emotional Support

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	18.59	2	9.30	2.01	.136
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	38.91	3	12.97	2.80	.040
Interaction	12.97	6	2.16	.47	.833

Table 10.23
Non-family Support Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	1.00 (1)	3.20 (5)	2.62 (47)	1.71 (7)	2.53 (60)
Initial Entry	1.86 (7)	2.73 (22)	2.17 (95)	1.35 (23)	2.11 (147)
Adaptation	2.56 (9)	2.30 (23)	1.36 (39)	1.25 (4)	1.79 (75)
Mean	2.18 (17)	2.58 (50)	2.11 (181)	1.41 (34)	2.11 (282)

Tables 10.24 and 10.25 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on satisfaction with emotional support provided by family members, and the related satisfaction with family support score and number of observations in each cell. The effect for migration phase was significant at the .001 level. The effect for cultural identity state and the interaction effect were both not statistically significant.

Table 10.24
Analysis of Variance on Satisfaction with Family Members
Who Gave Emotional Support

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	89.47	2	44.74	10.86	.001
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	21.12	3	7.04	1.71	.165
Interaction	4.58	6	.76	.19	.981

Table 10.25
Satisfaction With Family Support Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	4.00 (1)	3.60 (5)	2.89 (47)	3.00 (7)	2.98 (60)
Initial Entry	2.34 (7)	1.75 (22)	1.57 (95)	1.03 (23)	1.55 (147)
Adaptation	2.14 (9)	2.19 (23)	1.48 (39)	1.00 (4)	1.75 (75)
Mean	2.34 (17)	2.14 (50)	1.89 (181)	1.44 (34)	1.91 (282)

Tables 10.26 and 10.27 present the results of the two-way analysis of variance on satisfaction with emotional support provided by non-family members, and the related satisfaction with non-family support score and number of observations in each cell. The effect for migration phase was significant at the .001 level. The effect for cultural identity state and the interaction effect were both not statistically significant.

Table 10.26
Analysis of Variance on Satisfaction with Non-family Members
Who Gave Emotional Support

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares	F ratio	F Prob
Migration phase	65.42	2	32.71	9.20	.001
Cultural identity state, after migration phase	17.20	3	5.73	1.61	.187
Interaction	16.13	6	2.69	.76	.605

Table 10.27
Satisfaction With Non-family Support Scores and Number of Observations
by Migration Phase and Cultural Identity State

Migration Phase	Cultural Identity State				Mean
	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	
Pre-migration	3.00 (1)	3.96 (5)	3.65 (47)	2.86 (7)	3.57 (60)
Initial Entry	3.67 (7)	2.92 (22)	2.53 (95)	1.81 (23)	2.53 (147)
Adaptation	2.29 (9)	2.33 (23)	2.10 (39)	3.13 (4)	2.25 (75)
Mean	2.90 (17)	2.75 (50)	2.73 (181)	2.18 (34)	2.68 (282)

The Scheffe multiple comparison procedure was used to determine which social support scores in the three migration phases, as well as the four cultural identity states, were significantly different from each other. Compared with pre-migration respondents, post-migration respondents reported having fewer family members who provided emotional support, and being less satisfied with the emotional support given by both family and non-family members. Respondents in the initial entry phase differed from those respondents in the pre-migration

phase by reporting being less satisfied with the emotional support provided by non-family members.

Marginalized respondents differed from integrated respondents by reporting having fewer non-family members who gave emotional support. The four cultural identity groups, however, did not differ in the number of family members perceived as providing emotional support, and their satisfaction with it.

Summary of Results and Discussion

A number of factors influencing individual ability to adapt were examined in the preceding sections. In this section, the results are summarized and discussed across migration phases and cultural identity states.

Across phases of migration, respondents in the post-migration phases differed from pre-migration respondents in parental residence pattern and social support. A larger proportion of post-migration respondents, compared with pre-migration respondents, were separated from one or both parents who returned to Hong Kong to continue their professions or business ventures. Post-migration respondents also differed from pre-migration respondents by reporting having fewer family members who provided informational and emotional support, and being less satisfied with the support given by both family and non-family members. Apparently, Hong Kong Chinese adolescents experienced a disruption in their support networks upon migrating to New Zealand. During their first few years in New Zealand, most adolescent immigrants needed a lot of familial and social support which could help them overcome feelings of isolation and

loneliness arising from being uprooted from their original environment, and cope with stress in the new one. However, before new social networks were established, the newcomers might be dissatisfied with the lack of support in the new environment. If, in addition, they felt that their parents were not supportive, probably due to a lack of understanding of their anxieties and concerns and sometimes also as a result of their parents being frequently absent from the household, the adolescent immigrants might be even more dissatisfied.

Among post-migration respondents, effort was most commonly used to explain migration success. Many Hong Kong Chinese adolescents said that they had to make a lot of effort to improve their English, such as by listening to the radio, using the dictionary, and practising frequently. They also had to learn good social skills and take initiation to make new friends, and study diligently to get good marks in school subjects. In addition, motivation and interest as well as other people's help were important factors contributing to success in cultural learning.

Lack of competence in English was the main reason given by Hong Kong Chinese adolescents to explain language, social and academic failures in the new environment. Other important causes used by them to account for migration failures included lack of effort and motivation, and other people's hinderance as well as task difficulty.

Overall, the findings reported in this chapter provide additional information on the characteristics of Hong Kong Chinese adolescents across cultural identity states and within migration phases. Five research hypotheses set out in chapter 5 (pp. 101-103) were tested.

Hypothesis 3 was confirmed. No significant differences were found between the distribution of males and females across cultural identity groups and within migration

phases.

Hypothesis 4 was partially confirmed. A larger proportion of integrated, separated and marginalized respondents in the post-migration phases, compared with those in the pre-migration phase, were separated from one or both parents. Across migration phases, no significant differences were found in the distribution of assimilated respondents who were separated from one or both parents and those who lived with both parents. Among post-migration respondents, a larger proportion of separated respondents in the initial entry phase, compared with those in the adaptation phase, were separated from one or both parents.

Hypothesis 5 was partially confirmed. Compared with respondents in the integration, separation and marginalization states, a larger proportion of assimilated respondents intended to stay in New Zealand for over five years. Across migration phases, no significant differences were found in the distribution of integrated, separated and marginalized respondents who wished to stay in New Zealand for less than five years, and those who wished to stay for over five years.

Hypothesis 6 was partially confirmed. No significant differences were found across cultural identity groups in the proportions of internal or external, stable or unstable, and controllable or uncontrollable attributions used to account for language, social and academic successes. No significant differences were found across cultural identity groups in the proportions of unsuccessful school learning attributions that were rated as internal or external, stable or unstable, and controllable or uncontrollable. However, a larger proportion of respondents who rated their unsuccessful language attributions as unstable, compared with those respondents who rated their attributions as stable, was in the assimilation and integration states. A larger proportion of respondents

who rated their unsuccessful social attributions as external, compared with those respondents who rated their attributions as internal, was in the integration state.

Hypothesis 7 was partially confirmed. The four cultural identity groups did not differ significantly in the perceived number of family members who provided informational and emotional support, and their satisfaction with the support available. However, marginalized respondents differed from integrated respondents by reporting having fewer non-family members who gave emotional support.

Across cultural identity groups, individuals in the assimilation and integration states tended to attribute their language failures to internal, unstable and controllable factors such as lack of competence in English and insufficient effort. These factors are likely to help motivate the attributors to improve their English and effort, resulting in expectations for future successes. On the other hand, separated and marginalized respondents tended to classify lack of competence in English and other people's hinderance as stable factors; such factors are likely to produce feelings of inadequacy and helplessness, resulting in expectations of future failures.

Integrated respondents tended to attribute their social failures to external, unstable and uncontrollable factors such as task difficulty and other people's hinderance, and their social success to internal, stable and controllable factors such as having a pleasant and outgoing personality. These factors are likely to produce a strong sense of pride and expectation of continued social success.

Marginalized respondents differed from integrated respondents by reporting having lower levels of perceived support from non-family members. As pointed out in chapter 4, non-family support is related to social skills (p. 91). Hence, marginalized respondents are likely to have poorer interpersonal skills and take less initiation in social

interactions than integrated respondents.

Assimilated respondents tended to have a stronger wish to settle permanently in the New Zealand host society than did individuals in the other cultural identity groups. They had a positive identification with the host society. On the other hand, separated respondents tended to withdraw from making contact with the New Zealand host society and had a low identification with it. They were likely to feel inadequate in coping with the transition to a new culture. A large proportion of separated respondents in the initial entry phase had their parents still working in Hong Kong.

As pointed out in chapter 4, the methods of adaptation chosen by individual immigrants cannot be fully understood without taking into consideration the current ideology and policy in the dominant society, the course of adaptation taken by the ethnic community to which the individuals belong, and the group's previous exposure to other cultures prior to migration. A study of the societal and group factors influencing the Chinese adaptation in New Zealand was also given in that chapter. It shows that integration and assimilation are the preferred methods of adaptation for Chinese migrants.

The findings of this study of the Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand are consistent with the literature reviewed in chapter 4. In this study, the proportion of Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants who chose to assimilate or integrate into the New Zealand host society increased with time. Given that many individual factors also influence methods of adaptation, differential paths of adaptation may be chosen by the individual immigrants over time. This topic will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 11

DIFFERENT PATHS OF ADAPTATION TAKEN BY HONG KONG CHINESE ADOLESCENT IMMIGRANTS IN NEW ZEALAND

The final aim of this study was to describe differential paths of adaptation taken by Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants at different stages of their migration process. In chapter 8, the frequency distribution of cultural identity states across migration phases was examined. Although the results showed that the proportions of respondents in the four cultural identity states differed significantly across migration phases, they did not provide information about dynamic changes among cultural identity states from one time period to another. In order to provide this information, transition probabilities for the four cultural identity states were computed. The results are presented in this chapter. In addition, using data showing dynamic changes among cultural identity states over time, several paths of adaptation taken by a majority of Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand are derived. Special features associated with these paths are also described and analyzed.

Transition Probabilities

Respondents in the post-migration groups were asked to rate, on a Cultural Identity Scale, their New Zealand and Chinese identities (1) at the time of completion of their questionnaires, and (2) twelve months prior to the completion of the questionnaires. Using these two sets of data, perceived changes among the four cultural identity states from one time period to the next can be described by transition probabilities (Stevenson, 1989, p. 750).

Tables 11.1 to 11.4 present the respondents' perceived year-to-year movements among the four cultural identity states from pre-migration to four years after arrival to New Zealand. Each table consists of two matrices: matrix (a) is in terms of the actual number of individuals who reported having moved from one cultural identity state in one period to one of the four states in the next period, whereas matrix (b) is in terms of transition probabilities.

Transition probabilities are the probabilities for moving from one state to any other state during a specified time interval (Collins, 1975, p. 4). To determine the probability factor, the number of individuals who reported having moved to one of the four states at the end of a period was divided by the total number of individuals reported to be in the original state at the beginning of the period. Referring to Table 11.1(a), 1 out of 69 respondents in the separation state in period 0 (pre-migration) had moved to the assimilation state in period 1 (less than 1 year in New Zealand). The transition probability is, therefore, 0.014 (1/69). In other words, 1.4 percent of the respondents in the separation state at pre-migration reported having moved to the assimilation state after one year.

The set of transition probabilities across any row represents all possibilities of moving from one state in one period to one of the four states in the next period. Referring to Table 11.1(b), the transition probabilities for moving from separation to assimilation, separation to integration, separation to separation, and separation to marginalization are 0.014, 0.087, 0.841 and 0.058 respectively. The sum of the probabilities in each row of the matrix is 1, or 100 percent.

Table 11.1
Transition Matrix: from period 0 (pre-migration) to period 1 (less than one year in New Zealand)

(a)

From \ To	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	Total in Period 0
Assimilation	0	0	0	0	0
Integration	0	1	0	1	2
Separation	1	6	58	4	69
Marginalization	1	0	0	7	8
Total in Period 1	2	7	58	12	79

(b)

From \ To	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization
Assimilation	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Integration	0.000	0.500	0.000	0.500
Separation	0.014	0.087	0.841	0.058
Marginalization	0.125	0.000	0.000	0.875

Table 11.2

Transition Matrix: from period 1 (less than one year in NZ) to period 2 (between 1 and 2 years in NZ)

(a)

From \ To	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	Total in Period 1
Assimilation	0	0	0	0	0
Integration	1	4	0	1	6
Separation	2	10	35	7	54
Marginalization	2	1	2	3	8
Total in Period 2	5	15	37	11	68

(b)

From \ To	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization
Assimilation	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Integration	0.167	0.667	0.000	0.167
Separation	0.037	0.185	0.648	0.130
Marginalization	0.250	0.125	0.250	0.375

Table 11.3
Transition Matrix: from period 2 (between 1 and 2 years in NZ)
to period 3 (between 2 and 3 years in NZ)

(a)

To From	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	Total in Period 2
Assimilation	2	0	0	0	2
Integration	2	7	0	0	9
Separation	2	8	29	0	39
Marginalization	0	0	0	2	2
Total in Period 3	6	15	29	2	52

(b)

To From	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization
Assimilation	1.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Integration	0.222	0.778	0.000	0.000
Separation	0.051	0.205	0.744	0.000
Marginalization	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000

Table 11.4
Transition Matrix: from period 3 (between 2 and 3 years in NZ)
to period 4 (between 3 and 4 years in NZ)

(a)

To From	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization	Total in Period 3
Assimilation	2	0	0	0	2
Integration	0	6	0	0	6
Separation	0	1	11	1	13
Marginalization	1	1	0	1	3
Total in Period 4	3	8	11	2	24

(b)

To From	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization
Assimilation	1.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Integration	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.500
Separation	0.000	0.077	0.846	0.077
Marginalization	0.333	0.333	0.000	0.333

Movement over time within the system is summarized in Figure 11.1. It shows the possible choices at each time period, and the arrows represent the probabilities of each choice being selected.

Three possible starting points were reported at pre-migration: separation (comprised 87 percent of respondents at pre-migration), marginalization (10%) and integration (2%). None of the respondents reported having started from assimilation at pre-migration, but the number of respondents who reported having switched from other states to assimilation increased as time passed. Besides, assimilation can also be described as an "absorbing" state which, once entered, cannot be left (Stevenson, 1989, p. 764). In other words, the probability of moving from assimilation to any other state is equal to zero, whereas the probability of remaining in that state is 1, or 100 percent.

There was a zero probability of moving from integration to separation, whereas the probability of moving from integration to marginalization decreased with time. The probability of moving from integration to assimilation increased with time, from 0 (pre-migration to less than one year in New Zealand) to 0.222 (two years to less than three years in New Zealand). The probability of remaining in the integration state also increased as time passed, with integration moving into an absorbing state after two years in New Zealand.

Separation and marginalization were both nonabsorbing states. There was a possibility of Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants moving from separation to any other state during the first three years of their settlement in the new country. The highest probability of moving from separation to marginalization (0.130) was from one year to less than two years in New Zealand, whereas the highest probabilities of moving from separation to assimilation (0.051), and from separation to integration (0.205) were from

two years to less than three years in New Zealand.

In the first two years in New Zealand, the probabilities of moving from integration or separation to marginalization were relatively high. On the other hand, the probabilities of moving from marginalization to assimilation, and from marginalization to integration were highest after three years in New Zealand. There were great variations in the probabilities of remaining in the marginalization state from one time period to another, suggesting that marginalization is the most unstable of the four cultural identity states over time.

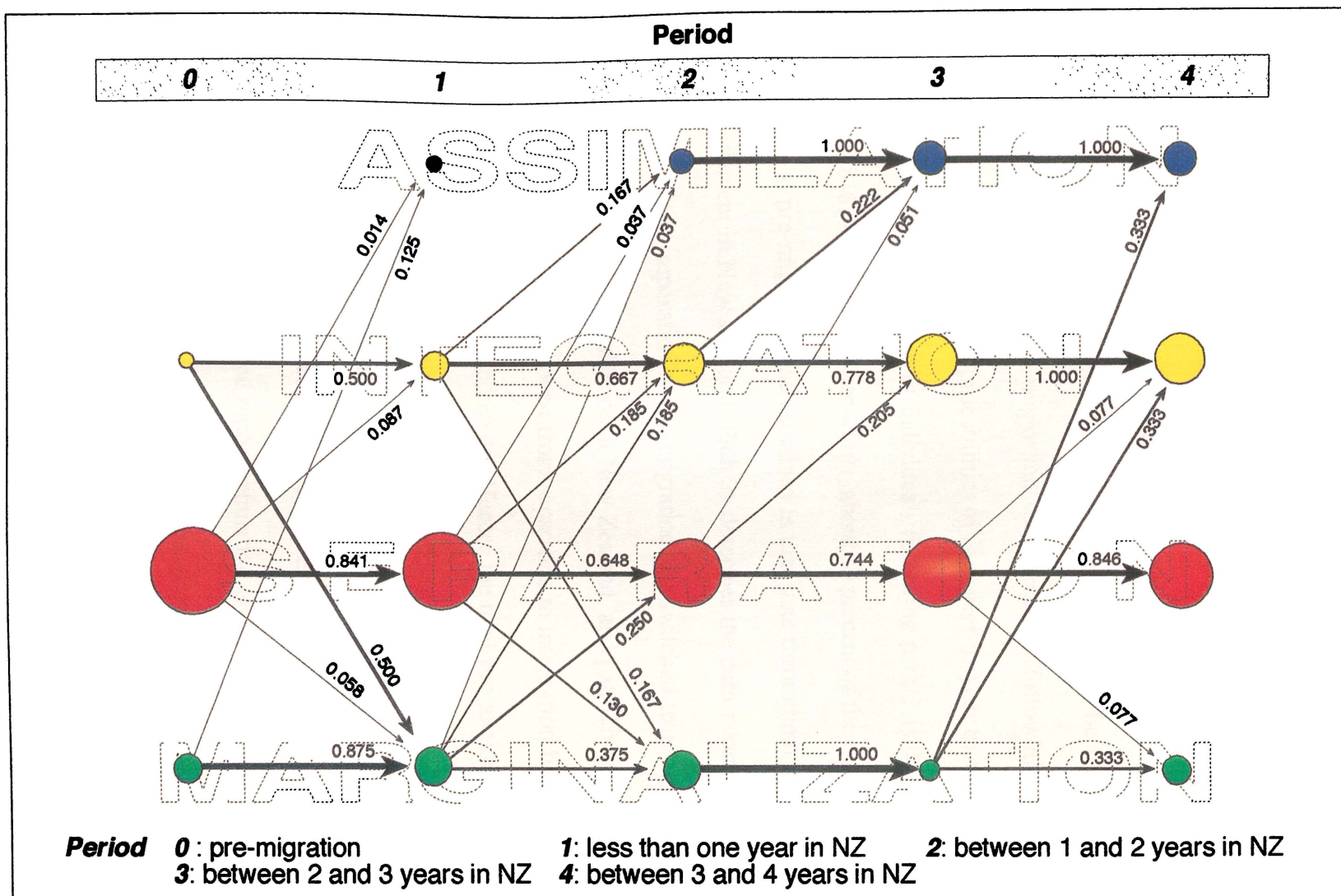


Figure 11.1 Transition Probabilities of Cultural Identity States from Period 0 to Period 4

Different Paths of Adaptation

Using the data provided in Figure 11.1, several paths of adaptation which are most likely to be taken by a majority of Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants from pre-migration to three years after arrival to New Zealand can be derived. The paths are shown in Figure 11.2. The proportion of individuals following a particular path is computed by multiplying the probabilities of each year-to-year transition along that path. For example, the proportion of individuals following path 1 is $0.87 \times 0.841 \times 0.648 \times 0.744 \times 0.846 = 0.298$. In other words, about 30 percent of the respondents started from separation at pre-migration and remained in that state throughout the first three years of their settlement in New Zealand. Path 2a describes the path taken by those respondents who started from separation at pre-migration and switched to integration between their first and second year of residence in New Zealand, and path 2b describes the path taken by those respondents who moved from separation to integration between the second and third year after migration, and so on. Hence, the total proportion of those respondents following an separation-to-integration path is $0.105 + 0.097 + 0.039 + 0.027 = 0.268$.

The proportion of those respondents who followed a separation-to-assimilation path is 0.053 (path 3), whereas that of those respondents who switched from separation to integration and then moved onto assimilation is 0.054 (path 4).

Of those respondents who started from separation at pre-migration and switched to the marginalization state after migration, 6.5 percent were likely to remain marginalized at three years after arrival (path 5), 4.5 percent moved to integration (path 6), and 4 percent to assimilation at a later stage (path 7). Altogether these seven paths account for 82 percent of all the possible paths taken by Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants from pre-migration to three years after arrival in New Zealand.

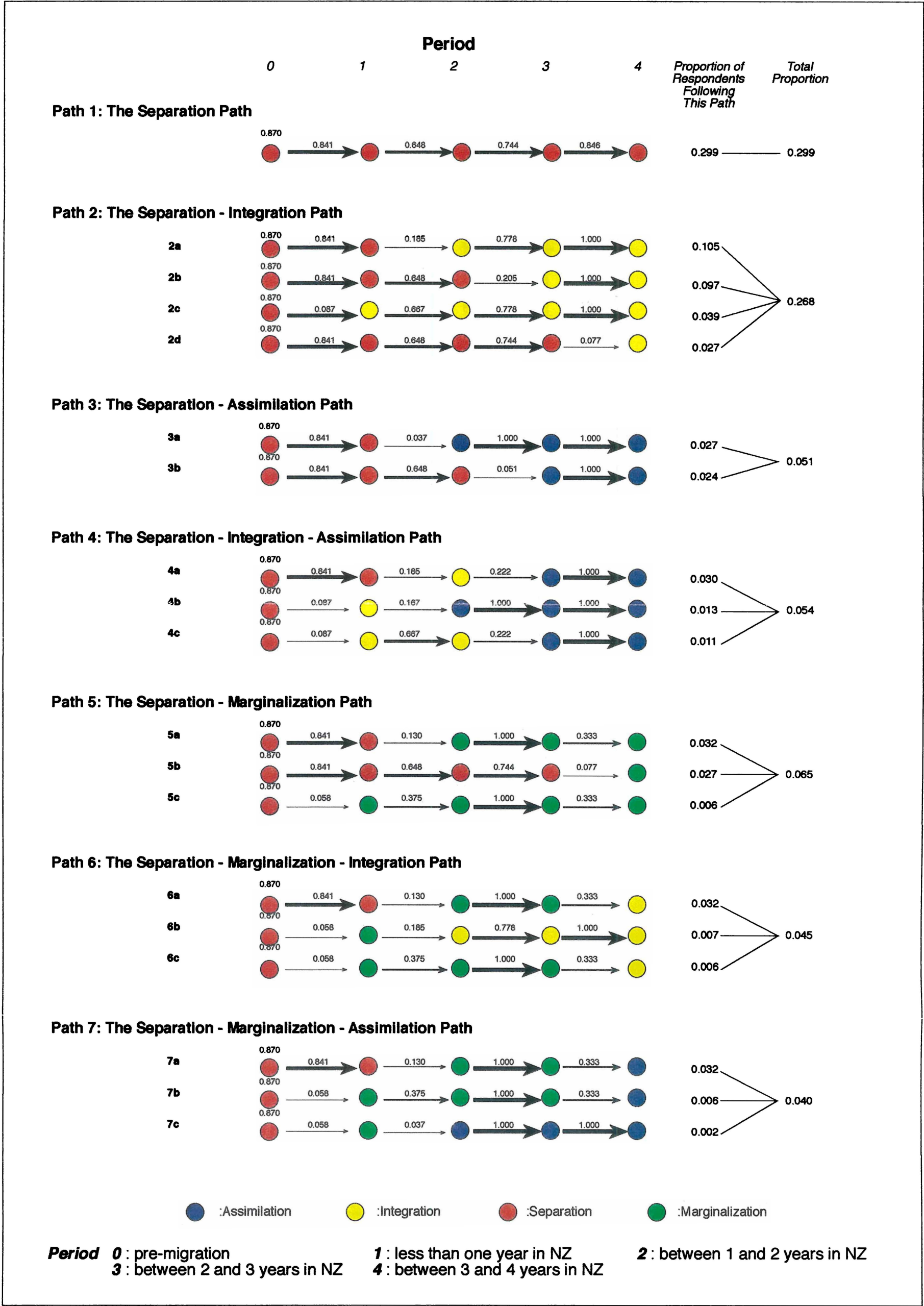


Figure 11.2 Some Paths of Adaptation Taken by Hong Kong Chinese Adolescent Immigrants from Pre-migration to Four Years in New Zealand

Discussion

Using the findings of this study reported in the previous chapters, special features associated with the respondents following different paths of adaptation can be derived. They are described and discussed below.

Individuals following a separation path (path 1) tend to adopt a predominantly Chinese lifestyle prior to migration. They expect to change their lifestyles, such as using English more, mixing more with New Zealand friends and using New Zealand learning methods more often after migration, but are unable to do so when their post-migration adaptation turns out to be more difficult than anticipated. Many of them feel inadequate in using English in the new society. However, instead of taking positive action to overcome their language difficulty, they tend to believe that their English is very poor and cannot be improved. This self-defeating attitude is likely to result in an expectation of future failure in using the language. Their perceived weakness in English probably also results in a lack of confidence in making contacts with members of the host society. Consequently, those individuals following a separation path have a tendency to withdraw themselves from the larger society: they use mainly the Chinese language and mix predominantly with their own ethnic fellows. In addition, a large proportion of the individuals following this path have parents still working in Hong Kong -- a situation which may also result in attachment to the ethnic community for practical, social and emotional support.

Despite having a predominantly Chinese lifestyle prior to migration, the individuals who take a separation - integration path (path 2), a separation - assimilation path (path 3) and a separation - integration - assimilation path (path 4) make realistic

attempts to adapt themselves to the New Zealand host society. Like other newcomers arriving to a new environment and culture, they encounter difficulties in their initial adjustment to New Zealand life. However, unlike those individuals who adopt a self-defeating attitude, they are motivated to overcome their difficulties by making more effort to improve their English, taking greater initiation in social activities and so on. In this way, they become more and more competent in the new society as time passes.

In addition, those individuals who follow a separation - assimilation path (path 2) tend to have a positive identification with the New Zealand host society and a strong desire to settle permanently in New Zealand. As a result, they are likely to consider it more important to make New Zealand friends, and less important to retain the Chinese language and keep Chinese friends in New Zealand. Those individuals who follow a separation - integration path (path 3) tend to perceive themselves as having an outgoing and pleasant personality, and good social skills. They are likely to mix well with both New Zealand and Chinese friends. As a result, they tend to believe that it is important for them to be competent in both the English and Chinese languages, and to take part in host society social activities while retaining their Chinese cultural identity. Those individuals who take a separation - integration - assimilation path (path 4) tend to follow an integration path during the initial stage of their adaptation to New Zealand, and move onto an assimilation path at a later stage as their identification with the host society increases.

Individuals who take a separation - marginalization path (path 5) tend to give up their Chinese cultural identity too quickly. They probably wish to take an assimilation path on arrival to the new society, but are poorly equipped to do so. Although they prefer to use English over Chinese, and to mix with New Zealanders rather than Chinese

friends, in actual performance, they are not able to use English, nor mix with New Zealand friends effectively because of their perceived inadequacy in English and poor social skills. In addition, individuals following this path may have difficulties in coping with their school work because they prefer to use neither New Zealand nor Chinese learning methods. They tend to have low levels of perceived support from friends as well. As a result, they are likely to remain marginalized if no action is taken to help them increase their identification with, and actual performance in, the host society.

Individuals who take a separation - marginalization - integration path (path 6) and those following a separation - marginalization - assimilation path (path 7) are marginalized in their initial stage of adaptation to the new society. At that stage, they tend to be more assimilated in their attitudes and preferences than in actions. However, unlike those individuals who take a separation - marginalization path, they are able to move out of their marginalized state at a later time. Those individuals moving onto an integration path (path 6) increase their cultural performance in the host society while reaffirming their Chinese cultural identity. Those moving onto an assimilation path (path 7) achieve greater congruence in attitudes, preferences and actions by improving their language and social skills which are essential to their effective functioning in the host society.

Overall, the cultural identities of Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants change dynamically from pre-migration to three years after arrival to New Zealand. By closely examining the patterns of change, some predictions of the future development of their paths of adaptation can be made.

First of all, there will be a tendency for the adaptive paths to gravitate towards the assimilation or integration state in the long-run. Individuals who anticipate integration

at pre-migration will have a high probability of eventually becoming assimilated or integrated into the host society.

The number of individuals following a separation path will decrease with time. During the first two years after arrival, the probability of moving from separation to either assimilation or integration is high. After that time, the majority of those who are in the separation state will tend to remain there.

Movements to and from the marginalization state occurred throughout the first three years of Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants' arrival to New Zealand. Because of the unstable nature of the marginalization state, it is difficult to predict the future for those in it. However, the chances of moving from integration and separation to marginalization are highest during the first two years after migration. If these types of movement can be minimized early, there will be a good chance of reducing the number of marginalized individuals in the long term.

Predictions of the future movement of Chinese adolescent immigrants along the various adaptive paths have implications for the provision of services to help facilitate their integration into the host society. A full discussion of the service implications of this research will be given in the next chapter.

Chapter 12

CONCLUSIONS

I myself regarded China, or Taiwan, as home, up to twenty years ago. It is still my spiritual home, the source of my being. To my children, there is no doubt that their home is New Zealand. Now that I have spent half a century of my life in New Zealand, I too regard it as my home and have no desire to 'go back to China to die' or send my bones there to be buried. Within myself, I feel no conflict in living in two worlds, the Chinese and the New Zealand. I feel very proud being a Chinese and I feel enriched by the two cultures I have been privileged to enjoy.

Bickleen Fong¹

The overall aim of this study was to find out how adaptive changes take place over time within Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand. To date, the adaptation of adolescent immigrants to a new culture has not been widely researched, and only a few such studies have collected data beyond the second year of residence. Moreover, literature specifically dealing with Chinese adolescent immigrants who come as part of the rapidly growing Asian migration to North America, Australia and New Zealand since the 1980s is almost non-existent. The present study, therefore, has tried to contribute to a better understanding of the theory and methodology of immigrant adaptation. It has also provided information about how Chinese adolescent immigrants

¹ Bickleen Fong, author of *The Chinese in New Zealand* (Hong Kong, 1959), was born in China and came as an eight-year-old war refugee to New Zealand in 1939. From *Home away from home: Life stories of Chinese women in New Zealand* (Ip, 1990b, p. 123).

adapt to a new culture, and the problems they encounter when they arrive in a new country. This information should be considered when formulating or improving policies, programmes or services to facilitate the social integration of adolescent immigrants into a new society.

The Cross-cultural Model of Immigrant Adaptation

The theoretical framework of the present study was developed from John Berry's (1980, 1990) cross-cultural model, which assumes that immigrants can establish positive relations with the host society without abandoning their own cultural distinctiveness. The cross-cultural model was originally developed in Canada. It has provided an understanding of the adaptation of refugees, immigrants, established ethnic groups, indigenous peoples and sojourners in that country (see, for example, Berry et al., 1989; U. Kim and Berry, 1986). The present study tested the applicability of this model to newly arrived Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand, and the findings were consistent with its predictions.

In this study, cultural identity was viewed as one of the most crucial aspects of adaptive change. Four cultural identity states: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization, were identified. The study demonstrated that each cultural identity state is associated with a fairly consistent pattern of behaviours, preferences and attitudes in a variety of domains of daily activities.

Differences in cultural identities among immigrants were found. They differed depending on factors of the host environmental conditions, the immigrants' own cultural

group, their previous exposure to other cultures and their personal characteristics. The study also showed that integration is the most preferred option of adaptation for Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand, and that factors such as family separation, the wish to stay in the new country, causal attributions for cultural learning performance and social support, can influence individual immigrants' adaptation processes.

In addition, the study has provided an understanding of the adaptive processes of new immigrants as they change over time. Crucial changes in Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants' cultural identity in the early stages of their adaptation to a new culture were found. Prior to migration, a majority of them were in the separation state. Upon immigration, the percentages of those who remained separated gradually decreased, while those who became integrated or assimilated increased. The study also showed that marginalization is a transient cultural identity state, not a stable form of adaptation: the chances for the newly arrived young immigrants moving into a marginalization state tended to be highest in their first two years in the new society, and then they decreased with time.

The behavioral, affective and attitudinal modes of adaptation also vary among immigrants and change over time. This study showed that assimilated, integrated and separated immigrants were more congruent in these modes of functioning than the marginalized immigrants, who tended to be more assimilated in their attitudes and preferences than in their actions. Over time, many marginalized immigrants were able to achieve greater congruence in their attitudes, preferences and actions by moving onto either an integration state (in which case, they increased their cultural performance in the host society while reaffirming their own cultural identity), or an assimilation state (in

which case, they increased their effective functioning in the host society by improving their language, cultural and social skills).

Currently, the cross-cultural model is typically applied to provide information on outcomes of adaptation only. This study demonstrated that the model can be extended to provide, in addition, information on the dynamic change in cultural identities over time, and that such information can give a more complete description of the adaptive process as experienced by individual immigrants. While the present study is focused on the adaptive process of Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand, the extended model should have the potential of serving a wide range of applicability, including both short-term sojourners and long-term immigrants or refugees from any cultural origin to any new destination -- as these factors are already part of the theoretical scheme of the cross-cultural model.

Methods of Studying Immigrant Adaptation

The value of using a quasi-longitudinal design to collect data on adaptive changes over time is demonstrated in this study. This design allows the researcher to study different samples of respondents at various stages of the migration process, thus avoiding the difficulty, often experienced by researchers employing a longitudinal design, of keeping track of the same respondents over time. However, the principle of equivalence across samples must be applied in a quasi-longitudinal design (see chapter 5, p. 98). The samples in this study did not differ significantly in sex ratio, age, family size, immigration status, parental age and education (chapter 7, pp. 117-119). Consequently,

they can be regarded as being drawn from equivalent populations across phases.

In the present study, non-probability sampling techniques were used because of practical difficulties in obtaining a representative sample. The target population of this study were Hong Kong Chinese adolescents who had migrated to New Zealand between 1988 and 1992, and those who expected to migrate to New Zealand in 1992. At the time when this study was conducted, no information which could help identify the target population was available. In the absence of a sampling frame, non-probability sampling was the only practical method of obtaining data (deVaus, 1990, p. 61).

While not ensuring representativeness, using a large sample and obtaining sample members from a wide range of backgrounds and conditions are methods which may be used to reduce selection bias (Henry, 1990). Consequently, 60 pre-migration respondents from a wide range of backgrounds, and over 220 post-migration respondents from six schools located in different districts in Auckland, were recruited for the study. Unpublished 1991 census data (available after the research data had been obtained) showed that there were 520 Hong Kong Chinese in Auckland aged between 15 and 19 years who had entered New Zealand between 1986 and 1991 (Table 2.9, p. 38). From these statistics, it is estimated that over 40 percent of the eligible subjects had participated in the study. In other words, the sample represents a substantial proportion of the population, which is needed to give useful results (Moser and Kalton, 1971, p.147).

Finally, both qualitative and quantitative methods were used to collect data. As pointed out in chapter 5, each method has its advantages and disadvantages (pp. 98-99). The present study tried to maximize the benefits of using both methods of assessment while minimizing their shortcomings. In-depth group interviews were conducted in a pilot

survey to collect preliminary data, followed by a larger scale quantitative assessment. As cross-cultural adaptation involves rich and complex processes, the use of multiple methods tends to produce data that are more complete and reliable than using only one single method. The sequence may be reversed: one may begin with a large-scale quantitative assessment of variables, to be followed by smaller scale in-depth interviews and participant observation of individuals selected from the original sample (Dyal and Dyal, 1981).

The advantages of using a quasi-longitudinal design, a large sample, and multiple methods of data collection have been discussed above. These methods were employed in this study to produce useful information on major areas of adaptation Chinese adolescent immigrants have to make in the transition to a new culture, and how they change over time. This information has practical implications for other adolescent immigrants, their families, and those dealing with the newcomers.

Some Practical Suggestions

In culturally pluralistic societies, immigrants are encouraged to integrate into the host society without surrendering their own cultural identity. The concept of cultural pluralism has been advocated in New Zealand since the Immigration Policy Review in 1986 (Burke, 1986). Since then, there have been significant immigrant flows into New Zealand from Asia and other non-traditional source countries (Bedford and Lidgard, 1994; Trlin, 1992), and these flows have contributed to an increasingly culturally diverse New Zealand population.

The current pattern of immigration is likely to continue in the future. Political instability, over-population, pollution, and lack of educational opportunities for children are the main factors contributing to large numbers of Asian people leaving their home countries to seek new lives in countries such as Canada, Australia, the United States and New Zealand in recent decades (Skeldon, 1990; Wang, 1990). From the point of view of the Asians intending for migration, New Zealand's attractions lie in its stable political situation, clean and green environment, and good education system (Department of Statistics, 1992, p. 101; E.S. Ho and Farmer, 1994; *New Zealand Herald*, 28 April 1994). For the New Zealand society, the arrival of large numbers of highly educated and skilled migrants with capital is beneficial in that it contributes to long-term economic growth (Poot, Nana, and Philpott, 1988; Rodger, 1989). These flows also bring in a variety of lifestyles, languages, values, food, music and customs (Buckland, 1994; Haas et al., 1982), and are a powerful force for integrating New Zealand into the Asia-Pacific region (*New Zealand Herald*, 7 May 1993).

However, while the New Zealand population is becoming much more culturally diversified as a result of immigration, the extent to which the recently arrived immigrants have been integrated into the host society has yet to be assessed. The Department of Internal Affairs is currently undertaking a survey on the problems faced by skilled migrants seeking work in New Zealand (*New Zealand Herald*, 21 September 1994). In addition, the University of Waikato has recently received a grant from the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology to do a survey on the occupational aspirations of Asian adolescent migrants and the work experiences in New Zealand of their parents (E.S. Ho, forthcoming). This survey will be conducted in Auckland in 1995.

The present study is focused on the social and cultural integration of young Hong

Kong Chinese, members of one of the most dominant immigrant flows into New Zealand in recent years. Among these immigrants, preference for the integration mode of adaptation increased with time (Figure 8.1, p. 150). However, at different stages of their adaptation, integration might be hindered by forces in the immigrants' environment, as well as by personal factors which the immigrants had individually brought with them to the host society. Conversely, by reducing or eliminating these obstacles, social integration can be facilitated. Some suggestions for promoting the social integration of Chinese adolescent immigrants into the New Zealand host society can be derived from this study, and are discussed below.

Preparing for change

Prior to emigrating, parents need to prepare their children for the move. It is particularly important that the adolescents are prepared for such changes as that they will be living in an unfamiliar environment, using much more English, studying in a different school, meeting new people, changing their lifestyles and so on.

It would be helpful if seminars or programmes are provided at pre-migration to give the intending migrants more knowledge and preparation for culture, language and day-to-day life in the new society. If the adolescents are not competent in using spoken English, it would be best if training courses were also available to help them improve their English before they emigrate. Being able to speak and understand the language of the host society is a very important aspect of integration. It means being able to understand the people and events that are taking place in the host society, to participate in school and in the neighbourhood with proficiency, and to increase the chances for

socializing. Such pre-migration courses and programmes might be jointly organized by the New Zealand Commission and a branch office of a New Zealand Language Institute in Hong Kong.

Emigration brings changes within the family too. There will be substantial changes in family life in those families whose children are left behind in New Zealand while one or both of their parents return to Hong Kong to work. This arrangement will also place particular stress on the spouse and children who are left behind, as they often lack the familial, social and cultural networks in the new society to support them. Even in those families which will emigrate as a unit, adolescent children are often expected to do more chores in the household after emigration (chapter 6, p. 110). In order for the families to cope effectively with the changes ahead, good intra-familial communication is essential. Worries and anxieties have to be shared, expectations clarified and support communicated while new plans for the future are worked out.

Settling in

Regardless of how much and how well they have prepared themselves for the move, immigrants are strangers to their host society when they first arrive. They are at least temporarily between two worlds -- the familiar environment of their original culture and the new milieu of their host society. To a greater or lesser extent, all newcomers must cope with the changed circumstances.

Many newcomers are not adequately equipped to adapt to a new culture on arrival. If they also reject their own culture too quickly, they are at a high risk of becoming marginalized. If, however, they only cling to their own culture, they can never

gain entry to their new society.

The most adaptive newcomers maintain their own cultural identity and learn to participate in the new society. On arrival, adolescent immigrants are often prevented from participating effectively in the new society by their language, learning and personal problems. The school can play a key role in helping them deal with their problems.

Programmes like English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) are helpful to students who need support in learning English. Other than language problems, many newly arrived Chinese students also experience difficulties in their studies because the curriculum is different or difficult, or they are not accustomed to New Zealand teaching and learning methods (chapter 6, pp. 111-112). They need to be taught to ask for help, so that teachers can assist them in overcoming the difficulties.

Parents, too, have important roles to perform. As parents are themselves newcomers who are unfamiliar with the new society, a good way for them to assist with their children's social integration is by cooperating with the school. Parents, in particular, have to work closely with teachers if their children show emotional or behavioral problems in school or at home. Often these problems indicate that their children are unhappy, and that they need help to cope with their new environment. Parents need to collaborate with the teachers to find out the causes of their children's unhappiness, and help them deal with the problems realistically.

Supplementary Government funding should be provided to the schools for setting up programmes which can facilitate the initial adjustment of immigrant students to their new environment. At present, the limited funding available for ESOL programmes has led to a failure to employ extra English teachers and bilingual counsellors to deal with the special needs of these students, which in turn has resulted in considerable pressure

on teachers (*New Zealand Herald*, 3 May 1993, 24 September 1994 and 14 January 1995; *Sunday Star*, 1 July 1990). Recently, an Auckland primary school's plan to turn away new immigrant students who do not have basic English language skills has generated considerable public concern and debate (*New Zealand Herald*, 14 January 1995, 17 January 1995, 20 January 1995, 24 January 1995 and 25 January 1995). In essence, this incidence reflects a problem of limited teaching resources which has been building up for a number of years in many Auckland schools, where teachers are struggling to cope with growing numbers of new immigrant students for whom English is their second language. This problem has to be addressed by the Government urgently.

Among newly arrived Chinese immigrant families, some of them are disadvantaged because the parents have limited knowledge of English, or are frequently absent from the household to do business overseas. These families need to develop adequate support networks in the new society: relatives, friends and ethnic affiliates can be key agencies providing practical and emotional support. In addition, school teachers, neighbours, and members of the host society can help by reaching out to these families, thereby reducing their social isolation. If support networks are lacking, the adolescent children are often required to shoulder major responsibilities in the family, in addition to dealing with their own problems in the new environment (chapter 6, pp. 110-111). These extra burdens can hinder their social integration into the new society.

On the part of the adolescent immigrants themselves, language fluency is a necessary condition for social participation. Regardless of language fluency, those newcomers who have better interpersonal skills tend to have a greater chance for social integration (chapter 10, p. 215). Indeed, a more in-depth understanding of New Zealand culture and ways of life is best obtained by making direct contact with New Zealand

people. As social contact increases, the newcomers' language fluency will also be improved.

Living in two cultures

After living in New Zealand for some time, many young Chinese immigrants are able to overcome the initial barriers which have prevented them from taking part in host society social activities. They have learned to use English with an acceptable level of competence in a variety of social situations, understand the events which are taking place in the New Zealand society, and get along comfortably with their neighbours and classmates. As well, many of them also retain their Chinese culture, value the Chinese language, and enjoy intimate relations with their family members and ethnic friends. As these individuals have acquired selected sets of behaviours, attitudes and cultural traits from both the New Zealand and the Chinese sources, they are living in two cultures.

Immigrants adapt at different rates. On the average, new Chinese adolescent immigrants require two to three years to settle in. However, a number of them may not have integrated into the host society after four or five years. These immigrants probably have not made realistic attempts to integrate into their New Zealand life. Even after they have lived in New Zealand for a number of years, they interact almost exclusively with people of their own ethnic group, speak mainly the Chinese language, and retain their habitual behaviours and lifestyles. They have not made an effort to master the host society language, understand its customs and mix with its people because they have not regarded New Zealand as their home. This attitude may be reinforced by their parents who are not living in New Zealand most of the time, who intend to move back to Hong

Kong after acquiring New Zealand citizenship, or who are themselves unhappy with their lives in New Zealand.

If parents are optimistic about their future in the new society, willing to accept change, and encourage their children to take part in host society social activities, their children are likely to develop a desire to live in New Zealand, which is an important factor facilitating social integration. In addition, feeling accepted by the host society also contributes to the desire to stay. At the community level, teachers, classmates and neighbours can all help foster a receptive host environment by being open and friendly to new immigrants, and respecting their cultural differences. At the government level, measures to remove structural barriers to migrants' economic and social opportunities are desirable. As observed, many new Chinese immigrant students are left to study in New Zealand while their parents return to Hong Kong to continue their professions or business ventures. This arrangement not only increases stress for these children during their initial stage of adaptation, but also exacerbates the risk of their being alienated from the host society in the long-run. Some of these families need not have been separated if the parents' previously acquired qualifications, training, skills and experience were recognized, and they had found comparable jobs in New Zealand. It is, therefore, important for the Government to learn about the problems which new immigrants encounter at each stage of their adaptation process, and to take appropriate measures to assist their economic and social integration into the host society.

Looking Ahead

As pointed out in the previous section, the New Zealand Government should play a more active role in assisting the social integration of newly arrived immigrants into their host society. Pre-migration programmes should be made available to intending migrants to provide knowledge and preparation for things which would be different in the new country. Post-migration services should include English language tuition, counselling, and programmes designed to deal with the special needs of new immigrants during the transition process. Such services for young immigrants can be made available within schools by providing additional government funding -- this investment would be rapidly repaid by more rapidly productive citizens, and less future drain on welfare and health services. Ethnic community organizations should also be funded to provide services to assist with the settlement and welfare needs of the newly arrived. In addition, measures should be taken to remove structural barriers which have prevented new immigrants from contributing their qualifications, skills and expertise to the New Zealand society. Above all, a cultural policy should be developed, together with programmes aiming at promoting the maintenance of diverse cultures and languages in New Zealand.

Since the 1980s, there has been considerable debate centring upon whether or not a multicultural policy should be adopted in New Zealand. Those opposing argue that a multicultural policy would undermine the development of biculturalism in New Zealand, that is, the fostering of Maori language and lifestyles alongside Pakeha cultural patterns. There is also the view that a multicultural policy would encourage intergroup rivalry by different cultural groups fighting against one another for resources (Spoonley, 1988). However, those favouring multiculturalism emphasize the psychological importance of

the maintenance of diversity. Their argument is based on the assumption that if individuals have knowledge of and confidence in their own identities, they will be more able to respect and accept the cultures of other groups (O'Regan, 1982). Given this assumption, a multicultural policy can help break down discriminatory attitudes among cultural groups.

While the debate of biculturalism versus multiculturalism carries on, immigration continues but is now even more diversified than ever before -- not only culturally, but with regard to educational and occupational experience. Since the late 1980s, Asian immigration has increased substantially, and for the first time, a growing proportion of the new immigrants comprise entrepreneurs and highly educated and skilled professionals. As pointed out in the previous section, these immigrant flows have important impacts on New Zealand's economy, as well as its social and cultural life. This immigration trend is likely to continue in the future (p. 237).

In recognition of New Zealand's evolving and irreversible development as a multicultural society, a multicultural policy should be adopted to ensure that all New Zealanders, regardless of their ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic background, have an equal opportunity to contribute to the economic, social, cultural and political life of the community. The adoption of a multicultural policy does not exclude the development of biculturalism in New Zealand, because the development of facilities and services for other minority ethnic groups does not imply a loss of the right of the Maori people to express and share their culture, language and beliefs. Indeed, because the Maori people is the indigenous people of New Zealand, the Maori language and culture should be maintained and promoted in this country with the goodwill and support of all New Zealanders.

Providing information is a prerequisite for the development of a well-balanced cultural policy. At present, New Zealand is already a multicultural society and embraces a number of minority ethnic groups: the Samoan, Tokelauan, Nuiean, Dutch, Italian, Chinese, Kampuchean, Vietnamese, Korean and many others. However, there is a lack of comparative studies on the social integration of different ethnic groups into the New Zealand host society. Do they hold different attitudes towards the maintenance of their original languages, cultures and identities? In what ways are their participation in the host society similar or different? What barriers exist to their full participation? In order to provide useful information, a single comprehensive conceptual scheme must be used in the comparative studies. This study has demonstrated that the cross-cultural model is a useful conceptual scheme upon which more studies on other ethnic groups should be developed.

The following are some areas in which future studies on the adaptation of Asian adolescent immigrants should seek to improve. Firstly, items in the Learning Performance Subscale of the Cross-cultural Performance Questionnaire have to be revised because at present, this subscale has a low reliability (see p. 128). In this study, the eight items which made up this subscale cover a wide range of learning performance: from learning methods to relationship with teachers and attitudes towards schooling. The reliability of this subscale may be improved if all of the items are focused on learning methods only. In recent years, a few cross-cultural studies conducted in the United States compared the learning methods used by Asian and American students (Stigler and Stevenson, 1991; *Straits Times*, 30 October 1992; *Sunday Stars*, 5 June, 1994); these studies should be consulted when the subscale is to be redesigned.

Secondly, the Social Support Questionnaire may be improved by asking the

respondents to indicate, in addition, the ethnicity of the person who give support. The distinction between social support provided by ethnic fellows and members of the host society allows for an examination of the relative contribution of each to each stage of the immigrants' adaptive process (Adelman, 1988; Ying and Liese, 1994).

Finally, as the present study highlights the important roles played by both the school and parents in assisting the adaptation of Asian adolescent immigrants to their host environment, future investigation into this topic involving the participation of their parents, other family members, school teachers and fellow students, will be required. A longitudinal study of a number of respondents selected from the present study may be carried out in the future to provide a more in-depth understanding of the various factors influencing changes in their adaptive experiences over time.

Whereas research helps to provide useful information for the development of a multicultural policy, programmes directed towards promoting wider community acceptance of multiculturalism are also essential. Some psychologists have suggested that one way of doing this is to introduce to people as young as possible, the study of other cultures in an attempt to teach them that other people do things for very good reasons and that no culture can be regarded as being right or wrong in its way of doing things (see, for example, Duignan, 1979, p. 206). In addition to develop positive attitudes towards other cultures, the cultural study should also aim to foster in the children a sense of pride in being who they are. Indeed, as Alfred Hunkin (1982), a Samoan who worked in the Multicultural Committee of the New Zealand Council of Social Services, said,

We can only become understanding and truly multicultural in New Zealand when we know first of all who we are. Only then can we begin to learn about others and accept them for what they are. (p. 105)

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Appendix A Pilot Survey Discussion Outline

1. Self introduction and purpose of interview.
2. What is your name?
3. How old are you?
4. How long have you been living in New Zealand?
5. With whom are you currently living?
6. At present, what things do you find to have most difficulty coping with in New Zealand?
7. In what way is _____ (an area of coping, such as language use, social life, family life or school learning) different in New Zealand compared with Hong Kong?
8. How have you changed since coming to New Zealand?
9. At present, how much like a New Zealander do you feel?
10. At present, how much like a Chinese do you feel?

Appendix B Cultural Performance Questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Questionnaire I

Section A: Language

In this section, you are asked about the languages you use in different social situations. For each question below, please tick only ONE answer in the appropriate box provided.

Answer ALL questions. If any question does not apply to you, tick the NA (standing for "not applicable") answer choice.

這部份問卷的內容是你在不同社交場合應用語言的情況。

請在以下每一項問題的答案中，選出你認為最合適的一個答案，以 ✓ 表示出來。

請回答所有問題。如某項問題並不適用於你的情況，請選擇 NA（即“不適用”）的答案。

Here is an example:

When you last bought some stamps, in what languages did you speak with the person who sold the stamps to you?

only English	mainly English and some Chinese	each equally	mainly Chinese and some English	only Chinese	NA
✓					

When you were at home yesterday, in what languages did you speak:

昨天你在家中用何種語言交談：

	only English 只用英文	mainly English and some Chinese 主要用英文，有時用中文	each equally 中英各半	mainly Chinese and some English 主要用中文，有時用英文	only Chinese 只用中文	NA 不適用
1. with your father? 與你的父親？						
2. with your mother? 與你的母親？						
3. with your brothers and sisters? 與你的兄弟姊妹？						
4. with other people you live with? 與其他同住的人？						

In what languages did you speak:

你用何種語言交談：

	only English 只用 英文	mainly English and some Chinese 主要用 英文， 有時用 中文	each equally 中英 各半	mainly Chinese and some English 主要用 中文， 有時用 英文	only Chinese 只用 中文	NA 不適用
5. in the school lesson you last attended? 當你上次上課時？						
6. when you last talked with your Chinese classmates at school? 當你上次在學校與中國同學交談時？						
7. with the shopkeeper when you last went shopping? 當你上次購物，與售貨員交談時？						
8. when you last took part in a social activity with both New Zealand and Chinese friends? ¹ 當你上次參予紐西蘭人與中國人的社交活動時？						
9. when you last had New Zealand friends, relatives or neighbours visit your home? ² 當你上次有紐西蘭朋友，親戚或鄰居探訪你家時？						

¹ Pre-migration respondents were asked, "In what languages did you speak when you last took part in a social activity with both Chinese and non-Chinese friends?"

² Pre-migration respondents were asked, "In what languages did you speak when you last had non-Chinese friends, relatives or neighbours visit your home?"

	only English 只用英文	mainly English and some Chinese 主要用英文, 有時用中文	each equally 中英各半	mainly Chinese and some English 主要用中文, 有時用英文	only Chinese 只用中文	NA 不適用
10. In the last 7 days, what were the languages of the TV and video programmes you watched? 過去七天, 你所看的電視和錄映節目是用何種語文?						
11. In the last 7 days, what were the languages of the radio programmes you listened to? 過去七天, 你所聽的電台節目是用何種語文?						
12. In the last 7 days, in what languages did you read newspapers, magazines and books? 過去七天, 你所看的報紙, 雜誌和書籍是用何種語文?						
13. In the last 4 weeks, in what languages did you write letters? 過去四星期你寫的信, 是用何種語文?						
14. People often use words in their thinking. What languages do you use when you think? 當你思考時, 用何種語文?						

Section B: Social

In this section, you are asked about your after-school activities in the past 7 days. For each item below there are two questions. For each question, please tick only ONE answer in the appropriate box provided.

這部份問卷的內容是你在過去七天下課後的活動。

以下每項問題分兩部份。請在每部份的答案中，選出你認為最合適的一個答案，以 ✓ 表示出來。

Here is an example:

In the past 7 days,

	(a) how much time did you spend on:					(b) who did you mix with:				
	NA	less than 5 hrs	5 to less than 10 hrs	10 to less than 15 hrs	15 hrs and over	NA	only New Zealanders	both New Zealanders & Chinese	only Chinese	other (specify)
eating out with your friends?		✓						✓		

In the past 7 days,

過去七天，

	(a) how much time did you spend on: 你進行以下活動 用了多少時間?					(b) who did you mix with: ³ 你與何人進行 以下活動?				
	NA	less than 5 hrs	5 to less than 10 hrs	10 to less than 15 hrs	15 hrs and over	NA	only New Zealanders	both New Zealanders & Chinese	only Chinese	other (specify)
1. social activities with your classmates or friends after school? (specify) 放學後與同學或朋友的社交活動 (請註明是何種活動)										

³ The five answer choices for pre-migration respondents were: NA, only Chinese, both Chinese and non-Chinese, only non-Chinese, and other (specify).

Section C: Learning

In this section, you are asked about your learning behaviour at school. Please tick only ONE answer for each question below.

這部份問卷的內容是你在學校的學習情況。

請在以下每一項問題的答案中，選出你認為最合適的一個答案，以 ✓ 表示出來。

Here is an example:

In the last two weeks when you studied your school subjects, did you study at home, or in places other than your home, for example, in the library?

only at home	mainly at home, sometimes elsewhere	each equally	mainly elsewhere, sometimes at home	only elsewhere	NA
	✓				

1. Think of the school lessons you attended in the last two weeks. Did you listen quietly and take notes, or did you ask questions and participate actively in class discussions and other activities?

過去兩星期你在上課時是靜心聆聽，寫筆記，抑或發問問題，積極參與課堂討論和課堂活動？

only note taking	mainly note taking, some class activities	each equally	mainly class activities, some note taking	only class activities	NA

2. Think of the occasions when you did not understand something in class in the last two weeks. Did you ask for help from your classmates, or from your teachers?

過去兩星期當你在堂上聽不明白時，你是向同學，抑或向老師求助？

only from classmates	mainly from classmates, but also from teachers	each equally	mainly from teachers, but also from classmates	only from teachers	other (specify)

3. Think of the class assignments you did in the last two weeks. Did you do them by yourself, or together with other classmates?

過去兩星期你所做的堂課，是你自己一人，抑或與其他同學一起做的？

only by yourself	mainly by yourself, some with classmates	each equally	mainly with classmates, some by yourself	only with classmates	NA

4. Think of the home assignments you did in the last two weeks. Did they involve referring to materials which had been taught by teachers, or did they involve finding additional references by yourself?

過去兩星期你所做的家課，是需要參考老師所教的資料，抑或需要你另外找資料？

only materials taught by teachers	mainly materials taught by teachers, some own references	each equally	mainly own references, some materials taught by teachers	only own references	NA

5. Think of the study methods you used in the last two weeks. Did you memorize a lot of factual materials, or did you try to understand the meaning of what you had to learn?

過去兩星期你所用的學習方法，是需要記很多事實資料，抑或嘗試理解你所學習？

only memorizing	mainly memorizing, some understanding	each equally	mainly understanding, some memorizing	only understanding	NA

6. In general, would you keep your relationships with your teachers formal, or would you be relaxed and friendly with them?

一般來說，你與老師的關係是嚴肅和公式化的，抑或是輕鬆和友善的？

only formal	mainly formal, sometimes friendly	each equally	mainly friendly, sometimes formal	only friendly	NA

7. In general, would you compete or cooperate with your classmates in your studies?

一般來說，在學業上你與同學相互競爭，抑或合作？

only competitive	mainly competitive, sometimes cooperative	each equally	mainly cooperative, sometimes competitive	only cooperative	NA

8. In general, do you put more emphasis in school on getting good grades, or developing yourself in personal ways?

一般來說，你在學校是側重爭取好成績，抑或側重個人人格發展？

good grades only	more on good grades than on personal development	each equally	more on personal development than on good grades	personal development only	NA

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE
PLEASE GO TO QUESTIONNAIRE II

Appendix C Cross-cultural Preference Questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Questionnaire II

In this questionnaire, you are asked about the things you like or dislike doing in New Zealand.¹

For each question below, please show how much you like or dislike something by circling a number from 1 to 10, with 1 indicating something that you do not like at all, 10 indicating something that you like very much, and the numbers in between representing increasing preference for doing something.

這份問卷是關於當你在紐西蘭，你對於做以下事情的喜愛程度。

以下每一項問題有 1 至 10 分，1分代表你一點也不喜歡做該項事情，10分代表你十分喜歡做該項事情。請回答以下每一項問題，圈出你認為最合適的分數。

Here is an example:

	not at all																			very much
Do you like Chinese food?		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10									

In New Zealand, do you like to:

在紐西蘭，你是否喜歡：

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--------------|
| | not
at all | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | very
much |
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. keep your relationships with teachers formal? | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | | | | | | | | | |
| 與老師的關係保持嚴肅和公式化? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. think in English? | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | | | | | | | | | |
| 用英文思想? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. ask questions and participate actively in discussions and other activities in class? | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | | | | | | | | | |
| 在堂上發問，及積極參與課堂討論和課堂活動? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

¹ Pre-migration respondents were asked about the things they expected to like or dislike doing in New Zealand.

In New Zealand, do you like to:

在紐西蘭, 你是否喜歡:

not
at all
一點也不

very
much
十分喜歡

4. try to understand the meaning of what you have to learn when you study your school subjects?
在溫習時, 嘗試理解你所學習的科目?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
5. watch Chinese language TV or video programmes?
看中文電視或錄映節目?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
6. ask for help from your teachers when you do not understand something in class?
在上課有不明白時, 向老師求助?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
7. have social activities with your Chinese classmates after school?
下課後與中國同學進行社交活動?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
8. speak English when you are with both N.Z. and Chinese friends?
當與紐西蘭及中國朋友一起時, 用英語交談?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
9. memorize a lot of factual materials when you study your school subjects?
在溫習時, 需要記很多事實資料?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
10. speak English with your Chinese classmates at school?
在學校裡用英語和中國同學交談?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
11. speak English at home?
在家裡說英語?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
12. have class assignments which you do by yourself?
你所做的堂課是自己一人做的?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

In New Zealand, do you like to:

在紐西蘭, 你是否喜歡:

not
at all
一點也不

very
much
十分喜歡

13. speak English when you have N.Z. visitors
in your home?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

當有紐西蘭訪客到你家探訪時說英語?

14. do home assignments which involve
referring to materials which have been
taught by the teachers?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

你所做的家課, 是要參考老師教授的
資料的?

15. write letters in Chinese?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

用中文寫信?

16. speak Chinese when you have N.Z. visitors
in your home?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

當有紐西蘭訪客探訪你家時說中文?

17. visit N.Z. friends' homes?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

往紐西蘭朋友家中探訪?

18. listen to English language radio programmes?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

聽英文電台節目?

19. mix with N.Z. classmates at school?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

在學校裡與紐西蘭同學交往?

20. listen quietly and take notes in class?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

上堂時靜心聆聽和抄筆記?

21. speak Chinese with the shopkeeper when
you go shopping?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

購物時與售貨員用中文交談?

In New Zealand, do you like to:

在紐西蘭, 你是否喜歡:

not
at all
一點也不

very
much
十分喜歡

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| 22. have N.Z. friends visit your home?
有紐西蘭朋友探訪你家? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 23. mix with Chinese classmates at school?
在學校裡與中國同學交往? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 24. read English language newspapers,
magazines or books?
看英文報紙, 雜誌和書籍? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 25. be relaxed and friendly with your teachers?
與老師的關係是輕鬆和友善的? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 26. think in Chinese?
用中文思想? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 27. spend your spare time as your Chinese
friends do?
消磨餘暇的方式與你的中國朋友一樣? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 28. have social activities with your N.Z.
classmates after school?
下課後與紐西蘭同學進行社交活動? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 29. spend your spare time as your N.Z. friends do?
消磨餘暇的方式與你的紐西蘭
朋友一樣? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 30. speak Chinese at school?
在學校裡說中文? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

In New Zealand, do you like to:

在紐西蘭,你是否喜歡:

not
at all
一點也不

very
much
十分喜歡

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| 31. do home assignments which involve finding additional references by yourself?
你所做的家課,是要你找其他參考資料的? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 32. put more emphasis in school on developing yourself in personal ways?
在學校側重個人人格發展? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 33. visit Chinese friends' home?
往中國朋友的家探訪? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 34. have Chinese friends visit your home?
有中國朋友探訪你家? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 35. write letters in English?
用英文寫信? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 36. compete with your classmates in your studies?
在學業上與你的同學相互競爭? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 37. put more emphasis in school on getting good grades?
在學校側重爭取好成績? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 38. listen to Chinese language radio programmes?
聽中文電台節目? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 39. take part in social activities participated in mainly by N.Z. people?
參加主要是紐西蘭人參與的社交活動? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

In New Zealand, do you like to:

在紐西蘭,你是否喜歡:

not
at all
一點也不

very
much
十分喜歡

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| 40. speak Chinese when you are with both N.Z. and Chinese friends?
與紐西蘭及中國朋友一起時說中文? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 41. take part in social activities participated in mainly by Chinese?
參加主要是中國人參與的社交活動? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 42. ask for help from your classmates when you do not understand something in class?
在上課有不明白時向同學求助? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 43. have class assignments which you do together with other classmates?
你所做的堂課, 是要與其他同學一起做的? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 44. read Chinese language newspapers, magazines or books?
看中文報紙, 雜誌和書籍? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 45. watch English language TV or video programmes?
看英文電視或錄映節目? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 46. speak Chinese at home?
在家裡說中文? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 47. cooperate with your classmates in your studies?
在學習上與同學合作? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 48. speak English with the shopkeeper when you go shopping?
購物時與售貨員用英語交談? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

- | | not
at all | | | | | | | | | very
much |
|--|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|--------------|
| 49. At present, how much like a New Zealander do you feel?
現在你覺得自己是一個紐西蘭人嗎? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 50. At present, how much like a Chinese do you feel?
現在你覺得自己是一個中國人嗎? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 51. 12 months ago, how much like a New Zealander did you feel? ²
12個月之前,你覺得自己是一個紐西蘭人嗎? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 52. 12 months ago, how much like a Chinese did you feel? ³
12個月之前,你覺得自己是一個中國人嗎? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

**THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE
PLEASE GO TO QUESTIONNAIRE III**

² Question for post-migration respondents only.

³ Question for post-migration respondents only.

Appendix D Cross-cultural Attitude Questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Questionnaire III

This questionnaire is concerned with the opinions you have about adaptation to New Zealand life. Beside each question below there are four answer choices. Please tick ONE which best conforms with your view.

這份問卷的內容是你對適應紐西蘭生活的意見。

以下每一項問題有 4 個答案，請圈出你認為最合適的一個答案。

Here is an example:

How important is it for you to learn
to respect for old people?

not important at all	slightly important	moderately important	very important
1	2	3	4

When you are in New Zealand, 當你在紐西蘭,

1. how difficult is it for you to mix with NZ
friends and to keep your Chinese friends?

你認為你既要與紐西蘭朋友
來往密切，又要維持與中國
朋友來往，是：

not difficult at all	slightly difficult	moderately difficult	very difficult
並不困難	有點困難	較為困難	非常困難
1	2	3	4

2. how important is it for you to have
good English?

你要具備良好的英語能力，
你認為是：

not important at all	slightly important	moderately important	very important
並不重要	有點重要	較為重要	非常重要
1	2	3	4

3. how important is it for you to adopt NZ
methods of studying?

你要採用紐西蘭的讀書方法，
你認為是：

not important at all	slightly important	moderately important	very important
並不重要	有點重要	較為重要	非常重要
1	2	3	4

When you are in New Zealand, 當你在紐西蘭,

4. how important is it for you to retain the use of Chinese?

你要維持使用中文的習慣，
你認為是：

not important at all	slightly important	moderately important	very important
並不重要	有點重要	較為重要	非常重要
1	2	3	4

5. how difficult is it for you to adopt NZ methods of studying and to retain the study methods you are used to?

你認為你既要採用紐西蘭的
讀書方法，又要繼續你原來的
讀書方法，是：

not difficult at all	slightly difficult	moderately difficult	very difficult
並不困難	有點困難	較為困難	非常困難
1	2	3	4

6. how important is it for you to mix with NZ people?

你要結交紐西蘭朋友，
你認為是：

not important at all	slightly important	moderately important	very important
並不重要	有點重要	較為重要	非常重要
1	2	3	4

7. how important is it for you to continue with the study methods you are used to?

你要繼續使用你原來的讀書
方法，你認為是：

not important at all	slightly important	moderately important	very important
並不重要	有點重要	較為重要	非常重要
1	2	3	4

8. how important is it for you to keep your Chinese friends?

你要維持與中國朋友來往，
你認為是：

not important at all	slightly important	moderately important	very important
並不重要	有點重要	較為重要	非常重要
1	2	3	4

9. how difficult is it for you to have good English and to retain your ability in using Chinese?

你認為你既要建立良好的
英語水平，又要維持使用
中文的習慣，是：

not difficult at all	slightly difficult	moderately difficult	very difficult
並不困難	有點困難	較為困難	非常困難
1	2	3	4

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE
PLEASE GO TO QUESTIONNAIRE IV

Appendix E Social Support Questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Questionnaire IV

The following items ask about people in your environment who provide you with help or support SINCE YOU COME TO NEW ZEALAND.¹

For each item, list all the people you know, excluding yourself, whom you can count on for help or support in the manner described. Please give the person's initials AND his/her relationship to you. LIST NO MORE THAN NINE PERSONS PER QUESTION.

Then, for each person you have listed, record how SATISFIED you are with the help or support you receive by circling a number from 1 to 5, where 1 is not satisfied at all, 5 is very satisfied, and the numbers in between represent increasing satisfaction with the help or support you receive.

這份問卷是關於當你來到紐西蘭以後，在你周圍有那些人能給你幫助或支持。首先請你列出那些人能夠給予你幫助或支持，他們名字的簡寫及他們和你的關係。每項問題列出的人數不要超過九個。其次請記錄你是否滿意他(或她)給予你的幫助或支持。1分代表一點幫助或支持也沒有，5分代表非常有幫助或支持。請圈出你認為最合適的分數。

Here is an example:

When you are in New Zealand, who can you really count on to listen to you when you need to talk?

Initials	Relation	How satisfied are you with the support you receive?				
		not at all				very much
1. C.K.	friend	1	2	3	④	5
2. E.J.	friend	1	2	3	4	⑤
3. T.W.	sister	1	2	③	4	5
4. F.L.	teacher	1	2	3	④	5

¹ Pre-migration respondents were asked about their perceived social support in Hong Kong.

1. In New Zealand, who can you really count on to give you useful suggestions that help you avoid making mistakes?

當你想別人給你有用的意見去減少處事的錯誤時，你可依靠誰？

Initials 名字簡寫	Relation 關係	How satisfied are you with the help you receive? 你是否滿意他/她 給予你的幫助？ not at all 一點也沒有 very much 非常有幫助
1.		1 2 3 4 5
2.		1 2 3 4 5
3.		1 2 3 4 5
4.		1 2 3 4 5
5.		1 2 3 4 5
6.		1 2 3 4 5
7.		1 2 3 4 5
8.		1 2 3 4 5
9.		1 2 3 4 5

2. In New Zealand, who can you really count on to comfort you when you are very upset?

當你十分苦惱時，你可依靠誰來給你安慰？

Initials 名字簡寫	Relation 關係	How satisfied are you with the support you receive? 你是否滿意他/她 給予你的支持？ not at all 一點也沒有 very much 非常有支持
1.		1 2 3 4 5
2.		1 2 3 4 5
3.		1 2 3 4 5
4.		1 2 3 4 5
5.		1 2 3 4 5
6.		1 2 3 4 5
7.		1 2 3 4 5
8.		1 2 3 4 5
9.		1 2 3 4 5

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE
PLEASE GO TO QUESTIONNAIRE IV

Appendix F Personal Background Questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Questionnaire V

In this questionnaire, you are asked to give some information about yourself, your family and your immigration to New Zealand.

Please answer all questions. Your answers are COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL.

In this cover sheet you are asked to give your name, your school and your form. These data will be coded, and the cover sheet will then be removed and destroyed. Your name will not be identified in any research reports.

這份問卷是關於你的個人資料，家庭及移民狀況。
請回答以下每一項問題，所有資料均絕對保密。

Name:

姓名

(First Name)

(Last Name)

School:

學校

Form:

年級

Part A: General Information**一般資料**

For each question below, please tick ONE answer or write your answer in the space provided.

請回答以下每一項問題，選出你認為最合適的一個答案，或將答案填在空格上。

1. Gender: ☐ Male ☐ Female
性別

2. How old are you?

年齡

- ☐ 14 years 0 month to 14 years 11 months
☐ 15 years 0 month to 15 years 11 months
☐ 16 years 0 month to 16 years 11 months
☐ 17 years 0 month to 17 years 11 months
☐ 18 years 0 month to 18 years 11 months
☐ other (please specify)
其他(請註明)
-

3. Where were you born?

出生地點

- ☐ Hong Kong
☐ other (please specify)
其他地方(請註明)
-

4. How many persons are there in your family? _____
 你的家庭有多少成員?

Please fill in the following table concerning your family.

請將家庭各成員的資料填寫如下：

Relation to you 與你的關係	Gender 性別	Age 年齡	Residence (Tick one) 居住地點		
			H.K. 香港	N.Z. 紐西蘭	other places (specify) 其他地方(請註明)

5. Are you currently living:
 你現在是：
- ☐ with your family? 與你的家人同住?
☐ with relatives? 與親戚同住?
☐ with friends? 與朋友同住?
☐ in a hostel? 住宿舍?
☐ alone? 獨自居住?
☐ other (please specify) 其他(請註明)

6. What is the highest level of schooling your parents have reached?
 你父母的最高教育程度是：

	Your father	Your mother
University 大學		
technical/trade 專科學校		
secondary 中學		
primary 小學		
no formal education 沒受正規教育		
don't know 不知道		

7. At present, does your father live in New Zealand for most of the time in a year?¹
目前你的父親在一年中，是否大部份時間居住在紐西蘭？

[] yes [] no

If no, go to Question 8.

如不是，請轉答第 8 題。

If yes, before your father came to New Zealand, was he:

如是，你的父親在來紐西蘭以前是：

[] employed, full time? (specify actual job below):
受僱(全職)? (請說明是什麼工作)

[] employed, part time? (specify actual job below):
受僱(部份時間)? (請說明是什麼工作)

[] self-employed or in family business?
自僱或經營家族生意?

[] not employed, and NOT seeking employment?
無職業亦不在尋找職業?

[] unemployed, and looking for employment?
無職業，但正在尋找職業?

[] other (specify) 其他(請註明)

8. Is your father currently:

你的父親現在是：

[] employed, full time? (specify actual job below):
受僱(全職)? (請說明是什麼工作)

[] employed, part time? (specify actual job below):
受僱(部份時間)? (請說明是什麼工作)

[] self-employed or in family business?
自僱或經營家族生意?

[] not employed, and NOT seeking employment?
無職業亦不在尋找職業?

[] unemployed, and looking for employment?
無職業，但正在尋找職業?

[] other (specify) 其他(請註明)

¹ Question for post-migration respondents only.

9. At present, does your mother live in New Zealand for most of the time in a year?²

目前你的母親在一年中，是否大部份時間居住在紐西蘭？

[] yes [] no

If no, go to Question 10.

如不是，請轉答第10題。

If yes, before your mother came to New Zealand, was she:

如是，你的母親在來紐西蘭以前是：

[] employed, full time? (specify actual job below):
受僱(全職)? (請說明是什麼工作)

[] employed, part time? (specify actual job below):
受僱(部份時間)? (請說明是什麼工作)

[] self-employed or in family business?
自僱或經營家族生意?

[] not employed, and NOT seeking employment?
無職業亦不在尋找職業?

[] unemployed, and looking for employment?
無職業，但正在尋找職業?

[] other (specify) 其他(請註明)

10. Is your mother currently:

你的母親現在是：

[] employed, full time? (specify actual job below):
受僱(全職)? (請說明是什麼工作)

[] employed, part time? (specify actual job below):
受僱(部份時間)? (請說明是什麼工作)

[] self-employed or in family business?
自僱或經營家族生意?

[] not employed, and NOT seeking employment?
無職業亦不在尋找職業?

[] unemployed, and looking for employment?
無職業，但正在尋找職業?

[] other (specify) 其他(請註明)

² Question for post-migration respondents only.

Part B: Migration

移民

1. For your family's immigration to New Zealand, are you given:

你的家庭移民紐西蘭，是否獲得：

- ☐ a permanent residence visa? 永久居留簽證?
☐ other visa? (please specify) 其他簽證? (請說明)
-

IF YOU ARE GIVEN OTHER VISA, go to Question 2.

如獲得其他簽證，請轉答第2題。

IF YOU ARE GIVEN A PERMANENT RESIDENCE VISA, is it under:

獲得永久居留簽證的類別是：

- ☐ business immigration category? 商業移民
☐ employment immigration category? 職業移民
☐ family reunion category? 家庭團聚
☐ other (please specify) 其他(請註明)
-

- ☐ don't know 不知道
-

2. How long have you been resident in New Zealand?³

你在紐西蘭居住了多久：

- ☐ less than 1 year
☐ 1 year to less than 2 years
☐ 2 years to less than 3 years
☐ 3 years to less than 4 years
☐ other (please specify)
-

³ Pre-migration respondents were asked the following questions:

2(a) When will you leave Hong Kong for New Zealand?

(b) Which city or town will you be going to live?

3. How long do you think you will stay in New Zealand:

你會在紐西蘭逗留多久：

- ☐ 1 to 5 years?
☐ 6 to 10 years?
☐ more than 10 years?
☐ other (please specify)
-

4. What were your main reasons for leaving Hong Kong?

你離開香港的最主要原因是什麼？

5. If you were free to choose, which country would you like to settle in?

如你可自由選擇，你會在那個國家居留？

**** THE END ****

**** THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND GREAT HELP ****

Appendix G Attribution Questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Questionnaire VI

This questionnaire is concerned with the reasons you give for being successful or having difficulties.

In the following, you are asked to describe some occasions when you feel you have been successful or have had difficulties in using English, relating with new friends, and learning at school SINCE YOU COME TO NEW ZEALAND. For each occasion, you are also asked to give two main reasons why you think you have been successful or have had difficulties. Finally, for each question you give, you are asked to:

- (a) decide if it is something that can change over time (like the weather), OR it is something that cannot change (like the colour of your eyes);
- (b) decide if it is something that you can control (like who your friends are), OR it is something that you cannot control (like how warm or cold it is today); and
- (c) decide if it is something that is inside you (like having good eyesight), OR it is something that is outside you (like the noisy traffic on the road).

Tick your answer under each of the three headings CHANGE? CONTROL? and WHERE? using the table provided.

Because these questions are about what you feel or think as an individual, there can be no right or wrong answers.

這份問卷的內容是你認為甚麼是獲得成功或遇到困難的理由。

以下請你描述當你來到紐西蘭以後，你在使用英語，結交新朋友和於學校學習時，感到成功或遇到困難的一些事件，並在每宗事件中，指出你認為令自己獲得成功或遇到困難的兩個主要理由。最後，請你對所提出的每一個理由，

- (a) 判定這個理由是可以隨時間改變的（譬如天氣），抑或是不可以隨時間改變的（譬如你眼珠的顏色）；
- (b) 判定這個理由是可以由你控制的（譬如誰是你的朋友），抑或是不可以由你控制的（譬如今天的溫度）；
- (c) 判定這個理由是屬於你個人內在的因素（譬如你有好的視力），抑或是屬於你個人以外的因素（譬如馬路上交通的嘈吵聲）。

請在附表 CHANGE? CONTROL? 和 WHERE? 三個項目下，各選擇一個答案，以表示出來。

由於這些問題是關於你的個人感覺或意見，因此不會有正確的或錯誤的答案。

Here is an example:

Think of an occasion when you feel you have had difficulties in getting something you want.

Describe the occasion. (e.g. What did you want to get? What did you do? What difficulties were encountered?)

Wanted to get some information about the history of Chinese immigration to New Zealand. Went to the library, but could not find the relevant materials.

Give two main reasons why you think you had difficulties on that occasion.

- (a) I did not ask for help from the librarian.
- (b) Went on a wet day, got sick and left library early.

For each reason you give, decide whether it can change or not, whether it is under your control or not, and whether it is inside you or outside you. Tick your answer under each of the three headings CHANGE?, CONTROL? and WHERE? in the following table.

REASONS	CHANGE?		CONTROL?		WHERE?	
	CAN CHANGE	CANNOT CHANGE	CAN CONTROL	CANNOT CONTROL	INSIDE ME	OUTSIDE ME
(a)	✓		✓		✓	
(b)	✓			✓	✓	

You can answer the following questions in either English or Chinese.

以下問題你可以用英文或中文作答。

1. Describe an occasion when you feel you have used English successfully to achieve something SINCE YOU COME TO NEW ZEALAND.

請描述當你來到紐西蘭以後，在使用英語時感到成功的一宗事件。

Give two main reasons why you think you were successful on that occasion.

在該事件中，你認為自己獲得成功的兩個主要理由是：

(a)

(b)

For each reason you give, decide whether it can change or not, whether it is under your control or not, and whether it is inside you or outside you. Tick your answer under each of the three headings CHANGE?, CONTROL? and WHERE? in the following table.

以上提出的每一個理由，請判定它是否可以隨時間改變的，是否可以由你控制的，和是個人內在的因素，還是個人以外的因素。請在以下表格 CHANGE? CONTROL? 和 WHERE? 三個項目下，各選擇一個答案，以 ✓ 表示出來。

REASONS	CHANGE?		CONTROL?		WHERE?	
	CAN CHANGE	CANNOT CHANGE	CAN CONTROL	CANNOT CONTROL	INSIDE ME	OUTSIDE ME
(a)						
(b)						

2. Describe an occasion when you feel you have had difficulties in using English to achieve something SINCE YOU COME TO NEW ZEALAND.

請描述當你來到紐西蘭以後，在使用英語時遇到困難的一宗事件。

Give two main reasons why you think you had difficulties on that occasion.

在該事件中，你認為自己遇到困難的兩個主要理由是：

(a)

(b)

For each reason you give, decide whether it can change or not, whether it is under your control or not, and whether it is inside you or outside you. Tick your answer under each of the three headings CHANGE?, CONTROL? and WHERE? in the following table.

以上提出的每一個理由，請判定它是否可以隨時間改變的，是否可以由你控制的，和是個人內在的因素還是個人以外的因素。請在以下表格 CHANGE? CONTROL? 和 WHERE? 三個項目下，各選擇一個答案，以 ✓ 表示出來。

REASONS	CHANGE?		CONTROL?		WHERE?	
	CAN CHANGE	CANNOT CHANGE	CAN CONTROL	CANNOT CONTROL	INSIDE ME	OUTSIDE ME
(a)						
(b)						

3. Describe an occasion when you feel you have made new friends successfully SINCE YOU COME TO NEW ZEALAND.

請描述當你來到紐西蘭以後，在結交新朋友時感到成功的一宗事件。

Give two main reasons why you think you were successful on that occasion.

在該事件中，你認為自己獲得成功的兩個主要理由是：

(a)

(b)

For each reason you give, decide whether it can change or not, whether it is under your control or not, and whether it is inside you or outside you. Tick your answer under each of the three headings CHANGE?, CONTROL? and WHERE? in the following table.

以上提出的每一個理由，請判定它是否可以隨時間改變的，是否可以由你控制的，和是個人內在的因素還是個人以外的因素。請在以下表格 CHANGE? CONTROL? 和 WHERE? 三個項目下，各選擇一個答案，以 ✓ 表示出來。

REASONS	CHANGE?		CONTROL?		WHERE?	
	CAN CHANGE	CANNOT CHANGE	CAN CONTROL	CANNOT CONTROL	INSIDE ME	OUTSIDE ME
(a)						
(b)						

4. Describe an occasion when you feel you have had difficulties in relating with new friends SINCE YOU COME TO NEW ZEALAND.

請描述當你來到紐西蘭以後，在與新朋友相處時遇到困難的一宗事件。

Give two main reasons why you think you had difficulties on that occasion.

在該事件中，你認為自己遇到困難的兩個主要理由是：

(a)

(b)

For each reason you give, decide whether it can change or not, whether it is under your control or not, and whether it is inside you or outside you. Tick your answer under each of the three headings CHANGE?, CONTROL? and WHERE? in the following table.

以上提出的每一個理由，請判定它是否可以隨時間改變的，是否可以由你控制的，和是個人內在的因素還是個人以外的因素。請在以下表格 CHANGE? CONTROL? 和 WHERE? 三個項目下，各選擇一個答案，以 ✓ 表示出來。

REASONS	CHANGE?		CONTROL?		WHERE?	
	CAN CHANGE	CANNOT CHANGE	CAN CONTROL	CANNOT CONTROL	INSIDE ME	OUTSIDE ME
(a)						
(b)						

5. Give a subject which you feel you have learned successfully at school in New Zealand and describe how you learn this subject.

請寫下當你來到紐西蘭以後，於學校學習時感到成功的一個科目，並描述你如何學習該科目。

Give two main reasons why you think you were successful in that subject.

在該科目中，你認為自己獲得成功的兩個主要理由是：

(a)

(b)

For each reason you give, decide whether it can change or not, whether it is under your control or not, and whether it is inside you or outside you. Tick your answer under each of the three headings CHANGE?, CONTROL? and WHERE? in the following table.

以上提出的每一個理由，請判定它是否可以隨時間改變的，是否可以由你控制的，和是個人內在的因素還是個人以外的因素。請在以下表格 CHANGE? CONTROL? 和 WHERE? 三個項目下，各選擇一個答案，以 ✓ 表示出來。

REASONS	CHANGE?		CONTROL?		WHERE?	
	CAN CHANGE	CANNOT CHANGE	CAN CONTROL	CANNOT CONTROL	INSIDE ME	OUTSIDE ME
(a)						
(b)						

6. Give a subject which you feel you have had difficulties in learning at school in New Zealand and describe your difficulties.

請寫下當你來到紐西蘭以後，於學校學習時遇到困難的一個科目，並描述你的困難。

Give two main reasons why you think you had difficulties in that subject.

在該科目中，你認為自己遇到困難的兩個主要理由是：

(a)

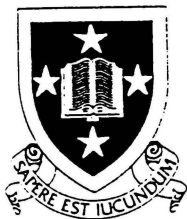
(b)

For each reason you give, decide whether it can change or not, whether it is under your control or not, and whether it is inside you or outside you. Tick your answer under each of the three headings CHANGE?, CONTROL? and WHERE? in the following table.

以上提出的每一個理由，請判定它是否可以隨時間改變的，是否可以由你控制的，和是個人內在的因素還是個人以外的因素。請在以下表格 CHANGE? CONTROL? 和 WHERE? 三個項目下，各選擇一個答案，以 ✓ 表示出來。

REASONS	CHANGE?		CONTROL?		WHERE?	
	CAN CHANGE	CANNOT CHANGE	CAN CONTROL	CANNOT CONTROL	INSIDE ME	OUTSIDE ME
(a)						
(b)						

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE



The University of Waikato

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.
Fax (071) 560-135. Telephone (071) 562-889.

敬啟者：本人誠意邀請 貴子弟於移居紐西蘭前參與一項問卷調查。這項調查將有助 貴子弟更有效地適應紐西蘭生活。

香港學生移居外國，需要離開熟悉的環境和親戚朋友，在一個陌生的社會裡重建新的生活習慣，人際關係和學習方式，實在是一個重要的考驗。本人現在進行的一項研究，目的是要了解香港學生於移居紐西蘭前後的生活和感受，從而探討新移民學生的適應和需要，並促進他們與紐西蘭社會的彼此了解和合作。這項研究已獲得紐西蘭駐港專員公署，及紐西蘭奧克蘭市教育諮詢服務組的新移民協調主任的批准及支持。

本人現階段的研究對象，是準備移居紐西蘭的香港學生。假如 貴子弟的年齡是十四至十八歲，現正進行辦理紐西蘭居留手續，或已獲紐西蘭居留簽證，均適合此項有助 貴子弟適應紐西蘭生活的研究。請於辦公時間致電 7665713 與本人聯絡，或填妥回條，寫上 貴子弟之姓名，年齡及聯絡電話寄回本人（回郵地址見回條背面）。本人便會於短期內與 貴子弟聯絡，安排適當的時間和地點進行問卷調查。所有資料將會絕對保密。

上述調查將於十二月中結束。有興趣參加者請儘早與本人聯絡。

本人是香港一名資深的臨床心理學家和教育工作者，於一九九零年前往紐西蘭懷卡托大學進修心理學博士學位課程，從事青少年移民心理研究工作。本人曾於本年六月應奧克蘭市華聲電台之邀請，出席該電台主辦的“新移民學生的適應和需要”座談會，並擔任主講。該座談會吸引了很多年輕的新移民參加。本人於十月至十二月留港期間，於香港理工學院應用社會科學系任客座講師。本人將於本年底回到紐西蘭，除繼續有關研究外，亦會協助奧克蘭市的華人團體舉辦新移民輔導座談會，提供當地社區資料，並協助新移民適應新生活。凡曾參加“香港學生移居紐西蘭前”問卷調查的新移民家庭，將獲本人邀請參加此類座談會。

此致
貴家長

懷卡托大學心理學博士研究生

何式怡

謹啟

一九九一年十月三十日

回 條

敬覆者：本人同意小兒／小女參加“香港學生移居紐西蘭前”的問卷調查。
有關小兒／小女資料如下：

姓 名	年 齡	級 別

聯絡地址：

聯絡電話：

此覆

何式怡女士

署名：

一九九一年 月 日

參加辦法： 致電 7665713， 或

填妥回條寄

九龍紅磡香港理工學院
應用社會科學系
何式怡女士收

English Translation of the Researcher's Letter to Parents

30 October 1991

Dear Parents

I am writing to invite your children to participate in a study before they emigrate to New Zealand. This study can help your children adapt to New Zealand life more effectively.

Emigration is a challenge for most Hong Kong students. It involves leaving a familiar environment, their relatives and close friends, and re-establishing new habits, social relations and learning methods in an unfamiliar society. The study that I am currently undertaking aims to explore the experiences of Hong Kong students before and after their migration to New Zealand, to analyze their adaptation patterns and needs, and to suggest ways which can help foster better understanding and cooperation between the above-mentioned groups and the New Zealand community. This study has the approval and support of the New Zealand Commission in Hong Kong, and the New Settlers' Coordinator of the Education Advisory Service in Auckland, New Zealand.

During this stage of my study, my targets are Hong Kong students who are preparing for migration to New Zealand. If you have children who are 14 to 18 years of age, and are currently applying for residence visas in New Zealand, or have got New Zealand residence visas and are preparing for migration, I would like to invite them to participate in my study, which will involve doing some questionnaires before they leave Hong Kong for New Zealand. Please call 7665713 during office hours, or complete the attached Reply Slip, fill in your children's names, ages and your contact telephone number, and send it back to me (the mailing address is printed at the back of the Reply Slip). Upon receiving your reply, I shall contact your children to arrange for an appropriate time and place to do the questionnaires. All information will be kept strictly confidential.

The above-mentioned study will end in mid-December. If your children are interested in this study, please contact me as soon as possible.

I am an experienced clinical psychologist and an educator in Hong Kong. In 1990, I started a doctoral research in the University of Waikato in New Zealand, studying the adaptation of Hong Kong students in New Zealand. In June this year, I was invited by Radio Chinese in Auckland to give an open forum on the needs and adaptation of new Chinese immigrants. Many young Chinese immigrants participated in the forum. During my stay in Hong Kong from October to December, I am a Visiting Lecturer at the Department of Applied Social Studies of the Hong Kong Polytechnic. By the end of this year, I shall return to New Zealand to further pursue my study. At the same time, I shall assist the Chinese associations in Auckland to organize counselling programmes for new immigrants, as such programmes can provide essential information and community resources to new immigrants, and assist their adaptation in a new country. If your children have taken part in the "Hong Kong students before migration to New Zealand", you will be invited to participate in such programmes.

Yours sincerely,

(Ms. Elsie S. HO)
Department of Psychology
University of Waikato

Reply Slip

Date: _____

Dear Ms. HO,

I approve of my children's taking part in the study of "Hong Kong students before migration to New Zealand". My children's information is as follows:

Name	Age	Form class

Contact address: _____

Contact telephone: _____

Yours sincerely,

Parent's signature: _____

Please call 7665713, or return this Reply Slip to:

Ms. Elsie HO
Visiting Lecturer
Department of Applied Social Studies
Hong Kong Polytechnic
Hung Hom
Kowloon

Appendix I Researcher's Letter to Secondary
School Teachers in Hong Kong

香港理工學院 香港九龍紅磡
Hong Kong Polytechnic
Hung Hom, Kowloon
Hong Kong
Telephone 766 5111
Cable Polytechd
Telex 38964 Polyx Hx
Fax (852) 764 3374

8 November 1991

Director
Prof. Poon Chung-kwong JP

Dear Teacher

Re: A study of the cross-cultural adaptation of Hong Kong Chinese students in New Zealand

I am a Visiting Lecturer of the Department of Applied Social Studies of the Hong Kong Polytechnic and am doing a Ph.D research at the University of Waikato in New Zealand, studying the cross-cultural adaptation of Hong Kong Chinese students in New Zealand.

Emigration is a challenge for most Hong Kong students. It involves leaving a familiar environment, their relatives and close friends, and re-establishing new habits, social relations and learning methods in an unfamiliar society. Adequate pre-migration counselling can help these students reduce their anxieties and develop realistic expectations towards the new country.

During this stage of my study, my targets are Hong Kong students who are preparing for migration to New Zealand. My aims are to explore their language use, lifestyles and learning methods before they leave Hong Kong for New Zealand, and to understand their expectations and needs. At the same time, I shall answer their questions, and provide them with information which can help them adapt to New Zealand life more effectively.

The attached letter to parents further explains my study. If there are students in your school who are 14 to 18 years of age, and are preparing for migration in New Zealand, please kindly invite them to participate in my study by giving me a call at 7665713 during office hours, or complete the attached Reply Slip and send it back to me.

Thank you very much for your kind cooperation.

Yours sincerely

(Ms. Elsie HO)
Visiting Lecturer
Department of Applied Social Studies



The University of Waikato

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Fax (071) 560-135. Telephone (071) 562-889.

19 February 1992

Dear Principal

Re: Cross-cultural adaptation of Hong Kong Chinese secondary school students in Auckland

I am a PhD student at the University of Waikato and am doing a research on the cross-cultural adaptation of Hong Kong Chinese secondary school students in Auckland. This study has the approval and support of the New Settlers Coordinator of the Education Advisory Service in Auckland. A copy of her letter is herewith enclosed for your reference.

Emigration is a challenge for most Hong Kong students. It involves leaving a familiar environment, their relatives and close friends, and re-establishing new habits, social relations and learning methods in an unfamiliar society. The research that I am currently undertaking aims to explore the experiences of Hong Kong students before and after their migration to New Zealand, to analyze the dynamic changes of their adaptation patterns and needs during the transition processes, and to suggest ways which can help them adapt to New Zealand life more effectively.

During this stage of my research, my targets are new immigrant students from Hong Kong who are 14 to 18 years of age and are studying in secondary schools in Auckland. I would appreciate it very much if you could kindly allow me to conduct the research in your school.

I would be most pleased to visit your school and further explain to you my research approach and procedures. I would give you a ring early next week.

Looking forward to your favourable reply.

Yours sincerely

(Miss) Elsie S. HO
Department of Psychology
University of Waikato



EDUCATION ADVISORY SERVICE

College of Education
Private Bag, Symonds St, Auckland, New Zealand
Telephone (09) 770-881 · Fax (09) 771-571

Jannie van Hees
New Settlers Coordinator
Education Advisory Service
Auckland College of Education

12 February 1992

Reference: Research thesis *Cross Cultural Adaptation of Hong Kong Chinese*
Ph D *Secondary School Students in Auckland*

Elsie Ho
University of Waikato

Dear Principal

Over the last year I have had on-going contact with Elsie Ho with regard to her thesis research project. It is, in my view, a most significant and interesting piece of research, the outcomes of which should increase our knowledge and understanding of Chinese students in secondary schools in Auckland.

In particular, the findings should enable those involved with the education of these students in schools in Auckland, to draw information from them and apply them towards more effective transition processes, and to relevant programmes and provisions in school.

I realise the work and programme Elsie has set herself is extensive. Her approach to you to interview students could perhaps mean some extra time and thought needs to be given to accommodate her needs, but I hope you view her ultimate contribution as worthwhile.

I hope you afford her an opportunity to conduct her research in your school. I fully support her endeavours.

Yours sincerely

Jannie van Hees
New Settlers Coordinator





The University of Waikato

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Fax (071) 560-135. Telephone (071) 562-889.

敬啟者：本人是香港一名資深的臨床心理學家和教育工作者，現於紐西蘭漢密頓市懷卡托大學進修心理學博士學位課程。本人現在進行一項研究，目的是要了解香港學生於移居紐西蘭後的生活和感受，從而探討新移民學生的適應模式及其需要，並協助他們更有效地適應紐西蘭的學習及生活。這項研究在奧克蘭市數間中學進行，包括 _____，並已獲得該校校長 _____，及奧克蘭市教育諮詢服務組的新移民協調主任的批准及支持。

本人誠意邀請 貴子弟參與這項研究。凡參加這項研究的學生，須出席兩次聚會，每次聚會的時間約四十分鐘。第一次聚會的日期及時間如下：

日期：

時間：

地點：

至於第二次聚會的日期和時間，本人將與 貴子弟聯絡後另行通知。

如 閣下同意 貴子弟參加此項研究，請填妥回條，由 貴子弟於第一次聚會時交回本人。在此誠意多謝 閣下的合作。

此致

貴家長

懷卡托大學心理學博士研究生
何式怡

謹啟

一九九二年三月五日

回 條

敬覆者：本人同意（學生姓名）_____（級別）_____參加“香港學生移居紐西蘭後”的調查研究。他／她將出席三月十一日中午十二時零五分至十二時四十五分舉行的第一次聚會。

此覆
何式怡女士

家長簽署：_____

一九九二年三月 日

English Translation of the Researcher's Letter to Parents of Hong Kong Chinese Secondary School Students in Auckland

5 March 1992

Dear Parents

I am an experienced clinical psychologist and educator from Hong Kong, and am now studying for a doctoral degree in the Department of Psychology at the University of Waikato in Hamilton.

In the research project that I am now undertaking, my aims are to understand the experiences of Hong Kong students after their migration to New Zealand, to analyze their adaptation patterns and needs, and to suggest ways which can help them adapt to New Zealand life more effectively. This project is being undertaken in a number of High Schools in Auckland, including _____ School. It has the support and approval of the school Principal, _____, and the New Settlers Coordinator of the Education Advisory Service in Auckland.

I am now writing to invite your child to participate in my research. His/her participation would involve having two interview sessions with me, each lasting for about 40 minutes. The first session is being arranged as follows:

Date:

Time:

Place:

Appropriate arrangement for the second session will be made with your child after the first session.

If you approve of your child taking part in this project, please kindly complete the attached Reply Slip and return it through your child to the undersigned at the first session. Your cooperation is highly appreciated.

Yours sincerely

(Miss) Elsie S. HO
Department of Psychology
University of Waikato

Reply Slip

Date: _____

Dear Miss HO,

I approve of my child, _____ (Name of student) of _____ (Class)
taking part in your study "Hong Kong students after migration to New Zealand". He/she
will attend the first session to be held on _____ at _____.

Yours sincerely

Parent's signature: _____