

Values migration:

**The influence of religion and traditional
Chinese values on the cross-cultural
adaptation of Chinese migrants
in Irish society**

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DECLARATION:

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the migration experiences of Chinese migrants in Ireland. In particular, the study explores the changing values and religions during their cross-cultural adaptation, including the interactive influences between their Chinese traditional values, Christianity and their daily life. This study follows a grounded theory approach, where 22 in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with Chinese migrants recruited by a snowball sampling strategy. Data analysis used the grounded theory process of systematic coding, categorisation and memoing with findings grounded in participants' lived experience.

Findings suggest that personal values have a fundamental influence on a migrant's life, such as migration motivation, attitudes towards discrimination experiences and engagement with Irish mainstream society. This study revealed both patterns of retaining traditional values and changing and transforming at a deep religious level to a different value system. Either conflict, compatibility or tolerance during values migration takes place to various extents. In turn, the new values impact on individuals in their reported behaviours, attitudes and interaction with the Irish host society.

Fresh perspectives on Chinese migrants also emerge in the findings, such as non-economic migration motivation and conversion to Christianity, a foreign religion in Chinese culture. Particularly, it sheds light on 'Bible lens' takers, who are transformed in their personal religion during cross-cultural adaptation in this study. From a values perspective, findings indicate that the migrants' experiences are multifaceted and their experiences relate to discrimination, homesickness, loneliness, cultural barriers, and language difficulties encountered in the acculturation process. Finally, research participants pursue the meaning of life, and this orientation leads towards two ends: to satisfy personal life needs at a pragmatic level and life goals at a spiritual level. Overall, this study is opportune as it meets the call for in-depth migrant research in Ireland at a time when Ireland is transforming into a more diverse society, as well as contributing to paradigm shifting in acculturation research.

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

Zi Zhang asked Confucius about humanity. Confucius said: "To be able to practice five virtues everywhere in the world constitutes humanity." Zi Zhang begged to know what these were. Confucius said: "Courtesy, magnanimity, good faith, diligence, and kindness. He who is courteous is not humiliated, he who is magnanimous wins the multitude, he who is of good faith is trusted by the people, he who is diligent attains his objective, and he who is kind can get service from the people"

The Analects of Confucius: Book 17, Chapter 6

1.1 Chapter outline

The research aim is to examine the process of cross-cultural adaptation over a significant period of time by members of the Chinese community in their interaction with the Irish host society, and to achieve a complete, deep and realistic understanding of what is happening to the Chinese community in the Irish cultural context. The study is naturally set in a wider context in relation to migration, but the main focus of this dissertation is the influence of religion and traditional Chinese values on the cross-cultural adaptation of Chinese migrants in Irish society. The concept of 'Value' is used as the gloss term to cover all religion, belief, and values other than religion in this study. This is because not all participants are religious and some state that they have no religion. Consequently, value is used to convey the world view of participants as religion is part of a value system and a strong personal value can function as a religion for an individual who claims no particular religion.

There is a general call for in-depth cross-cultural research on migrants in Ireland (Mac Éinrí & White 2008; Munck 2006). According to Fanning (2007a; 2007b), Irish society faces the challenges of social change since migration to Ireland which began in the mid-1990s. Immigration in Ireland has become a key social issue and there has been a research focus in the past decade, but Munck (2006:7) notes: "there has been no in-depth research in the economic, social and political integration of immigrants in

Ireland”. In this context, the call for in-depth research to bridge the divide between research and policy is urgently demanded. Additionally, the report by the International Organization of Migration (2006:13) also says that most migration research have been about economic perspectives but: “the social and cultural benefits of migration tend to be overlooked.” It is therefore timely to discover the cross-cultural experiences of Chinese migrants in Ireland in an empirical research project, particularly as the Chinese community is a large ethnic group in Ireland (Feldman et al 2008).

The research aims to explore the interaction between some members of the Chinese community in Ireland and the Irish host society in relation to the changes in values, religions and belief and their impacts on migration experience in the process of cross-cultural adaptation. Thus, the research is a study across interdisciplinary areas of intercultural communication, cross-cultural adaptation, acculturation, migration, values and religion. It must be noted that this research does not explore in-depth contrasts between the impacts of different religious beliefs, such as the extent of difference relating to the meaning of life between Buddhism and Christian belief. It will refer to general comparisons between the respective religious doctrines where necessary. This is neither the purpose of the research nor is such contrast guided by the data from this investigation. Therefore, it falls under the category of exploratory or formulative research (Palys 2003).

The findings in this research significantly highlight the impact of personal religion and values on migrants’ cross-cultural adaptation. The value orientations along acculturation process presented in this study point towards two dimensions: pragmatic and spiritual. The spiritual dimension in this study specifically refers to a God-centred value

orientation. One thing to note is that in Chapter Five, the word ‘spiritual’ also refers to values in relation to benevolence, as in Chinese ‘spiritual’ has two meanings, either as opposite to the material world or as being divine-related. In contrast, the pragmatic dimension pertains to motivational values which have little relation with or are not divine-concerned and mainly satisfy personal desire. For an individual, both orientations may co-exist, though one tends to have greater priority than the other, or is mainly dominated by a pragmatic orientation as not every participant is religious in this study. The pattern of value shifting, which is termed ‘value migration’ in Chapter Six, and ‘value acculturation’ in Chapter Nine, is in three formats: *changing*, *transforming* and *remaining* in comparison to the original value system held at the beginning of the migration period. Particularly, *transforming* is different from mere *changing*, as it sheds light on a deep change of a value system. This format of value shifting pertains to those labelled ‘Bible lens taker’ as found in this research.

This chapter sets the scene of the research. Berry (1997), Kuper (2000), and Spates (1983) all point to the importance of the study of cultural background to understand both cross-cultural and cultural phenomena. Berry (1997) notes a complete examination of acculturation should start with a detailed look at the contexts of two societies, of the original and the settlement ones. The description of the original culture serves as the background information that accompanies individuals who are undergoing acculturation. In addition, the comparison with the cultural characteristics of the settlement society will help explain a significant factor, cultural distance, as one of the factors existing prior to acculturation. Regarding the society of settlement, Berry (1997) notes the importance of understanding both the historical and attitudinal situation in the settlement society. This includes many factors like the general orientation of a society,

the extent of acceptance of pluralism and the various attitudes of the citizens towards different non-dominant cultural groups.

1.2 Chinese migrants in Ireland

1.2.1 Demographic data of Chinese community in Ireland

According to the Irish Central Statistical Office (CSO) the most up-to-date profile about migrants in Ireland published on 4 Oct 2012, migration is still an important issue in Ireland as the growth of migrants has continued since 2006. A total of 10,896 Chinese people were living in Ireland in October 2012. More than half of the Chinese aged 15 and over are single (CSO 2012: Profile six) which shows a high level of young people still arriving in Ireland for education or work purposes. With regard to marital status and having children, the Chinese show in Feldman et al. (2008) the highest rate of unmarried status at over 70 per cent compared with three other communities in Ireland: India, Nigeria and Latvian, and the lowest percentage of having children at slightly over 10 per cent (Feldman et al. 2008:146-147).

CSO 2006 (Profile seven) also reported that “eighty per cent said they had ‘no religion’, by far the highest per cent of any group, while six per cent said Buddhist and one in twenty indicated Roman Catholic”, whereas this qualitative research relates to the religious experiences of some Chinese Protestants, Catholics and Buddhists. Overall, this qualitative study presents a complex portrait of Chinese migrants in Ireland than appears in purely statistical data.

1.2.2 Research in relation to the Chinese community in Ireland

From a review of the literature, it is found that there is no in-depth intercultural research in area relating to the religious experience of Chinese people in Ireland. Nonetheless, some research in relation to the Chinese community in Ireland has been carried out, some of it qualitative (Wang & King-O’Riain 2006; Yau 2007; King-O’Riain 2008; Pillinger 2009) O’Leary & Li (2008) and Feldman et al (2008) carried out mixed methods studies and Magnet de Saissy (2009) a quantitative study.

Feldman et al (2008) carried out research commissioned by the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI). In response to the Irish government’s intention to develop an “integration strategy”, the research provides quantitative data on migrants in Ireland, and qualitative information about migrant integration and identity formation. Integration in their research is regarded as a process that occurs in the political, economic, social and cultural aspects of daily life. It is understood and measured at the level of individual experience. A variety of methods have been used in this research, including surveys, interviews and focus groups. The research focuses on the migrants’ experiences and their attitudes towards Ireland.

Eighty three per cent of the Chinese surveyed in the study by Feldman et al. (2008) make their primary purpose of coming to Ireland as education and training. About twenty two per cent of the Chinese participants state that they come for new experiences and nearly eighty per cent of the Chinese participants come on their own (Feldman et al. 2008:63). China and Ireland enjoy the longest migration relationships as do Nigeria and Ireland than the other two communities of Indian and Latvian migrants. Fifty years ago,

Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong arrived in Ireland as the first Chinese migrants. By increased recruitment drives and education promotion in Ireland, Mandarin speakers from Mainland China have become the dominant part of the Chinese group in Ireland. They are either young professionals, three per cent of the surveyed participants, or students, ninety three per cent of the surveyed participants (Feldman et al. 2008:67). Both O’Leary and Li (2008) and Yau (2007) note this feature of Chinese migration which O’Leary and Li (2008) state began in the 1990s. This ninety three per cent of students contrasts with the general rise of labour migration remarked in Mac Éinrí and White (2008), when the immigration rose in the period 1995 to 2004, including EU countries and a significant increase in non-EU immigrants. In addition, Feldman et al. (2008) remark that the earlier Chinese migrants from Hong Kong who arrived in Ireland have a more settled status than the Mainland Chinese. They originally planned to go to the UK and now many of them have their own private businesses. Feldman et al. (2008) also surveyed the change of the status before and after arrival: sixteen per cent of the previous student status holders changed to other statuses, of which, eleven per cent of the surveyed Chinese acquired visa/work permits after their arrival. However, seventy seven per cent of the Chinese participants remained as students.

In terms of political indicators of integration, the Chinese group in the study has the least percentage of forty per cent using health services in Ireland (Feldman et al. 2008:76); seventeen per cent of Chinese report using information and advice services with about eight per cent for legal/rights services (Feldman et al. 2008:78); Just over fifteen per cent of the Chinese respondents registered to vote with the main reason of others being unaware of voting rights and having no interest (Feldman et al. 2008:79); The level of participation in trade union and political activities of the Chinese surveyed is very low. The Chinese focus group in this study considers two reasons for this low

participation rate: less commitment of making a life in Ireland due to temporary status as students, and no experiences of voting in the home culture. The Chinese in Ireland in Feldman et al. (2008) are unaware of the importance of voting.

With regard to economic indicators of integration, Chinese respondents report the broadest range of problems at work: bullying and harassment at work, underpayment, blocks to promotion, and significantly lower satisfaction with the recognition of qualifications. Chinese in Ireland in particular start with the lowest-paid jobs and slowly move up to more appropriate employment. Chinese focus group participants think this result can be attributed to the high ratio of student respondents. According to their knowledge, students and part-time workers are most likely to be exploited than those in businesses and with professional status. Chinese respondents report the lowest level of financial support to adults and/or children than the other three communities of Indians, Nigerians and Latvians, whereas Wang & King O’Riain (2006) and King O’Riain (2008) show that some Chinese come to Ireland to support their family financially.

In relation to social indicators of integration, Chinese participants show their main social activities with family are based on food, about seventy five per cent, in contrast to four per cent of Chinese who are socially active with family through religious activities (Feldman et al. 2008:113). With regard to the social activities with friends from their own country, with other migrants, and with Irish citizens, the main activity is centred on food with religious interaction ranking as the least form of contact. Of concern for this study is that no Chinese surveyed in Feldman et al. 2008 report any social activities with other migrants in a religious domain. This strongly echoes the findings in O’Leary & Li (2008) of Chinese widespread indifference to religious activities.

Chinese respondents show a positive attitude to contact with the host society: about sixty five per cent of the participants agree to interact more with Irish people (Feldman et al. 2008:124). In reality, it is consistent with their actual actions as over sixty per cent of the Chinese surveyed report spending time with work colleagues (Feldman et al. 2008:125). Another social indicator is the experience as victims of crime as thirty per cent of the Chinese surveyed have been affected by crime which is the highest percentage among four communities. However, the Chinese group shows the least ratio of reporting a crime.

With regard to the cultural indicators of language proficiency, a majority of the Chinese surveyed state an adequate knowledge of English to speak and write but only over one-third of the participants rate their English proficiency as fluent both in writing and speaking. This is in stark contrast to Indian and Nigerian groups: eighty per cent to ninety per cent of Indian and Nigerian participants claim fluency in speaking and writing English (Feldman et al. 2008:140). The Chinese focus group notes that even with adequate English there is still not always enough for communication, which also involves body language and a different sense of humour. Wang and King-O'Riain (2006) echo that even with good English, cultural factors cannot be overlooked in integration with the host culture. In relation to values, only over one-third of Chinese surveyed strongly agree or agree that they have many values in common with Irish people. The common values refer to the attitude to educating children, showing respect to the elderly, saving money, life style, State services, social welfare and democracy. When responding to the statement "It is easy to become familiar with Irish culture and norms", most Chinese respondents agree with this statement (Feldman et al. 2008:145). From

these two findings, it can be concluded that being familiar with Irish culture and norms is much easier than acceptance of them. This may reflect the fact that long-term migration leads to more integration into a host culture, rather than informational understanding of cultural knowledge by mainly students on temporary visas.

Of awareness of the emerging of a new national community, over half of Chinese respondents agreed that there is a Chinese community in Ireland. However, just over one-third of them state they belong to this community. Many Chinese interview participants do not think the Chinese community is well organized. One interview participant raised one reason for this situation: The temporary status of Chinese in Ireland makes people to be occupied with their own affairs. Wang and King O'Riain (2006) mentioned one reason which impedes English improvement of Chinese participants in this study which is that most Chinese live and socialize with other Chinese apart from time spent at work. Therefore, it is presumed Chinese individuals keep close contact within a small group of their own but interact less with the Chinese community at a collective level or wider community level.

The research findings indicate that levels of integration increase over time. However, the research notes that although it is commonly understood that integration is a 'matter of time', it is not wise to consider high levels of integration as the unavoidable outcome of the length of time staying in a receiving country as a migrant. This is not explored further in the research which does not explore the ways of changing for individual participants over time, nor distinguish the different statuses of migrants, which is a crucial element in achieving successful integration.

The following qualitative studies (Wang and King-O’Riain 2006, King-O’Riain 2008, Pillinger 2009 and Yau 2007) provide specific information in relation to personal experiences of living in Ireland: Wang and King-O’Riain (2006) undertook twenty-two individual semi-structured interviews with Chinese students and five expert interviews. This study reveals that Chinese in Ireland undergo social isolation, suffer racial discrimination and have less successful interaction with mainstream Irish society. Chinese students are regarded as a “form of revenue” for Irish schools, colleges and the Irish state. It notes that the results are not generalizable to the whole Chinese Community, but provides a window into the experiences these participants have in Ireland. The pull factors to choose Ireland include the fact that it is easier to obtain an Irish visa compared to the USA, low level of fees (this is no longer the case since the study.), Ireland as an English speaking country, and permission to work with student status in Ireland. The push factors are strong competition for entry into third-level universities and job markets in China, and financial needs of the family.

Being more career-oriented than Irish friends, make Chinese people have less time and motivation to socialize. Therefore, the work-place becomes the only and important place for Chinese to encounter Irish people; student status predestines the majority of Chinese in Ireland to have vulnerable positions in terms of integrating into the host society. Their Chinese appearance with non-white skin, makes it harder to get equal treatment both in the work place and on the streets. All these elements contribute to the isolation of Chinese people in Ireland (Wang and King-O’Riain 2006). However, Chinese people have dense connections among the Chinese community which is a parallel community to the mainstream. In terms of future outlook, all the interviewees (Wang & King O’Riain 2006) expressed an opinion that they would not stay in Ireland forever; all of them keep in close touch with their families in China. They will leave

Ireland one day, either on completing their education, or earning a certain amount of money, or gaining some work experience, or even after obtaining long-term residency status. A long-term residency may give a Chinese migrant some leeway for future consideration, for example sending their children to Ireland to receive an education with less tuition fees than without this status.

King-O'Riain (2008) uses the theory of transnationalism, in order to understand contemporary migration into Ireland. She demonstrates that the motivations for choosing Ireland have influenced the actions of Chinese migrants and she develops a typology of these migrants as either: Target earner who works mostly in isolation from the mainstream Irish community, then remits money back home; Target learner who invests in the human capital skill of speaking English; Trampoliners who cumulate both social and human capital and transfer to a variety of global locations. Their experience as migrants is mixed with positive encounters with Irish culture as well as negative cultural and racial experiences. The student status as a temporary resident makes them feel less that they belong to the Irish host society. They could never regard Ireland as 'home'.

Pillinger (2009) carried out qualitative research in relation to the housing experiences of Chinese, Indian, Lithuanian and Nigerian Migrants in Blanchardstown. It is noted that "overcrowding, lack of repairs and insecurity of tenure are not uncommon experiences for participants, particularly from the Chinese community (Pillinger 2009:58). A number of Chinese participants expressed their wish to integrate with their Irish host society but language, cultural differences and particularly life styles are accounted for as the main barriers for integration by the Chinese participants.

Yau's (2007) focus on identity has fewer connections with the other three studies. Yau (2007) through qualitative interviews, participant observation and a non-real time group discussion on an Internet forum explores the identity of second generation Chinese. Yau (2007) considers identity is a process and varies depending on individual lived experience. Self-perception and others' perception is significant in identity formation and stereotypes, home, and belonging are essential in the process of identification. Hyphenated identities make some of the participants have a sense of belonging by in-between identities. In detail, one may feel either more Chinese, or more Irish, or both to different extents, or neither real Irish, nor very Chinese.

Finally, Magnet de Saissy (2009) confirmed that an adoption of an integration acculturation strategy has positive correlation with levels of self-efficacy. Self-efficacy pertains to the perception of an individual's ability to cope with unexpected or challenging events (Wright et al., 1995). A longer stay in the host country shows increased language proficiency and cultural competence in this research. Although the findings confirmed that 'integration' is the most successful acculturation strategy, as in Berry (1997; 2000; 2005), due to the context of Northern Ireland as a segregated society, which also belongs to an individualist culture, Magnet de Saissy (2009:298) remarks that when interpreting data:

"It is important not to project Western, individualistic ideals and goals onto them, but rather to include the community in the process of identifying appropriate goals and strategies themselves".

This is because Magnet de Saissy (2009) finds that self-efficacy, an indicator of individual ability in acculturation, is not suitable for the measure of psychological well-being among participants originating from a collectivist culture, such as Chinese people,

as their values differ from Western culture. This shows that values in the original culture plays a role in acculturation process. Thus, this study makes a contribution with regard to the interaction between values and the acculturation process.

1.3 Research on religion in relation to the Chinese Christian community in Ireland

O’Leary & Li (2008) carried the research concerning the engagement of Chinese migrants with Christianity and the Churches in Ireland. O’Leary & Li (2008) remark on the scant knowledge of the role of religion, which is the least known area in relation to other aspects of Chinese culture and the lives of the Chinese in Ireland. The research used mixed methods to collect data with 264 questionnaires distributed to Chinese students. In addition, there are 42 interviews with Chinese students, academic staff, businessmen, workers, housewives, church members, pastors, community leaders and others to supplement the research.

The survey shows a small number of Chinese participants have religious belief. They have a different understanding of ‘believe in religion’ and they are less likely than Westerners to self-identify as believers in religions. One quarter of the total surveyed participants state they believe in religion; over one eighth of the total members surveyed are Buddhist; no more than one in ten of the total respondents are Christian, including Catholic and Protestants, though, one Chinese pastor suggests the number is no more than 1000. This minority group of Chinese among the ethnic Chinese have a variety of motivations to become involved with the Church and not all of them are purely religious. Some attend the Irish Roman Catholic and Protestant denominations where they learn local Irish/Western culture. Some baptize their children for the sake of future considerations: baptizing the child starts the opportunity to go to good quality schools

normally run by the Catholic Church when they grow up. Some are interested in the practical help provided by the Churches, for example, knowledge of the Irish legal system and visa policies, English language tuition and other supports.

The research considers that currently religion is not an important part of the lives of most of mainland Chinese in Ireland. What those individuals are concerned with is practical help or information to improve their welfare. Most Chinese cannot distinguish whether it is a Catholic or Protestant Church and some Chinese Christians long for practical benefits from their prayers and blessings. Therefore, some Chinese attending Church would rather be there for a cultural and social experience than for religious engagement. The research presumes this inclination is based on the deep-rooted Chinese traditional culture of pragmatism in Confucianism. This finding resonates with the low levels of political/civic interaction reported in Feldman et al. (2008) where the reason may be due to less practical supports which can be found from civic engagement with the Irish host society.

The overall results of the survey largely show indifference by the mainland Chinese to institutional religion. Only a small number of people are receptive to widely distributed evangelizing material and invitations, and become Christian and are baptized. O'Leary & Li (2008) list the reasons for this: influence from atheist education in China; a standpoint regarding Church attendance as an unnecessary accompaniment to Christian belief; the disagreement with some Christian teaching, for example, on sexuality; dissatisfaction with the practical supports obtained from Church. The most crucial point suggested in this research is the widespread indifference to religion by Chinese members of the migrant community in Ireland who are from the mainland China.

In relation to this research it should be noted that there are mainly four groups of Chinese Protestants across Ireland (correct up to the end of interviewing in 2010), including one group led mainly by Chinese originally from Hong Kong or Malaysia; their denomination is general evangelical. Three further groups are led by Chinese from mainland China, where one belongs to a charismatic background. One belongs to one of the dominant denominations among Chinese Protestants called ‘the little flock’, which has been very influential in Chinese church and founded by Brother Tuosheng Ni, or Watchman Ni. Finally, one is composed from a small group of Chinese students in an Irish university and belongs to an orthodox Presbyterian denomination. The participants in this research, who are Protestants, are from three of the four groups apart from the group of ‘the little flock’ as the members of this group, though contacted were not willing to be involved in the research.

1.4 Summary concerning Chinese migrants in Ireland

There are many overlaps among the research findings of Wang and King O’Riain (2006), King O’Riain (2008), O’Leary R. & Li (2008) and Feldman et al (2008). They all point to the social isolation or low level of integration of the Chinese community in Ireland; Racism and racial discrimination are experienced by its Chinese members. A majority of Chinese members feel less sense of belonging to the Irish host society, although many of them hold positive attitudes toward Irish society and make efforts to interact with Irish people. The findings show migration status is a key determinant in the integration process. Most members of the Chinese community are young, single and on student status. Therefore, their temporary statuses have placed them in disadvantaged situations. Moreover, due to language limitation, Chinese migrants in Ireland mainly attend the ethnic Chinese Church instead of either local Irish Catholic or Protestant Churches. As a result, Chinese migrants have less interaction with Irish society apart

from the time spent in the work-place. This is the reason this research will therefore not be able to include Irish members of society when examining the religion experience of the Chinese migrants in Ireland, although there are calls for research on the host society (Mac Éinrí & White 2008; Feldman et al. 2008). Of importance to this research is the mainly quantitative study by O’Leary and Li (2008) which explored the engagement of Chinese Christians with the Irish host society. It does not, however, explore the detailed experience of Chinese migrants regarding their religion engagement. This qualitative research, in contrast, investigates the in-depth experience of Chinese migrants of their religious life and value changes in Ireland.

1.5 Irish society: integration into a diverse society

Census 2006 in Ireland reports that immigrants make up nearly ten per cent of the population which is seen as a fast changing society. Already, writing about contemporary Ireland in 2006, Fanning and Munck (2006:1) state optimistically that “Ireland is becoming a truly multi-ethnic society”. The Irish Government presented its National Action Plan against Racism ‘Planning for Diversity’ (NPAR) which strove to develop a more inclusive and intercultural society in Ireland in January 2005. It states:

Developing a more inclusive, intercultural society is about inclusion by design not as an add-on or afterthought. It is essentially about creating the conditions for interaction, equality of opportunity, understanding and respect. In taking this approach we embrace the concept that ‘one size does not fit all’, and that by planning for and accommodating cultural diversity, everyone will benefit from the process. The intercultural framework underpinning this Plan includes the five objectives of Protection; Inclusion; Provision; Recognition and Participation (NPAR 2005:38).

Watt (2006) points out that this was the first time for the Irish Government to set out an intercultural framework for integration in Ireland. In addition, Watt (2006) remarks use of the concept of ‘integration’ is wide-spread across Europe and Ireland has a lot to learn about how to achieve integration and avoid abusing this concept, such as mixing it

up with an assimilation orientation or neglecting long-standing and indigenous minority ethnic groups in Ireland. Likewise, Northern Ireland proposed ‘A shared Future’ (AFS) policy which is defined by:

... a culture of tolerance: a normal, civic society, in which all individuals are considered as equals, where differences are resolved through dialogue in the public sphere and where all individuals are treated impartially. A society where there is equity, respect for diversity and recognition of our interdependence (AFS 2005: 10).

Thus, both the governments in Ireland and Northern Ireland have taken a positive attitude and made strategies to face the issue of a rising population of migrants and aim to develop a multicultural society in which racism is not welcomed but inclusion, tolerance, equality and diversity are targeted. However, Boucher (2009) examined the official integration policy in Ireland in early 2008 and concluded that those policies are:

... more of a collection of policy statements and piece-meal, reactive policy responses to immediate, experiential policy problems arising from immigration and integration than a coherent, integrated policy framework for the short and long-term integration of immigrants and their descendants (Boucher 2009:6).

Therefore, Boucher (2009) argues that Ireland has adopted a laissez-faire approach to integration in the short-term instead of a coherent integration policy. This issue has also been noted by the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Michael McDowell at the conference on “Integration Policy--Strategies for a cohesive society” on the 1st February 2007:

‘...we have little experience to draw upon as we seek to respond to enormous societal challenges in as many years as other countries have had generations. On the other hand...we are in a unique position to draw upon the wisdom of other societies in handling this difficult issue. Although it is a matter of poor comfort to us, other countries, including many in the European Union, are still re-grouping and re-evaluating their integration policies (McDowell 2007).

It is not an easy task to arrive at an inclusive and intercultural society. Immigration involves various aspects such as the integration of a ‘second generation’, education,

medical services and other social well-being provisions all need to be taken into consideration. Apart from economic factors, social infrastructure, a serious issue which influences the quality of a migrant's life is racism, which, as discussed in this research, is also an important factor in the daily life of Chinese migrants in Ireland.

Lentin and McVeigh (2006:34) remark that “contemporary racism is simultaneously rooted in tradition and constantly changing.” It evolves constantly, for example, anti-Travellerism and anti-Semitism are found in new forms along with new racisms around both minority ethnic citizens and non-national migrants. Racism and anti-racism coexist. To understand racism in Ireland, the two characteristics of racism of ‘continuity’ and ‘change’ need to be comprehended dialectically. According to the experiences of migrants in Ireland, Fanning et al. (2011) find that racism has become a fact of everyday life for many migrants, particularly:

...the high prevalence of racist harassment of migrant families in their homes and within residential neighbourhoods by groups of minors. Such harassment has resulted in some migrant families feeling under siege or having to flee their homes. At other times, this harassment has resulted in serious incidents of damage to property and threatening behaviour. Some of the worst effects on the lives and well-being of victims resulted from on-going racist verbal abuse and more subtle forms of harassment (Fanning et al. 2011:29).

They report both major and minor racist harassment and suggest the apparently minor incidents should be taken seriously as “even minor harassment when motivated by racism can be very damaging (Fanning et al. 2011:17)”.

Hofstede (1991) notes Ireland is recognized as a Catholic country. The leaders of Irish Churches realize a dilemma that supporting immigrants to have their own Churches may lead to ghettoization. Rev. Trevor Morrow, at a meeting of the Irish Council of

Churches asked whether “the desires of immigrants to have their own churches could inhibit their integration into Irish society” (The Irish Times 24/3/06). Navas et al. (2005:29) concludes that the religion domain of migrants is the most difficult aspect of integration with the host society. This is compatible with Hofstede (2001) that the core part of culture, values are likely to stable and not easy to be changed.

This chapter now discusses the aspects of Chinese culture of relevance to this research on Chinese migrants in Ireland

1.6 Religion in China

There are five religions including Buddhism, Protestantism, Catholicism, Islam and Taoism which are recognized in mainland China (Nanbu 2008; Lu and Lang 2010), of which only Taoism is an indigenous religion and the other four were introduced from abroad. Lu and Lang (2010) note that more than 80 per cent of Chinese people do not have affiliation with any religious group but actually almost every Chinese person practices ‘Chinese popular religion’, which is not a religion but pertains to the following elements:

Chinese geomantic omens (*kan fengshui*), pilgrimage (*jinxiang*), fortune telling (*suanming*) and merit accumulation (*ji gongde*); the worship of the three classes of supernatural beings: gods, ghosts and ancestors; annual religious rituals and communal religious activities associated with these supernatural beings; and territorial-cult organizations which manage the communal rituals and activities (Lu and Lang 2010: 201).

This does not mean one person practices all these elements but may choose one or more of the above elements in an individual belief system. Moreover, Wong (2011) points out that in reality ‘Chinese folk religion’ is most popular in China. The term of ‘Chinese popular religion’ is used commonly in the research in relation to the description of religious behavior of Chinese people but Wong (2011) remarks that this term fails to

discuss the theoretical issues. To address this concern, combining both belief contents and attitudinal characteristic, Wong (2011) defines ‘Chinese folk religion’ as a traditional religious system which involves:

“Chinese fortune-telling, feng-shui, and the concept of Tien, etc., of which its followers would hold these beliefs and perform the related ritualistic practices with a folk religious attitude. (Wong 2011:164)”

Thus, both Wong (2011) and Lu and Lang (2010) overlap the contents of Chinese folk religion such as fortune-telling and feng-shui and note that very few pure followers of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism can be found in contemporary Chinese society but rather a Chinese person mixes up the influential elements from these dominant value systems in Chinese culture and practices folk religion in diverse formats. For instance, a Chinese person may study feng-shui, which originated from Taoism but has no folk religious attitude, and is a Taoist instead of Chinese folk religion believer; a Chinese person may worship Buddha, Lao-tzu and Confucius by offering incense but knows little about their teachings and is a folk religion believer. Thus, “Syncretism and sectarianism were commonly united in China” and this is contrary to the Christian societies (Lu and Lang 2010: 202).” As such, a Chinese perspective on religion can seem quite paradoxical from a Western, Christian perspective where the focus is belonging to one church and remaining loyal to its interpretation of belief.

1.6.1 Christianity in China

Bays (2003) reports today more Protestants for Sunday service in Churches in China than the believers in all of Europe, and there are more Protestants than Catholics in China today. Both Yang (2005) and Bays (2003) remark on the resurgence of Christian faith among Chinese young intellectuals and Lu and Lang (2010) also remark the

notable revival of traditional Chinese faiths, such as Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and folk religion. The religious movement in contemporary Chinese society cannot be neglected despite the underdevelopment yet importance of religion research in China (Yang 2004; Lu and Lang 2010). The following discussion will however, be around the development of Christianity and Buddhism in China because they are more relevant to this research. In this thesis, 'Christianity' is a gloss term for a religion in relation to the Gospel and refers to either Protestantism or Catholicism or both and it will specify where necessary.

Latourette (1930) held as promising the development of Christianity in China and that it would integrate into Chinese lives, although some antagonism was found among Chinese nationalists. Latourette (1930:63) notes that "Christian missions are one of the major forms of the impact of the Occident upon the non-Occidental world." He outlined the contribution to the well-being of Chinese people including education and medicine. However, after the foundation of new China, due to the different ideology stemming from communist belief, Christian evangelizing in China encountered great difficulties in relation to the propaganda and power of the Chinese government. Christian missionaries were regarded as channels for spreading western imperialism or 'foreign domination and international humiliation' as the arrivals of missionaries were always linked with China's military defeats (Huang 1971:695). Therefore, Priestley (1952) believed that the future for Christianity in China was bleak due to the persecution from Chinese government at that time. In contrast, there has been a revival of Christian practice in China in the last four decades (Bays 2003; Yang 2004).

Historically, the monitoring or control by Chinese governments of Christianity and Christian missionaries is not new and can date back to the Tang dynasty, A.D. 618-907 (Bays 2003) and they could be suspected as spies in the Qing dynasty (Gernet 1989). Today, however, Bays (2003) notes two different types of Protestant churches in China: a church registered with the Three Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) and autonomous Christian communities; the latter type is also called 'house churches'. Alternatively, the two types of Churches are termed as 'above-ground' (government approved) churches and 'underground' (government sanctioned) churches. The TSPM is:

...a body set up specifically to act as an interface and conduit between the registered and therefore government-recognized local churches and the offices of the Religious Affairs Bureau (government) and the United Front Work Department (Communist Party). The China Christian Council, a parallel body which has considerable overlapping membership with the TSPM, is less political and more "pastoral" in function: it co-ordinates and assists the churches with training of lay leaders, published materials, etc. (Bays 2003: 490)

The pastors in TSPM churches must obey the political guidance of the Chinese government and also have restricted topics for sermons. In contrast, a house church is free from the administrative control of the Chinese government, but, actually, is monitored in a hidden way by the government. Chen and Huang (2004) add a new emerging type of Protestant in China today, 'Boss Christians', who belong to neither TSPM nor house churches. They are:

"Private-business owners or employees, young, educated, open-minded, and active in both social and church work... they have no fear displaying their financial and religious status, and are competent in dealing with the government on behalf of the churches. They are enthusiastic sponsors, organizers, and participants in public welfare activities as well as in evangelization work (Chen and Huang 2004:183)."

Thus, "Boss Christians" adopt a pragmatic approach to create benefits for their members by keeping a friendly relationship with TSPM but run their Church according to their own system. In this research, the participants do not have any issue about the

freedom of practice in Ireland as Ireland is a country tolerating all religious practice as reflected in its Constitution.

In terms of the reasons for the revival of the Christianity in China, Yang (2005) argues that the globalizing market economy under political repression is the major context for Chinese people believing in Christianity in China today. He finds among his participants:

“...struggled with various kinds of jobs in the emerging market and once lived lifestyles that they now consider morally unacceptable and devoid of meaning. They were lost in an exciting yet perilous market, became disillusioned with the repressive politics, and bewildered by conflicting values. Existential anxieties drove people to seek certainty amid puzzling uncertainties, clarity amid confusing ambiguities, and the absolute amid myriad relativities (Yang 2005:439).

Therefore, Yang (2005) concludes that these contextual factors produce internal anxiety and then people search for a religious worldview or thirst for religion, including both within Chinese traditional religions, and also in Christianity. Wenger (2004:180) carries the similar point of view that a Chinese church, both registered with TSPM or house church can be “a possible source for the enhancement of a Chinese civic culture which lags behind the rapidly developing global market economy.” The outcome is to change people’s hearts instead of social policy. In this study there is a greater focus on inner change at an individual level which also takes this background information into consideration.

The success of Catholic missionaries in seventh century in China was ascribed to their publications on morality and mathematics in China (Gernet 1989). However, the missionaries saw that many Chinese came to them and were baptised but in fact they did not have faith in Christianity but in science and mathematics. Moreover, the

missionaries found that some of the Christian values were against Chinese traditions so they tried to either find a way to reconcile these conflicts or criticized some values in Chinese culture: for instance, ‘ancestor worship’ was condemned and prohibited by the missionaries (Gernet1989). The apparent similarities between Catholic teaching and Chinese culture on morality attracted some Chinese people but in reality the similarities are artificial. A Chinese person was concerned with inner self-development to serve heaven, but heaven for a Chinese person meant *tian* 天 which is both the geographical and metaphysical world. Chinese *tian* does not refer to God in heaven as is understood in Christianity.

The Italian Jesuit priest, Matteo Ricci also criticized ‘filial piety’ in Chinese culture. Matteo Ricci believed that the fulfilling of ‘filial piety’ to parents in Chinese culture had no meaning and was too easy. In his interpretation according to Catholic doctrine, ‘filial piety’ included three layers of meaning: to almighty God, to the emperor and to one’s natural father (Gernet 1989). The gulf between Chinese culture and Christianity has generated many Chinese critiques which are neither xenophobic nor written simply as resistance to change but are rather:

“...the specific ways in which the mental/cosmological constructs of Counter-Reformation Christianity collided with basic traditional tenets concerning the nature of the universe, humankind, and human society.” Bays (1987:115).

Therefore, it can be concluded that for a Chinese person, conversion to Christianity will definitely lead to the loss of some Chinese traditional cultural elements. This is very evident in this study.

1.6.2 Buddhism

Originating from India, Buddhism was introduced to China in the Late West Han Dynasty (202 B.C.--9 A.D.). Ch'en (1968) noted the Buddhism doctrine of highlighting the misery of life and suffering even with family life which strongly contradicts the dominant value of Confucianism, which emphasizes the importance of family. Thus, it was not surprising to see opposition from Chinese people at the beginning of Buddhism being introduced in China. The early Buddhists made efforts like Christian missionaries to reconcile these conflicts. The Buddhists convinced the Chinese that they also had the concept of 'filial' demonstrated in a number of sutras in the canon. In addition, they argued that Buddhism holds the idea of 'piety' in a superior way to that of the Confucians, that piety in Buddhism is beyond serving and attending parents as stressed in Confucianism but focuses on the conversion of parents to Buddhism. This is an example where Buddhism successfully adapted into Chinese culture and, particularly, it integrated with the rooted virtue of 'filial piety' in Chinese culture, and, consequently wins the hearts and minds of Chinese people (Ch'en 1968).

The main threat to Buddhism came at the time of the Cultural Revolution between 1966-1976. Welch (1967) records the attacks to religious sites guided by the Chinese governments' political orders of eradication of the "Four Olds", namely old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the exploiting classes. Very soon after August 1966:

...nearly all the monasteries in China ceased to function. Some were simply closed; some also had their walls covered with revolutionary slogans; some were stripped of images and religious paraphernalia; some were converted into factories, offices, apartments or barracks for Red Guards (Welch 1967:130).

Practicing Buddhism was greatly impeded under this context as temples and journals were closed down and monks and abbots were not allowed to provide religious services anymore. Nanbu (2008) finds that after the Cultural Revolution the Chinese government had more tolerant policies on religious education such as opening some Buddhism temples to tourists, and allowing teaching on knowledge of religions providing no values of religion were imparted. This contrasts with any religion practice or related activities which were the targets of oppression during the Cultural Revolution period.

1.6.3 Confucianism

Confucianism is not a religion but often is presented in parallel with Buddhism and Taoism as the three main schools of philosophy systems in Chinese traditional culture. Tang (1995:282) remarks Confucianism is in the center of Chinese culture and plays a “religious role in both Chinese private and public life”. Confucius’s thoughts have been deeply ingrained in Chinese culture and also have seen great influence in Eastern Asian countries and international Chinese communities across the world (Rozman 2002).

Hu (1917) notes that classic Confucianism is about all kinds of basic problems in life. It is “the cultivation of individual conduct and from the individual there radiate the relationships of the family, the state and the world (Hu 1997:158).” Likewise, Dallmayr (1993) notes that Confucian thought highlights social and cosmic harmony. Five major human relations are identified in Confucianism: sovereign and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, and friend and friend, and also five virtues of humanity, propriety, rites, prudence, and loyalty which are encouraged for every individual to achieve. ‘Humanity’ is regarded as the highest virtue and ‘filial piety’ is the core to arrive at humanity (Tang 1995). Confucian scholars argue that:

“...education, especially moral education, plays a decisive role in ruling and keeping the state healthy, and that men can become knowledgeable, sensible and capable through education.” (Guo 1995:241)

Thus, Chinese people pay huge attention to education from when children are young and all through their school days and this concern can be easily observed in Chinese society and in the Chinese community in Ireland.

Li and Yan (2006) examine the development of traditional Confucianism and find this system of knowledge has undergone changes from the original version to interact with and adapt into different historical contexts. They conclude that the original Confucianism does not exist in contemporary society but its values are kept latent across Chinese people's daily life but these values are facing challenges. Liu (1966:54) remarks that the Chinese traditional order “was resistant to change, nevertheless it appears that irreversible acculturative processes had been set in motion by exposure to the new Western way of life” at the beginning of the twentieth century. This influence originated from “the influx of Western political, social, and technological culture patterns”. However, Liu (1966) believes Confucian-value orientation remains a strong influence in spite of the influence from the West and despite the strength of this influence. Similarly, Dallmayr (1993) holds a positive attitude to the legacy of the traditional values system in Confucianism. It is still living and, on condition that archaic or feudal overtones are removed, Confucianism can “correct or counterbalance important tendencies in modern Western thought (as well as aspects of contemporary Chinese society) (Dallmayr 1993:210).” Therefore, the role of Confucianism in modern Chinese thought and daily life cannot be overestimated and is also the case in this study.

1.6.3.1 Ancestor worship

Ancestor worship is regarded as a religion (Sheils 1975) and an original religion of China (Tang 1995). Sheils (1975:428) defines ancestor worship as:

...a belief in, and often the propitiation of, the spirits of the dead. These dead are not, however, merely generalized ghosts. Instead, there is the belief that the spirits of one's dead kinsmen are of special concern.

Schwartz (1985) describes ancestor worship based on oracle bone inscriptions as beyond worship of the spirits of the dead, but in “constant interplay with a concern with spirits of rivers, mountains, earth, wind, rain, heavenly bodies and the ‘high god’ (Schwartz 1985:20)” Thus, it is pantheism oriented and is “so omnipresent and so central to the entire development of Chinese civilization (Schwartz 1985:20-21).” A crucial reason for the perpetuation of ancestor worship is due to its compatibility with Confucianism (Tang 1995).

This practice of ancestor worship can be traced back to the time of Yao in ancient times in Chinese history. Originally it was associated with music, dancing and divination but has been simplified to an annual ritual of ancestor honoring by visiting family graves (Tang 1995). Chinese people practice ancestor worship at two venues: at home and at the cemetery at the Qing Ming (Tomb Sweeping) Festival in the third lunar month or Chong Yang Festival in the ninth lunar month. This practice is observed in China as well as among overseas Chinese. Rather, Lau (2004) finds that the ritual of ancestor worship can be organized as a Chinese traditional cultural event to promote integration with local culture rather than expressing Chineseness only. However, De Mente (1996:21) notes many westerners have no interest in ancestor worship and neither do Chinese, but it has contributed to respect of parents and the aged in general.

1.6.3.2 Filial Piety

The concept of ‘filial piety’ has been deeply rooted in Chinese society as a great influence from Confucius and his thoughts. Confucius once answered his disciple, Ziyou, that ‘filial piety’ means “the support of one's parents”. However, Confucius pointed out this support did not only refer to physical minding like feeding dogs and horses, as ‘reverence’ is the standard to distinguish between mere physical minding and psychological support. (Legge 2010). According to Mencius, the successor of Confucius, ‘filial piety’ has three layers of meaning: “to support and wait upon parents, to respect parents, and to reproduce posterity to continue parents’ lineage (Tang 1995: 274)”. In China traditionally, sons have the responsibility to look after their parents when they get old.

Contemporarily, the responsibility to mind the elderly is shared by sons and daughters in a family or the only child due to the one-child policy in China, as the one-child policy has produced many nuclear families. Consequently, the burden to mind four elderly people will lie on the shoulders of one couple. It also depends on the children’s situation, for example, their economic ability and distance of their residence from where their parents live. If children are abroad, which is far away from their parents, they have to plan how to fulfil their filial piety obligation in the future. However, the immigration policy of Ireland does not allowed non-EU family reunification of parents. This may lead Chinese migrants in Ireland to go back home to China to mind elderly parents after years of working in Ireland.

1.6.4 Summary of religion in China

FitzGerald (1967) notes the saying of “three ways to one goal” which means in Chinese history and culture that Confucian ethics, Buddhism, and Taoism are all about teaching people how to live a good life. Chinese people can tolerate the conflicts among the three schools of theology and shows indifference to the exact doctrines of each value system. This has surprised Christian missionaries (Gernet1989). Although there were severe attacks on all religious practice and traditional values during the course of the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976, a revival of Buddhism, folk religion and Christianity has been witnessed in China today.

1.7 Key and relevant elements in Chinese culture

1.7.1 Guanxi, mianzi and other cultural elements affecting communication with Chinese

Guanxi in Chinese can mean the networks of “informal relationships and exchanges of favours (Lovett et al. 1999:231)” and Fan (2002) defines guanxi as a dynamic process with beginning and end. Guanxi plays an important role in Chinese culture at both individual level and collective level. Guanxi works actively in villages (Yan 1996), the business arena (Su et al. 2007) and also elite circles (Gao 2001) in China. Specifically, it has been highlighted significantly among contemporary Chinese because: “Nowadays everyone needs enlarged guanxi because one cannot get a single thing done without guanxi (Yan 1996:23).” Chinese people assume that good practice of guanxi facilitates social harmony and cohesion, both of which are considered important in Chinese culture.

Guo (2001:72) identifies four dimensions of guanxi: instrumental, etiquette, moral and emotional:

Instrumental, which involves self-interested motivation

Etiquette, which involves the use of social rituals to establish and maintain harmonious human relations with one's acquaintances, co-workers, colleagues, superiors or subordinates.

Moral, this is established and maintained by following a traditional system of ethics.

Emotional, that is evident when friendship plays a central role in regulating interpersonal relationships.

Gao (2001) argues that the last three dimensions are of central value in Chinese society and often replace the self-interested and manipulative aspects of instrumental guanxi.

Similarly, Su et al. (2007) also look at guanxi management positively in doing business in China and they remark that effective guanxi enables a firm's survival in the China market, such as promoting business cooperation and obtaining information and resources as guanxi is a relationship-based cultural mechanism originating in Chinese ethics where guanxi is not as same as bribery. The major difference is that guanxi is about establishing relationships, but bribery is an illicit transaction (Lovett et al. 1999). Similarly, Guthrie (1998) distinguishes two types of guanxi in Chinese society as 'good business relationship' and 'backdoor practice'. Guanxi management is more important than that in the West as it is rooted in Chinese culture and is essential to achieve business in China (Su et al. 2007).

In contrast, Fang (2002:378) argues that the consequences of guanxi can "range from benign, neutral, to questionable and corruptive". She believes guanxi within family, with emotional and instrumental natures, and guanxi with helpers aiming at favour exchange are generally good or neutral, but business guanxi likely leads to corruption under the current political and socio-economic systems in China. She considers that "Its role and importance in business life will be diminished as the country moves towards an open market system (Fan 2002:371)." Warren et al. (2004) echo Fan (2002) in terms of highlighting the downside of guanxi practice: once a special network is built, the

benefits of the insiders of a group network can be ensured but outsiders will be deprived from certain privileges. As a result, “differentiation of status” is formed and then harms social justice (Warren et al. 2004). Furthermore, with the reorganization of the centrality of guanxi practice in Chinese society, Guthrie (1998) rather argues that the significance of guanxi in China's economic transition is declining because his empirical research shows that large industrial organizations in China today pay more attention to “the laws, rules and regulations that are part of the emerging rational-legal system (Guthrie 1998:255).” Therefore, the interpretation of guanxi at this level will depend on further developments in Chinese society.

In Chinese culture, a person's self-concept is connected closely with one's *Mianzi* (面子), Chinese in origin (Ho 1976), or *face* as its equivalent in English. Gao & Ting-Toomey (1998:53) define *Mianzi* as “an individual's claimed sense of positive image in a relational and network context”. ‘*Mianzi*’ is a universal concern but highlighted in Chinese culture and hence influences the ways of communication with Chinese people. It is crucial for Chinese people to maintain face instead of losing face and do face work in daily social settings (Hwang 1987). As a Chinese proverb says: 人活一张脸, 树活一张皮, which means a person needs face like a tree needs bark, but it is unnecessary to live in a constant fear of losing face. It is also important to give face to others such as by accepting an invitation or offering a favour. ‘Face work’ refers to “projection of self-image and impression management (Hwang 1987: 960).” Therefore, an individual's *mianzi* is associated with perceived social status and prestige within personal social networks.

Gao and Ting-Toomey (1998:18) also note “Chinese personal identities are connected closely with the social roles they play”. A Chinese phrase also provides understanding of this: *Ren Wei Yan Qing* (人微言轻), means people who have lower status, like less experience, poor education, limited economic situation or little power will speak with little influence. Furthermore, Kim and Nam (1998) explore the concept and dynamics of face in a cross-cultural perspective and find that “face in social interactions is far more pervasive, complex, and powerful in Asian organizations than in Western organizations (Kim and Nam 1998:532).” Ting-Toomey and Oetzel (2002) also stress that the importance of understanding cross-cultural differences in face concerns avoiding cultural conflicts which can build up in a diverse or multicultural society. A Chinese person may be afraid of losing face when communicating in English: they may pretend to understand but actually they do not.

Chinese culture emphasizes the importance of *He* (和), which means “harmony, peace, unity, kindness and amiableness” (Gao & Ting-Toomey 1998:7). Maintaining social harmony and appropriate personal relationship in Chinese culture is highly significant (Gao & Ting-Toomey 1987; Hwang 1987). This can easily explain the impression of Chinese people as friendly in the light of this point. It can also be one of the main reasons for Chinese migrants in Ireland to not report to the relevant Irish organization any of their discrimination or incidents of crime (Feldman et al. 2008). This way of hiding can help avoid further conflicts, even if it comes at the expense of personal suffering and is of significance to this study.

1.7.2 Importance of proverbs in Chinese culture

Weng and Kulich (2009) present a list of Chinese proverbs showing they are value laden. Chinese proverbs are short sayings reflecting folk wisdom in an easily remembered way and some Chinese proverbs are used where relevant in this thesis and are discussed next.

1.7.3 The foreign moon is rounder than that in China: ‘Myth of the West’

In Chinese there is a saying that “*外国的月亮圆*” which means “the moon abroad is rounder than the one in China”. Here “abroad” does not mean any foreign country other than China, but developed Western countries ranging from America to Europe and also in Asia. The rationale to create this term is that this myth stemmed from Western influences. It is a Chinese attitude of admiration and being impressed by Western wealth, the education systems and Western civilization. The admiration may be blind or objective and this attitude is both a subjective motivation and is also generated from objective facts. Therefore, it is both a pull and push factor to initiate migration. One can say it is embedded in the Chinese psyche and influences outward migration. Contemporary discourse in China in relation to the ‘myth of the west’ is found in newspaper articles, and blogs and these are used in the following discussion.

A collection of blog comments about the topic of “the moon in a foreign country is rounder” (2011) discovers the prevalent social phenomena that in China today, the public favor non-Chinese media products, public figures in entertainment areas, and also cross-cultural marriage. Chinese bloggers are wondering why and how they came to this and meanwhile agree that the foreign moon is rounder than that in China as in China it is hidden by clouds. McLaughlin (2012) reported that:

“Western culture swept into China when the country opened to foreign trade 30 years ago. Western brands and ideas have exploded in the past decade, as economic boom expanded the country's middle class”.

Particularly, Chinese youth are attracted greatly by Western culture in contemporary Chinese society as McLaughlin's (2012) interview with Hou Xiazhou reveals:

“It attracts and interests me a great deal. I think it's very free. And that really attracts me. Their thoughts are very open-minded and positive.

The interviewee was talking about the cultural perspective in terms of the ‘myth of the West’. Such blogs provide a glimpse of the current social reality that Western culture is very influential in Chinese society today in the perspectives of commercialized culture, life-style and a freedom thinking oriented attraction.

With regard to in-depth interaction of Eastern and Western cultural values, there was a heated dispute about the Western influence on Chinese culture among Chinese intellectuals about a century ago. That was a critical moment for the Chinese nation as a foreign imperial power invaded China and forced the first development of mechanization in China. Thus, many Chinese intellectuals strove to find a solution to save the country. Chi (1970) points to two representatives of pro-Chinese traditional values and and pro-western ideas: Hu Shih, a supporter of Western liberal ideas and Liang Shu-ming, a Confucianism adherent. Liang also recognized two of China's weakness: lack of organization and scientific knowledge and skill and Liang called for the reconstruction of Chinese culture as well.

Therefore, changes in Chinese values have resulted from constant and close contact and interaction with Western culture via media, voluntary learning from the West and also

religious influences. These interactions with Western culture took place during the periods of both the forced invasion since the end of the nineteenth century and voluntary opening up for economic and cultural cooperation since 1978.

1.8 What Chinese believe today?

Religion has been labelled as the “opiate of the people” according to Marxism-Leninism, which considers religion as a “hangover from feudal and bourgeois societies...the ruling classes used it to control and exploit the people” (Goldman 1986:148). Any introduction of a foreign religion to China has undergone resistance to various extents. However, no matter how strong the Chinese traditional values rooted in Chinese culture, by the end a new religious value system could find a place in Chinese culture, such as Buddhism, which is the best assimilated into Chinese culture, and also the current revival of Christianity in China. Ze (2009:25) considers a religious believer moulds him/her-self and is “constructed in the cultural reproduction dynamic”; this recognizes the internal process of religious formation. Ze (2009) advocates a harmonious society and harmonious religion as he believes with human effort a society can achieve a harmonious interaction among religion, law, and social wellbeing. This argument shows the dominant influence from Confucianism of achieving a harmony social order. McCormack & Blair (2011) shared their observation as visiting scholars in China that Chinese people hold pragmatic views about religion: whatever works, can go to any god. This shows that rooted cultural values from Confucianism still play a role across the Chinese culture value system and is of concern to this study of Chinese migrants in Ireland.

However, in contrast to the traditional teaching about ‘reverence’ from Confucius, what is happening in contemporary Chinese society is that the government may force adult children to visit their parents. From a report from the news-site of the Chinese court (2011), the new proposal for “The Code of Guarantee of the Aged Rights and Interests” will require adult children to regularly visit elderly parents by law. Parents can sue children who do not follow this. The cause of the proposal is that approximately half of the elder population in China lives a life called ‘empty nest’. Their children have left home due to work, study and getting married. Therefore, these parents in middle-age or over have nobody to look after them. The proposed legislation aims to stress the importance of psychological caring which cannot be neglected. The ancient rule of ‘reverence’ for the elderly seems to be challenged as Chinese society changes. Hence, to protect their rights and interests, the Chinese government is attempting to solve it by regulation.

Thus, the three traditional schools of philosophy in Chinese culture have a latent influence in various layers of life in Chinese society but have deviated from their original principals. Religious revival and prevailing Western cultural attractions for youth are two aspects of current transformation in contemporary Chinese society.

1.9 Migration and Chinese emigrants

Migration is an old phenomenon but is “rooted in specific historical conditions that define a particular social and economic context (Messey et al. 2005).” Castles and Miller (2003:21) define migration as a process that “affects every dimension of social existence, and which develops its own complex dynamics.” The original migration plan at the time of departure can be changed during the course of migration experience.

‘Push and pull’ theory is used in neo-classical economics which stresses a migration decision at the individual level. The theory assumes that individuals compare the factors between departure and destination lands and make a free choice to maximize utility (Castles and Miller 2003). This traditional economic approach to migration has been questioned (Massey et al. 2005; Castles and Miller 2003); for example, it regards migrants as market players with full information to make rational decisions but neglects other factors influencing migration such as historical experiences, family links and community dynamics in the receiving country (Portes and Böröcz 1989), and paying little attention to refugees (Richmond 1993).

In Chinese culture, migration and immigration are used interchangeably, which means both migration and immigration can be translated as ‘移民’ and this refers to citizenship holders. Cohen (1995:6) notes five pairs of forms of migration:

- Forced versus free migration
- Settler versus labor migration
- Temporary versus permanent migration
- Illegal versus legal migration
- Planned versus flight migration

The Chinese migrants in this research belong to the categories of free, either settler or labor, temporary or permanent, legal and planned migration. The following is a brief account of Chinese migration history from nineteenth century till today.

Poston and Yu (1990:481) consider that the history of Chinese immigration, including Chinese originating from mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, can be divided into four phases:

Ancient period, ranging from two and three thousand years ago to the eighteenth century, when Chinese immigrated to the countries within Asian territory, particularly Southeast Asia.

From the decline of the Qing dynasty to the late 1940s, when Chinese migrated to most parts of the world and most of them were indentured labourers.

From late 1940s to late 1970s, when Chinese emigration from the mainland was restricted by the government of the People's Republic of China.

The contemporary period, since the Chinese government opened the country in 1978.

Chinese immigrants today are spread all over the world (Rohe 1982; Poston and Yu 1990) and contribute greatly to both their host countries and China in terms of social, economic, and cultural perspectives (Poston and Yu 1990). The growing significance of overseas Chinese has attracted more and more attention in academic research (Skeldon 1995) as it presents on-going trends and emerges in new patterns across the world. The overall migration motivations of Chinese migrants are complex and vary in relation to immigration policies from both sending and receiving countries (Poston and Yu 1990), economic reasons and political incidents such as the Tiananmen Square event (Li 2005), linkages of family members and friends (Guerassimoff 2003), low-skilled labour demand in ethnic markets, particularly family businesses and also local industries (Guerassimoff 2003; Nieto 2003; Giese 2003; Ceccagno 2003) as well as high-skilled Chinese nationals (Giese 2003), and illegal immigration (Giese 2003).

The demand for low-skilled labourers overseas is an initiative driver to absorb Chinese immigrants who are well-known as hard-working people since the Gold Rush period in the USA (Rohe 1982). While the differences of working conditions would be different from the 1840's when Chinese coolies immigrated to California (Hui 1995; Rohe 1982), the motivation behind it is very similar. Undertaking harsh work in a foreign land is worthy compared to low income levels due to cheap labour costs in domestic China. In contrast, today some rich people in China also endeavour to migrate overseas. Mourdoukoutas (2011) considers the reasons for Chinese rich people to migrate to the

United States where the economy is barely growing is for “the economic opportunities created by free markets, and the quality of life assured by a fair, transparent, and effective government”, and these conditions cannot be found in contemporary China according to Ye (2011). A new wave of Chinese immigration, particularly among private entrepreneurs in China is caused for the following reasons (Ye 2011): education concerns for next generation (58%); security of personal possession (43%); preparation for welfare when getting aged (32%); overseas investment (16%); convenience for world-wide tourism (7%); freedom of bearing more children and low tax rate (6%). Tan (2011) comments that the primary three reasons for current migration reflect the defects of the laws and regulations protecting personal wealth in current Chinese society and which may impact on children and also on retirement. These are quality of life issues which can lead to questions around the meaning of life at a time of cultural change, the focal point of this study of Chinese migrants in Ireland.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

Be bent, and you will remain straight. Be vacant, and you will remain full. Be worn, and you will remain new. 曲则全，枉则直，洼则盈，敝则新。

Lao Tsu

2.1 Natural history of the research

As a person from a Chinese culture background, which comes under a collective culture category, generally speaking the presentation of “I” should be avoided. However, as a migrant for nine years in Ireland, I have undergone many acculturation experiences. Therefore, I feel no difficulty to reveal how I came to this study.

As an international student, I remembered once a student officer referred to me as a Non-EU student from the Far-East; the term “Far-East” reminded me of both the geographical remoteness between Ireland and China and cultural distance between Western and Eastern cultures. It also demonstrated to me the ignorance of the Westernization of China and Chinese culture as the term ‘Far East’ sounds almost colonial. Potentially, I am strongly interested in cross-cultural phenomenon, particularly as I started to notice the movements of international students on the DCU campus when I studied for an MA in International Relations in 2005. I learned about the globalization era, where the mobility of people increases and I witnessed this phenomenon around me both from my home, China, and in Ireland. In the Master’s thesis, I had interests in this area of research and tried to find out more about the causes of voluntary migration. A general perspective on this question relates to economics as people move for financial reasons. I myself do not fall under this category. Therefore, I decided to explore this issue for my Masters and tried to find some non-economic reasons. In that research, I

employed a quantitative method using a small scale standard questionnaire. In the research findings, I did find non-financial causes which drive people to migrate.

Since then, I personally have experienced acculturation. Having regarded it as normal depression being far away from home and family, I actually did not know anything about cross-cultural adaptation until starting the PhD research on intercultural issues. As a Chinese person from mainland China, I have come across some embarrassing situations. I hesitated to air my views when classmates or lecturers talked about some sensitive political issues, for example Taiwan, Tibet, and human rights issues. A Chinese person from mainland China normally has little experience in the kind of free speech encountered in the West. I struggled with language barriers and cross-cultural communication difficulties, not only at an academic level but in daily interactions with international classmates and teaching staff; I stumbled and completed my MA eventually.

In the meantime, the feelings of being discriminated against appeared more or less when working, though part of those feelings might be misunderstanding. As an interpreter for members of the Chinese community, I have perceived and heard of Chinese people in Ireland suffering from acculturative stress which affects work, study, marriage, health and social activities. Some Chinese individuals who experience exploitation or harassment at work or in daily life keep quiet and submit to humiliation instead of claiming advocacy to enjoy their rights. This has greatly decreased the quality of their lives and hampers effective and healthy communication with their Irish host society. Therefore, as a member of the Chinese community in Ireland, in possession of a social science background, I decided to investigate this issue: to discover a specific aspect of the life of Chinese people in Ireland at a certain period of time.

Therefore, at the beginning of the research, it was intended to focus on migration research at a broad level, which means to examine the in-depth details of general migration experiences of Chinese migrants in Ireland. However, during discussion about the standpoint of the research, I shared with my supervisor that my area of most interest is about religion and I would carry out a study regarding religion in future because the topic seemed too precious to touch upon as a first study. Straightforwardly, my supervisor suggested that I should do it right now. Eventually, after some personal struggle about doing research partially in relation to my personal religious background, I changed direction that the study started to centre on the religious perspective of the cross-cultural adaptation of Chinese migrants in Ireland.

For such research, there are certain advantages as an insider of the Chinese community, such as speaking the same language which makes communication easier. Disadvantages also exist, for example, an interviewee may be afraid of disclosing matter relating to his or her privacy and be reluctant to tell the truth. These aspects of the research, however, will be discussed later in this chapter.

2. 2 Research Design

2.2.1 Introduction

In research design, some important terms exist which, to avoid confusion and to gain clear understanding in my own writing, the following terms are applied according to Crotty (1998:3):

Method: the techniques or procedures used to gather and analyse data related to some research question or hypothesis.

Methodology: the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and the use of methods to the desired outcomes.

Creswell (2009:5) refers to *research design* as a:

“....plan or proposal to conduct research, involves the intersection of philosophy, strategies of inquiry, and specific methods.” He remarks that a research design runs through the philosophical worldview assumptions brought to the study, the related strategy of inquiry and the specific methods or procedures of research which put the approach into practice. Silverman (2005:100) also refers to paradigms, which “....provide an overall framework for how we look at reality” as well as the specific selection of method for collecting data and analysing, then presents findings. Thus, generally Creswell (2009) and Silverman (2005) share a similar view of research design and this is also the perspective taken in this study.

Creswell (2009) suggests a researcher make explicit the larger philosophical ideas as these assumptions have been largely hidden in research (Slife & Williams, 1995). Creswell (2007; 2009) outlines five philosophical assumptions: ontological, epistemological, axiological, rhetorical, and methodological. With the *ontological assumption*, the research is to answer the nature of reality and a qualitative researcher accepts the idea of multiple realities. Crotty (1998) remarks ontological issues and epistemological issues converge and are hard to keep apart conceptually. The research takes the philosophical stance of an ontological assumption as from this perspective, reality is presented by participants and it is subjective and multiple.

Flick (1998) stresses the importance of examining critically the origins of research questions. He argues that “generally speaking, the precise formulation of the research question is a central step in conceptualizing the research design (Flick 1998:51)”.

Likewise, Punch (2000) strongly recommends formulating a research question before thinking of methods as it is the best way to align the research question with methods. Punch (2005:19) says that “match or fit between the research questions and research methods should be as close as possible”. Such a good question-method fit, helps in the realization of the validity of the research. LeCompte and Preissle (1992:7) also consider that the research question has a logical priority over the method of the research:

To conduct an inquiry of any sort, somebody must have an idea....The one critical attribute that qualitative and quantitative approaches share is that each begins with an idea that reflects human judgment.

Therefore, establishing the research question decides the choice of methodology in this study. One thing to note in this research is that pre-outlined research questions or question are only a preliminary guide to start the investigation. In this research the preliminary question is: what are the detailed religious experiences of the participants, if they have any, and in what ways do these experiences help them cope with their cross-cultural adaptation. As this study is a data-driven research following classic grounded theory, the research findings may not directly answer the research questions if they represent the concerns of the researcher instead of the participants’. Thus, the research question in a qualitative study like this does not function as in quantitative research but rather outlines a purpose.

These research questions are open-ended as the focus is to provide a holistic account of the interaction between Chinese migrants and their Irish host society, particularly about their developments of religious and value systems. Thus, it provides a complex picture identifying detailed processes rather than being bounded by cause-and-effect relationships.

2.2.2 Qualitative and quantitative research

Denzin and Lincoln (1994:4) contrast qualitative and quantitative research where:

Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry.

In contrast, quantitative studies highlight “the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes”. Flick (1998) traces the origins of qualitative research from research in psychology and social sciences. By following deductive methodologies, social scientists measured emotion, attitudes, and social relations by numerical methods as a natural science researcher does. As a result, individual and subjective views of the researchers and the investigations are eliminated, and from a social science perspective, findings are too far from everyday questions and problems. Social scientists, therefore, try inductive strategies to generate theories from data via qualitative research methodology.

However, this transition has not been so straightforward, as there has been vigorous debate concerning qualitative and quantitative research. In the world of social science research, both research methodologies are in use (Punch 2005). Creswell (2007:16) does not “contrast qualitative or naturalistic assumptions with conventional or positive assumptions”, he acknowledges that “qualitative research is legitimate in its own right and does not need to be compared to achieve respectability”. Silverman (2005) notes with regard to quantitative or qualitative methods, neither is intrinsically better than the other.

2.2.3 Adoption of Qualitative Methodology

Creswell (1994; 2003; 2009) lists three research approaches: a qualitative approach, a quantitative approach and mixed methods approach. From the preliminary research question outlined above, this research seeks to understand a social phenomenon in an interaction process. Guided by a question-method connection and idea-driven research explained in section 2.1, now is the time to choose a suitable research approach.

The research will examine the migrant life of members of the Chinese community in Ireland and the research is exploratory. Creswell (2003:30) points out that “one of the chief reasons for conducting a qualitative study is that the study is exploratory.” This means that little related research have been done and the researcher tries to investigate the topic based on listening to participants. The research refers to the complex social contexts of Irish society, Christianity and Chinese culture. Flick (1998) notes qualitative research has the specific relevance with the study of social relations, due to the pluralisation of life worlds. As chapter one discussed there is little in-depth research in relation to the Chinese community in Ireland, the research fits well qualitative methodology instead of quantitative methodology. A mixed methodology is not considered here as both Silverman (2005) and Creswell (2007) note that a novice researcher should choose no more than one approach.

2.2.4 Strategy of Inquiry-- Grounded Theory Approach

Creswell (2007) outlines five qualitative approaches to inquiry: Phenomenology, Grounded theory, Ethnography, Biographical life history and Case Studies. He presents a detailed figure contrasting characteristics of these five approaches (Creswell 2007:78-79). Narrowed by the characteristics of focus, types of problem best suited for design

and unit of analysis, this research has two choices of either a grounded theory approach or an ethnography approach as seen in table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Characteristics of grounded theory and ethnography

(Adapted from Creswell 2007:78-79)

| Characteristics Approach | Focus | Type of problem best suited for design | Unit of Analysis |
|-----------------------------|--|---|---|
| Grounded theory | Developing a theory grounded in data from the field | Grounding a theory in the views of participants | Studying a <u>process</u> , action, or <u>interaction</u> involving <u>many individuals</u> |
| Ethnography | Describing and interpreting a culture- sharing group | Describing and interpreting and the shared patterns of culture of a group | Studying a <u>group</u> that share the <u>same culture</u> |

Due to little in-depth research on the Chinese community in Ireland, no related theory has been generated. However, there have been several grounded theory studies in relation to migration in Ireland: Sheridan (2005) carried out research on the Vietnamese community in Ireland; Storch (2008) researched Polish women in Ireland and Dunne (2008) investigated Irish host students' perceptions of cultural difference based on their intercultural interaction. Following such previous research, this research therefore chooses a grounded theory approach to investigate the acculturation experience of the Chinese migrants in Ireland.

2.3 Grounded Theory as a research methodology

2.3.1 The origin of Grounded Theory: Glaser and Strauss

The two originators of grounded theory (GT in abbreviation), Glaser and Strauss advocated “a thrilling creative thing” (American Sociological Review, in Glaser and Strauss 1967) when publishing “*The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*”. The roots of GT are from two schools: the Chicago school of qualitative research where Anselm Strauss was from and Columbia University where Glaser received training in quantitative research, methodology and theory generation. It

was the time when the world of social science over-relied on the verification of theory and as a result, the research of discovery theory was less developed. Glaser and Strauss (1967) proposed a major strategy aiming for discovering of grounded theory and their basic idea with regard to GT is as “a way of arriving at theory suited to its supposed uses” (Glaser and Strauss 1967:3), which means deriving a theory from data. In contrast, the position of logical deduction is from a priori assumption.

Their position of judging a theory depends on an inductive process of generating a theory. The standards appraising a theory such as “...logical consistency, clarity, parsimony, density, scope, integration, as well as its fit and its ability to work...” (Glaser and Strauss 1967:5) are believed to be achieved via a proper research process. This process involves joint data collection, coding and analysis simultaneously. It is termed as “theoretical sampling” (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978). Nonetheless, the advocates of GT do not mean to overthrow the validity of logical deduction. This has a historical link to the heated debate between quantitative data and qualitative data. Glaser and Strauss (1967:17) see no major clash between the purposes and capacities of the two approaches, but the clash lies on the “concerns of the primacy of emphasis on verification or generation of theory”. They believe both kinds of data are useful. The primacy is based on the research situation, researcher interests and training background, and the material a researcher needs.

2.3.2 Glaserian/ Classic GT

In Glaser (1978) after Glaser and Strauss separated, Glaser continued to elaborate his GT approach which is called Glaserian GT or Classic GT. In terms of “theoretical sampling”, he further discusses the logic of theoretical sampling. GT is an inductive methodology as a GT theory emerges from data. While, in the process of theoretical

sampling, data collection is controlled by emerging theory grounded from data, this is deductive work. Nonetheless, it is not deductive research from previous theories in the extant literature. In the GT research process, deduction differs dramatically from conventional deduction research where a researcher deduces a hypothesis based on an already existing theoretical framework before field work starts. Glaser (1978) points out that an investigator using a GT approach compares data and gradually creates inductively theoretical connections at more abstract levels.

In the GT research process, data collection starts from a general sociological perspective instead of a preconceived theoretical framework. While “theoretical sampling” is proposed in Glaser and Strauss (1967), and further illustrated in Glaser (1978), it does not mean sampling is guided by existing theories, but the emerging theory from data is the basis to decide what data and where to collect it next. Therefore, Glaser and Strauss (1967) request sufficient “theoretical sensitivity” so as to be able to conceptualize and formulate a theory from the data collected.

“Theoretical sensitivity” is also developed over years of a research life; however, once a sociologist embraces a preconceived theory, she or he becomes insensitive. Glaser (1978) highlights the importance of having “theoretical sensitivity” in developing a theory as the researcher is mandated to remain open-minded and carry as few predetermined ideas as possible when entering the research setting. Nonetheless, this does not limit an analyst from being steeped in the literature of other fields. In contrast, Glaser (1978) encourages familiarity with both variables and related general ideas in other substantive fields. Glaser (1978) suggests in his GT approach that the literature review in the field starts after the theory is grounded and developed sufficiently. Glaser believes GT is a very useful way to grasp what is actually taking place in a substantive

area by holding theoretical sensitivity to conceptualize data and order conceptual data into a body of theory. Glaser (1978:3) states that “Our perspective is but a piece of a myriad of action in Sociology, not the only, right action”. GT has been adapted successfully in many fields in sociology: “education, public health, social welfare, political science to cite a few” (Glaser 1978:3).

Apart from the three criteria of GT relating to a good grounded theory elaborated in Glaser and Strauss (1967): to fit, to be relevant, and must work, Glaser (1978) adds the fourth one: to be modifiable. Glaser believes data has priority over the theory generated. Variation and relevance of basic social progress (BSP) keeps changing, though BSP remains constant. Therefore, a GT approach should be ready to be modified in later research and through this the tractability of GT in social science research is kept. However, modifiability is different from the change in a previous hypothesis in deductive research. The former “transcends the preceding theories by placing all relevancies in a multivariate scheme or process of greater scope and higher conceptual level” (Glaser 1978:15). The latter is established by denying the past theory. With these four criteria, Glaser (1978:10) remarks “...a well done grounded theory will usually...transcend diverse previous works while integrating them into a new theory of greater scope than extant ones.” This is regarded as the major contribution of GT as well as the reason for using it. The process is realized by the constant comparative method built into a GT approach.

A GT approach focuses on a social process with the underlying assumption that a social process is experienced in different ways. However, a BSP theory presents the main condition or variable above other variations and theoretically illustrates their relationships. Glaser (1978:100) defines BSP as:

theoretical reflections and summarizations of the patterned, systematic uniformity flows of social life which people go through, and which can be conceptually ‘captured’ and further understood through the construction of BSP theories.

Therefore, GT generates a theory and explains a pattern of behaviour and the pattern stems from the major concerns of participants. In GT, a theory or a core category is a thread or key to link and relate variables.

The importance of memo writing is emphasized over and over in Glaser (1978 & 1998). Memos run through data collection, coding data, sorting data and writing. It is where the potential GT theory comes from, as “Memos are the theorizing write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding. (Glaser 1978:83)” This research has adopted both manual and computer-aided software, Nvivo, to do coding. The latter is carried out on the basis of the former findings. The former findings are a preliminary sketch of data analysis and the Nvivo coding and memo comprised in-depth analysis of the data with findings presented in chapter seven.

The main concern of GT is with the “basic social process” of human interaction (Glaser 1978; Heath and Cowley 2004), which meets the concerns of Rudmin (2009b), and Chirkov (2009a; 2009b; 2009c) that acculturation studies should aim to discover the processes underlying migrants’ experiences.

2.4 Data Collection

This study uses the semi-structured interview as the method to collect data at the beginning of data collection. Gradually, with the development of interview skills, a non-structured interview is also used but based on the guideline of interview questions. This format enables the participants to offer more experiences within their own concerns rather than be confined by the interview guides of the researcher.

2.4.1 Interviewing

Creswell (2009) proposes a research framework for the interconnection of worldviews, strategies of inquiry and research methods. He suggests a coherent link in the process, instead of fragmented parts being presented. The research adopts a grounded theory approach to inquiry as it aims to explore the life experience of Chinese migrants in Ireland. Kvale (1996:105) notes that:

“.... interviews are particularly suited for studying people’s understanding of the meanings in their lived world, describing their experiences and self-understanding, and clarifying and elaborating their own perspective on their lived world.”

As pointed out in Warren (2001), most qualitative interviewing aims to understand others’ meaning-making, not to obtain facts or laws from participant’s talk. It is constructionist rather than the positivist approach of standardized survey interviewing in terms of epistemology. Similarly, Seidman (2006:9) states as well that the root of in-depth interviewing is to understand “the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience”.

There are a number of terms regarding to qualitative interview: creative interview (Douglas 1985), active interview (Holstein and Gubrium 1995), responsive interview (Robin and Robin (2005) and they are all in-depth interviews. Douglas (1985) proposes a creative interview which uses many strategies and tactics of interaction for mutual understanding. To reach this goal, an atmosphere for mutual disclosure must be built up between interviewers and interviewee. Holstein and Gubrium (1995) suggest ‘active interview’ and stress that “all interviews are reality-constructing, meaning-making occasions (1995:4).” This highlights the fact that both researcher and participants contribute to the meaning making. Robert and Robert (2005) propose ‘responsive interviewing’ as an approach of in-depth interviewing. This method adheres to

interpretive constructionist philosophy combining with critical theory and is also guided by practical needs of the research. They emphasize the skills in listening, observing and understanding to fulfil interviewing as it is essential for a researcher to ask questions in an effective and wise way. Robert and Robert (2005) believe the researcher as a human being inevitably will influence what is researched so that researcher and participant will affect each other during interaction. Therefore, the interviewer must be self-aware of his or her biases and what may influence the interviewee.

Although these three approaches develop in some particular perspectives along the history of social science inquiry, they share the same thought in different extents that qualitative interviewing is an interaction process between interviewee and interviewer. The interviewee is neither the passive pipeline to transport information, nor is the interviewer a questioner to extract information directly. It is a two way process and both sides are meaning makers (Briggs 1986) and in this study the process of data gathering shares the same argument. For example, Edwards (1993) felt self-disclosure of her family life helped the respondents in sharing their life experiences. Likewise, Sheridan (2007:129) achieved a “detailed exploration of the complexities of the participant by sharing her common migration experience with the respondent without hesitation”. This is very evident in this research as the researcher is a triple-insider as a Chinese migrant, Protestant and with similar work experience as a number of participants in this study. Moreover, Ryen (2001) remarks that insider-outsider problem is generic to all kinds of cross-cultural interviewing. Cross-cultural interviewing usually faces challenges of overcoming the communicative hurdles caused by cultural differences. Thus, as an insider of the Chinese community and also with a religious background, these challenges are alleviated. However, The Chinese participants may be reluctant to

disclose their true private information due to face-saving culture. This is also an insider-outsider dilemma. Therefore, it is still essential to gain the participants' trust.

2.4.2 Sampling strategy

Holstein and Gubrium (1995) consider that the choice of respondents may be based on a priori research design, or theoretical sampling, or “snowball” or convenience design, or particular respondents may be sought as key informants. Warren (2001) notes the selection of respondent from both positivist and constructionist views results in strangers. However, this may not always be the case as Warren adds that qualitative interviews are sometimes conducted with acquaintances. He remarks that typical snowball sampling starts with an acquaintance and then moves on to strangers. Therefore, interviewees, no matter acquaintances or strangers, are those who are able to provide detailed descriptions of their thoughts, feelings, and activities, if the interviewer asks and listens carefully enough.

In this research, the strategy mainly used for data gathering was convenience design as some acquaintances and potential participants who were less well-known Church members were chosen, providing they were able to provide useful and valuable information to this research. Snowball sampling was also attempted but this was not completely successful and this is explained next. Robert and Robert (2005) remarks a variety of perspectives in interviewed individuals presented can enhance the credibility of research findings. The participants in this research have a diversified background profile: either long-term or short-term resident, random selection of genders, Catholics, Protestants, Buddhist and Atheists. The details of interview recruitment are elaborated next.

The Protestant participants in this study were recruited by convenience design, which was available from the connections known to the researcher across the four Chinese Churches in Dublin; their denominational background has been referred to in section 1.3. One Catholic believer, one Buddhist and one Atheist were introduced by their respective friends. While some efforts was made to broaden the profile of the participants to enhance the credibility of the research (Robert and Robert 2005), it was difficult to find more Buddhists or Taoists, which are dominant religions in Chinese culture, in the Irish cultural context. This may be due to two reasons: Buddhist and Taoist practice does not need institutional gathering such as Christians but can be fulfilled by personal meditation and self-study. Thus, it is not applicable to do snow-ball sampling with such a group because they may not know each other as a group or community of worshippers. Secondly, there are not many pure believers of Buddhism and Taoism in contemporary Chinese society (Wong 2011; Lu and Lang 2010) but rather a pragmatic approach is taken in personal choices in diverse formats but which are rooted in traditional values and religions. More details of ‘religion in China’ are found in section 1.6. Therefore, the final selection of the samples is relatively random and is also confined by availabilities in terms of limitation of time and people willing to participate.

2.4.3 Interview Design

Kvale (1996) proposes seven stages of interviewing process: thematizing, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analysing, verifying and reporting. By *thematizing* he means considering the topic in the researcher’s interests and its fit with the interview method; qualitative interviewing aims to thematize the participants’ experience as well. Rubin and Rubin (2005) note that three kinds of questions are used in the qualitative interview:

main questions to address the research puzzle, follow-up questions for further explanation and probe questions to control interviewing and more in-depth details are obtained by follow-up questions and probes.

In this study, the purpose is to find out the detailed migration experience of the participants, particularly in the domain of their changes of value systems and religion when encountering a new cultural context in Ireland. Thus, the interview guide is comprised of two parts: socio-demographic data and major introductory questions. The design of the socio-demographic data borrowed the format of Storch (2008). The major introductory questions include three sections: Chinese traditional values, religion practice in Ireland and experiences of cross-cultural adaptation. The Chinese traditional values and religion practice being asked about in this research refer to O' Leary and Li (2008:18; 20; 21). The interview questions guide is attached in appendix A.

To have an interview guide is good for a novice researcher. This enables the researcher to have something in mind but keeping a mind open is also required in a Grounded Theory approach. This has been done in this data-collection which is not limited by the guide and which allows the flow of the follow-up questions and responses. The interviewing interaction became more and more natural along with the development of interviewing skills. The participants, apart from one participant, did not feel forced but were willing to share their experiences. Participants felt they were leading the conversation but very cautiously; however, the interviews were controlled so that data obtained were relevant and coherent.

2.4.4 On-line interview

When the data-collection arrived at around the half-way point, I paused for a while to reflect on the research method. An idea of interviewing a participant on-line occurred, because the potential interviewee has returned to China. In addition, compared with face-to-face interview, the nature of an asynchronous on-line approach is likely to encourage participants to disclose their inner feelings. Also, by using the medium of a computer, the practical benefits of saving time travelling and transcribing should not be overlooked. This method actually indeed helped speed up the progression of data collection which was impeded from the traffic problems due to the heavy snow in Ireland between Christmas time in 2010 and the beginning in 2011. From the following literature, I found that on-line research is valid and sits beside the traditional and dominant interview technique: face-to-face interview.

Bampton and Christopher (2002) believe computer technology opens a way of communication between interviewer and interviewee rather than as convenient means to record data and to facilitate further processing. They outline the major features of email interviewing, for example: transcending time and space, savings of time and budget, and extending access to potential participants. They argue that email interviews are a useful and a valid research method which can be complementary to the face-to-face interview. Carrying a similar point of view, Opdenakker (2006) broadens this discussion and compares four modes of interviewing: face-to-face, telephone, email and MSN messenger where each type of interview has its own advantages and disadvantages. They can be adopted equally in research as social cues are the only advantage possessed by face-to face interview which the other three modes do not have. Social cues refer to

the extra information provided in an interview, other than talking, delivered by a participant, such as voice and intonation. In this research, this is of little importance to the data.

Al-Saggaf and Williamson (2004), in a qualitative study, present a successful example of using online semi-structured interviews to explore the online community experience of Saudi Arabians. The online interviews enables them to have access to the participants in the broader geographical space and overcome the cultural restriction which impedes carrying out face-to-face interviews with female Saudis; the anonymity of using an online interview also helps better disclosure from participants. Their research experience demonstrates that computer-mediated communication used properly in research does not lead to superficial interaction resulting from no social presence. Thus, the research for this study on values change of Chinese migrants added six online interviews to the data collection.

2.4.5 Interviewing period, venues and other details

After the approval of the DCU Research Ethics Committee, the interviewing started with two pilot interviews where one was in December 2009 and the other was in January 2010; the rest of the twenty interviews were carried out afterwards and finished in October of 2011. Sixteen interviews were face-to face and were recorded in audio format and six interviews were via internet chatting tools via written form, such as MSN, QQ, and Gmail chatting interfaces. All interviews were completed in one round and there was one question followed up via group emails.

The site selection was quite flexible based on availability of the venue and also the convenience of the participants. It could be in an office, a classroom, a shopping centre,

a cafeteria, a hospital or at home. As the interviewing environment (Kvale 1996) is important a place was found which let a participant feel secure to talk about personal experiences, while comfortable and relaxed.

2.5 Research ethics

May (1997:43) notes in both the natural and social world, that fact and value are not strictly separated so that “there is a constant interaction between scientific practice and societal beliefs which affect research practice”. May (1997) remarks a researcher must be aware that values enter the process of research at all stages. Shaw (2003; 2008) echoes this view and emphasizes not compartmentalizing the ethical aspects of research as a preamble, by relying solely on codes of research ethics risks. However, this by no means indicates that codes of ethics are out of place.

To keep confidentiality in relation to the information from the participants, three methods were used in data collection: firstly, each participant was given a different name and secondly, certain details in the interview transcripts were changed to protect each participant’s identity. Thirdly, the transcripts of the interviews were returned to the participants to let them make any changes they wished. In fact, most of the participants did not correct anything. It was stated that participants could withdraw from the research at any point on the plain language statement form but no participant withdrew during the course of the interviewing. Finally, consent forms were provided and these were bilingual for full understanding of the research. The ‘Informed consent form’ and ‘Plain language statement’ are attached in appendix F and G respectively.

As six interviews were conducted on-line, it is also essential to fulfil research ethical requirements via virtual space. In detail, it may include the real understanding of the

related documents, such as the “Plain Language Statement” and “Informed Consent Form”. As the latter document should be signed in a convenient, effective and suitable way, I firstly emailed these two documents to the potential participants, and asked them to read through carefully and encouraged them to ask any questions. Then, at the beginning of the on-line interview, I confirmed they understood what was going on. At the end of the interview, I asked them to email those signed documents to me. I understood some of them did not take it seriously and did not care about the form. However, as a researcher I made efforts to fulfil research ethics, because I regard this procedure as a contract to protect both a participant’s privacy and a researcher’s rights of using data collected.

Davis (2012) points out that data with regard to religious or other beliefs are categorized as sensitive data which requires special protection. In the interviewing, most of the participants had little awareness nor concern of the confidentiality of their private information. For example, Mr Li did not want to sign the “Informed consent form” as he trusted me. Mr Wang is willing to publish his interview. These participants do not regard their religion and belief situation as so sensitive but rather are willing to share and cooperate with the researcher. Sheridan and Storch (2009) also experienced not signing a consent form and this was seen as trust and a cultural issue. No signature is left, no record for any official query in future. Moreover, this may be also due to the opening and revival of religious practice in mainland China and was unexpected at the beginning of the data collection. In contrast, Mrs Lin emphasized confidentiality in relation to her identity.

2.6 The process of the implication of classic grounded theory

2.6.1 Overall process of data gathering and analyzing

On the 14th March 2011 I contacted Dr Tom Andrews, a GT expert with a query. I asked him: “I did not follow exactly a Glaserian approach, neither a Straussian one, nor Charmaz. I steered to a Glaserian one gradually and tried to practice in the classic GT approach, what should I do?” Dr Andrews replied: “Doing a PhD is a learning process... You can write that you used GT to the best of your understanding and that this developed as you progressed... Above all, justify why you did what you did. Discuss why you gradually steered towards classical GT. ” Moreover, I learned from Dr Higgins, in the 4th Qualitative Research Method Summer School in DCU, that a semi-structured interview does not suit classic grounded theory. Again, Dr Andrews said, when I consulted him about this, that the PhD is ‘your apprentice journey’. He suggested I do a paper about the differences of using semi-structured interviewing and non-structured interviewing in data gathering while adopting a classic grounded theory approach. Therefore, the research has benefitted from and followed the guidance of these two classic grounded theory experts and gradually steered this research towards classic grounded theory (Glaser 1978) as the main approach to guide the entire process of data collection and analysis.

Thus, this research has gradually steered to classic grounded theory (Glaser 1978) as the main approach to guide the entire process of data collection and analysis. The process is accounted for in six parts: theoretical sampling, theoretical coding, theoretical memos, theoretical sorting, theoretical writing and generating formal theory. Table 2.2, presents the coding and analysing process in chronological order for this study. This table also shows the development of the coding process along with the understanding of grounded

theory. In other words, when theoretical understandings are put into practice properly, the research outcomes emerged. Theoretical understanding and practice support each other and are co-developed and there was a natural growing of the levels of the skills of coding and analysing in practice. Some parts of the coding process cannot be discovered by words alone as there are moments of significance such as emotion or moments of sense in coding.

Table 2.2 Process of data gathering and analysing

| No of the phrase | Phase | Progression |
|-------------------------|---|---|
| 1 | Two pilot interviews done, mainly followed interview guide, translated and transcribed then started coding using Nvivo | See no pattern but scattered codes |
| 2 | Attended 4 th DCU Qualitative research method summer school, workshop on grounded theory. | Developed understanding of grounded theory and particularly classic grounded theory approach, such as the main concern of the participants and pattern of behaviour; all is data; variants of grounded theory. Also I decided to follow classic GT. |
| 3 | Code and memo the first five interviews | Preliminary finding and see some patterns |
| 4 | Completed interviewing with both semi-structured and non-structured interviews, transcribing, coding manually and memo singly | Richer finding and see more patterns within 146 codes; derived sub-core and core categories; memo singly and wrote down findings overview briefly. |
| 5 | Keeping the findings by manual coding in mind and started Nvivo coding in full | Data were coded in full and numbered at nearly 573. It was a process of refining the previous findings in manual coding and also on-going analysis. Continued memoing when coding in Nvivo and found more links among codes and more patterns emerged |
| 6 | Data analysis by integrating memo logically and neatly | Four chapters of data analysis, the data were reshaped. |
| 7 | Attended 6 ^h DCU Qualitative research method summer school, workshop on grounded theory. | Reviewed the data analysis and use of grounded theory and wrote down evaluation and reflexivity |

However, “grounded theory designs, and associated coding sequences, have long suffered from a lack of a complete understandable analysis sequence (Carlson and McCaslin 2003).” It was ‘messy’ in some stages of coding until the codes were linked and categories organized logically. The coding process described and the samples cannot fully reveal these aspects of the process where a code was subsumed or merged. Thus, to arrive at a full description of the process is complicated and difficult to be presented in every detail (Higgins 2007; 2010).

2.6.2 Theoretical sampling

The process of theoretical sampling in grounded theory involves both inductive and deductive parts. Grounded theory is an inductive approach while during the data gathering, it is a data-driven approach where the data collected next is according to the theory generated from the previous data (Glaser 1978). The theory is not a hypothesis derived from extant literature; thus, deduction focuses “more on comparisons for discovery, not on deriving a hypothesis for verification (Glaser 1978:38).” This research followed the format of semi-structured interview until the attending of the 4th DCU Qualitative Research Summer School when I began to fully know the limitation of semi-structured interview in using grounded theory.

Therefore, gradually I tried to steer to non-structured interviews and this helped see the meaning of theoretical sampling. For example, in interview 15, with Mrs Zhao, I found a relation of the category of ‘awareness of filial piety’ and future ‘migration motivation’, which means the main concern for Mrs Zhao to return China for good is to fulfill filial piety even though she is entitled to live in Ireland in the long-term. This shows the influences from the rooted element in Chinese culture. This theory generated in the data

was unexpected in the semi-structured interviews and so they guided me to collect the related data in the following interviews. As a result, in interview 18, Mrs Fang had a similar concern and motivation of future plans. By doing this, it became clear that the original Chinese cultural background plays an important role in the decision of future migration plans of participants in this research. In sum, the use of a semi-structured interview is good for a novice researcher to start data gathering at the beginning and lead to unstructured interviews so that the findings in this research are fully rooted in data.

2.6.3 Theoretical coding

Glaser (1978:55) points out coding “is of central importance in the generating of theory” and basically includes two types of codes: substantive codes, which “conceptualize the empirical substance of the area of the research” and theoretical codes, which “conceptualize how the substantive codes may relate to each other.” Substantive coding comprises opening coding and selective coding. Opening coding, as exhibited in table 2.3, is carried out under a number of rules: Firstly, keeping a set of questions in mind when coding such as: what is this data a study of? What category does this incident indicate? What is actually happening in the data? (Glaser 1978:57)”. The second rule is to code line by line. Though it is painstaking and time consuming it is necessary in order to have a full theoretical coverage. The third rule is memoing when coding.

Table 2.3 Example of Initial Coding Process: open coding

| Original text from transcript | code |
|---|--|
| Researcher: But how about your parents, you told me, you have to be very obedient. Participant: Yeah, that is why after became a Christian, they don't like about it. Because I am here, I am abroad, so, Ur, I do not really go home that often, so I don't have to face up to any of this, you know. | Less difficult confrontation of cultural conflicts due to far away from home culture |
| 这个歧视，就看你怎么想这个问题。你说有就有，你说没有就没有。你来爱尔兰，就象一个农村人进到城里，看你是民工一样。 Translation: It depends on how you think of the issue of discrimination. It is there if you think yes, otherwise none. You are like country people coming to a city. You are a migrant worker as in China from rural place to a city. | Subjective understanding of migration experiences |
| There is a background environment in China. If my parents go to cemetery sweeping, then I will go as well. | Following the parents to follow the tradition |
| I have to marry to a Chinese person. You know. (smile). I was told when I came over. | Filial piety's meaning: being obedient |
| ... but I, as a Chinese I have worked extremely hard. I have to work much harder than some people in order not to be considered that you are Chinese, you cannot do this job. So have to work very hard in order to show I can do this job. Because I am foreign national here. | Working hard to reduce discrimination |

In this research, open coding was done manually in stage four as shown in table 2.2 and it started with line by line coding but then went to an 'overview approach', which means quickly reviewing all the data and pulling out clusters of categories. This is not recommended by Glaser (1978) but it was going well in this study. Table 2.4 shows example of the category of 'awareness of filial piety' and its codes.

Table 2.4 the category of 'awareness of filial piety' and its codes

| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| An alternative way to show concern | Compatible with new religion |
| Be obedient to parents | Perform a ritual |
| Continue traditional virtue | Reciprocity |
| Difficult to fulfil the obligation of minding parents | Various welfare |
| Local medical system | Financial support |
| Migration policy | Looking after health |
| Hard to fulfil due to far away | Psychology comfort |
| | Sense of secure |
| Evangelize them to know God | Responsibility and obligation |
| To love truly due to faith in God | Respect and response in love |
| Keep good relationship with parents | Spending time with parents |
| Psychology satisfaction more important than money provision | |

By the end of stage four, twenty two categories were identified by manual coding as shown in table 2.5; the full list of categories and its codes by manual coding is attached in appendix E. Table 2.5 shows patterns emerged and sub-core categories were also derived during the process of manual coding. As the third rule of coding by Glaser (1978) is to memo when coding, In this study, a single memo was taken down interview by interview, at the end of stage four as marked in table 2.2.

Table 2.5 List of categories by manual coding

| | | | |
|----|---|----|--|
| 1 | Strong Family centred view | 12 | Trend towards traditional values |
| 2 | Value changed during the migration period | 13 | Migration motivation |
| 3 | Initial motivation to start a new religion/faith | 14 | English improvement |
| 4 | Purposes to practice or believing a new religion/faith | 15 | Reasons to leave or plan to leave the country |
| 5 | New value helps adaptation in intercultural interaction | 16 | Tracks of value migration and acculturation |
| 6 | Discrimination | 17 | Initial Motivation to start a new belief |
| 7 | Friendship | 18 | Filial piety |
| 8 | Reasons for Homesick | 19 | Unrealistically compare, on monetary consuming |
| 9 | Protestants' values | 20 | Compare Ireland and China |
| 10 | Catholics' values | 21 | Compare Ireland and another country other than China |
| 11 | Atheist' values | 22 | Integration/assimilation with the Irish host society |

Findings were twenty two single memos rooted in data but with more theoretical sorting in the late memos where most categories emerged and memos were written by building on the previous memos. Some patterns were already seen easily and core variables emerged as well and section 7.2 in chapter seven presents these initial findings.

Table 2.6 Selective list of categories by Nvivo coding

| | |
|----|---|
| 1 | Assimilate into host society |
| 2 | Awareness of discrimination |
| 3 | Difficulties to integrate into Irish host society |
| 4 | Consider integration of next generation |
| 5 | Difficult to adapt back to home culture |
| 6 | Value change due to away from home |
| 7 | Dislike life style here in Ireland |
| 8 | Encounter homesickness |
| 9 | Encounter living difficulties |
| 10 | Encounter loneliness |
| 11 | Friends circle |
| 12 | Irish in Chinese's eyes |
| 13 | Chinese in Irish's eyes |
| 14 | Isolate from Irish host society |
| 15 | Language improvement |
| 16 | Perceive and compare lives in China and Ireland |
| 17 | Awareness of filial piety |
| 18 | Compare different migrant workers |
| 19 | Faith practice and acculturation |
| 20 | Purpose of attending Church |
| 21 | Pre-move migration motivation |
| 22 | Migration motivation in plan |
| 23 | Motivation to pursue a religion or have value changed |
| 24 | Purposes to go to Church |
| 25 | Changing values |
| 26 | Remain faith in traditional values |
| 27 | Struggles in personal value changing |

Then stage five of Nvivo coding began and Table 2.6 shows some of the categories identified via Nvivo coding. In comparison to table 2.5, table 2.6 shows more rich and detailed pattern and contents. During the memo process, coding mistakes can be corrected and revisiting raw data is necessary to make sure the accuracy of coding. Coding without memoing should be avoided as it would lead to inaccurate or incomplete understanding of data. When the researcher finds the prospects for a theory

that cover the total data, it is the right time to selectively code. This is a process to delimit coding guided by core category and codes to those variables that are closely relevant to a core category (Glaser 1978). The full list of Nvivo codes is in appendix H.

2.6.4 Theoretical memo and sorting

Memo writing moves from detailed description to elaboration at a conceptual level and Higgins (2010) stresses the importance of memos across the coding process, but she also points to a novice researcher in grounded theory to start from a descriptive level and then transit to a conceptual level of writing in which data are transcended. Glaser (1978:84) lists five goals for memo use where a memo:

- Raises the data to a conceptualization level;
- Develops the properties of each category which begins to define it operationally;
- Presents hypotheses about connections between categories and/or their properties.
- Begins to integrate these connections with clusters of other categories to generate the theory.
- Begins to locate the emerging theory with other theories with potentially more or less relevance.

Thus, memo writing is the core stage in generating a theory (Glaser 1978). Theoretical sorting is writing transcended from memos by constantly and closely comparing them. Sorting aims to relate categories at a conceptual level and finally integrate them into a theory.

2.6.5 Theoretical writing and theory generating

Theoretical writing in grounded theory is a “careful, systematic construction job (Glaser 1978:130)”. Glaser (1978) remarks a very frequent problem in grounded theory writing is that a researcher finds it very easy to write descriptively. It is essential to keep in mind theoretical writing is about concepts instead of people. The criteria of the theory generated in grounded theory include its “integration, relevance and workability, not by

illustration used as if it were proof (Glaser 1978:134).” The hypotheses emerged in data are integrated and come to a theory. Grounded theory is to discover a theory which explains a ‘latent pattern’ of behaviour as termed in Glaser (1998) and participants have little awareness of this pattern. Therefore, the theory which emerged can help reader and participant see the pattern of the participants’ latent behaviour.

The core category is *to satisfy or glorify*, and the sub-core categories are *to chase*, *to compare* and *to change*. Sheridan and Storch (2009) remark that over-coding can cause trouble. When I coded, I worked very carefully to not lose information as I was guided by the emerging sub-core categories: chase, compare and change. Following stage four, as seen in table 2.2, came the selective coding by Nvivo and further theoretical sorting. The selective coding in phase five was carried out around the three sub-core categories. The computer-aided software made it easy to save and display the original text from transcripts and related codes and also show the relationships among categories. This helped enrich the memo process based on more codes and also create more diversified linkages among the categories already found. Stage five is also a process of theoretical sorting by memos at a conceptual level. The codes and their relation structures were revised during stage five and it was recorded in the theoretical writing of stage six. During stage six, the theoretical writing vividly presented and detailed the findings. This did not fully follow Glaser (1978) in that theoretical writing is about hypotheses not findings as the generation of theory resulted from the integration of the four chapters of data analysis and were then relate to the literature review.

Higgins (2007) successfully managed data analysis manually and in this research, both manual coding and coding using software are used and valued. It is found that these two ways have respective pros and cons and complement each other. In this study, the initial coding was manual and the codes number is 146. Patterns emerged from manual coding

which guided the second round of coding via Nvivo. It is easier to see related quotes to respective categories in Nvivo; however, I felt there was a more natural, continuous flow in my thinking with less limitation when coding manually. The analyses are the outcome of these two coding approaches.

2.7 Reflexivity and its implication in research with grounded theory

2.7.1 Reflexivity in qualitative research

Silverman (2005:379) defines “reflexivity” as a term to “describe the self-organizing character of all interaction so that any action provides for its own context”. Russell and Bohan (1999) argue that reflexivity refers to two issues relating to researcher and participant: firstly relationships between researcher and participants act as context information to reshape the research process, and secondly a research is not an “objective rendering of reality but a form of participation in the phenomena under study (Russell & Bohan 1999:404).” Finlay (2002:532) defines reflexivity as “thoughtful, conscious self-awareness.” Finlay (2002) notes the interchangeable use of the two terms of “reflection” and “reflexivity” in much of the literature. She considers these two terms are at two ends of a scale, reflection is looking back, whereas reflexivity “taps into a more immediate, continuing, dynamic, and subjective self-awareness (Finlay 2002:533).”

Breuer et al. (2002) remark that subjectivity and reflexivity create a challenge to social science. They would proactively show “the subjective nature of epistemic activity” rather than defensively creating an impression of objectivity (Breuer et al. 2002:1). Russell and Kelly (2002) assume and appreciate subjectivity which exists all through the research process. They consider qualitative research “as an interconnected and mutually influential series of dialogic processes (Russell and Kelly 2002:1).” Instead of making efforts to make a fiction of researchers as value-free, Russell & Kelly (2002)

embrace subjectivity from both researcher and participants perspectives, and inter-subjectivity between or among researchers and between researcher and participants as an unavoidable and integral part of social science research by placing reflexivity as central. Kvale (1996:241-242) remarks that the “moral integrity” of the researcher is “critical for evaluation of the quality of scientific knowledge produced.” Research quality and reflexivity ability are in a reciprocal relationship: good reflexivity enhances research and good research improves reflexivity. The research process involves the learning process of a researcher by identifying personal strength and limitation as well as providing knowledge to others (Russell & Kelly 2002).

Nonetheless, Finlay (2002) points out some critiques about reflexivity such as ambiguity, or unscientific bias. To counter these challenges, she agrees with Kvale (1996:252) that:

“Knowledge claims that are so powerful and convincing in their own right that they . . . carry the validation with them, like a strong piece of art. In such cases, the research procedures would be transparent and the results evident, and the conclusions of a study intrinsically convincing as true.”

Finlay (2002) acknowledges that reflexivity is a difficult issue but can be a useful tool to fulfil the following targets:

- examine the impact of the position, perspective, and presence of the researcher;
- promote rich insight through examining personal responses and interpersonal dynamics;
- empower others by opening up a more radical consciousness;
- evaluate the research process, method, and outcomes; and
- enable public scrutiny of the integrity of the research through offering a methodological log of research decisions. (Finlay 2002:532)

The level and range of reflexivity depend on the needs of research. It may go through the entire research process, or as a sensitizing exercise in a paragraph under “method”, or alternatively as a part of methodology to evaluate research validity (Finlay 2002).

To sum up the above arguments, good reflexivity is a valuable path to ensure the quality of qualitative research. Subjectivity does not equal bias and subjectivity needs to be taken into consideration in the research process and its outcome as pure objectivity does not exist. Social science research involves a joint contribution from researchers and participants.

2.7.2 Reflexivity in grounded theory

Neill (2006) notes reflexivity is very relevant for Glaserian grounded theory though she points out that Glaser does not support reflexivity. Rather, Glaser emphasizes constant conceptualizing which already demonstrates a researcher's impact on data (Glaser 1978), instead of distraction from data by reflexivity. Nonetheless, Neill (2006) argues, coupled with her own research experience, that reflexivity offers a framework to ensure the impact of the researcher is traced along with constant comparative analysis in grounded theory. Further, Hall & Callery (2001:270) propose that "combining theoretical sensitivity with reflexivity relationally creates a more rigorous form of grounded theory", although they note the valuable contribution to the rigor of grounded theory made by theoretical sensitivity. Impacts from the interaction between researchers and participants should not be ignored in grounded theory (Hall & Callery 2001).

The following account presents the related self-awareness in the research, and aims to honestly and transparently unfold the research process and then demonstrate the validity of the research. This enables the audiences for the research to track the origins and process of the research as a result of rigour.

2.7.3 Supervision and Training as part of interaction and construction of the research

I agree with the point of view of participation between researchers and participants in qualitative research. I extend the researchers involved in my research to include the supervision of my supervisor: Dr Sheridan. For instance, she keeps on reminding me of more elaboration of Chinese culture or some phenomenon I take for granted: “Think about your audience who may not necessarily be an expert in Chinese culture”. My supervisor has clothed me externally with proper academic English for the presentation of my research while internally keeping on working and encouraging and guiding me all through the entire research. This supervisor who has the expertise in intercultural studies and research experience in relation to Chinese culture has also helped me draft some questions in the interviews, such as “What is the most important thing in your life? What do you think of ‘filial piety’?” The guidance of presenters in training workshops has also provided quasi supervision to influence the research. These experiences have reshaped and supported the usage of the methodology in the research. These two aspects of interaction during the research process are different from pure learning from books, as people are involved; this interaction leads the research to the right track, while the researcher is the decision-maker of what take or not to take and how much to take from suggestions or guidance.

In sum, as I said at the beginning of this chapter, it is difficult to use ‘I’ as a Chinese person. However, I feel that reflexivity in grounded theory can be summed up as being honest, being transparent and being scientific. ‘Being honest’ refers to the necessary integrity of a social science researcher. An honest researcher produces transparent work, so that ‘being transparent’ relates to the nature of a piece of good qualitative research. An honest researcher and transparent work precede the outcome of empirical study.

Therefore it is argued that ‘to be scientific’ points to the outcome and purpose of qualitative social science research. Thus, reflexivity and validity are not in conflict with each other in qualitative social science research including using grounded theory.

The next four chapters present the data analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

MIGRATION MOTIVATION: CHASE

And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us: for in him we live, and move, and have our beings; as certain also of your own poets have said, For who are also his offspring.

King James Bible, Acts 17: 26-28

3.1 Chapter outline

This chapter is the first chapter of data analysis and presents the analysis around migration motivation in the pre-move stage and also future plans in the migration period.

I use the concept of “Value” as the gloss term to cover all religion, belief, and values other than religion, because not all participants state they have religion, but no religion instead. Value is a general term in this research used as an umbrella term for a world view. Therefore, religion is a part of a value system, but a value can function as religion for a person who claims no particular religion.

Table 3.1 The sub-core category of 'chase' and its categories

| CHASE migration motivation | |
|--|---|
| Economic | Non-economic |
| On work visa On student visa to work | Education Life/travel experience Family reunion |
| Push | Pull |
| Economic and employment issues Social and cultural issues Personal matters Myth of the west | Economic and employment issues Social and cultural issues Facts known about the destination Myth of the west |

In this chapter, the category of ‘chase’ is the umbrella term and includes subcategories of economic and non-economic reasons, and push and pull factors relating to migration.

Table 3.1 displays the sub-core category of ‘chase’ and its categories. These are now discussed in full.

3.2 Drivers of economic motivation

In this research, migration motivation directs the life path of a participant to move to Ireland. It is the original main concern which shapes the migration behaviour of participants in the research. There are twenty two participants in total and the following table 3.2 exhibited their socio-demographic data.

Four of them, Mr Li, Ms Qian, Mr Wu and Mrs Fang held an initial motivation to chase economic benefits and discuss economic reasons to come to Ireland. Mr Li arrived in Ireland under a working visa as he explains:

I came to Ireland mainly on Working Visa, mainly for living. Because the job at home was not very good. Had a job, but not such good payment. (Mr Li)

It is important that he had a good job in China but did not feel happy with the salary and came to Ireland at the height of the construction boom. In contrast to Mr Li, three participants, namely Ms Qian, Mr Wu and Mrs Fang arrived with student visas. According to Irish immigration policy at the time they came, a student visa holder could work up to twenty hours per week, including full-time work during holidays.

Firstly, Mrs Fang, who is in her twenties, says quite simply that she came:

To work (Mrs Fang)

Ms Qian, who worked freelance back in China and did not earn much money, provides

Table 3.2 Socio-demographic data of participants

| | Name | Age | Marital status | Religious status | Years Ireland |
|----|--------------|------------|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | Mr. Wang | 35-40 | Married Chinese/BA | Protestant/BA Protestant/BA | 0.5 |
| 2 | Mr. Li | 35-40 | Married Chinese/BA | Atheist/BA Protestant/BA | 10 |
| 3 | Ms. Hu | 30-35 | Single/BA Same/AA | Atheist/BA Protestant/AA | 5 |
| 4 | Ms. Liu | 35-40 | Single/BA Same/AA British Boyfriend | No religion/BA Baptized Protestant/AA No religion/AA | 7 |
| 5 | Mr. Zheng | 20-25 | Single/BA Single/AA | Atheist/BA Atheist/AA | 6.5 |
| 6 | Mr. Ma | 45-50 | Single/BA Married Hong Kong Chinese/AA | Protestant/BA Protestant/AA | 24 |
| 7 | Mrs.Cheng | 45-50 | Single/BA Married Malaysian Chinese/AA | Traditional/BA Protestant/AA | 31 |
| 8 | Mrs. Lin | 30-35 | Single/BA Married Chinese/AA | Atheist/BA Protestant— Catholic/AA | 14 |
| 9 | Ms. Tai | 25-30 | Single/BA Single/AA | Protestant/BA Protestant/AA | 2 |
| 10 | Ms. Zhang | 25-30 | Single/BA Single/AA | Atheist/BA Protestant/AA | 10 |
| 11 | Mrs. Hua | 25-30 | Single/BA Married Chinese/AA | No religion/BA Catholic/AA | 3 |
| 12 | Mr. Feng | 30-35 | Single/BA Married Chinese/AA | No religion/BA No religion/BA | 3 |
| 13 | Mr. Wen | 25-30 | Single/BA Single/AA Chinese Girlfriend | No religion/BA No religion/AA believes a God exists | 3, left due to contract ending |
| 14 | Ms. Hou | 30-35 | Single/BA Married European/AA Separated | Buddhism/BA Protestant/AA | 7 |
| 15 | Mrs. Zhao | 20-30 | Single/BA Married Chinese | No religion/BA Protestant(P)/AA | 6 |
| 16 | Ms. Shang | 20-30 | Single/BA Single/AA Chinese boyfriend | No religion/BA Protestant(P)/AA | 10, left unemployment |
| 17 | Mrs. Jiang | 30-40 | Married Chinese/BA Married/AA | Buddhism/BA Protestant/AA | 4 |
| 18 | Mr. Wu | 30-40 | Married Chinese/BA Married/AA | No religion/BA Buddhism/AA | 10 |
| 19 | Mrs. Fang | 30-40 | Married Chinese/BA Married/AA | Catholic/BA Catholic/AA | 10 |
| 20 | Mr. Qi | 20-30 | Single/BA Single/AA | No religion/BA No religion/AA | 4, left unemployment |
| 21 | Mrs. Fei | 30-40 | Married Chinese/BA Married/AA Husband in China | Buddhism/BA Buddhism and interested in Christianity/AA | 5 |
| 22 | Ms .Qian | 30-40 | Single/BA Single/AA | No religion/BA No religion/AA | 7 |

more background information about herself:

In fact, when I came, because of my big age, relatively speaking, there is not a very good job...learn to be independent, learn to survive.

Her goal in China was to make money, but she was not able to achieve this despite the work she did such as sales promotion and English teaching for children. Her focus continues to be on success measured in financial terms. Thus, like Ms Qian, economic reasons for migration have been the major concern of these participants. One issue to note is that the job categories of these four participants were all in service sectors and low-skilled when they first came to Ireland.

3.3 Drivers of non-economic motivation

In contrast with the four migrants discussed in the previous section, 18 participants apparently did not consider economic issues at home. They had non-economic reasons at the initial stage of their migration. The reasons include seeking education, travel/life experience (something which is not traditionally associated with Chinese migrants), and family reunion. Those seeking education echo Feldman et al. (2008) that 83 per cent of the Chinese in their survey came to Ireland for education purposes. Also they reported the motivation for new life experiences and no need for financial support to their family back in China.

Seeking education in an English speaking country has been a common dream found among 13 participants. They pursue education at various levels from improving English language skills in a language school to pursuing education at undergraduate or postgraduate level including both Masters and PhD degrees. There is no direct sign of any monetary reason for migration to Ireland in the following quote from Mrs Lin for example:

No, I first came to Ireland to study. I did not want to financial support my family because I just came here study to get degree.

She straightforwardly excludes economic motivation. Some participants applied directly from China to study in Irish universities and the following extracts also show the major motivation for these migrants was education:

Just wanted to go to university. Study in a university. (Ms Zhang)
the main reason is study, when I graduated from senior high school in China. I want to complete my university course in a English language country (Ms Zhao)
The major reason was to studying. I came over to study Master after completing Bachelor (in UK).(Mr Ma)
Do my PhD. (Ms Tai)

Mr Qi and Mrs Hua came under exchange programmes between Irish and Chinese universities. As Mr Qi said:

I want to go abroad to study. There was a programme in my Chinese university to go to Ireland. Exchange programme, they sent Chinese student to Ireland.

Mrs Hou did not come for higher education as she only wanted to improve her English:

Because I was working at that moment. Because little language environment in China. As least my oral and listening English can be improved if come to abroad. Did not think of getting a degree. Because I have been graduated from university in China. Here, did not think of advancing study, only want to improve my English.

She achieved her ambition to improve her English and she later became employed in Ireland and obtained quite a good job.

Three participants did not come with either a monetary motivation nor were they education driven but they came for different life experiences. Ms Hu sought to have a change of life and fulfil a dream of a new life away from China. Ms Liu also wanted to experience life outside of China. Ms Fei thought slightly differently as she was chasing her dream of travelling:

... When I came, perhaps because my family did not have such financial pressure. I did not have such pursuing. I wanted to go out, only wanted to travel. Just wanted for fun, in European countries. Make a little bit money, travel around for fun, return home.

This is an important finding in relation to migration motivation as these participants do not conform to the stereotype of Chinese people travelling abroad purely for financial gain. Ms Hu said her parents did not understand why she left China as she had graduated from college and had a fairly good job. However, she felt she had to choose a foreign country because of reasons concerning family, work, and emotional experience.

According to Ms Hu, it is well known in China that:

...Foreign country is a free land. People have simple and practical life. People can do things based on personal wish...This is what I want...

The dream for Ms Hu is to have a life to fulfil her wish of doing what she wants. According to her, this can only be achieved in a foreign country where she believes such freedom can be found (even though this perception was challenged by her initial experience in Ireland).

At the beginning, Ms Liu arrived in Ireland without much of a plan for her future but she had curiosity about the outside world. She said:

I felt at that moment only want to take a look of outside world. Did not think what to do in future, did not think about finding a good job or so.

As she lengthened her stay in Ireland she had to refocus her plan in relation to everyday matters such as education qualification and employment because she wanted to settle down in the country.

Mr Wang originally came under the visa for “joining spouse”:

My spouse is studying here. Our child and I come here to accompany her study.

However, Mrs Jiang found difficulties back in China in applying for a visa to join her spouse, so she applied to study for a Master’s programme in Ireland. Her purpose for migration was:

for study and for family reunion. (Mrs Jiang)

A couple, Mr Wu and Mrs Fang (in contemporary Chinese culture it is not necessary for a woman to take her husband's name) applied for student visas originally, but Mr Wu was refused. Hence, Mr Wu came one year later than his wife. It should also be noted that Mr Wu's dream was financial, though he came with a student visa. His migration motivation was also for family reunion. Therefore, from a Chinese perspective a student visa can be interpreted as being used not only for studying but can also function in terms of economic benefits as seen in table 3.1 or for family reunion.

Overall, 19 participants in this research came under student visas initially. This may reflect a common way for Chinese individuals to begin their migration journey even if the dreams of the participants in this study are for work, travel/life experience and family reunion as well as education. The participant in this research may begin with one motivation for migration but they may also mix the original one, such as a desire for family reunion, with a migration route via education because the original motivation could not be achieved because of visa restrictions and so a pragmatic solution is found to the problem. Alternatively, migration motivation can be viewed through a different lens: push and pull reasons.

3.4 Push and pull reasons---compare and chase

A push factor may have a direct opposite aspect to a pull factor and form a pair. However, from the findings this does not mean there is always such a pair when push and pull factors are contrasted. This will be further discussed in section of 4.5 Pull factors.

3.4.1 Push factors

“Frequent shifts make a tree dead but a person prosperous.” ---Chinese Proverb
人挪活，树挪死。 -- 中国谚语

This proverb can be applied in Chinese culture to encourage a person to move when confronting difficulties in life; an individual may encounter some unhappy situations which can motivate them to think about moving somewhere else. The purpose of the move is to be away from this unsatisfactory situation. This lack of satisfaction is called a push reason from the original place and makes a person migrate. The push factors in this research range from economic and employment issues, social and cultural issues, and personal reasons and are discussed next in turn.

3.4.1.1 Poor economic situation in parts of China

Ms Qian came to Ireland when north-east China was experiencing a serious economic downturn. North-east China has been the old national industrial base since the foundation of the People’s Republic of China. The area has contributed greatly to the country in industries such as steel, heavy manufacturing, oil, chemicals, construction material and coal. However, these industries are not as competitive any more as before and many factories have had to close down which led to a great deal of unemployment.

As Ms Qian said:

Under this poor economy condition, forced people move out. In north-east China there are large amount of state-owned factories. They were all closed down. Employees were all laid off...We are forced to move.

Ms Qian was not one of the workers who was made redundant but this background influenced her job hunting. Ms Qian also compared her migration motivation as being

different to people from Fujian province, where people have a tradition from generation to generation to go abroad. As she said:

...we are forced to...

Ms Qian mentioned this situation of “being forced” a number of times throughout the interview. However, this kind of ‘being forced’ is not forced migration due to war, famine, or political prosecution, but voluntary migration generated by economic reasons. It means Ms Qian was pushed by a worsening economic situation at the time when she left China. Her concern is to make money and be independent in making a living by means of migration. As written in a blog by Ba (2009), “looking into the annual income of the employees in old industrial base”, a person’s monthly income for cost of living is about RMB 366, approximately €46.5, which means it is extremely difficult to meet basic life needs. It is impossible to pay medical and education fees from this amount.

3.4.1.2 Pressure to make a living

In comparison to the pressure undergone here in Ireland due to the results of the banking crisis, Ms Qian said more serious pressure faced an average person in China:

...You have to survive. Nobody has forced you to come here. If you like you can go back. Be honest, such great pressure at home. How stressful have Chinese average people lived! You know that price going up will hurt their fragile nerves.

As the quotation from Xinhua news in 2011, a national news site shows prices from daily necessities to housing have all increased.

Today as the price of pork rises up, we have to start storing. Tomorrow the prices of beef and lamb will be increased. How about pepper...ginger and garlic!? Housing prices are increasing, why not start to store cement and steel?

Government macro-controlling leads to the boom in costs. Most of our people are on low-incomes. Where will these people be forced to go?

It is clear that ordinary people in China are under great pressure to survive daily life due to rocketing prices. This is also an issue discussed in the media, which might be

surprising for someone who assumes that nothing can be debated openly in China. This situation is a push factor for people to move.

3.4.1.3 Unethical and limited working environment

As Ms Qian, both Mrs Fang and her husband came from north-east China and they also came to Ireland with the motivation to find a job and make more money. However, unlike Ms Qian, Mr Wu had already completed his college education and worked in a medical area before he left. He found that it was difficult to be promoted from his position as a junior staff member. In addition, he perceived that after medical reforms in China, the approach to medicine had become market-oriented, which made medical staff prioritise the treatment of patients who had the ability to pay. He is not happy to be part of such a profit-driven system:

...hospital became a market...a doctor has no heart as a doctor...now people even more greedy...

Ms Hu has a similar experience to Mr Wu from when she worked as a member of a medical staff in China:

... I have many opportunities to get in touch with medical businessman...in hospital need medicine and medical instruments. I may have ten, twenty, thirty businessmen come to see me. Then who I would choose? Simply, I take whoever gives me more benefits...

However, this experience affected Ms Hu and she felt no peace in herself. Mrs Fei also worked in a hospital in China and discovered a possible “grey income” of a colleague (‘grey income’ refers to bribery money). However, she had another colleague who had a higher moral sense and did not accept money from a patient’s relative. Generally, medical staff receive money from patients’ relatives to ensure a better service has become a hidden rule in China. This has been observed and discussed in China and so is

included in this discussion. Therefore, it is quite usual for a doctor to take money secretly from patients.

Another reason for Mr Wu to resign is because medical welfare became limited in China. From observation there are migrants in Ireland who send money back home to support family members with medical costs. The medical welfare system in China provides limited supports to the parents of one migrant in my observation as they are farmers. Farmers in China have relatively low level of medical insurance cover. Thus, the provision of medical welfare in China is a push driver for Mr Wu and others to migrate, because they were affected by it, either as medical practitioners or as patients.

3.4.1.4 Social and cultural issues: social relationships and *Guanxi*

In Chinese culture, *Guanxi* plays an important role in every layer of life where *Guanxi* means relationships among people. People do not only regard an individual as who he or she is but rather judge the individual by his or her relationship with those in higher positions. If an individual does not have a sound social status, it helps in social life once social ties are established with others who have good social positions. As Ms Qian says, one reason for her not to have a good job in China was because:

When I was graduated, my parents have retired. There is not any Guanxi.

It shows social status can expire and cannot function any more if a person steps down from a position such as happened to Ms Qian once her parents retired. For Mr Wu, *Guanxi* in his previous workplace is one push driver for him to leave for Ireland as he said:

Guanxi is too complicated at home.

Mrs Fei also noted the complexity of social networks in China. The importance of *Guanxi* has been discussed in chapter one.

3.4.1.5 Educational background in China and the Chinese education system

The experience in China of Ms Qian shows that without a certain level of education it is difficult to have a good job and this is a push driver for Ms Qian to think about migration:

In the past...I did not like studying...experienced a lot of failures, felt so miserable. A woman? A person? has to survive...

In contrast to her previous experience of being less interested in going to school she is studying at an Irish university. In Chinese culture the strong value placed on education stems from Confucianism and is still relevant in contemporary Chinese culture as revealed in the Chinese proverb: 万般皆下品，唯有读书高, it means *to be a scholar is to be at the top of society*. This is also of relevance to section 3.3 which discusses non-economic reasons for Chinese to migrate as it sheds light on the Chinese attitude towards education which is to prize it highly.

Mr Zheng is of Hong Kong origin and was brought by his mother to Ireland to begin his secondary school education away from the harsh system in Hong Kong:

It is too hard to study in Hong Kong...less competition...much better studying environment...more relax..

One thing to note is that in comparison to the Irish education system, mainland China and Hong Kong share quite similar education styles: hard work in a very competitive classroom environment.

3.4.1.6 Personal matters

Ms Hu said that one push factor for her to leave China was her previous emotional experience in China. To respect her privacy, the exact nature of this experience was not explored in-depth.

To conclude, from the above analysis of push factors, a partial view of contemporary Chinese society is obtained as background information on the country of origin in terms of its economic and social life from a Chinese perspective.

3.4.2 Pull factors

“Man struggles upwards whereas water flows downwards”---Chinese proverb
人往高处走，水往低处流—中国谚语

This proverb can be used in Chinese culture to encourage a change of a job or relocation because of a possible promising future in a new environment. As mentioned previously, a push factor may or may not have an opposite factor to pair up with it as a pull reason. In this study, a migrant may want to get away from the negative impacts of push factors such as unemployment or moral dilemmas but alternatively may also chase benefits resulting from pull reasons. This means that a migrant may not have any serious unsatisfied motivation in the source environment but rather may expect something promising in the destination country. Again, in this study the situation of a migrant in the source country is not necessarily very bad, but some hopes in a new land act as a lure to a migrant impelling him or her to move. These hopes stem from pull factors in the destination country. The pull factors drawing the research participants to Ireland are discussed next.

3.4.2.1 Money made vs. Economic issues

For the participants discussed in section 3.2, the country of destination is promising due to a hope to earn more money. The following two quotes are about pull factors for the participants in this study to come to Ireland to make money:

More money made. (Mr Wu)

Many Chinese came. Ultimate goal is for better life, quality of life. Work hard to extreme limit likes working in China for ten years, fifteen years. That does worth...you target for money. Your life quality will be better than before. (Ms Qian)

Ms Qian thought the final goal for many Chinese migrants is to make money at the cost of working hard, carried almost to an extreme limit. She believes this is worthwhile in comparison to working for longer in China as the quality of life will be improved quicker than in China.

In contrast to “more money made” in Ireland is its pair factor of “economy issues” in China so that the cause-effect relationship between this pair of push and pull factors is evident. Because Mr Wu and Ms Qian were influenced by the unpleasant economic climate in China, they planned to migrate to Ireland as a way of solving the problems they faced in China.

3.4.2.2 Shortage of labour and its consequent recruitment drive

In relation to labour issues in Ireland, Ms Qian points to the “shortage of labour force” in Europe and its consequence of a “recruitment drive” from Ireland before the collapse of the economic boom:

An Irish old man aged at his sixties or seventies, still driving for work. Large labour are demanded. Aged population in Europe and America. Population in India and China even explode.

Ms Qian also mentions outmigration in Ireland caused a domestic labour shortage:

...Nursing is also not a good job, after all long hours, bad pay...due to economic booming in 2001, nurses left this job. Perhaps went to banks,...went to America, went to Canada. Under this condition, Ireland recruited firstly Pilipino nurses, then Indian nurses...

Though Ms Qian only talks about the recruitment drive in Ireland in nursing, the Irish Department of Enterprise, Jobs and Innovation listed five economy sectors in relation to issuing green card permits to non-EU employees in October 2010: information technology, healthcare, industry, education, and finance. However, ten ineligible categories for work permit applications were listed till May 2010 and with effect from 16 April 2009, and these include all clerical and administrative positions, all general operatives/labourers, all operator and production staff, all domestic workers (including carers in the home and childminders). They are all relatively low-skilled areas and people with these skills used to be eligible to apply for work permits. However, these two lists demonstrate Ireland's targeting of professional migrants while restricting these areas which are no longer open to non-EU migrants. This policy goes some way to explaining why some Chinese have returned home as they can no longer work in low-skilled areas.

3.4.2.3 Social and cultural issues: a less harsh education system vs. harsh education system

This is the opposite point to that previously discussed in section 3.4.1.6. Thus, this is a pair of factors existing in this study: migration being pushed by the harsh education system in the place of origin and meanwhile being pulled by the less harsh system in the destination land. Before Mr Zheng arrived in Ireland his parents had been living in Ireland for many years. Mr Zheng was aware of the situation that the Irish education system is much less competitive than that in Hong Kong, where he was brought up and is the original home of his parents. From observation Chinese migrants would consider

the Irish education system to be less pressurised than the Chinese system, so that this is a pull factor.

3.4.2.4 Facts known about the destination country

There are some facts about Ireland which attract migrants or make migration easier, consequently functioning as pull factors to fulfil an individual's intended migration such as the English language. It is possible that such a fact might not be exactly the same as a migrant's assumption. Five of the participants in this study, Ms Shang, Ms Hu, Ms Hou, Mr Feng, and Ms Zhao, all mentioned Ireland as "an English speaking country" being one of the pull factors that attracted them to Ireland.

Ms Shang compared different conditions in different countries when making her decision to go:

Living cost and fees are cheaper than the UK.

Ms Shang also said one of reasons to pull her to come to Ireland is that:

...easy to get visa at the time...

Mrs Fei makes a similar point:

...I originally wanted go to UK, was refused. Then happened to have an exchange programme from XXX at that time...then came (to Ireland).

Though Mrs Fei experienced difficulty when she applied for a visa to the UK, she received approval to go to Ireland the following year. Thus, for Mrs Fei, Ireland was a pathway to go abroad when she encountered visa application difficulties in the UK.

One of the reasons to lure Ms Hu to come to Ireland as a foreign country is the idea that:

Foreign country is a free land. People have simple and practical life.

Because Ms Hu was looking forward to have new life experiences when she planned her journey, she assumed Ireland, the destination country, is where she can realise her dream of a new life:

People can do things based on personal wish...This is what I want

This is a pull factor for her to come to Ireland.

3.4.3 Western myth--Dual factor, both push and pull

Ms Shang came to Ireland and started her studies with the Leaving Certificate. After that, she went to an Irish university and finished her undergraduate degree. When talking about her initial reason to come to Ireland, she said one reason is:

...keen for western education, in Europe...

Her mother has always supported her dream of chasing a Western education as her mother has such a strong myth relating to the West:

She does not like China, feels no good anywhere, keeps complaining all day long, and feels moon abroad is rounder than the one in China...would rather die in abroad.

Mr Li came to Ireland as an adult with responsibility to support his family but he also has this myth of the West in mind:

Europe and America looking towards Western Europe. So say I would like to have a look at Western Europe.

From observation, many Chinese go abroad on student visas and parents do expect their children to complete their secondary school or college studies abroad even though parents may or may not have sound financial ability for this and have to borrow money to send their children to study abroad. These parents are mainly driven by the belief that “the moon abroad is rounder than the one in China, 外国的月亮圆”, which refers to

an appreciation of the wealth and development in the West. This has been discussed in details in Chapter One

3.4.4 Summary of push and pull reasons and modification of migration motivation

To sum up, a migrant compares the situations in both the source country and the destination country in the pattern of push and pull factors before their migration journey to chase a dream. Migration motivation runs across a migrants' life like a thread. It links to acculturation processes so that it may not remain unchanged. The dream of *chasing* is ongoing and the pattern of its realisation may be modified during the course of migration. The modification may happen after completion of the original dream or in the process of realization of the original dream. Cross-cultural experiences can influence the original motivation concern so that it is modified.

3.5 Natural transition—being employed after graduation or continuing to remain

There are seventeen participants who continue to remain in Ireland after completion of the first '*dream chasing*' such as seeking education or they still keep on chasing their original dream such as an economic one. Six out of the seventeen have obtained long-term residency including Irish citizenship; two of the seventeen will have to relocate to another European country for work because of redundancy or termination of an employment contract. One has to go back to China first then move to another country. One participant working in construction is in an unstable situation as his employment cannot be guaranteed long-term due to the economic downturn in Ireland. Two participants continue to remain in Ireland after fulfilling their initial dream of obtaining a university qualification; they are on spousal work permits which allow them to seek

employment in Ireland in more flexible areas than the general requirements of an employment permit.

3.5.1 From non-monetary driven to monetary driven

Thirteen participants said they came to Ireland originally for education and this was their chief motivation. After completing their studies, eight out the thirteen became employed and two worked short term and are now on spousal working visas and actively seeking employment. Therefore, the main motivation to stay in Ireland became employment related and turned to being monetary driven. For example, Mrs Fei did not have any economic pressure at home in China, but wanted to travel in European countries, make a little money and then return home. However, after a one-year-stay in Ireland, she changed her mind:

...after a year, did not want travelling any more, wanted to make some money (Laugh), because found people around were all working and making money. I did not work much or so, only for a life cost. So also I started to want to work, to earn money. I am getting older and older, better work and earn some money.

Nonetheless Mrs Fei would not let her quality of life be reduced too much during her staying in Ireland particularly as her standard of living in China had been already very good. Her husband is a business man and she is used to having a permanent job with good income. Mrs Fei changed from seeking the experience of travel to making money but with no change in her visa status as a student. This is a personal change even though her visa status remains the same.

3.5.2 From short-term migration to long-term migration

These ten participants mentioned above continue to remain in Ireland due to being employed or remaining in Ireland on working spousal visas. Their visas are kept renewed and their migration plan is prolonged from short-term to long-term.

3.5.3 Leave Ireland to migrate to another country

Mr Qi did not want to stay out of China for a long period but wanted some life experience in a European country before returning home. He changed his original plan after graduation and some work experience in Ireland. He said:

...at the beginning, I thought I will finish the study and then go back to China. After a few years of stay out of China, I choose to stay in Europe.

Due to the economic recession starting from 2009 in Ireland, Mr Qi was made redundant from an Irish company. He would rather make an effort to find a job in another European country and relocate from Ireland than return home. Having achieved this, he praised the quality of life in that country in comparison to that in Ireland:

It is really beautiful in summer time... Life quality is very good here...the food is better than Ireland, the city is bigger, you have more things to do, the people are well educated here.

By contrast he commented life in China was too hard due to:

...less holiday...apartment is so expensive...food is not safe.

Mr Wen, also said:

would like to stay if could find a good job. Otherwise, could not bear the weather in Ireland and limited friends circle.

After some time, he too found a job in another European country, relocated there, then went to the USA to work and live, and remains out of China.

Ms Shang studied and worked in Ireland for ten years. She said she “*spent most of her 20’s with a lot of memories*”, meaning she had a lot of life experience in Ireland. Her impression of Ireland has been up and down:

I do like it but at the time when I left, I didn't like it - I guess that would be why I left. Only after leaving the place, now I realise I miss it therefore I like it. However I guess it's also I was there 10 years and it is like my second hometown.

In reality, due to unemployment because of the economic downturn in Ireland and difficulty in obtaining long-term residency, she left the country for good. When she returned to China and began working and living there again, she found herself enjoying life in China. Her job in China provided her with more experiences such as meeting various kinds of clients, business trips across many cities in China, as well as travel abroad. She did not think she could have had these opportunities if she had remained in Ireland.

Thus, the pattern of migration motivation can be changed along an individual's migration course. A migrant in this study may deviate from his or her original motivation due to experiences in a new country, such as being non-economic driven to becoming economic driven, and from short-term to a long-term migration. Migration motivation results from whichever direction a migrant feels satisfied by weighing various factors.

3.5.4 Patterns of future plans

Apart from the three participants, Ms Shang, Mr Qi and Mr Wen, discussed previously who had relocated to another country, the rest of the nineteen participants were all in Ireland when the interviews were undertaken. This section discusses these 19 participants and how they plan their future. These nineteen participants report seven patterns or types relating to their future plans:

- 1) can and prefer to remain in Ireland for good;
- 2) can and prefer to stay in Ireland but have to return China;
- 3) can and prefer to stay but unsure of the future;
- 4) prefer to stay in Ireland but unsure of the future whether can stay;
- 5) can stay permanently but prefer to leave Ireland and go back to China;

6) can stay permanently but unsure of the future;

7) can stay but prefer to leave Ireland and migrate to another country.

These patterns demonstrate the complexity of decision a migrant makes and also, importantly, that not all migrants from China wish to remain in Ireland, even when they can. This is an important finding in this study as planning factors in simple opposition clearly does reveal the complexity of migration motivation. These seven pattern are now discussed in turn.

3.5.4.1 Can and prefer to remain in Ireland for good

Three participants already regard Ireland as their long-term homeland. Mr Ma mentioned neither his country of origin in Asia nor his wife's can satisfy them and they would like to stay in Ireland for good, but they may have to leave when they are older.

Mr Ma smiled and said:

...when we become 60 or 70 year old, we cannot bear the weather here.

Ms Hou found she has got used to life in Ireland. She is living with her young son but not her ex-husband, who is an EU citizen. She has become used to the life here in Ireland more than in China:

What they pursue are about clothes, food, and money. Now I pursue differently. I believe in God now. I do not pay too much attention to clothes, mobile and money, such a stressed life....

Her choice is based on a strong shift in her personal values. However, migrants in this study who left China because of moral concerns also highlight the role of values in migration motivation in this study.

3.5.4.2 Can and prefer to stay in Ireland but have to return China

In contrast, Mrs Zhao is on a working spousal visa and her husband has a working visa which means they are able to stay in Ireland long-term. She would like to remain but she has to return home one day as she is the only child in her family and has to fulfil the responsibility of filial piety of minding her parents. She said:

...in Chinese traditional culture we don't really do that. Living in a nursing home just like abandoned by their child. Chinese parents only hope are upon their child, they are expecting their children can be with them when they getting old.

In Chinese culture, there is a saying that 养儿防老, which means for parents to bring up children is for the purpose of being looked after in old age. Generally, parents expect their own children to mind them when they are very old. This is part of fulfilling an essential Chinese value, filial piety, the value has been discussed in detail in chapter one.

3.5.4.3 Can and prefer to stay but unsure of the future

Mr Wu's family have long-term residency in Ireland and they prefer to stay in Ireland. However, there are some uncertain factors relating to their future. A decisive factor for Mr Wu to decide whether to remain or leave depends on his future career after graduation. If he cannot find a proper job to use what he has learned, this will push him to leave Ireland. In addition, Mr Wu's wife, Mrs Fang, has to think about the responsibility of looking after her parents when they are aged in the future. It will not be an issue for her husband, Mr Wu because he has an elder sister who is looking after his parents back home in China. It is clear from the decisions that these research participants will have to make are all related to the value of filial piety in Chinese culture which remains unaffected by intercultural contact for these participants in this study.

3.5.4.4 Prefer to stay in Ireland but unsure of the future whether can stay

Mr Wang originally came to Ireland for the purpose of family reunion. The future plan for his family depends on the career development of his wife.

3.5.4.5 Can stay permanently but prefer to leave Ireland and return to China

Mr Zheng has Irish citizenship which enables him to stay in Ireland for the long term. However, he does not like Ireland and misses his home culture even though he has settled down very well with his family in Ireland. As he says:

I don't like here. I am so homesick.

Mr Zheng is not particularly concerned with or interested in Chinese traditional values but strongly misses the contemporary Chinese life style, such as the food culture, the convenient shopping, entertainment and friends at home. From observation, some Chinese people have given up very stable and well-paid jobs in Ireland and relocated back to China for similar reasons.

3.5.4.6 Can stay permanently but unsure of future

Ms Lin felt unsure of her future plans and had the intention to leave the country even though she has settled down in Ireland very well as evidenced by the following: Irish citizenship, purchase of a big house, and having a good job. However, the exclusionary experiences of her children at school, difficulties to integrate into the host society and the economic downturn all contribute to her pessimistic feelings about a future in Ireland.

3.5.4.7 Can stay but prefer to leave Ireland and unsure of next destination

Finally, the couple, Mr Feng and his wife Mrs Hua work in the IT sector in Ireland. Mrs Hua said of their future plan:

...plan, we thought, after giving birth to a baby. But not stay very long. In some years, consider go back China, or change to another place...

They are eligible to apply for long-term residency in the future. However, they plan after some years to either migrate to another country or return to China. They think Ireland is not a migrant-friendly country, and the social infrastructure is not as good as other migration countries, such as Australia and Canada. The detailed reasons for the couple of Mr Feng and Mrs Hua to regard Ireland as a country where the social infrastructure is not satisfactory are not explored in this research. Generally speaking, Chinese may consider the following when choosing a country to migrate to: salary level, medical care and education, and how easy it is to obtain a visa.

3.6 Reverse cultural shock

A number of participants talked of their concern of finding it difficult to live back in China. They had got used to the life and culture in Ireland and then found it hard to adapt back to the home culture, such as the issue of relationships, face, values, and some practical life factors. A number of participants who are still in Ireland compared life between China and Ireland and said:

I got used to the life here...feel comfortable to stay here. More understanding about here, cannot adapt the life back in China...China develop so fast. People's thinking and pursuing are all different. (Mrs Hou)

Yes. For the people in the country are very pure. Not like in China, the relationship is too complicated. Not like we go back, (laugh), our Intellectual Quotient might be too low. People may see us as idiots when we return China. (Mr Li)

... the life in China is too hard... less holiday...apartment is so expensive, food is not safe...(Mr Qi)

...More complicated relationship...More monetary concern in China...Less supervision Monetary interests driven...(Mr Wu)

Mrs Hou, Mr Li and Mr Wu compare their lives in China in terms of different value orientations and the pattern of social interaction in Irish society where they have adapted well, whereas Mr Qi worries about work-related stress and the quality of life in China. All of them have referred to China and found it hard to go back home mainly due to cultural reasons and would have preferred to remain out of China.

Mrs Fei has struggled about the decision whether to stay in Ireland or go back to China. A prominent feature of the experience of Ms Fei is that she did constant comparisons between her situations in Ireland with back in home China. Table 3.3 shows the points of comparison from her interview.

Table 3.3 Comparison between in Ireland and back home China

| No | Salary | Home China | Ireland |
|----|-----------------------|---|---|
| 1 | Salary | Lower, even good level in China | Much higher than in China |
| 2 | Stableness of job | Permanent | Contract |
| 3 | Nature of job | Life-saving, feel sense of achievement | Basic skills, such as cleaning |
| 4 | Family relationship | Close to family | Homesick when seeing festival gathering at home |
| 5 | Travel | less | More than at home China |
| 6 | Public relationship | Plenty of meetings, medical examinations, and exams | Simple, no other matters than job |
| 7 | Freedom of expression | Follow leaders | More freedom to express personal views |
| 8 | Workload | Heavier | Less heavier than China |
| 9 | Political pressure | More political pressure | Job itself only |
| 10 | Socializing | More | Less than in China |
| 11 | Monetary chasing | More | Little |
| 12 | Career competition | More | Little |

For Mrs Fei, permanent work, higher-level of position and close to family are pros to stay in China. In contrast, much higher level of income, more opportunities to travel, more freedom to express personal views, less heavier workload, no political pressure, little stress on monetary chasing nor career competition in Ireland are lures for Mrs Fei to remain in Ireland. Thus, much more pros were provided by staying in Ireland than

going back to China. Apart from work-related factors: salary, stableness of job, nature of job and workload, all the rest of the eight items are about the differences in cultural background. Mrs Fei shared the same concern as Mr Wu and Mrs Hou, that life in China is too focused on monetary consumption. In reality, monetary chasing is in relation to status established from face. It is not only personal business but a part of the mechanism of social life. Mrs Fei says:

“... here the foreigners don’t judge you from your clothing. Chinese, if you want to meet somebody to handle something, they will look at your dress, what car you drive. If you drive a good car, then possibly have something done much smoother. They may not like to talk to you if you dress too ordinarily.”

Thus, Mrs Fei felt released from this competition from both material consumption and career competition. She could have a higher and permanent position back in China, but she would remain here for a better salary and even though she was under contract engaged in heavier and less skilful work. This shows the fundamental influences of cultural aspects on migration motivation for a number of participants in this study.

In contrast, Ms Shang felt it easier to adapt to being back home in China than in Ireland after a short period of re-entry cultural shock. She found the job in China provided her with more opportunities to interact with different people and travel to more countries. All these factors contribute to her desire to remain in China instead of becoming a foreigner again.

3.7 Religion as a factor most affecting future plans

From section 3.7.4 it is evident that participants currently stay in Ireland and plans influencing their future are identified as relating to employment, social and cultural issues which can be affected by values. In contrast, there are also some factors affecting future plans that relate to personal religion or faith. This is totally different from reasons such as a career, minding parents because of the cultural values of filial piety, or social

inclusion, which mainly maximizes a sense of personal usefulness and satisfies personal needs. There is, therefore, a moral element based on values but this is not based on religious values which also inform the decision to stay in Ireland.

Mr Ma and his wife Ms Cheng, Ms Tai and Ms Zhang all mentioned their decisions about whether to stay in Ireland because of their Christian faith. Both Ms Tai and Mrs Cheng may not prefer to stay in Ireland but religion makes them stay. Mrs Cheng is very clear that Ireland would not be a place she would like to stay in:

Who would stay in such a place! In Dublin! You know, Dublin is a very depressing place, you know, for a lot of people. ... (Laugh) You know. Imagine thirty years ago. Because I became a Christian, I change... I want to share the Good News to people then. That is my satisfaction you know. There is nothing can replace that. ...that is real satisfaction than going home high salary you know. Stay, can get a job, we can survive, then spend rest of time in Church.

Religious conviction changes everything for her and for the others who fall into this category. Ms Tai speaks of the connection to her fellow Christians back in China:

If my own wish, I do not want to stay in Ireland. But, wait and see. It depends on the calling of God. But at last...because of my background, and my experience as a Christian, I have more burdens, concerns on brothers and sisters in China. So I want to go back, preach such good gospel and word to the Chinese friends in China.

The precise meaning of what religious fellowship means is explained by Mr Ma:

I feel this fellowship is a very precious place to me. My home, like my home. You ask what influence being brought from Church and faith, I feel just a home, a satisfaction, find an attachment. Just because of a faith, I feel I become a higher level in Ireland. We do not need to have to remain in Ireland, but because of the Church, have this Church. So we have a higher level of satisfaction in it.

It is echoed by Ms Zhang:

It perhaps because of my faith in God, so wish everything may have favour in the Lord's heart. How to please God mostly, pray and obey the calling of God, wherever to go.

Mr Ma said the most important reason for his family to remain in Ireland is that there is a Church here in Ireland and he and his wife are the main leaders of this Church which

they regard as their home. Both Ms Tai and Ms Zhang mention their future depends on the will of God, who they deeply believe in. They consider their purpose in life is to dedicate it to the glory of God and to serve God. Thus, concerns with regard to their faith are the primary influence of their future plans.

3.8 Conclusion

All in all, for migrants in this research, their original migration motivations range from economic, and social and cultural issues. These motivations either remain or are changed during the course of migration. The main concerns for their future migration plans include economic, social and cultural reasons, and personal religions related factors. In future planning, a migrant considers the pros and cons between the current destination and original homeland. Yet, the strengths and weakness of these environments are not necessarily the major decisive factors for future plans even if some cultural issues and personal values play important roles for a migrant to decide to remain or leave. To conclude, there is not only one concern for a participant but potentially one dominant concern mixing with other secondary ones. The scenario of a dream can change so it is in a state of flux, but *chase* is still the dominant theme. The outcome of dream chasing is to satisfy one's self or to realise that satisfaction through religious belief.

CHAPTER FOUR

CROSS-CULTURAL ADAPTATION: COMPARE

“忍一时风平浪静，退一步海阔天空” *Refraining oneself in the moment leads to calming down; one step of concession may enable you a higher flight.*---Chinese saying originated from Buddhist teaching

4.1 Chapter outline

This chapter is the second chapter of data analysis and illustrates the acculturation process of migrants in the research; the main concerns and the behaviour pattern of the participants in their migration life in Ireland will be presented via categories such as *awareness of discrimination* and *attitudes towards Irish host society*. This chapter also discusses difficulties of integration with the Irish host society, language improvement, encountering homesickness and loneliness, friendship-making, and the respective stereotypes towards each other from both Chinese and Irish sides.

4.2 Awareness of discrimination

Being aware of discrimination is looked at through five stages and also five aspects in the following categories: *Experience*, *perceive*, *contemplate*, *define*, and *solve*. Participants in this research come across various kinds of situations of discrimination in Ireland. They also observe and contemplate the issue, then come to an explanation and find a way to face it. During this process, to ‘*tolerate*’ is the most reoccurring pattern to solve discrimination. Table 4.1 presents all the related codes and it is discussed in full.

4.2.1 Experience discrimination

The participants in this research may experience discrimination from different ways, such as from daily life, and interaction with local Irish people. It happens on the street

Table 4.1 Codes relating to the category of 'awareness of discrimination'

| Categories | Codes |
|---------------------|---|
| Experience | Daily life From local Irish Employment related Unequal treatment Verbal attack Physical abuse Ignorance Suspicious discrimination None or no true discrimination |
| Perceive | Discriminate from inside but disguised by friendship Lower down due to education level Lower down due to multicultural working environment Reported as high discriminated country Other's related experience |
| Contemplate reasons | Sweeping impression Dark side of Chinese society Know little about China Low skill job Poor language ability Social network protection to insiders Cultural barriers Mix up understanding of discrimination and stereotype |
| Define | Subjectively Uncertain Hard to define |
| Solve (tolerate) | Accept objectively/face social reality Understand by borrowing experience in China Ignore and regard it as non-serious Seek supports from Bible teaching Work hard to reduce perceived discrimination |

when shopping, taking a bus, walking or cycling on the street. It can be in either verbal insulting form or a physical attack. It can be in relation with employment or unequal treatment either at the work place or in social life. It is presented as verbal attack or physical abuse, whereas when there is no serious physical abuse reported it is accompanied by some phrases like “Chinese really awful”, or “You are Chinese. Why do you have a baby here, you should go back to China.” or there is object-throwing

towards participants on the street. Participants have different awareness of their similar experiences. Sometimes a participant regards ignorance as discrimination or has the suspicion that it is actually discrimination as well. In this research there are also participants who report '*non-discrimination experienced*' or '*no true discrimination*'.

There are also reports on unequal treatment in the workplace reported by Ms Qian, Ms Zhang, Mrs Hou and Mrs Fang. They found a greater workload was assigned to them compared to Irish and EU staff with the same payment. Ms Jiang and Mrs Fang also reported unequal treatment when applying a job.

Overall, the discrimination reported in this research is less physically violent and is mainly from verbal attacks, ignorant attitudes, and unfair treatment, as believed by Mrs Lin:

...discrimination may not be happen in terms of verbal abuse or physical abuse. That can happen through the way you talk, it can happen through your physical expression, visual expression....

However, this does not mean Chinese people in Ireland did not experience physical abuse in Ireland. As revealed in Feldman et al (2008: 132), 30 per cent of the Chinese surveyed in their research have been affected by crime which is the highest percentage compared to the other three communities in their research. However, the Chinese group shows the least ratio to report a crime. It is in stark contrast to Nigerian respondents who all report crimes once experienced. Feldman et al. (2008) do not discuss whether all crimes in relation with migrants have something to do with discrimination or racism as crimes can take place everywhere in the world. However, evidence in this research clearly outlines discrimination.

4.2.2 Perceive discrimination

As well as experiencing discrimination, education level correlates with the level of discrimination on the part of an Irish person. The higher the education level an Irish person has, the less discriminatory attitude is found in this research. Mrs Fei, Ms Qian, Ms Liu, Mr Wu, Mrs Lin and Mr Feng all report this. As said by Mrs Fei:

The attitude of those who were educated is more friendly, a little better, while like those with poor inner quality, much discrimination can be found from them...

Mr Wu and Mrs Lin confirm no discrimination is found in their respective workplaces where colleagues are all well-educated. Nonetheless, Mr Wen learned from the experience of his friend that in a job interview the friend felt discrimination from both Irish employers and employees. They had him wait for hours for the interview and also the Irish employees seemed to ignore his greetings to them. The company is an IT company where the staff are supposed to be well-educated. Therefore, it might not be absolutely true that discrimination level relates to education level, even though in this research more incidents support the view that a higher education level leads to less discrimination. Another distinction of the level of discrimination found by Mr Ma and Mrs Fei is that a multicultural environment has little discrimination for most colleagues are all non-Irish people and they are equal in their migration status as foreigners in Ireland.

Mr Feng learned from a media report that Ireland is a high-level-discrimination country, as 97% of people in the survey reported discrimination, whereas the Irish host society shows great positive attitude officially to promote integration as displayed in a notice from the office for Integration in Dublin City Council (2011), calling for a campaign named “One City One People”. The reasons for this huge contrast are unknown and

unexplored further in this research, but integration promotion and realization clearly need strong high-level support.

4.2.3 Contemplate discrimination

With discrimination experienced as real and perceived as real, participants start an analysis of their social experience. The interviews did not ask the question as to why Chinese people were being discriminated against but some of the participants were willing to provide reasons. The reasons for discrimination against Chinese people mentioned by the participants include ‘sweeping impression’, ‘dark side of Chinese society’, ‘know little about China’, ‘low skilled job’, ‘poor language ability’, ‘social network protection to insiders’, and ‘cultural barriers’. These are now discussed in turn.

4.2.3.1 Sweeping impression of the Chinese in Ireland

Firstly, from the research, some discrimination is caused by stereotypes from sweeping impressions of the Chinese in Ireland. Mr Li did report discrimination but did not think much of it and ascribed it to the poor image of some Chinese. Both Mr Li and Mr Zheng think one person can ruin the image of the whole and Mr Li says:

Discrimination, sometimes because what we have done is not good. One person ruins the image of the whole. Some spit everywhere, smoke and throw away cigarettes all where, take a bus with no ticket, use a ticket of 1.15 for a journey priced at 1.90, then bad influence. Only three out of ten people have poor quality, he will say all Chinese have poor quality.

Mr Zheng shared a similar view by talking about the experience of his uncle:

...Some Chinese killed some Irish long time ago. There have been many Chinese at that time.... When my uncle sat in a crowded train, all elsewhere were full of people, but nobody would like to sit beside him

Mr Zheng referred to a murder case committed by a Chinese person years ago in Ireland. The Irish people in the train might be frightened to sit with any Chinese person around the time that criminal act took place. Therefore, Chinese people can be judged from the behaviour of one or other Chinese. This is also confirmed by the experience of Ms Liu when she worked in a pub: a customer mistook Ms Liu as Japanese because of her polite serving manner. Consequently, there is an impression that Chinese people are somehow not mannerly in public places and are also impolite. However, it is also observed that Irish people comment that Chinese people are very polite as well. Therefore, it all depends on personal interaction and differs from person to person.

4.2.3.2 Stereotyped understanding of China

Discrimination may also be caused by a stereotyped understanding of China. Mrs Fei mixes up 'discrimination' and 'stereotype' even though the related questions have been asked in different ways. When being asked 'How do Irish people think about Chinese?' the participant firstly talks about the different understanding of Irish people of China, then she switched to how Irish people discriminate against the Chinese in different levels. This may be because there is a close relationship between stereotypes and discrimination.

As Ms Zhang reports, an Irish person may speak before her directly about the negative sides of Chinese society back home:

Some may very directly talked about China what they dislike, such as Chinese eat everything, blind monetary chasing, and false documents or objects making....

In Ms Zhang's case, a Chinese person cannot be separated from their origin. No matter how one likes, people correlate a person with their home country. The Irish people mentioned by Ms Zhang may not necessarily criticize her on purpose; nonetheless, Ms

Zhang felt discriminated against by their talking to her of some negative sides of her country. This may be due to face concern in Chinese culture. However, when Mrs Hua underwent the negative comments from her colleagues about brainwashing by political ideology in China, she did not take it too much nor regard it as discrimination. Therefore, when an Irish person talks about some negative facts of China before a Chinese migrant it might make a Chinese person either feel discriminated against or not.

From the incidents around '*sweeping impression on the Chinese in Ireland*' it can be seen that individual identity has a relationship with collective identity. From the incidents about 'stereotyped understanding about China' it can be seen that individual identity also has a close relationship with national identity.

4.2.3.3 Guarantee the priority of well-being of Irish and European nationals

Due to the economic downturn and reduced employment, the participants underwent some unfair treatment in the workplace. For example, Ms Zhang works in an Irish restaurant and observed that a Chinese person has less working hours than Irish or EU colleagues due to reduced service demand and also is often given working hours on weekends, when Irish people prefer to be off from work. These all happen in the service sector where working units and time are decided by supervisors. However, Mr Wu also found it difficult to be employed after he graduated from a Masters course, whereas all his Irish classmates started working after graduation. Mrs Jiang also reported a similar difficulty of being employed as Mr Wu. This clearly points towards more difficulties encountered as a Chinese national seeking employment as a foreigner in Ireland as experienced by the participants in this study.

4.2.3.4 Personal skills

Ms Qian considers discrimination occurs against some Chinese as being because of:

...language barriers, low skill, we Chinese are doing shabby jobs...Of course discriminate against you...

Mrs Lin echoes this view from the opposite end of the skills continuum and she finds telling Irish parents her profession as a researcher helped get attention such as starting a conversation with them when she collected her child from crèche:

I am not a worker, just trying to stay in Ireland. I'm a good, well-educated researcher. I am not here to get some Irish social welfare. So probably that's the only way I can get their attention.

It seemed both Ms Qian and Mrs Lin are aware of this social rule that low skilled workers are more likely to be discriminated against. To conclude, in perceiving discrimination, it is found in this research that the higher education level of an Irish person creates less discrimination against migrants; the incidents of 'personal skills' appear to support this argument that the greater the education level, the less discrimination is received. Thus, discrimination has a corresponding relationship with education levels of both migrant and host society members in this study.

4.2.4 Defining discrimination

This study finds participants have different attitudes towards the experience of discrimination. For example, Mr Wen, Mr Zheng, Ms Shang, Mr Ma, and Mr Qi all experienced objects being thrown at them, but apart from Mr Wen and Mr Zheng, the other three participants do not take it seriously as real discrimination:

Young men feel useless, to do this for fun....(Mr Ma)

Ms Shang said those unhappy incidents took place a long time ago and she did not come across discrimination in her workplace. However, Mr Wen, and Mr Zheng regard this kind of experience as discrimination. Mr Zheng threw back the objects thrown at him.

Mr Qi shouted at boys in the street who threw objects at him while he does not consider this as a serious form of discrimination though he did not provide an explanation for this view.

Both Ms Qian and Mrs Jiang define discrimination based on their personal understanding:

You think it is discrimination then it is there, otherwise none. (Ms Qian)

It depends on the personal understanding of the word 'discrimination'. (Mrs Jiang)

Therefore, Ms Qian and Mrs Jiang consider discrimination is subjectively defined and can be different from one person to another even if a similar experience has been encountered. For example, Mrs Jiang ascribes unsuccessful interaction with Irish people to cultural differences and insufficient language skills. Thus, it is difficult for a Chinese person to become involved with and integrate into Irish society. In contrast, Ms Zhang, Mrs Lin, Ms Qian and Mr Zheng define unfair treatment at workplace, ignorant attitude from Irish people, objects thrown by Irish youth as discrimination. Mr Ma thinks Ireland is a small country, but there are many different dimensions to it. It is hard for him to say Irish people treat Chinese people differently, or that they treat other foreigners exceptionally. However, he believes:

...they can give, relatively, superficially pay attention to fairness. Therefore they will not discriminate in surface level, saying I discriminate you... It is hard to find an Irish in Ireland saying, yes, I discriminate foreigner. Nobody admit this thing. But will that be done at back? So, we do not say no, but, I did not experience this implying discrimination...

Mr Ma diplomatically discusses the attitude of Irish people to inclusion based on his observation. He does not encounter apparent unfairness but refuses to say there is no hidden discrimination.

4.2.5 Solve discrimination

4.2.5.1 Solve discrimination by accepting or ignoring

In this research, the experiences of discrimination against Chinese participants are considered in different ways and various strategies are adopted to deal with them. Ms Qian accepts it as part of facing social reality, as she said:

...as a care assistant, no skills required. Anybody with claws (hands) can do that job....

Ms Qian considered her job to be low level as she said that anyone with ‘claws’ can do the job to indicate the skill level of care assistant is very low.

Mr Ma have experienced objects-thrown from young lads and Mr Ma ignored and regarded it the as non-serious.

4.2.5.2 Solve discrimination by working hard

Mrs Lin voluntarily works hard in order to demonstrate her capacity in a certain job and then overcome perceived discrimination.

...I, as a Chinese I have worked extremely hard. I have to work much harder than some people in order not to be considered, oh, you are Chinese, you cannot do this job. So have to work very hard in order to show I can do this job, because I am foreign national here.

Mrs Lin would like to take more challenging work as a pathway to win recognition in a foreign workplace but she considers that means she has to work more than her Irish colleagues.

4.2.5.3 Solve discrimination by borrowing original cultural lens and observation in China

Ms Qian regards social network protection by Irish insiders as a reason to bring about discrimination against non-Irish people as:

Ireland is like China. Every workplace is a small society. They protect each other. It is okay they do not work hard in workplace but you have to as a non-Irish worker.

Ms Qian borrows her experience in China and understanding from Chinese culture and faces the discrimination in the workplace without complaints. She herself is aware of this rule as an ‘insider effect’ and feels no difficulty in following it. In Chinese culture, insiders enjoy privileges (Gao & Ting-toomey 1998) and insiders include family members, colleagues, classmates and selected friends. Insiders and outsiders are treated differently in China. Ms Qian considers this ‘insider effect’ as a universal rule which is in use in China and Ireland as well.

Likewise, Mr Feng feels the same as Ms Qian about the attitude of local people towards migrants, by borrowing their observations of China:

You are a migrant worker....you see those migrant workers go to Beijing and Shanghai. What is the attitude from the natives of the two cities. Certainly have discrimination...(Ms Qian)

It is very normal that in China people in one place dislike people in another place. (Mr Feng)

Thus, Ms Qian and Mr Feng accept that discrimination is an unavoidable experience as a stranger in both Irish and Chinese society.

4.2.5.4 Solve discrimination by seeking supports from Bible teaching

Three participants who are Christians seek support from Bible teaching to deal with discrimination in this study. Mrs Zhao has undergone serious discrimination in the workplace. She was exploited by her first Irish employer, who paid her 30 Euros for working a full eight-hour-day for over three months. She cannot find any support from outside but finds comfort by reading the Bible and praying to God to face the issue:

.... When I was very upset and have no strength to deal with this matter, God's word encouraged me. And then I start to find a way out by his leading. 'The conies are but a feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks' (Proverb30:26). I understand from

this word that sometimes we seemed to be so weak, helpless, aimless, but we shall not look at ourselves but look upon our Lord. Our Lord now is living within us, we are not weak anymore....

Mrs Zhao has faith in the Bible. Therefore, she believes the Lord Jesus is the source of strength to her instead of exterior things. Via this faith she can face the unfair treatment from the workplace.

Ms Hu shared the experience of her friend, Mr Guo, about how he managed to get through the most depressing time with the help from Christian faith:

“His wife left him and Ireland with all of their financial possessing....He was charged by the Irish garda. During the investigation, his passport was taken away by the garda. Then the garda also accused him as his passport has expired over three days and he was asked to leave Ireland. However, he has paid full tuition fee to his college one-month before the expiration of his passport. He did not have any criminal record in the previous seven to eight-year-stay in Ireland. He was totally collapsed the day I met him.”

Ms Hu and her Christian friends went to help Mr Guo:

“We just depended on the faith in Christ and asked him to seek supports from God. Since no way ahead, why not ask helps from God. We shared Gospel with him and encouraged him. It is such a wonder that he accepted Jesus Christ. Gradually we saw the work of the Lord in his life and he stepped out from the desperation, though nothing positive took place. His values were totally changed. We knew he believed in the Lord Jesus.”

However, Mr Guo wanted to return China for good. Mr Guo did not want to get any tuition fees back but went back home as in this situation he could not settle down and study, neither was he allowed to work.

Ms Hu and her Christian friends continued to support Mr Guo with Bible teaching:

We encouraged him to stay as we trust in God, the righteous one would not let his people be in injustice. We knew it took time...

One evening Mr Guo called Ms Hu and told her:

“I do not know what on earth it happens like this. The Sergeant wanted to withdraw the accusing. He is coming to say apologize to me tomorrow. GNIB (The Garda National Immigration Bureau) asked me to collect my passport.”

Ms Hu concluded that the ultimate purpose of anything encountered is to change a person's life by God so that even in difficulties, God makes a person to have peace and hope from him and depend on him.

4.2.6 Summary

Thereby, Ms Zhao, Ms Hu and Mr Guo all witness the strength from their Christian faith in dealing with the experiences of being discriminated against in Ireland. This research finds that the participants use different ways to define and solve the discrimination they experienced. Their ways of contemplation and definition of discrimination lead to different extents of tolerance. The overall strategy of dealing with discrimination is to accept and compromise. The detailed approaches to achieve this compromise with discriminatory experiences includes fulfilling harder assignments, objective reflection of personal identity as a stranger or low-skilled migrant worker, and finding strength from personal religion and original cultural values.

4.3 Integration difficulties

In this study a number of difficulties impede the participants from integration with the Irish host society as shown in the following table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Difficulties to integrate with Irish host society

| The category of 'difficulties to integrate with the Irish host society' | Codes |
|--|---|
| | Different socializing venues |
| | Language barriers |
| | Cultural perspectives |
| | Limited attention from the Irish host society |

These are now discussed in turn.

4.3.1 Different socializing venues

The participants in this research found that cultural difference and language barriers can account for some of the difficulties to integrate into the Irish host society. Apart from these two objective factors, Irish mainstream society also plays an important role in relation to integration. Ignorance has been found as a factor for a number of participants which impedes their integration with Irish society.

An important example of cultural difference in this study is given by Mrs Jiang about the bar culture in Ireland. The bar is a popular place to go in Irish social life, but Mrs Jiang said that in the minds of her Chinese friends and herself a bar is a place:

...means something connected with sex or very disgraceful words. Only when people (Chinese form) feel empty in mind and want to experience some exiting occasions may think about to go there.

With this idea in mind, Mrs Jiang would not go to a bar for socializing. Mr Zheng, Mr Qi, Mr Feng and Mrs Hua thought cultural barriers such as less variety in entertainment and food made them feel life here in Ireland was quite ‘boring’ sometimes. For example in China, various flavours of restaurants can be seen everywhere and restaurants are the most popular place for Chinese to socialize. In addition, Chinese people go to Karaoke, tea house, or play Mahjong in each other’s homes for socializing.

4.3.2 Language barriers and cultural perspectives

Mr Wu experienced difficulty when looking for a job at the beginning of his migration experience as a language problem. Mr Qi did not want to communicate with Irish people due to his English communication ability. However, language barriers are not reported significantly in interaction with Irish people in this study.

Ms Zhang agreed language is a barrier, but cultural factors have more influence preventing her from integrating in Irish society. Personal interests, values, life background, pressure of life that Chinese have are all different from Irish people. Mrs Lin, Ms Shang, Mrs Cheng and Mrs Hua, even with good English language competence, still found it difficult to make in-depth relationship with Irish people. Mrs Hua also felt it was hard to make friends with non-Chinese people. There has no problem to communicate with them, but there were no common topics to talk about and develop in-depth friendship. Mrs Hua feels cultural difference may be one reason, such as food, and current news and events Irish people are familiar with but strange to Mrs Hua. Therefore, there was no way found to have a conversation.

Similarly, Mrs Fei also felt there were few common topics other than daily life to talk about with her colleagues, because they are generally from a low education background. Thus, she did not actively pursue interaction with colleagues in the host society, mainly due to the low level of education of her colleagues and also suspicion of discrimination even though she was willing to make Irish friends. As Mrs Lin felt that if an Irish person had no particular interests in Chinese culture, it is hard for a Chinese person to have Irish friends. There is no common ground to start making friends. Therefore, Mrs Lin considers ignorance from the host society is the main reason to impede integration with the host society for a migrant. Even Mrs Lin, who is very well settled and who holds Irish citizenship, still finds great difficulty in integrating into the host culture from both her own experience and her child's. Therefore, it is no surprise to see the Chinese participants in this study put priority on interaction within their Chinese circle. Like Mrs Lin, Ms Shang has made efforts to integrate into the host society when studying in college. When she started work full-time, she gave up socializing because of time and cultural reasons. She wanted to spend time with her Chinese boyfriend rather than more

interaction with the host society due to the intention to keep a Chinese cultural environment with her Chinese boyfriend.

4.3.3 Limited attention from the Irish host society

Mr Zheng, a young migrant who finished his secondary-school education in Ireland, still found it hard to find a close Irish friend. His English is good enough for daily and in-depth interactions, but it does not seem to make it easier for him to be included in Irish culture. This participant expresses the major pull for integration should be from Irish people. The experiences of Mr Zheng, Mrs Lin and Mrs Fei point towards the consideration that the level of integration of these Chinese migrants depends on interests from both Chinese migrants and an Irish person towards Chinese culture and attitudes towards Chinese people. Therefore, language and cultural difference barriers count towards impeding successful integration with the host society. Particularly, cultural factors demonstrate more negative forces in this study. Nonetheless, interests and concerns from the Irish mainstream play an important role in promoting integration as ignorance has been found as a factor hindering the integration of Chinese participants in this study.

4.4 Patterns of intention of interacting with Irish host society

In this research, as shown in table 4.3, three patterns are found about the intention or strategy to interact with the host society: assimilation, integration and separation and they are discussed in turn.

Table 4.3 Patterns of intention of interacting with Irish host society

| The category of ‘patterns of intention of interacting with Irish host society’ | Codes |
|--|-----------------------|
| | Assimilation oriented |
| | Separation oriented |
| | Integration oriented |

4.4.1 Assimilation oriented

The couple Mr Feng and Mrs Lin show an intention to assimilate into Irish society, whereas they used the term “integration” both in Chinese and English. The reason is probably because in Chinese the counterpart of “assimilation” is rather negative and “integration” is neutral. Mrs Hua mentions that for future consideration of their child, they will try to attend the local Church, for she does not want her child to interact only with Chinese people. Mr Feng gives an example of a Chinese Christian who has been named as the 'best employee', and he concludes the main reason for that ‘best employee’ to be known in the newspaper is because this Chinese Christian has the same pattern of life as Irish people have: go to Church every Sunday with family, be kind to people. As he said:

No other way, the mainstream is like this. If you follow them, then you can integrate into them.

Mr Feng tried to follow the social pattern of the host society by accompanying his wife to attend Catholic Church to help him to assimilate into Irish host society for themselves and also their next generation.. In contrast, Mrs Lin who is also a Catholic reports no help is found to integrate with the host society via attending her local Irish Church. Instead:

We learn Irish culture normally from Irish friends, then at work, or through neighbours, but not by attending Mass. Attending Mass is just attending Mass, helped us becoming a better Catholics. But we don’t integrate with people through Mass.

Nonetheless, Mrs Lin has a strong intention to be recognized by her Irish colleagues and to assimilate into the Irish mainstream. They admire Western culture and regard Irish

cultural norms as standards to compare Chinese culture with. When Mrs Lin discussed her values such as ancestor worship, she correlated what an Irish person might think about it as criteria to evaluate her values and behaviour. Mrs Hua and Mrs Lin who are both Catholics think Catholicism is good for their children. However, Mrs Hua regard it as a vehicle for her child to assimilate into Irish host society whereas Mrs Lin thinks it is important for her children to develop a relationship with God.

4.4.2 Separation oriented

Mrs Cheng has settled down very well in Ireland with her husband and two children and she plans to stay in Ireland for good. However, she is voluntarily isolated from the Irish host society; instead, she is fully committed to the life in a Chinese Church. As she describes:

...of course I love people here. Irish people are very good people, and they are very friendly to me, you know, but I don't really have anything to do (cannot help laughing) with them, you know....I am much remote with the Irish culture.

She thought this is the result of being rooted in her traditional culture:

“....this is way that actually because we always group together, Chinese always group together, you see...”

Similar to Mrs Cheng, the lives of Mr Wang centred on his Church where there are Chinese only. They focused on life and work around their Church with less intention or access to interact with the Irish mainstream. Like Mrs Cheng, an early Chinese migrant in Ireland, Mr Ma has very little interaction with other colleagues in an IT company and he spends most time in Chinese Church with church members. He has kept this pattern of life for twenty four years since he came to Ireland.

Mrs Fei does not have such a busy church life in Ireland but she has a similar attitude and behaviour in terms of interaction with the Irish host society:

It seemed not much interaction with Irish, so do not know how about them, and their society. We only concern the matters of ourselves. Working, studying, not thinks about other things. Indifferent about politics...felt nothing to do with myself.

Whereas for Mr Wu, he felt belief in Buddhism might be one of the reasons for him not liking to make any Irish friends, even while he believes it is easy to make Irish friends. Buddhism makes him intend to be away from Irish society and it functions similarly to the attitude of separation. As he believed, Buddhism pursues internal transformation and this demands little interaction with society. Although he once visited one Buddhist temple in Dublin he did not meet anybody as it was closed that day. He does not think that it is necessary for him to study Buddhism at the temple as studying on-line from Buddhism Masters is sufficient for him to understand Buddhism. This participant shows passion towards Buddhism and talks about his religious doctrine without being asked about it.

The experiences of the above participants show the interaction pattern of ‘separation oriented’ are due to personal religion, culture of the origin and specific interests. Indifference from Chinese members and little interest from Irish society both contribute to the separation of members of the Chinese community from Irish main stream society in this study.

4.4.3 Integration oriented

This study also shows the strategy of integration. This means, a participant seeks active interaction with non-Chinese colleagues while Chinese cultural identities have been kept though this does not necessarily mean they have many non-Chinese friends. Mr Wen is one of the young men motivated by the effects of Western education and study in Ireland. He personally loves thinking and writing and he spoke highly of Western

civilization and culture such as democracy and freedom. He had some not-too-close friends and got on well with them, though he mainly socialised with Chinese friends. Ms Qian had a lot of interactions with non-Chinese colleagues and classmates but she cannot form in-depth relationships with them because she has no time available due to work and study. Ms Shang holds a strong Chinese identity even though she had a good intention to integrate with the Irish host society when she was in Ireland. She is now back in China and said:

I am Chinese why should I move to another country to live there and become a citizen-at the end of the day, I am Chinese...

She felt quite reluctant to relocate to another foreign country despite being asked by her mother. She has adapted well into the life in China after some initial difficulty. There are participants who wish to integrate into the Irish host society which others do not want to. If a participant has no motivation to integrate, then he or she will interact less voluntarily with the host society. Some may even make extra efforts to integrate but obtain non-equivalent outcome in terms of input and output. If satisfaction is not achieved, therefore, this may further influence a migration plan to either continue to remain in Ireland or return home at some stage.

4.5 Language improving

All the participants in this research have reported an improvement of English language but at different levels and in different aspects. A number of participants felt their speaking improved more than their reading and writing as there was plenty of practice in daily life. In contrast, a number of participants read and write English better than speaking it as in their working environment less speaking is required. In comparison to the level of English at the beginning of migration, a huge difference in improvement could be found, as Ms Shang said:

significant improvement. also learnt Dublin accent and slangs. Furthermore, I think I have learnt about the western culture which is more important and language is not just based on speaking, listening, writing and reading. it involves much more of knowing the culture and the people.

Nonetheless, despite the great enhancement of English language skills and cultural awareness Ms Shang still felt quite lonely at not being able to fully integrate into the Irish mainstream. This will be further discussed in the section on ‘loneliness’.

4.6 Making friends

The pattern of friendship circles in this research is that participants find other Chinese as friends as a reoccurring one as demonstrated in the following responses:

Mainly are Chinese. (Mrs Hua)

Yes, Chinese mainly as well. (Mr Feng)

Yeah, this is way that actually the, because we are, we always group together, Chinese always group together, you see. I never, I am, very remote with the Irish culture. (Mrs Cheng)

Not many Irish. Most are Chinese. (Mrs Fei)

Yeah, most of them are classmates from China. (Mr Qi)

Actually, just some colleagues not 'friends' Well, most of my friends are Chinese. (Mrs Jiang)

Mainly are Chinese. Only know some Irish, no true friends (Ms Zhang)

New friends must be Chinese, majority are Chinese. (Mr Wen)

I felt most friends are Chinese. After all it is easier to communicate. What you say, more understanding. Foreigners (non-Chinese), life background and culture are not the same. (Mrs Hou)

Most of my friends are Chinese. (Mrs Zhao)

I had a lot friend when I was in Ireland. They were from work, college, and friends' friends. I have more Chinese friends than Irish friends in fact. (Ms Shang)

Ten out of the above twelve quotes contains ‘mainly’ or its synonyms of ‘most’ and ‘majority’ to describe the friendship circle of the participants which are around Chinese friends.

Only Ms Liu is an exception as she has more non-Chinese friends than Chinese ones.

The variety of nationalities of her non-Chinese friends runs across Irish, Italian, Spanish, British and French. She felt it easy to establish a network of international contacts.

4.7 Loneliness

Table 4.4 shows the codes for the category of ‘loneliness’ that occurred most in this study and the four codes are solutions to relieve loneliness for the participants in this study:

Table 4.4: the category of ‘loneliness’

| | |
|--|----------------------------|
| The codes of the category of ‘loneliness’ | Family attachment |
| | Friends attachment |
| | Religious attachment |
| | Acceptation of the reality |

Five participants in this research felt little loneliness due to reasons such as cheap communication which allows them to communicate with family easily. They also have family in Ireland, friends, a new religion, and getting used to Irish life whereas other participants felt loneliness due to less people to talk to and unhappy working experiences.

Both before and after Mrs Fei’s interview, she requested company for a while to do shopping or take pictures in the street. It was felt as strange and a little bit impolite but this forced invitation was accepted because of understanding of her loneliness as the time of her interview was during the festival atmosphere of Christmas, when feelings of loneliness arise. For Mrs Fei, loneliness means no friends or family members around but she believed she had got used to a life of loneliness here in Ireland.

Ms Qian has undergone both loneliness and homesickness and she said nothing can help but facing reality:

You have to survive. Nobody has forced you come. If you like to work then do, otherwise return home. Be honest, how pressurized the life back home is.

Chapter three mentioned that Ms Qian came to Ireland for economic reasons as her hometown in China was facing a serious economic downturn which made daily life hard to manage. Her strategy to solve this issue is to face the reality by migration for survival. She was the only participant that cried when talking about loneliness and homesickness.

There are some other different understandings about loneliness. Ms Shang thought 'loneliness' is about not fully integrating into western society. She defined 'loneliness'

... as a culture, a nature which cannot be changed. Although long stay at abroad, it still exists the feeling of loneliness... ...the old immigrants in USA still live in China town and speak Chinese...

According to Ms Shang, migrants are doomed to have loneliness. Likewise, Mr Qi regarded loneliness as one of the downsides of staying abroad. Ms Shang said she hated loneliness now and wished to have a family of her own. Even more Ms Hu argues loneliness is an objective internal experience born with a person. It is nothing to do with culture or conditions surrounding a person. As she articulated:

...It does not mean you do not feel loneliness in a crowd, neither means no loneliness if having friends or a husband who loves you, or a good family. I think loneliness has already existed when a person is born...

Ms Hu regarded loneliness as an objective internal existence.

However, a number of participants found their ways to release loneliness encountered from their migration life. Ways to fight loneliness include communicating with family either at home in China or in Ireland, being with friends and help from religious faith. The following four participants found their religion helps relieve loneliness in their migration life:

*I do not feel lonely for my wife and child are around, and also friends, and Buddha as well (Mr Wu).
I never felt loneliness as in Church I have so many friends and provides me much*

kinship like relationships (Mr Ma).

No, I don't feel lonely, or homesick. I love my Church. I love my fellowship time. Even though the first year, of course the first year, you feel homesick. But after the first year, feel no more. I always want to stay. Even some holidays, I go home, because my Mom want me go home. I go home for minimum then I come back you know. I really settled. (Laugh) (Mrs Cheng).

Sometimes I felt loneliness, but if I attend gathering often then will get aside of the loneliness. I believe God is with us. In fact, the time of loneliness is when the spirituality is low. Generally I do not have such severe feeling, for Brothers and Sisters in Church love each other (Ms Tai).

Mr Wu discovers his family, friends and his Buddhism all help him out of loneliness in Ireland. For Protestants, Mr Ma, Mrs Cheng and Ms Tai all mention their church life provides them with loving relationships and this make them feel no loneliness.

Overall, in this study loneliness can be defined as a need for family attachment, friend attachment and also religion attachment. Loneliness is also addressed by family attachment, friend attachment, religion attachment and acceptance of the reality. The participants with little interaction with family members, friends or religious adherence, found more loneliness emerged as part of their migration life in Ireland.

4.8 Homesickness

It is not suggested by Confucius that children travel far from their parents while they are alive unless for an important reason. A filial child should be around his/her parents and mind them. Five participants all shared homesickness which refers to missing their family, particularly parents, and their friends in their home of origin in Asia.

Mrs Cheng does not feel homesickness or loneliness now but it was very strong at the beginning of her migration. Her husband, Mr Ma thought differently as he still felt homesickness sometimes, while he stressed what he missed is not the place but the

people, his family members in his home town. Mrs Lin and Mrs Hua have a similar view to Mr Ma and Mrs Lin said:

...Oh yeah, I still feel bit, miss home quite a lot, because my parents are aged, I do miss them a lot.(Mrs Lin)

...felt homesick a lot, miss parents and friends. Life here is too boring. Just want to return home...(Mrs Hua)

These four participants all have families in Ireland and having a family does help ease feeling of homesickness. However, for participants who stayed in Ireland alone homesickness is an experience which cannot be avoided.

In contrast, Mrs Jiang felt the main reason for her to have homesickness is due to her unemployment situation as a non-EU citizen and it is even harder to find a job during the economic recession. She is now a full-time mother and was laid off due to the current economic downturn across Ireland. No employment is one of the major reasons for her to feel homesickness as she had a good job in China. Her main support to remain in Ireland as a full-time housewife is her Christian faith. Therefore, this faith helps her balance unemployment and maintain a good relationship with her family (the role of religion in cross-cultural life will be further discussed in the chapter five).

As Mr Ma mentioned homesickness arose sometimes and Mrs Fei pointed out that during the festival periods both in China and Ireland stronger homesickness is more likely to happen. Therefore, a holiday atmosphere from both home country and the host country can lead to homesickness.

Loneliness and homesickness are not a pair to always appear together. Mrs Lin and Mr Zheng feel homesickness but not much loneliness, whereas Mr Wen felt loneliness but not homesickness. Thus loneliness and homesickness do not equal each other. Overall,

the meaning of homesickness for the participants in this research is missing parents and friends at home. Both Mr Zheng and Mrs Hua also mentioned missing food and entertainment at home. As Ms Hu told:

Yes, miss family. Every year when I call back home and listen to the voices of parents, they get older one year more. ...I do miss parents and be around them. They are getting older and retired.

The repeated concern of missing parents occurred due to the value of filial piety, which is one of the key Chinese cultural elements and this will be further discussed in chapter five.

Both Mr Wen and Mr Qi are young men and they did not feel much homesickness and Mr Wen thought this is because he is very young. The pain of living here for him is having less friends and the cold weather. Mrs Hou and Mr Li felt they have got used to the life away from home and therefore experience no homesickness. Mr Wang did not feel homesickness as he believed:

because after a man set up his own family, his family mainly are his spouse and children. We have got family unification in Ireland. So, exactly to say, my family is here currently.

The reason for Mrs Cheng to feel no homesickness after the first year of stay in Ireland is because of her life in Church. The above experiences show values play a role for a person to deal with the experience of homesickness, a matter which will be further discussed in chapter five.

Quite similar to the experience of encountering loneliness, participants in this study show different levels of homesickness as well on a continuum from little to strong. Overall, experiences of homesickness and loneliness are mingled together with family related matters in this study.

4.9 Irish people from a Chinese's perspective

Participants such as Ms Shang, Mr Qi and Ms Liu have an impression of Irish people as being friendly and kind:

Generally speaking, I find Irish people are very friendly and kind to foreigners including Asian people like myself. (Ms Shang)

Most of them are friendly but not interested in Chinese. (Mr Qi)

I think most of the Irish are Catholics, but many of them are very kind. I think this relation to the religion...My boss treated me very well. He is an Irish. He bought me something every time he went away for business. He treated me like his granddaughter.(Ms Liu)

Mr Li spoke highly of Irish people as very helpful:

In Irish society, Yangren (a term referring to foreigner in China) are willing to offer help...the people in the country are very pure. (Mr Li)

Overall, the picture of Chinese people from an Irish person's perspective is of being hard-working, and the image of Irish people from a Chinese perspective is of friendliness. Having said that, Mr Qi pointed out that Irish people are not interested at a deep level in Chinese people even though most of them are very friendly. Mrs Lin felt only Irish people who had an interest in Chinese culture “*may have more attention and want to know you more. You can become close friends.*” Thus, the friendship in general level from Irish people appears to be quite superficial for participants in this study.

4.10 Look back on China

Seven participants, Ms Hu, Mr Qi, Mr Wen, Mrs Hou, Mr Wang, Mr Li and Ms Tai all mention social phenomenon in China, from moral and social perspectives. Ms Hu and Mr Wu mentioned the negative virtues of medical staff in China. The hospitals where they worked in China were involved in a market oriented policy and were more concerned with monetary profits than the health of people. These two participants believe this ruins the nature of a hospital as a place to save lives. However, Mrs Fei,

who has also worked in a hospital in China, gave two examples to show positive and negative virtues co-existing among the medical staff in the hospital where she worked. There are some doctors who ask for a 'grey income' through asking for red-envelope money, but some decline to accept such monetary reward even when it is given voluntarily. Red-envelope money occurs because in China, a patient's relative would worry that the doctor would not treat their relative well if no money was given as a 'gift' to the doctor.

4.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, the acculturation experiences in Ireland of the participants have been presented. One of the main sub-core categories is to 'compare.' The participants compare experiences at home in China to explain and face the issues encountered in Ireland, such as discrimination, loneliness and homesickness. To compare is the mostly repeated pattern of behaviour of these participants in order to deal with their cross-cultural lives in Ireland. They compare, explain and find a way to solve their problems. They experience and learn differences, so that their lives are transformed. *Change* is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

VALUES, BELIEFS AND RELIGIONS AND THEIR ROLES IN MIGRATION EXPERIENCE: CHANGE

Change is in all things sweet—Aristotle

They must often change who would be constant in happiness or wisdom—Confucius

5.1 Chapter outline

This is the third chapter of data analysis. The findings in relation to migration motivation and acculturation processes have been presented in the previous two chapters and the two main themes that appeared in the data are ‘chase’ and ‘compare’. It means the Chinese migrants in this research started their migration journey with a certain dream. During the course of dream chasing, their life experiences in Ireland are full of comparisons between their home culture and the Irish host society. The third sub-core category of ‘change’ emerged to show participants are gradually changing along with their migration life. People migrate both physically and mentally; people move around the world and so do their mindsets. Also from this research it is found that a person’s value, beliefs or religion can play an important role in their acculturation. This chapter discusses the following key categories: *motivation to pursue a religion or have values changed; means of having a religion and value system changed; impacts of a religion and faith on the acculturation process.*

5.2 Motivation to pursue a religion or have value changed

In this research, the background of religion and faith of the twenty two participants range from Protestant (eleven people), Catholic (three people), Buddhist (two people) and no specific religion attached (six people). The details can be found in the table of socio-demographic data in chapter three and these details refer to the moment when

they were interviewed. In this research, there are two aspects to the motivation to have values, faith or religion changed: satisfaction at a spiritual level and at a pragmatic level. The spiritual satisfactions are to find a meaning to life, to have peace and hope of mind, to exclude emptiness, to exclude loneliness and to have friendship. One thing to note is that these five aspects of spiritual satisfactions are not distinctive in a black and white sense, but may have some overlaps among them depending on which characteristic is dominant. The pragmatic level of satisfaction is to get out of difficulties in daily life, especially difficulty in the migration life. The following table shows these categories:

Table 5.1 Motivation to pursue a religion or have values changed

| Spiritual satisfaction | Pragmatic satisfaction |
|---|---|
| To find a meaning to life To have peace and hope in mind To exclude loneliness To exclude emptiness To have feeling of love in Church | To solve difficulties in migration life |

Influence may be from either spiritual satisfaction or both spiritual satisfaction and pragmatic satisfaction of each participant.

5.2.1 Spiritual satisfaction

5.2.1.1 Spiritual satisfaction-answering questions of life meaning

When Mr Wang was young he observed death happened around him from his relatives, friends and elder persons. He gradually was aware of the issue of death which is an unavoidable fact taking place on everybody. Then he had the fear of his own death which must happen one day:

...If I died, I will not be able to eat, nor drink, nor see anything, nor listen, nor think. Should I then become nothing? What a dreadful thing!...

Therefore Mr Wang tried a number of ways to explore the meaning of life. He firstly asked his mother and trusted what was said by his mother:

... After growing up I found that is a white lie. ...She said: "Man is dug out from the earth like a peanut, Ha Ha Ha."

This answer reflects Chinese parents who traditionally avoid talking about sex especially to their children. Mr Wang believed the origin of life as told by his mother until he grew up and intended to explore it further. He tried to find an answer from the study of a branch of Buddhism, namely Zen. He did feel released in a way from his stressed life. However, he found that the more he studied Buddhism, the more pessimism he felt. As he said:

...Because Buddhism teaches the doctrine that all the four elements (earth, water, fire and air of which the world is made) are void. It will easily make people plunged into Nihilism. Afterwards I found that, I did not think it is truth...

However, Mr Wang did not end his search with Zen Buddhism.

Like Mr Wang, Mrs Jiang also tried Buddhism before she became a Christian. She found for herself Buddhism was hard to practice, as:

... Buddhism teaches giving up any feeling and desire, leaving family without holding any responsibility...

Although not satisfied by an answer from parents, Buddhist teaching, or school education, a number of participants eventually found answers in the Bible:

*Bible gave me answers about some questions I was puzzled for long time: where does man come from? What is the relationship about women and men... (Mrs Jiang)
To seek for the true purpose of life...after some research then believed...(Ms Zhang)
...to find beginning and end of life...(Ms Shang)*

It has not been easy for Mr Wang to be transformed from a Zen believer to a Christian. However, the enjoyment of Zen teaching could only provide release from life's pressures temporarily, but Zen was not able to answer many of his questions about life's meaning, such as:

... not telling me what is the meaning of life, where do we come from? Where we are going? Does man have soul? If we died, do we have future? Do we have life after death? All these questions have perplexed us. And also, speaking in more macro-level, the mystery of universe, and the end of everything. ... Why do we have morality but animals do not, how to get rid of the sins in heart? If the theory of evolution is right, then why human has such deep and essential difference in minds from animals around? Why for all these, how did they come?(Mr Wang)

Mr Wang obtained satisfaction from the Bible in that he found answers to all these questions in the Bible.

In contrast to the above participants who have been transformed to being Christian from which internal satisfaction has been obtained, Mr Wu receives a similar effect from Buddhism which he studied during his migration life in Ireland. He started to study Buddhism due to an encounter with a pious Chinese Buddhist in Ireland. He also wants to find out reasons for the meaning of life, and seeks answers to questions such as:

Why human come to this world and why good and evil co-exist. (Mr Wu)

Motivated by this internal seeking, Mr Wu started to study Buddhism over the internet.

Apart from the spiritual satisfaction of finding answers in relation to the meaning of life, life's end and purpose, a number of participants sought peace of mind which they found in Christianity.

5.2.1.2 Spiritual satisfaction—to have peace and hope in mind

In terms of the initial reason for Mrs Cheng to start her journey towards Christianity, she shared both exterior and interior experiences. She was introduced by a Malaysian classmate, who is a Christian, to a Chinese Christian Fellowship. From there she learned Bible teaching, which she felt provided her with better answers about religion than Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism about a meaning of life. Apart from this she found peace and love from the Bible. She said she came from a very traditional family

background, and from the experience of her mother worshipping her god, Mrs Cheng observed:

...She worship because she is afraid. The relationship between that and her god, because she is afraid her god do something bad to her. So she offer this, offer that, you know.

The mother of Mrs Cheng worshipped idols, which is popular in Chinese traditional culture. It could be a statue of Buddha or other local gods. In contrast, Mrs Cheng is not afraid of her God as revealed in the Bible: she had a loving relationship with God.

Like Mrs Cheng who finds peace from God, Ms Hu is also comforted from her faith in Christianity and the original motivation for Ms Hu to come to Ireland was to have some different life experience from her home life in China. However, after two or three weeks stay in Ireland, she became deeply disappointed and perplexed by her migration plan to Ireland for two reasons:

...Firstly, I felt everywhere is the same. Secondly, I began to doubt whether I am able to survive by myself. I know nobody here. No friend, nor classmate, no relative... I am a girl. May I achieve my goal? I have given up the good job in China with good salary...

Ms Hu began to doubt her decision to leave China. Her life had not, as expected, been transformed merely via a physical relocation. She concluded the internal world of human beings is all the same; people may think in different ways but the nature of the heart of human beings is the same. She totally became lost from her original plan. The feeling of doubt, hesitation, and loneliness arose in her heart. The loss of peace and hope served as a driver for Ms Hu to believe in Jesus. As said by Ms Hu:

“Because I have believed coming to Ireland could bring me future and I have paid a lot of money. I knew little about this country. I arrived in Ireland due to this belief. If Jesus could transform my life, and bring me peace and hope I need. Then why not believe him? ”

Although the original dream of Ms Hu to come to Ireland had been broken, her life was changed through faith. She changed from disappointment to being touched by the love

from Lord Jesus, from the moving from Christian faith to have peace and hope in her heart. Ms Hu has now become a leader of one of the Chinese Protestant churches in Ireland.

Therefore, both Mrs Cheng and Ms Hu benefit from Christianity by finding peace of mind and hope which they cannot find from traditional Chinese values or personal experience, such as travel.

5.2.1.3 Spiritual satisfaction-to exclude loneliness

Apart from having peace of mind by believing in God, Ms Hu also finds church life helps her get away from loneliness and Mrs Zhao, Mrs Lin, and Mrs Hua also echo this experience. When Mrs Zhao was evangelized to believe in God and started Church life, she felt many activities in Church and many people around in Church helped drive off her loneliness. Also as recalled by Mrs Lin:

Over ten years ago. I felt very very lonely and I felt even very depressed because there were no friends around. I didn't know how to get on, and how to talk to Irish students, (unclear) friends. When I was first brought to that Chinese church, I found that I have found a second home. So I started to make friends there for I met some friend people. On that point of view, yes, it helped me cope with loneliness, with new culture in Ireland.

Mrs Lin has a rather long and complicated journey in value transformation. She was transformed from an atheist to being a Protestant in Ireland, then being converted to a Catholic. The initial reason for her to join a Chinese Protestant Church was to seek friendship, because she felt so lonely and even depressed. She felt at home in that Church even though she felt being excluded because there were few Mandarin speakers in the Church she attended at that time.

Mrs Lin is one of the early Chinese migrants and that is why there were not many Chinese speaking Mandarin in Church as the early migrants are mainly from Hong

Kong or other international Chinese communities (O’Leary & Li 2008) and they speak Cantonese. Mrs Cheng is another earlier migrant whose migration history dates back 30 years. She mentions the importance of friendship for her at the beginning of her migration period that involved Church life. She attended Church regularly and studied the Bible together with others. The more she learned, the more she felt close to other Church members and the more she found satisfaction. Her initial motivation to pursue religion was to find a meaning to life and Bible teachings met her goal. This continues to make her remain in Church.

It needs to be noted that both Mrs Lin and Mrs Hua are Catholic though they have the same motivation as those Protestant believers such as Mrs Zhao, Mrs Cheng and Ms Hu to exclude loneliness generated at the initial stage of their migration life.

5.2.1.4 Spiritual satisfaction-to exclude emptiness in mind

Mrs Hua underwent homesickness due to her new environment and lack of friends here in Ireland in comparison to her life in China. She felt life in Ireland was:

...too boring, I then felt very pessimistic, and then I felt useless. Then think of a faith to support. I started to read many kinds of books, and explore more. Then felt quite good, then believe.

Internal emptiness drives Mrs Hua to find a religion and seek supports. She tried a Chinese Catholic congregation in Ireland and a Chinese student Christian (Protestant) Fellowship. Like Mrs Cheng, a Protestant, Mrs Hua also read various kinds of books in relation to religion but she finally chose Catholicism instead, because she learnt Catholic teaching from a Chinese Catholic Father and that Catholicism is:

...quite gentle...tolerant, can accept all religions...less attack...

Mrs Hua is happy to see no conflicts shown between Catholic religion as understood by her and other religions and values. The greater tolerance of Catholic teaching made her

satisfied and she eventually was baptised into the Catholic Church. From her response to some questions, her Chinese values did not change much despite or due to, her Catholicism. For example: she continues to believe in Ancestor worship, Fengshui, auspicious dates choosing for an important occasion, fortune telling and that good behaviour brings good fortune and vice versa; for Protestant participants, most of these traditional values have not been retained.

5.2.1.5 Spiritual satisfaction-to have feeling of love in Church

Both Mr Li and Mr Wang have been impressed by their experience with Church members, of their loving intentions and relationships. Mr Wang had continuous contact with a group of Christians for three months in Ireland. This unusual experience made him think about the source of loving and caring relationships among them. He said:

“...The love is impossible from human but only because God love man firstly, man then can love Christian brothers and sisters with this love...more closer and intimate than with relatives. I have never experienced this before in my life...As the simplified Chinese character of love which has taken the part of ‘heart’ away from the traditional Chinese...Today many Chinese are lack of true love...”

Mr Wang used a metaphor associated with the different writing of a Chinese character, to love, 爱 is the simplified format from the traditional Chinese character of 愛. The part meaning heart, 心 is missing in the simplified Chinese. Therefore, Mr Wang referred to this change to imply people’s relationship lacks loving and caring from the heart in contemporary society in China. Instead, material interests are a key element to maintain important social networks in Chinese society.

Likewise, Mr Li has also been touched by the loving feeling in Church during his stay in a Chinese Church in Dublin. He was moved and started to believe in God. This did not happen before when he was in China even though both his mother and his wife are

Christians and they evangelized him when he was in China. The family of Mr Li remains in China while he works and lives in Ireland with his elder brother.

These five aspects surrounding belief: to find a meaning to life, to have peace and hope of mind, to exclude loneliness, to exclude emptiness, and to have a feeling of love in Church, are about spiritual satisfaction obtained from new faith during the cross-cultural interaction of the participants in this research. The following section is going to discuss another way to achieve satisfaction: from practical help gained from religion and its institution.

5.2.2 To have pragmatic satisfaction

O'Leary and Li (2008: x) report that:

...the relatively small number of Chinese religious believers in general, and Chinese Christians in particular, may also reflect Chinese realism, which drawing on deep-rooted Chinese traditional culture, particularly Confucianism, emphasises practical benefits of prayers and blessings.

As a leader of a Chinese Christian congregation, Ms Hu feels this challenge is in relation to a pragmatic approach to life. She thinks that most Chinese people in Ireland have quite similar situations and problems and they turn to God for practical help:

...Chinese have been educated in atheism. Chinese face reality, pressure from the social life. ...Many Chinese have same problems ...a green card...successful study...working experience abroad...to find a lover. I want this, God help me...

Like Ms Liu, the original motivation to pursue Christianity is to seek pragmatic support from God. During a period of difficulty in her part-time working days, she was evangelized by another Christian. Thinking some help may be obtained from God, she then attended a Chinese church in Dublin for years but has now stopped.

According to Ms Liu, the activities she attended included Sunday worship and outings.

Ms Liu found in Church a feeling of family. However, Ms Liu has not been convinced by the doctrine of Christianity. As she said:

God I believe, is a huge energy flow, he controls the all universe. He masters the natural rules.to me, God is formless, not like a human. Although I join Christian, but not such convinced.

Ms Liu did not benefit from Bible teaching in Church but enjoyed the socializing events with the other Chinese migrants attending the same Church. Importantly, Ms Liu also identified Church life as providing migrants with an environment of family life:

Generally on Sunday, sing hymns, explain Bible. Generally do these things. Then, often have some activities, for example go outing, barbecue, climbing mountain. Regularly have these activities. Therefore, many overseas Chinese feel it as a home. Some Chinese I know regard Church as a club. Because Church provides much room for amusement, also may know some other friends.

As reflected by Ms Liu, the friendly and family feeling in Church functions as a platform for socializing for overseas Chinese. This has been the attraction to her to attend Church life. What Ms Liu has sought is different from Christian teaching as believed by Mr Wang, Mrs Cheng, Mrs Jiang, Mrs Lin, Mrs Hua or Ms Hu whose pursuit has an element of spiritual satisfaction. Therefore, once Ms Liu did not feel God or Church life satisfied her practical needs, she did not continue to join Church activities. This means her practical problems were solved and then she had no use to involve herself in Church life anymore.

However, this is not the case with the following four participants. Ms Hu has undergone difficulties at both emotional and practical levels at the very beginning of her migration period, such as disappointment, loneliness as well as the pressure of surviving in a foreign country with her insufficient English language ability. Therefore, in her case both spiritual demands and practical difficulties lead her to seek support from God and finally follow this into a path to faith. Mr Ma started to pray to God when under stress

during study in the UK. The prayers were answered. After that he learnt some Bible teaching from a pastor, and then he started to take belief in God seriously. He is now a leader of a Chinese Christian (Protestant) Church in Dublin.

Likewise, the initial reason for both Mrs Hou (Protestant) and Mrs Fang (Catholic) to believe in God was because their prayers were answered. They prayed to overcome some practical difficulties in their migration life, such as renting a house or job hunting. Since then they started to believe in God. However, Mrs Hou is a Protestant and seeks to know more about God, whereas Mrs Fang is interested in Catholicism and wishes to join the Catholic Church in the future when she has more time available.

5.2.3 Summary of motivation to pursue a religion or have value changed

In this research the motivation to pursue a religion or have values changed are identified as having satisfaction at levels of either or both spiritual and pragmatic meaning. This reflects the main concerns of the participants in both practical and spiritual levels. It finds a spiritual-satisfaction-led pursuing of religion can maintain religious practice, whereas a practical satisfaction may function as a stepping stone for a person to start a religion but pursuing religion can either continue or cease once practical needs are met and do not exist any longer. It also finds that different approaches to seeking religion may have an apparently similar effect, such as a Buddhist can get answers about life's meaning as well as a Christian believer does from Bible teaching. Both Protestant and Catholic believers find their respective faith helps get away from loneliness generated from the initial migration period, and both Catholic and Protestant believers find their prayers are answered and this helps them go further in their religious belief. From a surface level, achieving satisfaction at pragmatic levels seems to have a more direct

relation with daily cross-cultural experiences, such as renting a house or looking for a job.

However, this is not true, for example, when migrants specifically seek family feeling as they are far from home. To meet this demand Church life provides the participants with the feeling of caring and loving in Church which can be had generally at home. In addition, by moving places, a migrant lives in a diversified value and cultural environment; this space away from the home culture stimulates a migrant to think and compare between a new cultural context and the home cultural structure. Thus, it contributes to a change in values and also religion. From the research, either or both of the two aspects of spiritual and pragmatic satisfaction can take a lead for a migrant to embrace a religion or change their religion.

The next section presents the means through which to have a religion or value system changed.

5.3 Means to have a religion or value system changed

Table 5.2 shows a number of ways for a participant to have his/her religion or value system changed. Three factors stand out as shown in the table, namely: religious teaching, external environment and nothing to do with environment.

Table 5.2 Means to have a religion or value system changed

| Religious teaching | External environment | Nothing to do with environment |
|--------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From believers • From community including both Irish and other migrants | |

For each individual participant, one of the three factors can be a main approach to have a religion or value system changed which mixes with another one or two factors.

5.3.1 Religious teaching

A number of participants in this study mentioned religious teaching led them to be converted. Seven participants, Mr Wu, Ms Hu, Mrs Zhao, Mr Wang, Ms Tai, Mrs Jiang and Mrs Cheng, all show that their journeys of values transformation were influenced greatly from religious teaching, such as Mr Wu studying Buddhism at home via the internet, which he thinks is sufficient to learn the doctrine. Mr Wu said the branch of Buddhism he learns is easy to follow. The name of the branch is “Jingzong”, which is mainly to cultivate internal peace. As mentioned before in the section of “spiritual satisfaction-answering questions of life meaning”, a number of Protestant participants found answers in the Bible to the question of the meaning of life. This demonstrates that Bible teaching has changed their values as explained in detail in section 5.2.1.

5.3.2 Influence from believers:

Mrs Fei’s values were not substantially changed but her attitude with regard to Christianity was changed. At the time of being interviewed, she asked whether she could claim herself as being both a Buddhist and a Christian believer while she was originally only a Buddhist. She obtained the influences from Christianity mainly from her non-Irish colleagues as:

...They have kept on mentioning pray to get help...(Mrs Fei)

This makes Ms. Fei feel different from the evangelizing of her relatives at home in China. She became more interested in Christianity in Ireland than at home in China though her relatives had already evangelized her and her family when she was in China. Likewise, Mr Wang and Mr Li were also affected by Christian believers. They have been touched by the loving relationships from the Chinese Protestant Church based in Ireland, which is one of the major drivers for them to believe in Christianity. Similarly, Mr Wu was also influenced by his Chinese colleague who is a Buddhist.

Ms Hu came across an evangelizer during her period of depression at the beginning of her migration period. She was attracted by some traits of this evangelizer which differed from most Chinese migrants. Ms Hu had thought money and pursuing a job were the two major concerns for Chinese migrants but she did not find these two paramount concerns in the mind of this evangelizer. Encouraged by similar life experience to the evangelizer, the loving and helping intention of this person and guidance by the words of the Bible, Ms Hu accepted Lord Jesus as the Lord of life.

5.3.3 From Irish community

A number of participants reported they were influenced in their change of religion from the communal values of Irish society. They did not identify an individual believer who has transformed them but they felt an influence in general terms from Irish society.

As Catholic believers, both Mrs Lin and Mrs Hua agreed that the decisive element for them to become a Catholic is due to the influence of the Irish host community. The answers to the question that ‘if you did not leave your home country, were not away from your home culture, would you have the current religion or faith’ are as follows:

Possibly no, because of the limited knowledge and influence of the community. (Mrs Lin, Catholic believer)

Should not, there is not much opportunities to know about Catholic. (Mrs Hua, Catholic believer)

Similarly, both Protestant believers Mr Wang and Mr Ma stressed the importance of the free environment in Ireland which enabled them to change their value system. Mr Ma especially highlighted being abroad, where, being far away from his home culture, enabled him to be set free from the bondage of traditional culture:

Since my original family is fairly conservative and sticking very firmly to the traditional belief such as worshipping of ancestors. Given that my father is very strong willed

person, it would be very difficult for me to break away to come to another form of religious belief if I were to stay with them in the same locality. It would probably only be the case when my father passed away then I may wander off to explore a different set of beliefs.(Mr Ma)

According to Mr Ma, his father is attached to very strong Chinese traditional values. This would have been a great hindrance for him to depart from his father's belief as he would have to be obedient to his father. Therefore, he firstly thought being away from his home culture helped him change his religion. However, Mr Ma also pointed out:

This is a really difficult question to answer since no one can predict things in the past not going through. So my answer here would simply be a speculation.

Mr Ma is not absolutely sure that if he did not leave his culture of origin, he would not believe in Christianity but he is certain that being away from his home culture and in a new cultural environment greatly facilitated his values changing. Additionally, Mr Wu who is a Buddhist, is not certain whether he would believe in Buddhism if he had not gone out from his homeland.

In contrast to the attitudes of Mr Wang and Mr Ma about the influence of a foreign cultural environment, there is an opposite point of view around this issue.

5.3.4 Nothing to do with community

Ms Shang and Ms Zhao claimed no religion before they arrived in Ireland. They are Protestants now and stated their religion has nothing to do with their environment as their God can lead them to know God in any cultural environment. As said by both Ms Shang and Mrs Zhao:

God has a beautiful arrangement to anybody, to all have a calling. It does not matter where a person is, under which cultural background...(Ms Shang)

The Lord has relation with us before I was born. Although I did not know him before, but he loves each created thing to which he gives life. Therefore he can lead me to him even I had not come to Ireland. He is the almighty God. (Mrs Zhao)

Both Ms Shang and Mrs Zhao strongly believe that their God can call upon them and lead them to know God in any cultural background. They do not ascribe any intercultural experience to having their beliefs changed, an important finding in this research. However, it should be noted that religious belief can also occur in China.

5.3.5 Summary: means to have religion and value systems changed

Loneliness is generated mostly from the early migration period as being away from home and it drives a number of participants to find spiritual comfort and attachment. Being far away from the bonds of their ethnic culture enables a participant to accept a new religion more freely. The free environment in Ireland provides an environment which is conducive to this. Then, a question to ask is if it is true if not going abroad into another cultural environment such as coming to Ireland could make a value be not changed. Alternatively is it possible to say whether a migration experience is one of the factors to cause a change in religion. The answers to this question in this research are both 'yes' and 'no'. Those who have the answer 'yes' would regard their religious formation as being confined by time and space. In contrast, those who have the negative answer to this question would believe their new religious transformation is not limited by the new environment but it can be a facilitator. The next section, about the function of a religion and faith in acculturation, shows a religion can help a believer in the process of cross-cultural adaptation although a migration experience may not be a decisive factor to make a person have religious belief.

This research does not discuss which of the above three factors of religious teaching, external environment, and nothing to do with the environment is the primary element for a migrant to have their religion or value system changed, but to show these three aspects are found in this research as a means for a migrant to have values changed.

Therefore, it is necessary to see whether their cross-cultural life experiences inter-relate with their religious and value changes.

5.4 Impacts of a religion and faith in acculturation process

The section 5.2 about the motivation of the participants to have their value or religion changed has shown that the participants pursue spiritual and practical satisfaction through their new religion. Consequently, they obtained what they have chased and it can be seen that the impacts of their religious change include spiritual and pragmatic satisfaction. Indeed these impacts are the logical outcomes of a motivation of pursuing a religion or having values changed. However, the following discussion is not a repetition of reporting these outcomes of the previous motivations but highlights the role a changed religion or value system has played in the acculturation process of the participants. These impacts are illustrated in table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Impacts/outcomes of a religion practice in acculturation

| | |
|---|--|
| To help go through difficulties in migration life | |
| 1) Psychological adaptation | |
| Discrimination | |
| Loneliness | |
| Homesickness | |
| Depression due to unemployment | |
| 2) Pragmatic aspects | |
| To have sense of attachment | |
| To help socializing | |
| To have more knowledge of Irish culture | |
| To help assimilate into Irish host society | |
| To cause isolation from both Irish host society and/or the same ethnic background | |
| Universal outcomes | to have peace in mind and hope in mind to find a meaning to life to exclude emptiness to have feeling of love in Church to educate children to reduce material or monetary lust |
| No help found from a religion in coping with cross-cultural adaptation | |

A number of elements seem to be quite close to cross-cultural adaptation, such as helping cope with the difficulties of migration life, to have a sense of attachment, to helping with socializing and to have more knowledge of Irish culture. Nonetheless, the aspects resulting from a new religion such as bringing hope of life, peace of mind, helping educate children and reducing material or monetary lust are also relevant and important to a particular migration experience. As the life of a migrant has been set in an intercultural background, thus everything taking place in a migrant's life has a relationship with a migration life, but may differ in the extent of its direct influence. This may be the case with the impacts of a new religion in a migrant's experience of acculturation. These eight outcomes listed in the table 5.3 are now discussed in turn.

5.4.1 To help go through difficulties in cross-cultural adaptation

In chapter four the detailed life world of the participants in the acculturation process has been elaborated. The participants may undergo negative psychological experiences such as loneliness, homesickness, discrimination, and depression caused by unemployment. The participants in this research consider their religious practice can provide release from these difficulties, as well as difficulties at a practical level, such as job hunting and study pressure.

5.4.1.1 To help cope with discrimination

During part-time work, Ms Zhang experienced indirect discrimination due to sweeping negative impressions of Chinese people and Chinese culture as mentioned in Chapter four. Both Mrs Jiang and Ms Zhang are not sure whether unequal treatment towards EU or Irish staff and Chinese staff in the workplace is counted as discrimination or not. Ms Zhang understands this inequality is based on Irish national policies. According to her, she:

“...feel very pessimistic. But after believing God, whatever you pursue in life, the ultimate purpose, also about interaction with others, all have in relation to do with God. So very harmonizing, know how to do.

As Ms Zhang, Ms Tai considers it is hard to define whether it is discrimination as people may behave differently. She thinks this situation also exists at home in China. Ms Tai works with colleagues from a multinational background. She would take an unhappy experience as a lesson given by the Lord rather than considering it as a case of discrimination. She said:

From these lessons let me more purified by the words of Lord, and learn to reconcile with enemies. Therefore I do not regard unhappy interaction with other colleagues as discrimination but would rather look at it as a way God purify me, while I cannot avoid disliking people sometimes, so begs mercy from Lord.

As a Christian Mr Ma also has a different approach to view quasi-discriminating experiences. He considered them as misunderstandings which arise in cross-cultural life.

As a result he had more understanding for Irish people:

I do not feel a direct relationship, probably indirect influence from my faith on intercultural life. Because of my faith, I would consider some issues from the point of view of others.

This means Mr Ma did not view quasi-discrimination as serious but rather he shows understanding of Irish people about this issue. Thus, Christian faith has helped Ms Zhang, Ms Tai and Mr Ma to cope with discrimination experienced in their migration life. Faith has helped the participants to become more tolerant in intercultural interaction.

Unlike Ms Zhang, Ms Tai and Mr Ma, who have experienced discrimination in an ambiguous way, Mrs Zhao has undergone serious and obvious discrimination in the workplace as described in Chapter four. Mrs Zhao benefited greatly from the words in the Bible during this sad experience as she said. Consequently, Mrs Zhao regards the

Bible as her lifeline so that she “*cannot live without Bible*”. The above four mentioned participants all went through discriminatory experiences with the aid of their Christian faith.

5.4.1.2 To help deal with loneliness

Originally Ms Zhang came to Ireland for advancing study. She has to work a lot to pay living costs and her tuition fees as well. Ms Zhang recalled:

“....to be here, although I myself am able to be independent, when I am alone, mostly I feel upset, also very lonely. Then, neither know, what an outcome desired of this hard working... ”

Confronting loneliness in her migration life and unequal treatment in a tough working environment, she felt lost from her original dream of pursuing a university qualification, and wondered what she was looking for. However, she was comforted by her Christian faith.

5.4.1.3 To help reduce homesickness

Mr Wu mentioned he has less homesickness after years of stay in Ireland and one of the reasons is he said:

“...I used to worry about my parents, but now I feel indifferent to some things probably because I learn Buddhism...”

Mr Wu agreed on the importance of filial piety, a key Chinese cultural value, in his new values system but he considered his belief in Buddhism has an impact to make him feel less homesick. In other words, he was not overly concerned with such an issue as Buddhism teaches believers to neglect human emotion.

5.4.1.4 To help ease depression caused by unemployment

Mrs Jiang is a Protestant. Her Christian belief has helped her cope with the difficulty in Ireland due to the current economic downturn. She now regards family and faith as important matters in her life. She said:

...I would not remain in Ireland under unemployment if I had not believed in God...

Pursuing a career was the most essential thing in her life. She experienced negative feelings due to the economic recession in Ireland as she became unemployed but was comforted by her faith. According to Mrs Jiang:

...When dealing with some issue, more principles used from Bible teaching then more peaceful and balance...When in difficulty, consider less of monetary loss...

As a Catholic, Mrs Fang felt prayer helped her a great deal, especially at the beginning of her stay in Ireland. She said this was the first time for her to be in a foreign country and at a young age. Belief in Christianity brought her hope and motivation in her life from those difficult days of job hunting at the beginning of her migration experience.

5.4.1.5 Pragmatic aspects

As mentioned in the previous section on motivation of having religion changed, there are practical supports gained from religion. For example, Mrs Hou, Mr Ma and Mrs Fang prayed for practical help in their migration life, and they were answered and their needs fulfilled such as renting a house, passing exams and finding a job.

5.4.2 To have a sense of attachment

Mr Ma obtained abundant experience via church life. He has strong attachment to the church he is attending and leading:

I feel this fellowship is a very precious place to me, like my home. You ask what influence being brought from church and faith, I feel just a home, a satisfaction, find an

attachment. Just because of a faith.... We do not need to have to remain in Ireland, but because of the church, have this church. So we have a higher level of satisfaction in it....

Chapter three discussed the future plans of participants where one of the drivers for a participant's future concerns is religion. For example, the main reason for Mr Ma and his wife Mrs Cheng to remain in Ireland is the Church they are leading. Mr Ma regards this Church as his home. Church life lets him feel he has a higher level of life in Ireland and that his attachment is to his Church rather than any country.

5.4.3 To help socializing

The Buddhist, Mr Wu found his belief in Buddhism has helped him cope with migration and a new cultural context, as Buddhism teaches him to keep good relationships with people, and have no intention to compete with others. As a result, Mr Wu found this enables him to keep good social relationships with colleagues. This is in contrast to life in China: he felt that the complicated social network in his working environment in China was one of the drivers for him to migrate to Ireland. Difficult managing of Guanxi made the migration of Mr Wu necessary. Similarly, Ms Zhang and Ms Tai, who are Protestants and Bible believers, are also helped by this belief in their social relationships. They have slightly different approaches to Mr Wu to obtain harmonization with Irish colleagues, as said by Ms Zhang:

“Although the intercultural difference is hard for us to see heart to heart. But, all may feel comfortable to be together. ...more tolerant than before to others....”

Ms Zhang understands cultural difference made her and Irish colleagues feel difficult to be close but her faith helped her get on well with Irish people and feel very comfortable. Her faith provides her with more tolerance towards others. In addition, Ms Zhang becomes concerned for others from the heart. As a result, her Irish colleagues regarded her as a sincere person.

In the case of Ms Tai, her new faith in Christianity helped her communicate with others, because the Bible helped her:

...build up more confidence to face people. ...from Bible teaching I learned how does it like of people's hearts. In addition, I learned from Bible, as a Christian should function as salt and light in a society...

‘Salt’ here represents the meaning that prevents a society from corruption, and ‘light’ means bringing the light of truth for a society. Therefore, these teachings make her treat others with love and follow the paradigm of the Lord Jesus who she believes in as her saviour.

5.4.4 To have more knowledge of Irish culture

Ms Shang is a Protestant and for her the knowledge of Christianity has helped her make more sense of Irish culture, such as:

...Why they celebrate Christmas and Easter holidays etc.. Secondly Ireland is 95% Catholic therefore majority of Irish were born as Christian. When my Irish friends, colleagues talk about relevant events, I know what they are talking about. Finally a lot of their sayings relate to Christianity, for example, "god bless you", "thank god" "my lord" etc...

Ireland as a Catholic country is full of Christian culture such as holidays and in daily speech. Thus, for Ms Shang her understanding of Christianity helps her have more awareness of Irish culture and so helps to facilitate her cross-cultural adaptation.

When talking about the influence from a religion, both Mrs Hua who is a Catholic and her husband, Mr Feng, who said he is of no religion, echo the experience of Ms Shang:

More understanding of their culture. After all, it is a Catholic country....such as they do volunteer. I shall also join them. It helps understand this thing with background knowledge of its religion. (Mrs Hua)

If you know more of Catholic and Christianity, it will be easier for you to understand local culture or their thinking...their kindness, ready to help...they say ‘God Bless’, you had thought they believe in God, actually they just, when you say this, you then know why they say this...(Mr Feng)

Therefore, one aspect of the impacts from having or understanding either Protestant or Catholic belief can help understand Irish culture such as the culture of volunteering which is not valued in China. It does not mean a religion can always help understand the culture of a host society for a religion may not reconcile with the dominant belief of a host country, such as Buddhism or Islam which are different from Christianity, the mainstream religion in Ireland. However, a different religion can still result in co-existence.

5.4.5 To help assimilate into Irish host society

The following presentation overlaps with the section of ‘Patterns of intention of interacting with Irish host society’, in chapter four. It is not a repetition but analyzes the phenomenon from a different perspective, namely a religious one.

Ms Shang, Mrs Hua and Mr Feng all agree that having a religion, either Protestant or Catholic, can facilitate understanding of Irish local culture. Both Mrs Hua and Mr Feng believe this will promote their integration with Irish host society. Mr Feng also provided an example to support this point of view:

...a Chinese person, who has been reported in newspaper and very famous...worked in an Irish company...be willing to help and does a good job...He brings his wife and son go to church for Sunday service...The mainstream likes this. What can you do? If you follow them, you can integrate into their society.

In the mind of Mr Feng, to integrate into Irish host society one has to follow the pattern of the society, such as going to church on Sundays. He is not a Catholic but goes to a Chinese Catholic congregation regularly with his wife, Mrs Hua. Mrs Hua also emphasizes her plan when having a child in the future she would like to go to her local Irish Catholic Church as a way to facilitate assimilation into Irish society.

One thing to note is that the participants generally use ‘integration’ to refer to either ‘assimilation’ or ‘integration’ for people do not have academic awareness of the difference between them. As discussed in the section of ‘Patterns of intention of interacting with Irish host society’, in chapter four, in the case of Mr Feng and Mrs Hua, they have an orientation to assimilate into the Irish mainstream but are not aware of the exact meaning of assimilation.

In contrast to the couple Mr Feng and Mrs Hua, Mrs Lin, who is a Catholic, does not find any help from Catholicism in her interaction with Irish society. As she shared in the section of ‘Patterns of intention of interacting with Irish host society’, in chapter four, most of her interactions with Irish society are around her work place and neighbors. Mrs Lin did not find much help from her religious practice on her intention to assimilate into Irish society. Thus, this influence of religion is very subjective and is different for each research participant. Not all Catholic participants benefit from Catholicism in their interaction with Irish society but they show an intention to assimilate into the Irish mainstream. Thus, the role of religion is complex and migrant motivation is also complicated by a pragmatic approach to religious practice which is an influence from Chinese culture.

5.4.6 Universal outcomes

5.4.6.1-4: To have peace and hope in mind; to find a meaning to life; to exclude emptiness; to have feeling of love in Church

In section 5.2, ‘motivation to pursue a religion or have value changed’, mentioned that a number of participants underwent difficulties in acculturation and therefore sought universal values from a new value system. As a result, their religious belief brought

them impacts such as having peace and hope in mind, finding a meaning to life, excluding emptiness and feeling of love in Church.

5.4.6.5 To Educate Children

Mrs Lin said she brings children to mass in the Catholic Church as a way to educate them. She believed that by this action a relationship can be established between God and children.

5.4.6.6 To reduce material/monetary lust

Mrs Hou has reported her new value systems have enabled her to want less material things than when she was in China. Mrs Hou says,

...the biggest value change for me is of believing Jesus...I used to spend money as much as I want but I changed after becoming a Christian. I got to lead a thrift life...

It is noted that materialism also emerged and was prevalent in Irish society during the Celtic Tiger years: Irish people were quite materialistic too. Therefore, the impact of reducing materialism on Mrs Hou mainly stemmed from her new belief system instead of the Irish host society.

5.4.7 To cause isolation from both Irish host society and/or the same ethnic background

As discussed in Chapter Four, in the section of intention to interact with host society, a number of participants focused on activities around their religion, leading to isolation from the Irish host society. A number of Protestants participants, namely Mr Wang, Mrs Cheng, Mr Ma and Ms Hu all mentioned their lives are centred on church where mainly Chinese meet together; also according to Mr. Wu, he learns Buddhism via the internet. Mr Wu can learn Buddhist teaching without attending any temple or interaction with

other Buddhists. This is different from either Catholic or Protestant believers, who have to be with a congregations to practice their religion.

Mr Wu also mentioned one of the impacts of his belief in Buddhism is that he feels less interest in socializing which actually suits his introverted personality. Thus, from this point of view, his religion does tend to make him be isolated from people from both the host society and people of the same ethnicity. However, no unhealthy outcome resulted from these isolation behaviours.

5.4.8 No help found from a religion in coping with cross-cultural adaptation

Nine participants, namely, Ms Tai, Ms Hu, Mrs Zhao, Ms Zhang, Mr Ma, Mrs Lin, Mrs Hua, Ms Shang and Mr Wu all report that their new religion helped them cope with the intercultural part of their life in Ireland. However, Ms Liu did not find any help from Christianity in coping with intercultural encounters in Ireland even though she was baptised in a Chinese Church in Ireland. However, she found it hard to be convinced of Christian teaching: she thought Jesus was only human and not divine. She was under stress from her migration experiences and this was the driver for her to join church life where she found people in church to be very nice. This let her to feel as if she was in a family. It was a nice place to socialize but she did not think this helped her in the process of cross-cultural adaptation. She felt Irish people are very kind as most of them are Catholic so that she relates religion to being kind but not to spiritual experience.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter combines with the discussion in chapter four of acculturation experiences, which presented findings that the migrants in this research have undergone some difficult times in their cross-cultural adaptation, such as difficulties in daily life,

discrimination, loneliness, homesickness and depression due to unemployment caused by the economic downturn in Ireland. To overcome these difficulties, a number of participants sought supports from a religion to help them cope with these harsh times. The means to have a religion changed includes religious teaching, influences from believers, the Irish community and other migrants, and also nothing to do with the environment. In addition, a religion can help a participant have a sense of attachment as a migrant in Ireland, help socializing, and build up a good and harmonized relationship with Irish colleagues. Knowledge from a religion can also help a participant to understand more about Irish culture. There are also some universal outcomes such as finding the meaning of life, excluding emptiness, experiencing feeling of love in church, educating children and reducing material/monetary lust and bringing peace in mind and hope of life. Two opposite outcomes in relation to the interaction of the participants in the research are causing isolation from the Irish host society and /or ethnic group, and promoting assimilation into Irish host society. There is also one exception of a participant who finds no help from a religion.

To conclude, in the category of ‘outcomes of practicing a new religion’, the new value system provides the participants in this study who believe and follow the new value framework with a positive solution to certain negative migration experiences. Furthermore, it helps the participants have a healthy and balanced psychological state to manage daily life from an intercultural perspective. Although religious practice can also lead to isolation from the Irish host society and/or the Chinese ethnic group, no negative outcome on personal wellbeing is identified in relation to the participants in this research.

CHAPTER SIX

MIGRATION OF VALUE SYSTEM OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE RESEARCH: CHANGE/TRANSFORM

It is only the wisest and the stupidest that do not change. —Confucius
If you do not change direction, you may end up where you are heading. —Lao Tzu

6.1 Chapter outline

Broadly speaking, everyone has a religion even if one may not realize it. It depends on the definition of religion for if a religion means Christianity, Buddhism, Taoism, Hinduism or Islam, one can say no religion if none of these are believed. However, a person may invest time and energy in something, which he or she believes in as the most important thing to realize in life, from which the most pleasure for his or her life will be obtained. It functions as a religion for a person: it satisfies a person's life. For example, to fulfil a dream to travel and experience new life is a kind of religion for individual participants in this study.

The term 'value' in this research has a wide application. It refers to both the religion a participant believes in and points of views about some issues. The use of the term of 'migration' in the phrase of 'migration of value system' is different from a general meaning of migration which refers to physical relocation. It is borrowed to reflect the changing status of the value system of a migrant. It is to show the ways deviation from certain Chinese traditional values occur as outlined in this research. The change might already have happened before the migration to Ireland or takes place during the stay in Ireland.

When comparing values in China and in Ireland of the participants in this research, the repeated pattern is either change or transformation. It means the value system of a

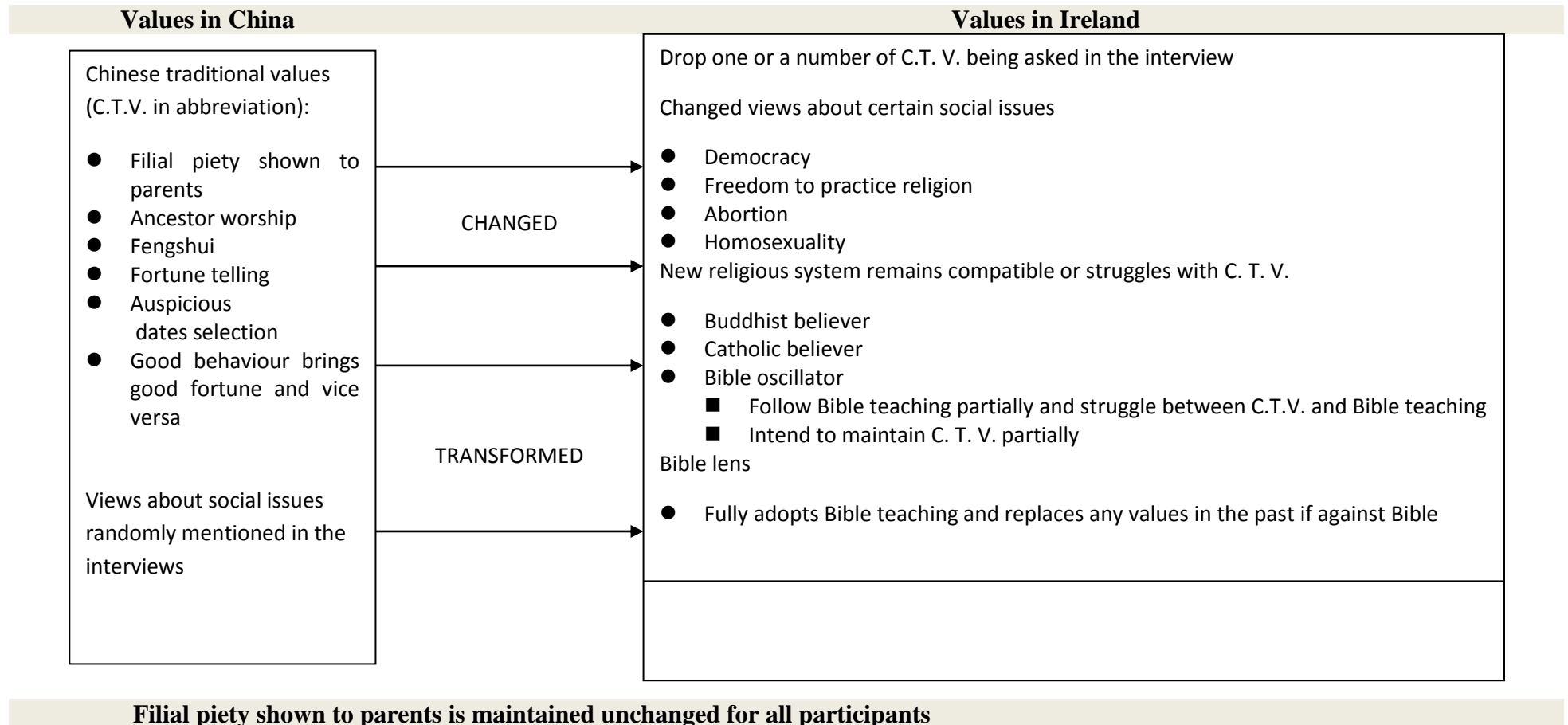
participant appears to be changed partially from the values held when in China, or, they are transformed totally and restructured under a new value system. This is to say there are two main concerns of value migration in this research: the participants tend to either maintain an old value system and/or pursue new ones. Chinese traditional values asked about in the interviews function as the main parameter to show the shifts in the mindsets of the participants from Chinese tradition values. In this research, apart from showing filial piety to parents which has been kept unchanged, all the other traditional values being asked about have been either fully dropped or selectively not followed. This shows a loss of certain Chinese traditional values. This research does not discuss to what extent the loss of Chinese tradition culture occurs but reveals overall this particular tendency of Chinese migrants in this study. On the other hand, some views for social issues mentioned randomly in the interviews also echo a pattern of change, which means a number of participants have changed their previous points of view towards certain social issues due to their acculturation experiences in Ireland. Diagram 6.1 illustrates these findings which are discussed individually in the rest of this chapter.

6.2 Maintain Chinese traditional value

6.2.1 Awareness of filial piety

Filial piety is an essential value in Chinese culture. As said in a Chinese proverb: filial piety is the priority of all kindness, 百善孝为先. It means that Chinese people regard treating parents well and respecting them as one of the most important virtues which should be kept and carried on. There is not one participant who denies the importance of filial piety but rather respects this value and means to follow it. However, a number of

Figure 6.1 Migration of value system of the participants in the research



participants have noted that once the teachings from traditional filial piety disagree with his or her new religion, the new system will override the old (this will be discussed in detail in the section on “Bible Lens”). Awareness of filial piety in this research includes concerns in relation to pragmatic support for parents and psychological well-being of parents, obedience, and reciprocity, which pertains to minding elder parents as a repayment for their bearing and nurturing of their children.

6.2.1.1 Pragmatic supports

Mr Wu said that filial piety is the foundation of Buddhism which he believes. Thus, he found no conflict between filial piety and his Buddhist belief. Mr Li, who is a Protestant, gave details of fulfilling filial piety and he also showed a great sense of responsibility to his whole family. In terms of filial piety, his understanding is:

Filial piety is to treat well to parentsSo I say we try best to satisfy their needs. To those elderly who have not financial sources, we should help them as children. In addition, if they got sick, should look well after them. We eat well, wear good clothes, same should they be. Let them feel happy in heart.

Mr Li regarded himself as a master of a family in his own nuclear family and also was supposed to provide financial support to his parents. Mr Li happily and voluntarily supported his parents in whatever they need.

6.2.1.2 Psychological well-being: close contact and comfort

Even though Mr Li highlighted the responsibilities to parents as financial support, he thought the key thing for parents was about:

... the psychological satisfaction. Only providing parents some money does not mean too much. Support them financially and also in emotion support them.

Mr Li was clear about emotional support and so demonstrated reverence for his parents.

This behaviour exactly follows the teaching by Confucius:

The filial piety of now-a-days means the support of one's parents. But dogs and horses likewise are able to do something in the way of support;—without reverence, what is there to distinguish the one support given from the other? (The Analects of Confucius Book 2, Chapter 7)

The parents of most of the participants do not need financial support from their children. Instead, they need frequent communication with children via either mobile phone or internet contact. According to Mrs Hua and Mrs Lin, as a child, a participant may feel that it is a pity not be able to accompany their parents, nor be able to help them in daily household things, nor care for them closely. A number of participants, such as Mr Li, Ms Hu, Mrs Lin, Mrs Zhao, Mrs Hua, Mr Feng and Mr Wen mentioned the means to communicate with home in China was by talking over the phone and regularly returning home. Mr Qi did the same but he found few common topics with his family members when he talked to them.

6.2.1.3 Filial piety: a special form of reciprocity

In Chinese culture, ‘filial piety’ is a special form of ‘reciprocity’ and a number of participants hold this view:

...Because it is not easy for parents to bring you up, from a baby to growing up to an adult, paid great effort.... (Mr Li)

...Felt have responsibility to mind them as being raised by parents. This is one of Chinese tradition values...(Ms Zhang)

Mrs Fei also shows her filial piety to her aged parents as she has the intention to invite her parents to visit Ireland, as a way to show filial piety, as the parents are getting older and older. In China, travelling abroad is still a luxury life style which can only be consumed by those people who are rich enough. For Mrs Fei, her old parents are unlikely to travel to Ireland if she were not already in the country.

To fulfil the responsibility required of filial piety to parents, a number of participants mentioned they have to return home someday to mind their aged parents as he/she is the only child in the family. In the cases of Mrs Zhao and Mrs Fang, they have to leave the country for good to mind their elderly parents back home in China. This is because currently Ireland is not a country allowing extended family reunion. Mrs Zhao and Mrs Fang are the only children in their families and it is their responsibility to mind elder parents instead of sending them into a care home as appears to be the custom in Ireland. As believed in the Chinese saying, 养儿防老, it means that the purpose of raising children is to mind parents when they get old. If one does not follow this custom, he or she will be regarded as not showing filial piety to parents and this will be condemned by society.

6.2.1.4 Obedience

Both Mrs Cheng and Mr Ma have mentioned they come from very traditional Chinese families. In their minds, filial piety means to be obedient to their parents. In other words, they have to do whatever is dictated by their parents; Mrs Cheng had to show obedience to whatever was requested about life and asked for by parents. For instance, her parents did not allow her marry someone Irish and she had to obey to show her filial piety. After she became a Christian, to follow Christian teaching, she had to give up some traditions, such as ancestor worship, which she had been expert at. Although her parents felt unhappy about her becoming a Christian, she does not feel much pressure to follow the traditional values carried by her parents due to being far away from them. However, she still follows the concept of filial piety.

Ms Shang had to migrate to another foreign country as a way to show filial piety for Ms Shang is also the only child in her family:

I used to do what they asked me to do especially from my mum. Sent money, in my case, in order to make mum happy that she can stay in Australia...

Her mother firmly confessed ‘the western moon is rounder than that in China, 外国的月亮圆’, the Chinese saying meaning the strong myth of the west in the Chinese mind.

After unemployment in Ireland she had to relocate to China. She had a very good job in China but her mother insisted that Ms Shang should migrate out of mainland China, as a way to enable the mother to join her in Australia, a foreign country and better land as the mother envisioned. To show filial piety, she had to be obedient to her mother’s wish and she gave up a satisfying job in China and left for Australia. She underwent serious depression at the beginning of her migration life in Australia but she gradually adapted well to being there.

Mrs Zhao loves her parents and keeps a good relation with them. However, the understanding of filial piety for Mrs Zhao is to love parents based on not against Bible teaching. According to Bible teaching:

“Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right. Honour thy father and mother; which is the first commandment with promise (Ephesians 6:1-3, KJV Bible).”

Thus, Mrs Zhao sees filial piety and the Bible teaching are in harmony but highlights the obedience to parents should be on condition of not breaking Bible teaching. For example, if her parents do not allow her to worship God, she will not obey her parents at the cost of her faith in Jesus Christ.

These examples show the strength of filial piety in Chinese culture as compared to Irish culture. All the participants in this study have carried on the value of ‘filial piety’, which is one of the essential values in Chinese culture. However, there are different ways of interpreting the meaning of filial piety running along the common theme of treating elder parents well. To mind aged parents, to be obedient to parents, to provide

both material and psychological support to parents are all required as part of filial piety in Chinese culture and this is quite evident in this research. This is the common subset of the participants' values. This research shows that on this point the participants do not migrate far from Chinese traditional values. Even though they see a different way to treat parents in Irish culture, they do not follow this example.

6.3 Change values

6.3.1 Maintain and “drop off” certain Chinese traditional values

Apart from the value of “filial piety to parents” which has been maintained, the other Chinese traditional values have been kept selectively. Table 6.1 presents the detailed patterns of behaviour in this category. Other than Mrs Fei, none of the other twenty one participants maintain a full belief in traditional values. Mr Wu believed in Buddhism during his stay in Ireland. Though Buddhism is one of main religions practiced in China, Mr Wu may not follow all the traditional values. Generally, a participant shows partial adherence to traditional values, the extent of which may vary depending on the traditional value. In addition, it shows a pattern that keeps tradition by following parental example without really believing it.

Table 6.1 Attitudes of participants towards the C.T.V. chosen to be asked

| C. T. V. being asked in the interviews | Attitudes of Participants |
|---|--|
| Ancestor worship | Drop off; follow parents to follow tradition; struggle from new values |
| Fengshui | Drop off; half believe but not follow |
| Fortune telling | Drop off; maintain |
| Auspicious dates selection | Drop off; maintain partially |
| Good behaviour brings good fortune and vice versa | Drop off; revise; maintain |

It can be seen that the pattern of “dropping off” is the one which mostly occurs. The term of “dropping off” in this research means either giving up the mentioned Chinese

traditional values or never having believed in the value. Therefore, “dropping off” is used at a broad level.

Ms Liu believed in fortune telling:

The colleague of my aunt who does not relate to us is very good at fortune telling. She specially can read palm of hands then let you know what happened before, what is happening and what about future...She could tell about my Mother of her past stories in an accurate way, then about current life. She also told my future. I came to believe what she said...

Ms Liu trusts what this lady foretold her of her future as an encouragement. Ms Liu also believes good deeds can bring good fortune. Mr Qi liked to choose auspicious dates. However Mr Qi did not believe in fengshui, or fortune-telling, or that good deeds change fate and that bad behaviour brings punishment. Mr Qi believed that he himself could control his fate.

6.3.2 Values being changed due to the influences from Irish host society with regard to religion or certain social issues during migration period

Mrs Lin shows change from tradition after being converted to Catholicism. Mrs Lin retains little faith in Chinese traditional values such as fortune telling. She does not believe in Fengshui or auspicious dates but prefers to avoid unlucky numbers in Chinese culture. Since Mrs Lin has lived in Ireland for many years, her views of certain issues have been changed based on her Catholic belief. For her the major change of value system is that:

...the Catholic faith has taught me what is wrong, what is right. It has helped me set up standard or criteria. So I know how to evaluate myself, how to reflect myself, based on religion, or based on my faith as standard, as criteria.

Mrs Lin applies the criteria learned from Catholicism into real life, for example the issue of abortion:

...before I came here, I heard about so much. I just took it for granted. I am not saying I am a person practice that. I am saying I heard about so much when I was in China. I thought there is something very common. That is fine. But when I came here, after having the religion I know that a person has no right of abortion. So it has autonomy, gives me a standard to judge certain things.

In addition, Mrs Lin's attitude of interaction with the host society is assimilated oriented as discussed in chapter four. It shows Mrs Lin takes Irish values as priority over Chinese traditional values.

Likewise, Mr Wen and Mr Qi also have their values changed during their stay in Ireland. Mr Wen and Mr Qi gained more understanding about religion, particularly about Christianity but neither of them was converted to Christianity. Mr Wen talked about his value change:

...I had religion class in university in China. I attended it only for personal interests...I did not think in-depth of this issue. Not like now I believed there is unknown power controlling the world. I became theism oriented from atheism as in China...

In addition, Mr Wen did not agree with the propaganda in China about religion, such as Falungong being an evil cult, based on his interaction with some Falungong members in Ireland. Those Falungong members are also normal human beings in his eyes. He believed a human being has freedom to choose a religion. Mr Wen also had more understanding of western democracy due to his stay in Ireland and he showed appreciation towards western civilization. In terms of major value change for Mr Qi during his stay in Ireland, he answered:

At the beginning, I thought I will finish the study and then go back to China, after a few years I chose to stay in Europe. The life in China is too hard, fewer holidays; apartment is so expensive; food is not safe.

Mr Qi changed the original plan because he compared the life in between China and Europe and preferred the life which is less stressed and has safe food as in Europe. The migration experience of Mr Qi enables him see a better land in his mind and he chooses a life which satisfies his own wishes.

Though neither Mr Zheng nor Mr Qi have any new religion or faith currently, their world views have been changed during the migration period.

6.3.3 Change and keep compatible with part of Chinese traditions

A number of participants experienced the change of religion or value; some may undergo a personal struggle, and some go through a selection of different religions and make a decision based on personal choice. For instance, Mrs Hua states Catholicism is more suitable to her as this religion is more tolerant and also lets her know the origin of humanity relatively systematically. In contrast, Mrs Hua understood the founder of Buddhism was merely a human being instead of God, the creator of the world. Thus, this is one of the reasons for Mrs Hua to join Catholicism in Ireland in spite of the strong influence from Buddhism in Chinese culture. However, Mr Wu found Buddhism satisfies his pursuit for life's meaning and is also very compatible with Chinese traditions. For example, he explained about fengshui:

I believe fengshui but I do not follow...the Buddhism teaching I believe said learning Buddha only and worry no about the material world...Man should change environment instead of being changed by environment.

Mr Wu may not follow practices such as fengshui but he did not see any conflict with his Buddhist teaching but interprets fengshui via the approach in Buddhist teaching. In Mr Wu's new value system filial piety is also regarded as the foundation. He said:

Buddha does not against ancestor worshipping as it is part of filial piety.

However, Mr Wu does not perform auspicious dates selection nor does he ask about fortune telling because these disagree with Buddhist teaching.

In the case of Mr Wu's wife, Mrs Fang, after believing in Catholicism, part of traditional Chinese values such as ancestor worship and fengshui were kept. However,

selection of auspicious dates, fortune-telling, good deeds help change fate and bad behaviour bring bad luck were not believed by Mrs Fang. The world view and behaviour of Mrs Hou has undergone great change after she was converted to Protestantism. She did not like luxurious material things as before and did not follow those traditional values which are contradicted by the Bible as based on her understanding. She still kept part of her traditional values such as belief in lucky numbers, whereas, a number of participants holding “Bible lens’ view strictly give up these traditions apart from filial piety. Ms Shang partly retained traditional values such as believing good behaviour brings about good luck and vice versa. She knew little about fengshui and she did not consult a fortune teller any longer after believing in Christianity.

6.3.4 Follow parents to follow the tradition—Ancestor worship

Mrs Cheng observes tradition is carried down from parents from generation to generation but people have little awareness of the meaning of tradition. She said:

...I realize people do a lot things just do it, follow the traditions, from generation to generation...

It is true, as said by Mrs Cheng, that Ms Tai has followed her parents to follow the tradition of ‘ancestor worship’ to fulfil a courtesy. Actually there is no clear awareness of the original meaning of the action of ancestor worship, Ms Tai never took it seriously and even makes fun of parents who did this. This happened before she was transformed into a Christian and she does as not do this after she believed in Christianity as this contradicts Bible teaching. The pattern of treating the tradition of ancestor worship to follow parents and follow the tradition also happened with Mrs Fei, Mr Wen, Mrs Zhao and Ms Zhang. As Mr Wen said:

...If they go I must go, but I myself will not do that voluntarily. For instance, when in the Festival of Tomb Sweeping, I will not go to burn paper...if at abroad, in such a background. Both parents go then I will go as well...

However, Ms Zhang has believed in the existence of super-natural things since childhood. She followed her father to follow ancestor worship but also spiritually follows this ritual. She shared her experience:

When I was young, though very young at that time but always felt there is another world, and believed souls exists. Super natural things have some control in unknown world. When I worshipped my grandma, I secretly asked a lot of world pursuing...laughed by my father...

She used to believe in the existence of a super power from another world; therefore, she prayed to a dead relative to achieve some of her wishes. However, Ms Zhang has been transformed totally from these traditional values and now only follows Bible teaching.

The experiences of the above participants shows one major Chinese tradition, ancestor worship, which is related to filial piety is gradually being lost among the Chinese participants in this research. It is not the same as their concern to show filial piety to their living parents.

6.4 Transform from the traditional values: Bible Lens

Eight participants in the research, Mr Wang, Mr Ma, Mrs Cheng, and Ms Hu, Ms Tai, Ms Zhang, Mrs Jiang, and Mrs Zhao, all hold the same attitude: moving totally away from traditional values. They either drop them, or interpret them through the lens of Bible teaching. In this research, the participants who hold Bible lens are also called 'Bible embracers', because their responses to interview questions are all centred on Bible teaching. They regard the Bible as the absolute standard of their world view. Generally, for them there is no more fortune telling, no more auspicious date selection, no more belief in fengshui, no more ancestor worship but there is doing good which is

explained in a different way from tradition: doing good is motivated by love from God or Faith.

Mrs Zhao did not follow Chinese tradition and her reasons come from her new religion and being away from the Chinese cultural environment. Mrs Zhao used to follow her grandparents in following tradition. However this kind of action ceased after the older generation passed away and because of fewer visits to rural areas though the participants think such traditions are normally kept well. She says:

Because my grandparents have passed away for years, generally these kinds of customs are prevailing in rural areas. We do not have such chances to perform in city. I did not return to hometown of my grandparents after going abroad.

Another main reason for this participant to give up traditional customs stems from her new faith in Bible teaching. She would abandon any value which was against the Bible. She referred to Bible scripture to explain why she did not perform ancestor worship any more. This is the passage from verse 19 of chapter 8, Book of Isaiah, King James Version of the Bible which says:

And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep, and that mutter: should not a people seek unto their God? for the living to the dead?

Therefore for Mrs Zhao, her new religious system does not allow her to ask the dead for protection but she can be looked after by the God she believes in. The pattern of dropping Chinese traditions due to them being against Bible teaching has occurred with all the Protestants interviewed in this research. In contrast, this is not found particularly among Catholic believers.

Mr Wang is a religious Christian and whenever Mr Wang answered an interview question, he would find supports from the Bible. He regards Bible teaching as having

priority over Chinese traditional values and all the other religions. He closely adheres to Bible teaching in his conversation. For instance:

To visit a fortune-teller is to go for divining. Of course absolutely forbidden. Because telling one's fortune is to have a familiar spirit.

Mr Wang emphasized his belief in the Bible as infallible. Therefore he disagreed with any views which are against the Bible, including Catholic teaching, and some accepted opinions on certain controversial social issues, such as his comments on homosexuality:

...homosexuals are hated by God definitely in Bible, because it does not agree with the basic human nature... In the time of Old Testament, there are two ancient cities, Sodom and Gomorrah. The term of Sodom which means homosexuality is originated from the city of Sodom. Because the ancient city Sodom has been prevalent with homosexuality, so that God abhorred them and smite them. That is how the term Sodom as homosexuality comes from...

Mr Wang believed the Bible has absolute truth. As Mr Wang, Ms Tai is another Bible Embracer. She viewed everything through the value standards of the Bible. Her transformation also influenced her family accordingly. Ms Tai has undergone a dramatic change or transformation of values before and after being converted to Christianity. The most important thing in her life has been changed from having a happy family to pursuing her Faith. Like Ms Hu, Ms Tai's faith also had some impact on her family. That means either they evangelized their family members to follow Bible teaching or offered suggestions on life problems based on Bible principles. Ms Tai said her goal of life is to favour God. She explained that as follows:

...Now got to know, a jealous God, so we cannot worship idols. This does not favour God. God is the only, so we cannot worship false gods....God hope us believe in his words, can be saved. So we understand his words to satisfy him. In addition God ask us to love each other. God is love, so we are supposed to love people, this favours God.

Ms Tai also uses two terms to contrast the change of her value system: 'centre around God' and 'worldly views'. These 'worldly views' are her previous value system, which means status and wealth that people pursue generally in the world. Likewise, Ms Zhang has been motivated by advancing her education in Ireland. Family was not one of the

main concerns of this participant but education was. After becoming a Christian, to glorify God came to be the most important thing in her life.

To Mr Ma, his Christian faith takes priority over family, though family is important in his life. Faith comes first and family has a secondary importance. Mrs Cheng, as the wife of Mr Ma had a similar perspective. When she was asked about the most important thing in her life, she answered as “meaning of life”, and her explanation of this view is:

...you know, it's not only for me, I do not only think about myself. I also consider other people. You see, do something for other people, you see.

This seems to contrast to Chinese culture where family comes first. In fact, Mrs Cheng values her family very much as she sacrificed her own career, as an accountant and aimed to mind her family well. Family is not the first important thing for Mr Ma and Mrs Cheng and this does not mean they do not care for family, but they learned from their faith in Christianity love is not self-centred but God-centred. Thus, this value oriented them to consider other people's interests instead of focusing only on themselves.

6.5 Pragmatic taken religion

A pragmatic adoption of religion indicates that all the values being asked about in this research have been kept as beliefs but at different levels of understanding and faith towards them. Mrs Fei, for example, originally followed her mother and believed in Buddhism, while now she intends to identify herself as a dual believer of both Buddhism and Christianity. She wants to keep her original religion and also take a new one which she likes. This means she does not really differentiate between these two religions. She knows little about the differences between Catholics and Protestants for example, whereas Mr Wang shows clear understanding of their respective doctrines. As

Yin, Xu and Liu (2008) indicate Chinese people today still have strong influence from Confucianism. For example, any belief, as long as it lets people seek kindness can be chosen. Confucianism also states that it is always positive to help others and accumulate virtues. Chinese people have a pragmatic point of view with regard to religion and belief: providing protection and blessing are promised in a religion so it can be taken. Thus, it is believed that the more belief systems a person has, the more protection and blessings can be obtained. That is why according to Yin, Xu and Liu (2008) a tourist may see in a temple in China three statues standing in one line: Confucius, Buddha, and Lao Tzu. As such, Mrs Fei is being quite pragmatic in following the two religions of her choice.

However, Mrs Fei also felt released from competition from both material consumption and career progression. She chose a Buddhism term, ‘超脱’, which means otherworldly, to describe the characteristic of her major change during her migration stay in Ireland. Essentially, she remains Chinese but with some profound understanding gained in her relationship with the world.

6.6 Struggles in journey of value migration

A number of participants accommodate their previous values with a new value system as already discussed. This section investigates the struggle along the journey of values change.

Unlike the Bible embracers mentioned previously, Mr Li shows oscillation between Chinese tradition and his Christian faith. Mr Li shows regret not to follow one of the traditional rites: ancestor worship. At the very beginning of his response, he said:

To worship ancestors, we have been in outside of home for long time, maybe overlook it.

The first reason he gave is about less interaction with the home culture once there is a foreign cultural background. Then he talked of the reason in relation to his faith:

“How to say, but the faith and worshipping ancestors, my wife, my family now all believe Christianity. They are contradict. On Tomb sweeping day, Spring Festival, and Winter Solstice, they do not like that if you visit the tomb and burn paper as sacrificial offering. Christianity does not believe this. ...I try best not, have this idea, but not practice in the reality.

It shows clearly his struggle on this point between this traditional value and Christian values. Mr Li gives a similar response when being asked whether he selects lucky days:

I do not, I do not take it serious too much. But we probably stay away from home for long time, so we do not care too much.

Mr Li felt it difficult to give up some traditional values as according to Chinese culture and this is also emphasized by him: not to forget his origin , ‘忘本’ is strongly valued in Chinese culture. It means one shall not forget ancestors and family after achieving a higher status or better situation; otherwise, this person will be criticized by society. Therefore, for Mr Li it was not easy to not perform the ritual of ‘ancestor worshipping’. He has to drop this Chinese tradition passively. He tries to make an effort to adhere to his faith but his religious statement still has a sign of deep roots in Chinese culture:

Strictly speaking, I was perhaps an atheist. But, afterwards, as Chinese traditions, like Ancestors worship, also believed. Because I am a Chinese. After all, we shall not forget our origins. But whenever on any festival days, go to visit tombs. Now believe in Christ. I thought in my heart. They contradict to each other. Have to choose one between both, what can I do.

The above quote is very typical and useful as it reflects a number of layers of meanings. Firstly, Chinese people today are still very deeply rooted and bound by Chinese traditions. Otherwise, a Chinese person will be considered as forgetting origins and it is a bad virtue. Secondly, when a new value system is encountered, conflicts may happen and make people oscillate between the old and the new at an emotional level. Mr. Li

does follow Christian belief by not practicing ancestor worship anymore, but in his heart as he said, some reluctance is shown. In contrast, the previously mentioned Bible lens holders have no hesitation in giving up those traditions which are against their new values, but are led by their new values and firm belief. Thirdly, this reflects the belief status of the majority of Chinese in China as atheist. However, from the interview, Mr. Li was interested and believed in ancestor worship before he was transformed into a Christian which contradicts the belief of atheism. Therefore, this shows the fourth aspect of the fact in the situation of Chinese values where a person may consider him or herself as an atheist but meanwhile has belief in folk religion or is deeply influenced by Confucianism but is unaware of it. Fifthly, this indicates people do not really understand the meaning of an atheist, so do not distinguish between atheism and holding folk religious beliefs. Atheism to a modern Chinese person is interchangeable with no belief in any recognized religion.

Mrs Lin has undergone dramatic change in the transformation of her value system. She states she originally was an atheist as most Chinese claim due to their education. Then she became baptised in a Chinese Protestant Church in Dublin. After a couple of years, she started to doubt some of the teachings in the Church she went to, as she found some of the leaders in the Church did not do what they taught the members, for example:

... some of the leaders taught us that we should give up earthly, give up wealth, give up some of our belongings on earth, don't, you don't buy luxurious brands. Don't drive luxurious cars. Don't care about these, because they are things on earth. That is the way they taught us. But they himself were driving luxurious cars, they have big house. Etc., etc. ... (Mrs Lin)

Nonetheless the major reason for her to believe in Catholicism is from the differences in doctrines:

... I started to going to my local Catholic church, after going for Mass for couple of months, I started to read Catholic book, the Catholic teachings. And we found that Catholic is the true religion and true belief. So then we started to consider to be a Catholic. It all happened here in Ireland... The key reason, say, the first reason is Peter,

and we both believed Peter was the first Pope. He and the Church after that were built upon his Church. (Mrs Lin)

Similar to Mrs Lin, Mrs Zhao also changed Church though from the same Protestant denomination. Mrs Zhao is a serious religion-seeker. She has been in a Chinese Church for about five years. She recently realized the Gospel preached in that Church is not based on the Bible. She terms it as ‘Diluted Gospel’. She now goes to an Irish-led Church due to a lost trust towards some Chinese Churches in Ireland. She did not feel the truth was offered in some Chinese Churches and thinks they are sleeping spiritually instead of awakening or being enlightened by the Bible. Later she went to an Indian-led Protestant Church which is English speaking and where she can understand the sermon. She believed that it was a place that could satisfy her religious needs.

6.7 Little change of personal value system during cross-cultural adaptation

Ms Qian feels free to confess that she has been perfectly brainwashed by the Chinese Communist Party. She holds a strong belief that only money works. She said there had been no change in her value system. She still holds the value system found in China today which is to make money. Only after material wealth reaches a certain level, can spiritual issues be discussed. This idea originated from Marxism where materialism has priority over spirituality. As the following quote illustrates, Ms Qian has been heavily influenced by Chinese Communist Party teaching :

...I only think of the teaching of Chinese Communist Party is very useful. Is it not about development in China Currently? Only money, say nothing to care but money...(Ms Qian)

This is echoed by Mr Wang’s explanation about the current faith of Chinese people: money. Mr Wang said:

At present, the faith of mainland China is money. Everybody regards money as the core. People may care nothing but for profits.

This social phenomenon in contemporary China, namely the pursuit of money and material competition, is recognized by four participants in this research: Ms Hu, Mr Wu, Mrs Hou and Mrs Fei.

Mr Zheng is a young man who began his education in Ireland from secondary school. He has gone through the education system of a Catholic school in Ireland, but has not changed his original beliefs which are mostly influenced by Chinese traditional values. Mr Zheng does not believe most of the traditional values asked about in the interview, such as Fengshui, fortune telling, or lucky dates, but he regards family and health as the most important thing. He does not believe good work could lead to a good fate, but believes a penalty could happen if doing bad things. Very little change of values can be found in Mr Zheng. For example, although he did not feel lonely he has strong homesickness for his Hong Kong origins:

I do not want to stay here...I miss the home in Hong Kong, the friends...

Mr Zheng did not enjoy life in Ireland even though he has stayed here all through secondary school. The original motivation for him to come to Ireland was to avoid the stressed and competitive education environment in Hong Kong, as discussed in Chapter four. Mr Zheng did not believe in Catholicism taught in his Irish school. He stated he had no religion before nor after his arrival in Ireland. However, he also said he believes in “Karma”, a Buddhist term, which means destiny. This reflects the influence from Buddhism in Chinese culture. Mr Zheng is not a Buddhist but Buddhism cultural elements ingrained in Chinese cultural have an impact on him.

6.8 Conclusion

All in all, the origins of loss of Chinese culture in this research are both from the influences of a new religion and being far away from the influences of the culture of origin. A point of view with regard to certain social issues can also be changed due to the influences from a new religion. Another situation in this research is a kind of natural decrease of traditional practices and values without a detailed reason being indicated apart from perhaps the distance from China being a factor. These changes are also a kind of impact from a new religion at a macro level.

If the element of a new value system is compatible with the original culture, then the original culture will be maintained to a different degree, otherwise modification will happen either with or without struggling. The more tolerant a new value frame is, the more parts remain from the original cultural patterns. A participant may not know the origin of his/her values as in general people do not think about such things as they are assumed. As a Chinese person is influenced by traditional culture, this traditional culture is strongly rooted in daily life, such as a family-centred view. However, people may never realize the origin of this value stems from Confucianism. Alternatively, people may not be clear about the religion or belief being claimed. Some contradictions exist among the value systems of the participants in this research; for instance, Mr Wang regards Bible teaching as the source of truth, whereas Mrs Lin believes Catholic teaching to be the truth. Mr Wang, Mrs Jiang and Ms Shang cannot find truth or spiritual support from Buddhism but they did from their Christian faith, whereas, for Mr Wu, Buddhism provides answers for life's meaning.

During the course of pursuing a religion, it also involves a pattern of chasing (motivation to pursue a religion or change values), changing (study, experience,

compare, think and decide) and satisfying (personal demands and goals set within a new value system). Migrants relocate to a new land and physical and tangible elements such as food, circles of relatives and friends are also distant from them. However, those intangible factors such as culture and mindsets are carried along by migrants to their new place. These intangible factors still work as before in the new environment. These factors may cause conflicts when meeting new counterparts in the new cultural atmosphere. They may also be tolerant of the new culture. Alternatively, these factors may reach a new balance after conflicts are resolved. As a result, a new pattern of mindsets and behaviour are formed. The new pattern may not be as harmonized as the original one but it functions in the new society. It is a sign of the survival ability for a migrant in their host society. The more adaptable in mainstream society a new pattern is, the more robust the survival ability is for a migrant. In fact a migrant may have no awareness of changing values during the acculturation process unless it has been highlighted as in this research.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

OVERVIEW OF THE DATA ANALYSIS IN THE CHAPTERS THREE TO SIX

While one's parents are alive, one should not travel to distant places. If it is necessary to travel, there should be a definite direction. “子曰：‘父母在，不远游，游必有方。’—Confucius

7.1 Chapter outline

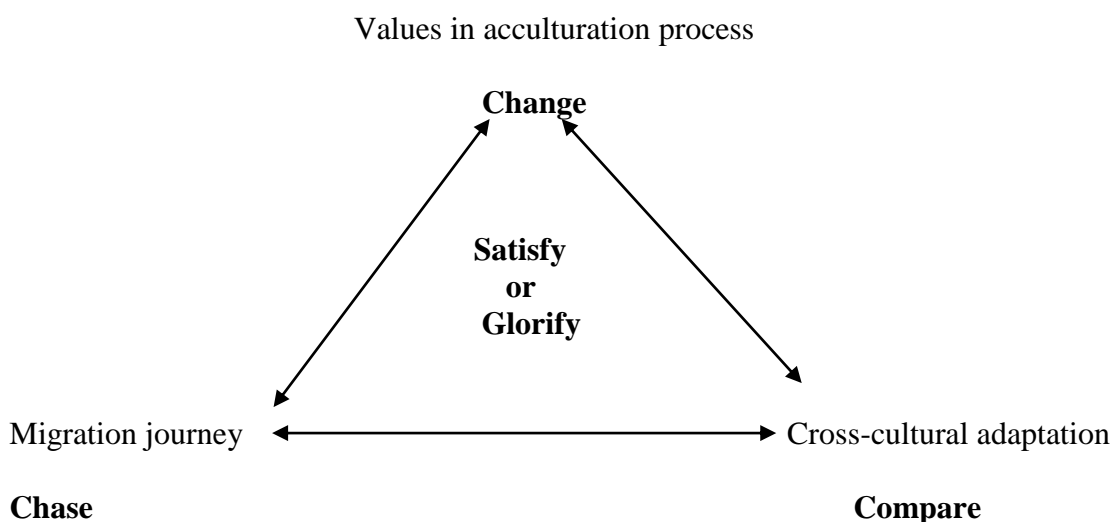
This chapter is to overview all the analysis, to have a full view of the pattern of behaviour of the participants in this research. The purpose of this chapter together with the next chapter of literature review function as transition parts between data analysis and discussion. This chapter includes two parts. The first part is a brief illustration of the findings derived from the first round of memos by manual coding. The second part follows the line of thinking of the first part and is enriched by more details in further memos aided by computer software. The reason to present it here is to present the roadmap of the whole analysing process. The second part of this chapter is a conceptual summarizing of the main findings. The contrasting of the two parts also reflects the natural progression of the data analysis.

7.2 Overall pattern of behaviour of the participants in the research

Based on the initial manual coding, figure 7.1 illustrates the pattern of behaviour of the participants in this study: A participant departs from China and starts his or her migration journey with certain motivation in mind: to **chase** his/her dream in Ireland. During intercultural interaction, a frequently recurring pattern is to **compare** the home country and the host country for further life planning. During the course of cross-cultural adaption, values **change** in different levels and directions with the overall purpose of life to **satisfy** personal desires or certain religion doctrine. These three

categories of ‘chase’, ‘compare’ and ‘change’ are not independent of each other but interdependent. They interweave and result in diversified outcomes.

Figure 7.1: Migration process in a holistic view



To further elaborate this diagram in more detail, the category of Chase includes financial motivation, and non-financial motivation. The participant with financial motivation comes either on a work permit or with the strong intention of looking for a job but arrives originally under a student visa. Non-financial motivation refers to seeking further education, new life experience, family reunion, or travel experience. Motivation direction may change between monetary and non-monetary during the migration period. It means the initial motivation of a migrant is non-monetary but changes to a monetary reason along the migration life course or vice versa. Motivation is a hidden theme in a participant’s life. However, it directs a person to plan, revise and fulfil a real life in a foreign land.

In contrast, the cross-cultural process can be observed and felt by both participants themselves and the host society. Without being asked the question directly, a participant starts quite naturally to compare differences between home, China, and the host society,

between the economy, politics, and cultural aspects based on micro-level and macro-level observations. In these comparisons, values play an important role in the judgements made. These judgments and their accompanying arguments also serve as the foundation for a participant to remain or leave Ireland.

Going through the process of cross-cultural adaptation, a migrant's values change. Changes can come from interaction with the host society, other migrant communities in the host society and the ethnic community in the host society. Additionally, change occurs because of religion. In spite of what source such change is from, the result is that a participant undergoes change in values during acculturation. In this process, attitudes towards traditional values and original values function as a starting point and a parameter from which to study the journey of value change of a participant in this study. A participant can keep traditional values but also integrate new values or beliefs learned or adapted during the cross-cultural adaption process, or a participant can let go traditional values when they contradict the new beliefs adopted which either have or have no relation with the new culture. This is the same as the definition of acculturation, which refers to:

...those phenomena which result when groups of individuals have different cultures and come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original patterns of either or both groups (Redfield et al 1935:145-146).

It is also the same as Kim (2002) indicates, namely that newcomers experience an internal transformation from intercultural encounters.

Two prominent points in value change this journey: One value is kept very well by all participants, namely the importance of family and filial piety. Another point is that as a participant's values change, difficulties are found for a participant to adapt back to the

home cultural environment and consequently certain participants would make efforts to prolong their migration plan and remain in Ireland longer.

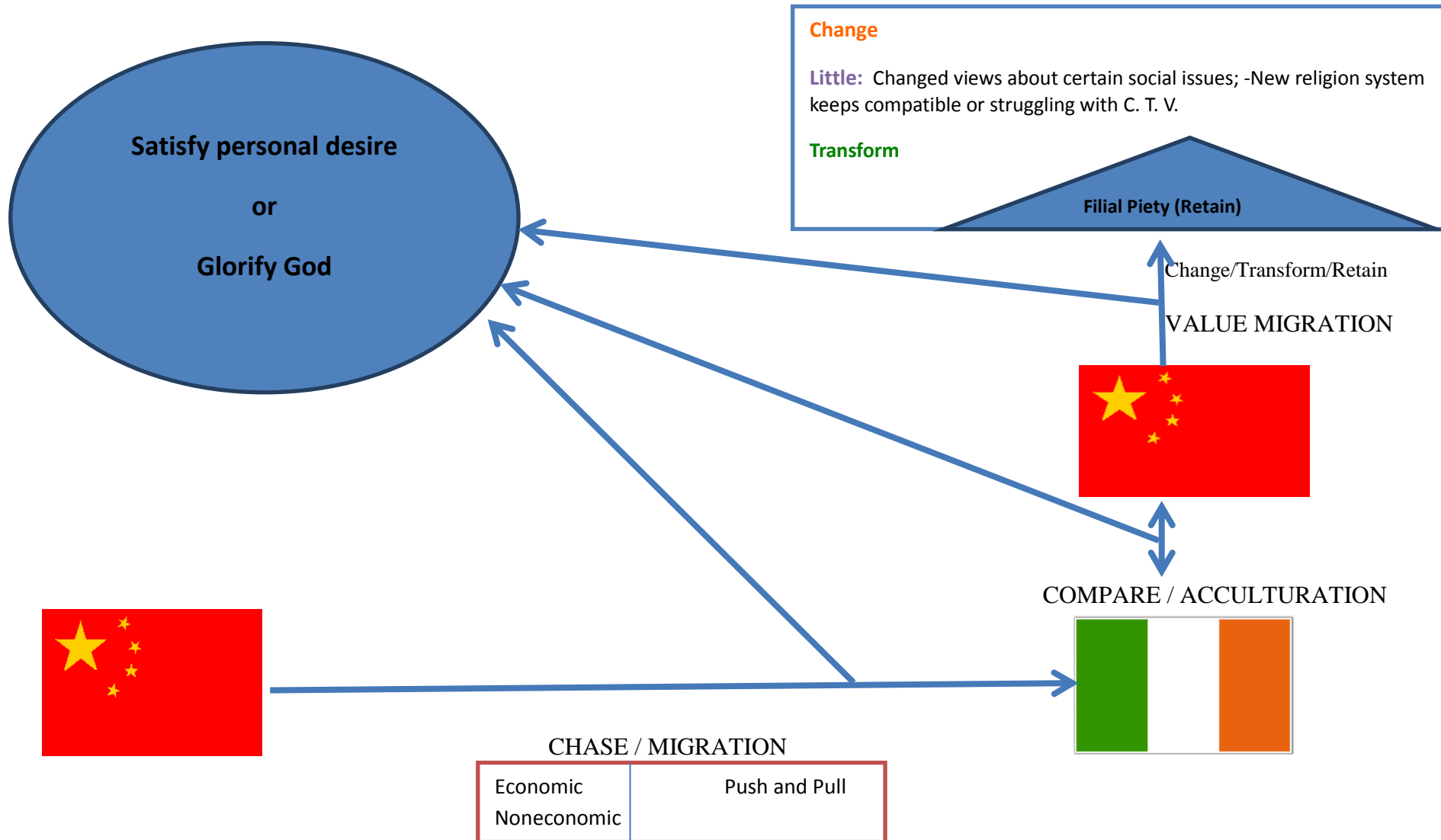
7.3 An overview of the migration journey of the participants in this research

7.3.1 The structure and contents of the pattern of behaviour

With regard to the structure of the pattern of behaviour of the participants in the research, figure 7.2 shows that a participant starts a migration journey, like a dream chasing with a certain migration motivation, including economic and non-economic ones, or another way to look at these reasons are as push and pull causes. During the acculturation process, comparisons take place about situations or values between the home culture and Irish host society. The categories of “to chase”, “to compare” and “to satisfy” appear along the stages of migration planning and acculturation. The outcomes of the acculturation process in a personal value system emerge in three types: to transform, to change or to retain. It means the value systems of all the participants have undergone a certain level of deviation from their original circumstances. This deviation is termed as “*value migration*” borrowing the metaphor from physical moving as a migrant.

To ‘change’ refers to the kind of alteration in a personal value system which does not shake cultural roots too much. For instance, a participant finds more understanding about democracy and freedom of practicing religion in Ireland but does not overly change Chinese traditional values being asked about in the interview. Among the

Figure 7.2 An overview of the migration journey of the participants in this research



participants whose personal value systems have undergone conflicts between the old and new value systems, some old values keep compatibility with the new ones. In this pattern, the value systems of the participants either centre on Chinese cultural roots or oscillate between the old and new systems. To change completely covers the meaning of 'to transform'. To transform is a form of transcendence from 'to change'. To transform means the kind of alteration of a personal value system that transcends the original traditional value structure. This research particularly refers to 'Bible lens' takers who try to view everything based on the criteria in the Bible; if a value is found against Bible teaching, the value will be given up. Clashes between the new and old value systems do happen at various levels but the new one takes the lead at the end. Therefore, this kind of value orientation departs further from Chinese traditions. The only value which remains unchanged and universally identified in this research is filial piety. It is found with all the participants that this value continues to be valued and be practiced. The only difference of a 'Bible lens' taker from the traditional understanding of filial piety is that this value must conform to Bible teaching as a precondition to continue to follow it.

To look at the whole process of the life of migrants starting from the pre-moving stage when planning moving, through to the acculturation process till the future planning of life, all the actions involved in the research can point to either of the two categories: to satisfy personal desire, or glorify God, which refers to a divine-centred world view, which, in this research, specifically means a world view that is God-centred. Therefore, these two categories are the two main concerns for the participants in this research.

7.3.2 Migration motivation in cultural dimension

In the pre-moving stage, the participants hold a main motivation mixing with other concerns when contemplating the action to migrate to Ireland. They consider the various

issues between China and Ireland which are factors that influence the decision-making process of the participants in this research:

- Lure of economic benefits
- Finding a way to be financially independent
- Non-financial related motivation
- Advancing education or English language
- Less competitive education environment
- Seeking for new life experience with freedom or for curiosity of the outside China, or for travel experience
- For a simply social networking structure
- Aiming for family reunion.

One important finding about the Chinese participants in this research is that the majority of them report the initial motivation to come to Ireland is non-monetary driven: it is education driven, for life experience or family reunion.

In addition, in planning the future of their migration life, the factors of personal religion or faith and certain values from Chinese traditional culture play a role in the decision to remain or leave Ireland. The key reason to remain in Ireland is due to leading a Church in Ireland, or wherever to go in the future is to glorify God. To have to go back to China is due to the responsibility to mind aged parents, to fulfil filial piety even though a research participant may be fully entitled to remain in Ireland. Also, some participants find it hard to adapt back to China because of the complicated system of social connections in China. These factors can be either the main reason or one of the reasons for a participant who leaves or remains in Ireland, whereas the financial aspect for a migration plan is not mentioned. The research findings do not mean financial reasons are not important for the participants but cultural aspects as important factors are taken into consideration in the value system of the participants in this research.

7.3.3 The acculturation process: role of personal religion and Chinese cultural influence

7.3.3.1 Discrimination

The participants in the research show a pattern of dealing with discrimination from experiencing and perceiving discrimination to contemplating and defining the issue, then finding a solution to cope with this situation.

In terms of causes of discrimination from the Irish host society, the participants think of the following reasons: sweeping impression from some Chinese migrants with unpleasant behaviour; dark side of contemporary Chinese society; Irish people know little about China; working in low-skilled jobs; poor English; social network protection to insiders of Irish society and cultural barriers.

The extent of discrimination appears to have some correlation with the education level of Irish people encountered by the participants. The more educated an Irish person is, the, less discrimination is shown. Also if the participant has a relatively higher level of education, less discrimination will be received. The main theme of the response to discrimination is using the strategy of tolerance. The participants in this study deal with discrimination by accepting it objectively or as facing social reality. They can understand discrimination by borrowing from experience in China; ignoring it and regarding it as non-serious; to tolerate; seeking support from Bible teaching; working hard to reduce perceived discrimination.

Talking about negative aspects of China in front of a Chinese migrant can be taken as a form of discrimination. This may be in relation with the emphasis of face in Chinese culture and also its characteristic as a collectivist culture. A number of participants cope

with either serious or low level discrimination by resorting to the strength obtained from their Christian faith.

7.3.3.2 Out-group relations

The Chinese participants adopt either integration, assimilation or separation oriented strategy towards Irish society. There are participants who make efforts to assimilate into the Irish host society using Catholic belief as a vehicle to know more about Irish culture or to provide more interaction opportunities with Irish people, or religious education from Catholic Church. In contrast, some Protestant believers keep close interaction within their Chinese Church while seeking no daily interaction with Irish society. It appears Chinese people in this study like to group together with their ethnic group. Nonetheless, a Buddhist who does not need institutional practice with either a Chinese or Irish temple, in his religion also tends to be isolated from other people including both Irish and Chinese, because his religious teaching gives him less interest in making friends even though he finds no barrier to do so.

To keep Chinese identity and spend more time with Chinese friends are also reasons for some participants to have less motivation to socialize with Irish people. Most of the participants report their friendship circles are dominated by Chinese friends. The outcome of the efforts to assimilate into the Irish host society does not seem effective. They choose to separate not because Irish society rejects them; rather they voluntarily separate from the Irish host society instead of seeking active interaction with Irish people. For these participants the reasons for this are due to either religious factors or cultural elements.

7.3.3.3 Motivation of having value or religion changed

The participants reveal two layers of motivation to have their value or religion changed: spiritual satisfaction and pragmatic satisfaction. The former aspect includes finding a meaning to life; having peace and hope of mind; excluding loneliness; excluding emptiness; and having a feeling of love in Church. The latter aspect refers to those difficulties encountered in the daily life of the participants. A participant can start a new religion initiated by the demands of migration at a pragmatic level and then may lead to a spiritual level gradually. The pursuing of a religion can either stop or continue after practical demands are met.

7.3.3.4 Impacts of a religion on the acculturation process

There are eight categories identified with regard to the impact of a religion in cross-cultural adaptation in this research:

- To help go through difficulties in migration life at both dimensions of psychological adaptation (discrimination, loneliness, homesickness and depression due to unemployment) and pragmatic life (to have job information and voluntary grinds for study);
- To have a sense of attachment;
- To have more knowledge of Irish culture;
- To help socializing (to maintain good social relationships and make friends);
- To help assimilate into Irish host society;
- To cause isolation from both Irish host society and/or the same ethnic background;
- Universal outcomes (to have peace and hope of life, to find a meaning to life, to exclude emptiness, to have a loving feeling in church, to educate children, and to reduce material/monetary lust);
- No influence from religion in cross-cultural adaptation period.

Overall, apart from the ultimate value orientation such as seeking the meaning of life, religious practice helps the participants in this research cope with intercultural challenges and smooth some of the difficulties encountered in cross-cultural adaptation.

7.3.3.5 Filial piety

All the participants in the research show concern about fulfilling filial piety as an important virtue. The Bible lens taker adds the precondition that to adhere to this value, it must be consistent with Bible teaching.

7.3.3.6 Bible lens

Eight participants in the research reveal a pattern of a value system that strongly adheres to Bible teaching. Their values have been totally transformed and transcend the original value system to a framework set within the Bible. If the value orientation remains compatible with Bible teaching then it will be unchanged, otherwise it will be framed to Biblical views. Among the six Chinese traditional values being asked about in the interviews, it is found that five values have been dropped due to a new value system and only showing filial piety to living parents remains.

7.3.3.7 Conclusion: the place of Chinese tradition values in the value systems

For the twenty one participants in this study, traditional values still have a place in their value systems at various levels; one participant may keep one value, another keeps two or three. It also happens that a number of participants have totally gone away from traditional values and instead have replaced them by a new system. Thus, there is both a retaining and loss of Chinese culture in this research.

CHAPTER EIGHT: LITERATURE REVIEW

The value concept... is able to unify the apparently diverse interests of all the sciences concerned with human behaviour.

Rokeach(1973)

8.1 Chapter Outline

This chapter reviews culture and values and looks at the place of value research in the cross-cultural field. Next, this chapter leads to a discussion of Chinese values related research in cross-cultural studies and lastly it reviews intercultural and cross-cultural studies. The purpose of this chapter of literature review is to look at theories of relevance to the research. In the next discussion chapter, this review of the extant literature will be combined with the data analysis to reshape the findings in the research. In other words, this chapter and the previous chapters of data analysis are the foundation to prepare an academic dialogue between the research and existing research theories in chapter nine in accordance with a classic grounded theory approach.

8.2 The place of value in cultural studies

Berry (2009:363) remarks “a core question in cross-cultural psychology is the nature of culture” and Keating et al. (2002) consider the complexity of culture and that there is little agreement across various disciplines. In terms of definition of culture, there are over one hundred and sixty versions identified (Jones 2007; Keating e al. 2002) so that the term ‘culture’ can be used in diverse contexts or meanings. Culture can mean national characteristics in cross-cultural research in relation to migration and so is of importance to this study; culture can also relate to consuming behaviors, and culture is taken into account as an important element when dealing with foreign affairs. The field of intercultural studies is interdisciplinary and so it draws on the works of scholars in

disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, psychology and business studies in relation to culture. Three interpretations of culture are discussed to show the role of values, as values play a key role in cross-cultural adaptation in this thesis.

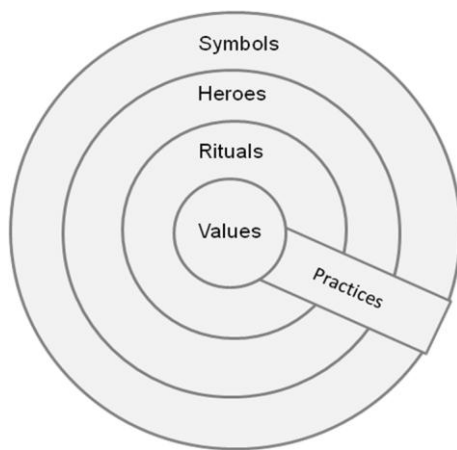
Hofstede (2001) notes the definition by Kluckhohn (1951a:86) has gained broad consensus:

“Culture consists in patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values”.

In this definition, Kluckhohn (1951a) considers ‘attached values’ as a core part of culture. Likewise, Geertz (1973) explains culture, also using terms like pattern and programs: “Cultural patterns provide such programs for the institution of the social and psychological processes which shape public behavior (Geertz 1973:92).” Hofstede (2001:9) keeps in line with Kluckhohn (1951a) and defines culture briefly as “the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another.” Hofstede (2001) agrees with Kluckhohn (1951a) that culture contains values and Hofstede points out that values are core elements of culture and so is taken as the definition of culture in this study.

Hofstede (1991; 2001; 2005) presents the “Onion Diagram” to manifest different levels of depth of culture and in the center are values as shown in figure 8.1: Due to the difference of each level of the onion diagram, each cultural group manifests different cultural patterns. Hofstede defines symbols as “words, gestures, pictures, and objects that carry often complex meanings recognized as such only by those who share the

**Figure 8.1 The 'onion diagram': Manifestations of culture at different levels
(adapted from Hofstede 2005:7)**



culture (Hofstede 2001:10),” while heroes are models for behavior in a culture. Rituals are “collective activities, technically superfluous to reaching desired ends (Hofstede 2005:8).” Rituals are important at the social level to keep individuals within the norms of a culture at the collective level, a point of significance in this study of Chinese migrants, symbols, heroes and rituals are under the category of practices which refer to cultural aspects visible to outsiders. Overall, Hofstede considers that symbols “represent the most superficial and values the deepest manifestations of culture, with heroes and rituals in between” (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005:6). As Hofstede defines culture as a “mental programming”, it implies a slow process of culture developing into a society, including “learning values, partaking of rituals, modeling against heroes and understanding symbols” (Jones 2007). Further, Hofstede points out the difficulty to change values as they are acquired in the early stages of a person’s life and developed unconsciously. Thus, values tend to be stable. Hofstede (2001) distinguishes the level of analysis that values studies as comparing individuals and making comparisons of societies for researching culture, a point of relevance to this study of changing values of Chinese migrants in Ireland.

Inglis (1993:28) defines culture study as the study of “human values..., their changefulness and their recognizable communality.” Inglis is a follower of Clifford Geertz in terms of the nature of culture as narrative stories, from which values can be understood and interpreted. Kuper (2000) recognizes the central place of Geertz’s writing in modern American anthropology and notes the major concern of Geertz’ works is a sharpened and refined definition of culture as “a symbolic system”. Kuper (2000: 120) points out that for Geertz culture is “...the epitome of the values that rule in a society, embodied most perfectly in the religious rituals and the high art of the elite.” The original definition of culture by Geertz (1973:89) denotes:

“...a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.”

To interpret Geertz’s definition is to understand that culture is a pattern and system about life and to find out culture is to research details of patterns and systems. For Geertz, culture becomes visible from “notions and abstractions from experience fixed in perceptible forms, concrete embodiments of ideas, attitudes, judgments, longings or beliefs (Geertz 1973:91).” Thus for Geertz, culture can be interpreted “thickly” from symbols like language and a cultural system can be discovered, and is therefore of concern to this study.

Overall, Kluckhohn (1951a, b), Hofstede (2001), and Geertz (1973) all remark on the place of values in their definitions and understanding of culture. To sum up, their definitions of culture finds that culture is a symbolic system of various patterns rooted in the human mind, and with various aspects, including visible and invisible elements, such as feelings, attitudes, ideas, beliefs, language and behavior; in terms of time, culture comprises traditional and ongoing attached values; culture distinguishes different individuals and groups. All these aspects are of relevance to this study of

Chinese migrants and the changes in their value systems because of their encounter with a new culture.

Although Geertz (1973) and Hofstede (2001) share close views in relation to the place of values in their culture definitions, Luna and Gupta (2001) discern that Geertz and Hofstede enjoy different approaches to the study of culture: Geertz uses an emic methodology which means culture is the lens to see through and interpret all cultural phenomena. An emic approach does not compare directly between two or more cultures but facilitates cultural comprehension by thick description. In contrast, Hofstede's approach is an etic one which means to compare different cultures. In other words, an emic approach is at the level of an individual and an etic approach is at the level of broad comparison, which for Hofstede is across national cultures. For this study both are of relevance.

However, when Kuper (2000) evaluates postwar American cultural anthropology, he remarks that the precise notion of culture cannot help solve fundamental epistemological problems in modern work on culture by anthropologists. He does not deny the usefulness of cultural interpretation, but he argues that "political and economic forces, social institutions, and biological processes cannot be washed away, or assimilated to systems of knowledge and belief (Kuper 2000: xi). This is an important point in relation to this study particularly because of stereotypical views of Chinese history and culture. Spates (1983) in a review of the sociology of values, shares the same point of view as Kuper. Nonetheless, the definitions of culture by Kluckhohn, Geertz and Hofstede see that values lie at the heart of culture and so are of relevance to this study.

As this research is about the role of values and religions in the cross-cultural adaptation of Chinese migrants, the background knowledge referred to by Kuper (2000) such as related economic and social factors have been taken into consideration, but the roles and changing of values and religions are the prime focus in this research. In addition, the research has adopted a classic grounded theory approach to collect data from the real world where “all is data” is a strategy in classic grounded theory and in this research the data comes from both interviews and observations. As a result, it can resolve the problem of values research raised in Spates (1983) that a deductive imposition may use a value category which does not exist in the real world. Spates (1983) also notes multiple observation techniques in values research so that the aim is to have a complete picture of a real world. Spates (1983) recognizes the most significant advance in values research has been accomplished by Milton Rokeach and believes the result of Rokeach’s (1973) work has provided “the most complete portrait yet of American values, their ties to class, age, race, religious affiliation, and various subcultures (Spates 1983:42).” Rokeach’s survey has also been used in cross-culture fields, but the research by an Israeli psychologist Shalom Schwartz, has been recognized by Hofstede (2001) as the most extensive projects on values are carried out so far.

8.3 Conceptual distinctions

8.3.1 Conceptual distinctions: Beliefs, attitudes and values

Rokeach’s work relates to the invisible parts of culture: belief, attitudes and value. In *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values, A Theory of Organization and Change*, Rokeach (1976) argues the title reflects his two views: firstly without distinguishing the above concepts, the understanding of them is impossible. Secondly, beliefs, attitudes and values come together to “form a functionally integrated cognitive system” (Rokeach 1976: ix). Any

change in one part will lead to change in other parts, and consequently behavioral change can be observed. Rokeach gives the definitions of a belief system as:

“...having represented within it, in some organized psychological but not necessarily logical form, each and every one of a person’s countless beliefs about physical and social reality (Rokeach 1976:2) .”

Therefore, Rokeach (1976) points out that belief exists in a system. A belief is neutral and only has a cognitive component, whereas ‘an attitude’ is also a belief but possesses both cognitive and affective components. He defines attitude as:

“... a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner.” (Rokeach 1976:112)

Thus, an attitude is belief but not vice versa. In this study, it is evident that attitude relates to a goal or response manner, as a different belief system leads to different attitudes on similar acculturation experiences. For values, Rokeach (1976:159-160) remarks that they:

“...have to do with modes of conduct and end-states of existence. To say that a person ‘has a value’ is to say that he has an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states of existence.”

Rokeach believes this definition is compatible with the one by Kluckhohn (1951b).

Similar to the definitions of culture, the literature on values produces further definitions.

In line with Rokeach (1973), Feather (1995:1135) proposes that values are:

“Abstract structures that involve the beliefs that people hold about desirable ways of behaving or about desirable end states. These beliefs transcend specific objects and situations, and they have a normative, or oughtness, quality about them. They have their source in basic human needs and in societal demands....Values are more abstract than attitudes, and they are hierarchically organized in terms of their importance for self...They defend them in various ways and react with feeling when their values are fulfilled, challenged, or frustrated.”

Feather (1995) emphasizes that a value has a motivational role in a person’s goals in both long and short terms. Feather assumes values as both generalized beliefs about

what is or is not desirable and also as motives. Therefore, values have a prominent influence for people to plan and act in reaching a goal. This is evident in this research when the Chinese migrants plan their futures. Their religion and traditional value orientation play a part in directing their plans. French and Kahn (1962:111) state that values:

“have the conceptual property of the ability to motivate goal directed behavior in the person by inducing valences (or incentive values) on certain environmental objects, behaviors, or states of affairs.”

According to Feather (1995) “valences” means “the subjective attractiveness or averseness of specific objects and events within the immediate situation”, and so has relevance for this study, particularly in relation to the role of religion and values of the participants across the whole migration journey.

Schwartz and Bilsky (1987:551) define five features of values derived from the most used value definitions:

“Concepts or beliefs; about desirable end states or behaviors; that transcend specific situations; guide selection or evaluation of behavior and event; and are ordered by relative importance.”

This definition of values is of relevance to this research and chapter nine will discuss in detail the meaning of value in this research and illustrate to what extent the research echoes the extant theories. Finally, Rokeach (1976) raises three assumptions: belief does not have the same importance for each individual. Belief is a central-peripheral dimension. The more centrally a belief system changes, the more unexpected impacts are brought onto the rest of the parts of a belief system. The system cannot be viewed visibly but must be inferred. Three components are in each belief within an attitude organization: a cognitive component, an affective component and a behavioral component. All three affect the participants in this research in relation to cross-cultural

adaptation processes, particularly when a migrant has been evangelized.

8.3.2 Conceptual distinctions: Religion, belief and faith

Religion, belief and faith convey quite similar meanings in relation to adhering to a set of either tight or loose ritual teaching both cognitively and in behaviors and they are used virtually interchangeably. Geertz (1973:90) defines religion as a cultural system that is:

“of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.”

This is to say religion can motivate and direct a person's behavior and transcend an invisible symbolic system into the behavior aspects of real lives. Religious beliefs also function in both dimensions of visibility and invisibility as moods and motivations, a point of importance in this study in relation to migration motivation. To compare the definitions of belief and religion by Rokeach (1976), religion is an aspect of a belief system and comprises cognitive, affective and behavioral components, while a belief system has one cognitive component. Faith has been referred in the research as a number of participants would rather use faith than religion to talk about their belief system. The words faith and religion are therefore used interchangeably in this study.

8.4 Value research in cross-cultural research

Chen (1988) emphasizes that understanding different cultural values orientations will help effective communication across cultures. Chen (1988) also points out that limited research has been done in this field. Since Chen's (1988) research, Smith (2004) and Bilsky and Koch (2002) consider that research has started to define cultural differences instead of focusing on differentiating patterns of behavior. Smith (2004) argues that

values comparison is a particularly useful way of understanding cultural differences and so has direct relevance to this study of values change among Chinese migrants.” Both Luna and Gupta (2001), and Watkins (2009) note understanding values is fundamental to cross-cultural research and values studies have gradually become more and more central to cross-cultural psychology. This means cross-cultural research has gradually moved from visible to invisible dimensions of culture, from the outline of Hofstede’s onion skin to the core part of the onion diagram as outlined in figure 8.1.

The approaches of Rokeach, Hofstede and Schwartz have been widely used in cross-cultural research. The following section looks at Hofstede’s theories of cultural dimensions and Schwartz’s theories as they are of significance to this study.

8.4.1 Hofstede’s cultural dimensions

Hofstede (1991: 14) notes “A dimension is an aspect of a culture that can be measured relative to other cultures.” Hofstede (1991) considers four cultural dimensions: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism and collectivism and masculinity and femininity. These four dimensions are derived from the massive data set collected across 50 countries and three regions though no ex-communist country is included (Smith and Dugan 1996) but added an estimate for a communist country such as China in Hofstede (2001). Hofstede (2001) added one more dimension: long- versus short- term orientation which is derived from Chinese values research by the Chinese Culture Connection (1987). Hofstede has continued to refine and develop the conceptualization and explanation of these dimensions and the following sections are from Hofstede (1991; 2001) and Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) which explain each dimension in turn.

8.4.1.1 Power distance

Inequality in terms of physical and intellectual abilities understood as power and wealth are a universal social phenomenon. Each country has a different structure and pattern of inequality. Hofstede (2001:83) defines power distance as:

“The power distance between a boss B and a Subordinate S in a hierarchy is the difference between the extent to which B can determine the behavior of S and the extent to which S can determine the behavior of B.”

It means the smaller power distance in a country is, the more limited is the dependence of subordinates on bosses. Accordingly, the emotional distance between B and S is also relatively small (Hofstede 1991). Comparative research on leadership values of different countries shows that both leaders and employees are aware of power differences. However those being led have a better observance of these differences than leaders.

Therefore the definition is refined in Hofstede (2005:46) as:

“The extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally.”

Hofstede (2005) notes the co-existence of subordinateship and leadership complement each other. Power distance is visible within societies so that in a country with large power distance in the family, children are taught to be obedient to parents. By contrast, in a culture which has small power distance, parents treat children as equals. This kind of pattern replays in all institutions and organizations such as schools, companies, and in political areas between subordinates and superiors (Hofstede 2001).

This dimension is of importance to this research, as Hofstede (2001:113) remarks that:

“Power distance norm differences are definitely associated with aspects of religious life.” He argues power distance is not explained by religious creeds but stems from common origins. For example both Ireland, mainly a Catholic country and the UK, Protestant dominated, have a similar Power Distance Index (PDI) due to the original

influences from the Roman Empire (Hofstede 2001). Therefore Hofstede (1991:16) notes that “religious affiliation by itself is less culturally relevant than is often assumed.” Hofstede would rather emphasize the influence from cultural patterns than religion origins. Hofstede does not put religious creed as the chief source of influence and power but considers culture is a teacher of both doers and thinkers of cultures. However, Hofstede recognizes that a religion will strengthen the values conveyed in a society once it is established in a country so that it is of direct relevance to this study.

In societies inheriting Confucianism which advocates a hierarchy of five cardinal relations in society, this influential philosophical system has maintain social stability based on unequal relationships (Hofstede 2001; 2005). Confucius’s ideas have survived in China till now in spite of a number of attempts intending to wipe it out by governments at different stages across Chinese history. Confucianism is not a religion but functions similarly to a religion. Hofstede (2005) considers the adoption of Marxism, originally a low power distance ideology, in countries with a large-power-distance profile was a tragedy in the modern world. Hofstede believes Marx’s concept of “dictatorship of the proletariat” is a naïve view as humans are inclined to inequality, a point of interest in relation to contemporary China where greater levels of inequality are becoming the norm.

Ireland is a country with a lower power distance indicator than both Hong Kong and Taiwan whose cultures have the same tradition roots such as Confucianism and enjoy similarities with China. Hofstede (2001:112) states that:

“In the lower-PDI societies, power, wealth, and status need not go together; it is even considered a good thing if they do not. The main sources of power are one’s formal position, one’s assumed expertise...”

In contrast, in a higher PDI society such as China, power, wealth and status are tied

together and they are considered as the most important to pursue. In a hierarchy structure of social networks, those with more power and wealth and higher status will be on the top of the network and enjoy privileges and vice versa. This is echoed in the research as a number of participants report less competition about wealth and social status in Ireland than in China.

8.4.1.2 Uncertainty avoidance

Uncertainty avoidance originally was found as a by-product of the research in relation to power distance and started with a question about job stress (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005). Hofstede (1991:113; 2001:161) proposes uncertainty avoidance as “The extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations.” The definition of this dimension in Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) replaces “uncertain” by “ambiguous” so that the definitions reflects that uncertainty avoidance is a personal feeling towards ambiguous and unknown situations. Hofstede believes uncertainty avoidance is a subjective experience and is a kind of feeling to be acquired and learned. Each culture has a different level of uncertainty. The distinctive characteristics of national cultures with low uncertainty avoidance are: relatively low anxiety, not showing aggression and emotions, quiet, easy-going, controlled, and indolent. In contrast countries, with high uncertainty present the opposite. Thus, Chinese culture falls under the category of a low uncertainty avoidance country.

Hofstede (2001) refers to three ways to manage uncertainty: technology, law and religion. Technology helps people defend against uncertainties caused by nature; law protects people from uncertainty from other people’s behavior; religion helps people face the ultimate uncertainty of the end of lives. Hofstede and Hofstede (2005:168-169) present a table of the uncertainty avoidance index values for 74 countries and regions,

including China which is scored based on estimates. It shows both China and Ireland are in the exact same ranking positions with the same uncertainty avoidance index. The United States, the Philippines, and India are adjacent in ranking from number 43-45, though these three countries have totally different religious and cultural roots. Hofstede notes that due to the difference of religious teaching orientation, most Catholic countries are with high UAI whereas Protestant dominant ones are with low UAI. Thus, Hofstede (2001:177) argues that “religion and uncertainty avoidance appear to be meaningfully related. Religion is not the root cause of uncertainty avoidance index (UAI) differences.” This is consistent with the relationship between power distance and religion, reviewed in section 8.4.1.1. This study, as qualitative research reveals the detailed and individual life world of the participants; it shows that religion plays an important role in a number of individuals to deal with uncertainty especially at the beginning of their migration life. The findings complement the findings in quantitative research as Hofstede’s, where such micro levels are not explored.

8.4.1.3 Individualism and collectivism

Hofstede (2001:225) indicates individualism and collectivism as two extremes of a dimension of national culture:

“Individualism stands for a society in which the ties between individuals are loose: Everyone is expected to look after him/herself and her/his immediate family only. Collectivism stands for a society in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people’s lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty.”

A culture categorized under collectivism will see people put group interests over individual ones in contrast to in an individualist culture. Apart from the difference remarked in the above definition, key differences between the two types of societies in terms of general norm and family are adapted from table 3.2 in Hofstede (2005:92) as

follows:

Table 8.1 Contrast between general norm and family

| Collectivist | Individualist |
|--|--|
| Children learn to think in terms of “we.” | Children learn to think in terms of “I.” |
| Harmony should always be maintained and direct confrontations avoided. | Speaking one’s mind is a characteristic of an honest person. |
| Resources should be shared with relatives. | Individual ownership of resources, even for children. |
| High-context communication prevails. | Low-context communication prevails. |

The contrasts between a collectivist and individualist culture as outlined above are of relevance to the Chinese migrants in this study.

The degrees of collectivism and individualism vary across societies. Ireland and China have a large difference in individualism index values: Ireland is scored at 70 and ranked at the position of 15, whereas China is scored at 20 and at number 20 (Hofstede 2005:78-79). Thus, Ireland is an individualism oriented country and China is at the opposite pole of collectivism. This can be seen in the findings of the value system change of the Chinese migrants during their cross-cultural adaptation in Ireland in this research, such as harmony oriented cultural roots which may contribute to the Chinese participants who tolerate discrimination experiences as a way to avoid conflicts in Irish society; it is not a norm for a Chinese person to speak his mind publicly but in Ireland as an individualist country, a participant finds it more free to do so.

Hofstede (2001) points out that in the collectivist family, the concept of “face” is emphasized such as in Chinese culture. He notes also in Chinese culture individualism has a very different moral stance from Western thinking. Individualism in Chinese culture is regarded as selfishness. Collectivism does not deny the individual’s well-being or interest but assumes that maintenance of group interests will ensure individual benefits. In this research, the pattern of showing support to a family includes both the

nuclear family and extended family. Minding family interests at a collective level is a virtue in Chinese culture.

8.4.1.4 Masculinity and femininity

Hofstede proposes a cultural dimension of masculinity and femininity at the level of both social and emotional meaning. The social layer is observed from external factors, while emotional activities take place inside a person. Hofstede would rather emphasize the emotional role of this dimension than the social role (Hofstede 1991, 2005).

Hofstede (2005:120) indicates a masculine society shows that:

“Emotional gender roles are clearly distinct: men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success, whereas women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life.”

In a feminine society in contrast:

“Emotional gender roles overlap: both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life.”

Thus, this dimension measures to what extent the dominant values in a society are assertive and competitive ones. Key differences between the two types of societies at the level of family and school are that in a low masculine culture there is “weak gender differentiation in the socialization of children; children do not express aggression and failing in school is a minor accident and own performance underrated” (Hofstede 2001:306). In this research, it is evident that Chinese society is a masculine society where intensive competition in education drives a participant to seek tertiary education in Ireland.

8.4.1.5 Long- versus short- term orientation

Hofstede and his colleague Bond jointly conceived a survey about Chinese values

(Hofstede and Bond 1984). When reanalyzing the data from a previous study using the Rokeach Value Survey in line with Hofstede's theory, they recognized the potential for cultural biases in researchers due to differences in cultural backgrounds. This is the original motivation to begin a survey with Eastern biases on purpose. For example the value of "filial piety" is strange to a Western mind but very important to an Asian culture where Confucianism is influential. As a result, in Hofstede and Bond's (1984) research, only one of Hofstede's cultural dimensions, uncertainty avoidance was found not to be correlated. However, a new dimension was found based on the teachings of Confucius. Hofstede does not use Bond's label of Confucian dynamism but uses a long- and short- term dimension for a number of reasons. Most of the twenty two sample countries are not Confucianism dominated countries and the value item of thrift is also evident in some Western countries whereas the value of filial piety shows a great association with collectivism (Hofstede 2001). Thus, Hofstede defines this dimension as:

"Long-term orientation stands for the fostering of virtues oriented toward future rewards—in particular, perseverance and thrift. Its opposite pole, short-term orientation, stands for the fostering of virtues related to the past and present—in particular, respect for tradition, preservation of 'face', and fulfilling social obligations" (Hofstede 2005:210)

Long-term orientation refers to values such as persistence, ordering relationships by status and observing this order, thrift and having a sense of shame. Short-term orientation includes values like personal steadiness and stability, protecting "face", respect for tradition and reciprocation of greetings, favors and gifts (Hofstede 2001, 2005). From the long-term orientation index values for thirty nine countries China scored 118 (rank first) and Ireland 43 (ranked 15) (Hofstede 2005:211). However, from the point of view of this research, this differentiation appears confusing as both status and face are present in Chinese culture.

Overall, the five dimensions have become the foundation for Hofstede to distinguish national culture in each country. His research has had an immense effect on both academics and practitioners (Jones 2007). Despite the success of the Hofstede framework, it does not escape from critics (Smith 1998) and the critiques of Hofstede's research are presented next.

8.4.1.6 Critiques of Hofstede's theory of cultural dimensions

Bhagat and McQuaid (1982:11) believe Hofstede's study is "the most significant cross-cultural study of work-related values, so confirming the significance of its status."

Table 8.2 Critiques of Hofstede's study

| Against | Pro |
|---|--|
| Relevancy: survey is inappropriate for determining and measuring cultural disparity. Especially when value is culturally sensitive and subjective. (Schwartz 1999) | Relevancy: Hofstede was a pioneer and pathfinder in cross-cultural research at that time when limited references could be referred to by many international businesses encountering difficulties. (Søndergaard 1994) |
| Cultural homogeneity: perhaps the most popular criticism. Hofstede's study has neglected ethnicity in national culture and the importance and variations of community. (Nasif et al. 1991; Redpath 1997; Dorfman and Howell 1988; Smith 1998) | Rigor: Hofstede's framework was based on rigorous design with systematic data collection and coherent theory (Søndergaard 1994). |
| National divisions: cultural analysis is not necessarily bounded by borders (McSweeney 2000). | Relative accuracy: Søndergaard (1994) analysed 61 replications and found the majority of them confirmed Hofstede's work. |
| Political influences: The dimensions of masculinity and uncertainty avoidance have been sensitive to the timing of the survey. The sample lacks data from socialist countries and less affluent Third World Countries. (Newman 1996; Schwartz 1999; Søndergaard 1994) | |
| One company approach: IBM only (Søndergaard 1994) | |
| Out-dated: the study cannot fit the rapidly changing global environments, internationalization and convergence. | |
| Too few dimensions: insufficient to cover cultural differences. | |
| Statistical integrity (Dorfman and Howell 1988) | |

Jones (2007:5-6) contrasts arguments against and pro Hofstede's research which are summarized in table 8.2. Although Jones (2007) presents more cons than pros about

Hofstede's study, it still enjoys great influence up till now in cross-cultural research especially in business related studies. Søndergaard (1994) notes the interdisciplinary nature of Hofstede's dimensions has enabled a vast number of researchers in psychology fields to apply it as a paradigm and also the rigorous design in Hofstede's framework is recognized.

8.4.2 Schwartz's theories

Schwartz (1999:25) argues as others (Inkeles & Smith 1974; Morris 1956) that:

“the value priorities that characterise a society by aggregating the value priorities of individuals. Individual value priorities are a product both of shared culture and of unique personal experience.”

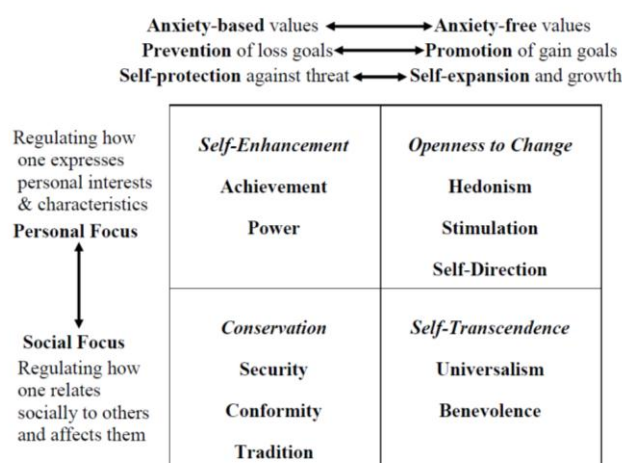
Schwartz with his colleagues and his followers have carried out considerable research refining a comprehensive theory on values structure (Schwartz 1994; 2009; Schwartz and Bilsky 1987; 1990; Schwartz and Sagiv 1995; Bilsky and Koch 2002; Bilsky, Janik and Schwartz 2011; Feather 1998).

Schwartz developed a theory intended to fill the theoretical gap of a universal schema for individual values. The theory goes beyond identifying value types but discovers dynamic relations among value priorities. It specifies value contents termed as motivational domains (Schwartz and Bilsky 1987; 1990). Schwartz (1994) notes the new values research instrument he is working on shares the same practical target as Rokeach (1973:89) to develop a cross-culturally valid survey to: “compare any one country's values with those of any other.” In other words, Schwartz (1994) states his theory has followed Rokeach's conceptualization of values and his methodology to measure values. The key aspect of the theory is “to derive a comprehensive set of value contents and to specify the dynamic structure of relations among them” (Schwartz

1994:42). The basic structure is to organize four higher order values into two dimensions: the first dimension is openness to change vs. conservation and the second is self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence as seen in figure 8.2.

Figure 8.2 Dynamic underpinnings of the universal value structure

(Adapted from Schwartz 2009: appendix 9)



Bilsky and Koch (2002) carried out values research using other instruments than Schwartz's and the results replicate Schwartz's theory and validate further the supposed universality of values structure. Bilsky, Janik and Schwartz (2011) carried out a European social survey within Schwartz's framework of human values based on representative samples and both replication and deviation from the structural model were found.

8.4.3 Methodological issues in values studies in cross-cultural fields

Many values studies are carried out using a quantitative approach and Watkins (2009) carried out a thorough in-depth review of methodological issues in value studies in cross-cultural areas. Watkins (2009) has critiqued an over-reliance on quantitative methods and called for qualitative approaches to cross-cultural values research. A number of researchers (Chan 2009; Shrum et al., 1990; McIntosh and Thyne 2005; Thompson and Troester 2002) have also called for further qualitative approaches and

this study answers this call as it uses the qualitative approach of grounded theory.

8.5 Cross-cultural research on religion

Geertz (1973: 124) points out that:

“the tracing of the social and psychological role of religion ...is a matter of understanding how it is that men’s notions, however implicit, of the ‘really real’ and the dispositions these notions induce in them, color their sense of the reasonable, the practical, the humane, and the moral.”

This definition is clearly echoed in this research that the religious notion of a participant shapes his/her understanding of cross-cultural experience, guides his/her behavior and also influence his/her sense of morality. Therefore, the articulation of religion research in Geertz (1973) at the cultural level is also applicable in an intercultural study.

The World Health Organization (2006) carried out an international study in eighteen countries to investigate how spirituality, religion and personal beliefs relate to quality of life. Traditionally this kind of relationship has been neglected and the WHO (2006:1495) found that for those with the poorest health the spiritual domain: “regained prominence along with the physical domain to make secondary contributions, along with the psychological and environmental domains”. This implies a spiritual domain cannot be neglected in personal well-being development and its importance comes along with physical, psychological and environmental elements. In this research, the aspects of psychological, spiritual and environmental elements are all interwoven together in data analysis to reveal the ‘implicit’ (Geertz 1973:124) and ‘really real’ (Geertz 1973:124) inner word of the participants.

Yang (2005:425) states that the key factors for Chinese immigrants in the United States to be converted to a Christian faith are:

“dramatic social and cultural changes in the process of coerced modernization-wars, social turmoil, political storms, and the collapse of Chinese traditional cultural systems.”

Yang (1998) finds the context factor as a racial minority drives Chinese immigrants in the United States to search for their existential needs for spiritual certainty: “Coming from such a society, Chinese immigrants are both free and bound to seek alternate meaning systems (Yang 1998:253).” Yang’s research reflect the influence from context factors on Christian conversion of Chinese migrants in the United States, whereas this research emphasizes the individual factors at micro-level which influence the changing of values and religion of Chinese migrants in Ireland.

Rokeach (1976) remarks that people with formal religious affiliation have more anxiety than non-believers. This leads him to think about any relationship between religion and mental disturbance. He concludes that religion does play a significant role in mental health (Rokeach 1976). Therefore, to find out about this topic Rokeach (1976) advocates more cross-cultural research on religion and mental health. This study is not about mental health but successful cross-cultural adaptation also implies what Kim (2001) calls psychological fit. Therefore the study is of relevance to this question of well-being and religion.

8.6 Chinese values dimensions/orientations not found in research instruments created in a “western” cultural context

Schwartz and Bilsky (1990) find three Chinese value principles do not comply with their theoretical model of relations among motivational value types and two basic bipolar value dimensions as other western country samples. Their theoretical model suggests that self-direction and conformity are two value types in two opposite value dimensions, which means a person who shows conformity has less ability for self-

direction though this is not confirmed in their Hong Kong sample. It shows that “self-restraint is compatible with open acceptance of self and the world and with independent thought and action in this society (Schwartz and Bilsky 1990:888)”. The explanation is traced to the Confucianism ethos that self-restraint or restrictive conformity is a must virtue a person has to have in the process of self-direction and becoming mature. Self-regulation is to ensure social harmony in the Chinese context.

Michael Bond and his colleagues developed a survey questionnaire, setting it within a Chinese cultural framework (1987). It measured and evaluated Chinese values which, as previously discussed, are strongly rooted in Confucian thought. Therefore, the survey can avoid the limitation that the foundation of psychological knowledge in social science is based on a “Western” cultural background. Four dimensions of culture values were derived from this survey composed of forty scale items. Three dimensions, namely, integration, human-heartedness and moral discipline correlate highly with Hofstede’s three dimensions of power distance, individualism-collectivism, and masculinity-femininity, whereas the new dimension of Confucian work dynamism is unrelated to any of Hofstede’s dimensions. The Chinese Value Survey showed an important difference between Eastern and Western thinking (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005). The fifth dimension of Confucian work dynamism, later termed rather confusingly as long and short term orientation (Hofstede 2001; Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) has been discussed in section 8.4.1.5.

From the list of the forty scale items representing Chinese values in Bond’s research, a number of values are identified that are related to this research on the cross-cultural adaptation of Chinese migrants discussed in chapter four and six: tolerance of other, harmony with others, non-competitiveness and filial piety (obedience to parents, respect

for parents, honouring of ancestors, financial support of parents) under the first factor of integration; Reciprocation, protecting your “face”, respect for tradition under the second factor of Confucian work dynamism is also of relevance to this study as seen in chapter four. Three other values, working hard, knowledge (education) and wealth discussed in chapter three and four are also of relevance to this study.

Bond (1988) notes his research with colleagues in the Chinese Culture Connection (1987) provides culture maps which can explain cultural differences at a macro level but not at the individual-level dimensions of values. This kind of culture-level grouping values research causes interpretive debate and Bond (1998) reanalysed the individual data collected in the Chinese Culture Connection, reducing it to twenty one countries to ensure equal representation of each cultural group. Bond (1988:1012) suggests that “convergence between the cultural and individual levels of analysis indicates the presence of a strong universal.” Bond (1998:1014) also found that two values poles were non-existent in the Rokeach Value Survey but salient in Chinese Values: ‘cultural inwardness’, which refers to valuing traditions, and ‘social integration’ pertains to values that are harmony interaction oriented. Thus, ‘cultural inwardness’ is similar to the value ‘retaining’ found in this research and discussed in chapter six, that awareness of ‘filial piety’ has been kept by all the participants; ‘social integration’ can be seen in the Chinese participants who tolerate discrimination supported by either Chinese culture or Christian faith and as a result harmonization of the social order is kept as valued in Chinese Confucianism.

Newman and Sheikh (2010:85) carried out a quantitative survey and found that “Traditional values, in particular respect for authority, still have a role to play in shaping the attitudes of Chinese employees towards their work and their attachment to their

organization.” Adopting the Rokeach Value Survey, Wang, Rao and D’Auria (1994) investigated the differences between Chinese people’s personal values and American’s values. They conclude considerable differences: being honest, ambitious, and responsible are the key instrumental values in the U.S., whereas being cheerful, polite, and independent are of the most significance to Chinese people. The first two value orientations of cheerfulness and politeness can be ascribed to the tradition of Confucianism teaching, that is, keeping harmony in relationships and behaving properly and being mannerly. However, being independent may come from Marxist ideology in relation to self-sufficiency.

Tan (2000:815) used the data of personal value systems of Chinese managers in the People’s Republic of China, USA and Singapore, and took contextual and environmental factors into consideration, such as “technological, legal, educational, economic, and political conditions.” The value items examined in the research are integration, Confucian work dynamism, human-heartedness and moral discipline. Tan (2000:820) concludes that “Chinese cultural values are not as strong and deeply ingrained in the Chinese managers”. This result reflects the change of personal value systems of Chinese people which has been assumed to be very stable and retained irrelevant to any cultural environment. It is therefore of significance for this study relating to value change of Chinese migrants.

To conclude, Chinese traditional values still play a fundamental role in contemporary Chinese society though they are changing. Thus, current research highlights the role that values plays with Chinese migrants in Ireland and their cross-cultural adaptation. The literature also reveals a deep difference in Chinese culture in relation to Western culture.

The next section of this review focuses on acculturation that is process in relation to cross-cultural adaptation.

8.7 Acculturation Research

Cushner (2008) points out the two major fields in social sciences studying cultural differences are cross-cultural research and intercultural research. Gudykunst and Kim (1997:19) defines intercultural communication as:

“a transactional, symbolic process involving the attribution of meaning between people from different cultures”.

From this definition, the field of intercultural communication refers to research in relation to a process of interaction between individual cultures and the visible phenomenon accompanying meaning making. They also note the term cross-cultural which:

“often is used as a synonym for intercultural, the term cross-cultural traditionally implies a comparison of some phenomenon across cultures (Gudykunst and Kim 1997:19)”.

Cross-cultural research pertains to cultural comparison at a broad level. In other words, when examining cultural phenomenon in different cultural environments, it is in the cross-cultural area; when looking at people’s communication in different cultural contexts, it is in the field of intercultural communication. They are used interchangeably in this research as values imply a cross-cultural comparison and migration involves the acculturation of the individual.

The dominant field of both intercultural studies and cross-cultural studies is psychology (Cushner 2008). He points out the focus in cross-cultural psychology has shifted from a collective level to both individual and intergroup level and the development of

acculturation psychology is the consequence. Acculturation originates from anthropology and now is a focus of cross-cultural psychology. According to Berry (2005), the two mostly cited definitions of “acculturation” are by Redfield et al. (1936) and the Social Science Research Council (1954):

“Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture pattern of either of both groups...under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from culture change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation.” Redfield et al. (1936:149-150)

This concept of acculturation has been broadly adopted in cross-cultural psychology and is of relevance to this study. Another widely quoted definition of acculturation is that of:

“...culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. Acculturative change may be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it may be derived from noncultural causes, such as ecological or demographic modifications induced by an impinging culture; it may be delayed, as with internal adjustments following upon the acceptance of alien traits or patterns; or it may be a reactive adaptation of traditional modes of life. Its dynamics can be seen as the selective adaptation of value systems, the processes of integration and differentiation, the generation of developmental sequences, and the operation of role determinants and personality factors (Social Science Research Council 1954:974).”

This definition which regards acculturation as the dynamics in the ‘selective adaptation of value system’ is very evident in this study. The value systems of the participants in this research have been changed in various extent and perspectives.

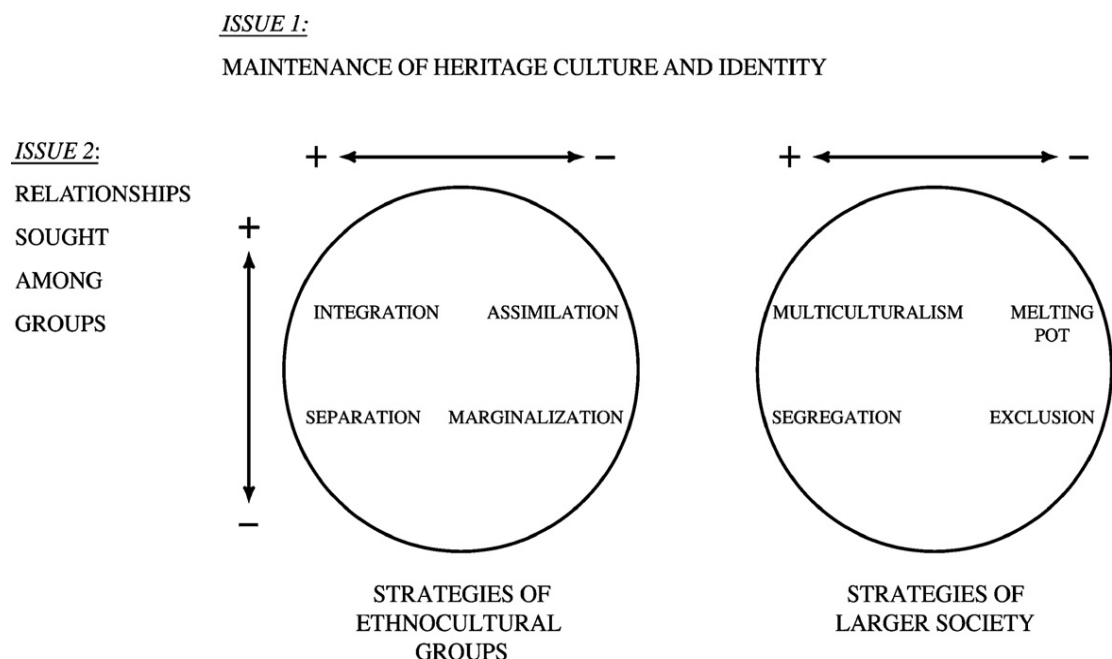
Berry (1997) states that acculturation is one of the most complicated areas of research in cross-cultural psychology. The reasons are firstly that it involves two or more cultures, and secondly it is a comparative study illustrating diversified psychological outcomes. Graves (1967) distinguishes two levels of acculturation as collective or group-level and psychological acculturation, meaning individual psychological change. The development of acculturation is then from group-level to individual level, from visible to invisible cultural aspects and from focusing on negative consequences to a positive

learning approach. It also involves research that moves from quantitative to qualitative research methods, that is from objective phenomenon to subjective internal psychology, from etic research dominated to emic oriented. The following review starts with some prevalent theoretical frameworks and outlines the relatedness of these theories with this research.

8.7.1 Berry's model of acculturation

For Berry (1997; 2001; 2005; 2008), all cultural groups face the problem of acculturation in a plural society. They will adopt different strategies to work out two major issues: cultural maintenance and contact with other cultural groups.

**Figure 8.3 Intercultural strategies in ethnocultural groups and the larger society
(Adapted from Berry 2008)**



Berry's conceptual framework shows acculturation strategies based on the simultaneous consideration of two issues: firstly, to what extent a non-dominant cultural group wants to keep their original culture and secondly what kind of relationship is sought with a dominant cultural group. The responses from these two kinds of cultural groups are

represented by bipolar arrows to show attitudinal dimensions. It presumes the non-dominant group has the freedom to choose how to acculturate. As a result, four strategies employed by a non-dominant cultural group are: assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization. When individuals pursue daily interaction with other cultures instead of maintaining their cultural identity, the assimilation strategy is used. In contrast, if individuals tend to keep their cultural identity and keep away from interaction with others, separation is defined. When both original culture and others' culture are valued and individuals seek daily contact with the other group, the integration strategy is defined. In case of little interest or with no possibility to maintain identity, often due to compelled cultural loss, and little interest in communicating with others, often because of exclusion or discrimination, the marginalization alternative is defined.

Berry ranks these four choices based on positive adaptation: integration is usually the most successful, marginalisation is the least, and assimilation and separation are at the middle level. In reality the free choice of a strategy by a non-dominant group is usually not the case. A dominant group might force a non-dominant cultural group towards a certain form of acculturation. Accordingly, when the dominant group pushes a separation strategy, segregation might be the outcome. Integration can only happen under mutual respect in a multicultural society. Therefore, in subsequent research after Berry (1997), Berry (2001; 2005; 2008) considers another four set of concepts which represent the strategy of a dominant society: multiculturalism when cultural diversity is the goal of a dominant group; melting pot when assimilation is sought by a dominant society; segregation when a dominant group demands and enforces separation; exclusion when a dominant group imposes marginalization. Finally, Berry notes some psychological pre-conditions for integration: the broad acceptance of the value of cultural diversity, a relatively low degree of discrimination, racism or ethnocentrism; a

sense of attachment to, or identification with the dominant group by all other groups. Overall, Berry (1997, 2001, 2005, and 2008) emphasizes that integration is the most successful acculturation strategy and the precondition to reach integration is mutual accommodation. Immigrants can only have the possibility to achieve integration when the receiving society is open and embraces cultural diversity, a point of interest in relation to Irish society which is the host society for the Chinese migrants in this study.

8.7.1.1 Critiques of Berry's theoretical framework

Ward (1997) feels Berry has limited appreciation about a social skills approach and she believes the learning of social skills is a valuable perspective of acculturation research which should not be overlooked. Boski (2008) challenges the meaning of integration defined by Berry who believes the ideal acculturation outcome in a multicultural society is integration. However, Boski (2008) argues acculturation is a process in time. Integration is a complex process or outcome and the scope and meaning of integration may change as time goes by. Following the argument by Chirkov (2009a; 2009b; 2009c), for a preference for a social constructivist stance on investigation of acculturation process, Berry (2009:361) advocates “a dual approach, accepting both the natural sciences and cultural sciences ways” to enrich the understanding of human behaviour. As a result, this allows for both “comparative work” and also for work focusing on the “individual within the nexus of a single culture” (Berry 2009:362). Berry (2009) argues he has built his work on the basis of ethnographic studies and believes his acculturation framework (Berry 2005:703; 2009:365) reveals both cultural-level and psychological-level components. As this study is a qualitative one, these critiques and Berry's apparent acceptance of individual-level work in acculturation studies are of significance, particularly as his model is of relevance to this study.

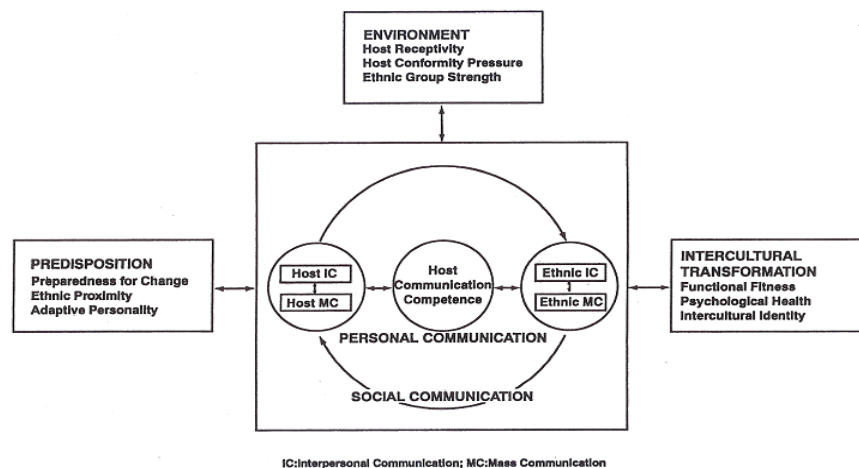
8.7.2 Kim's model

Kim and Ruben (1988:305) define 'intercultural communication' as:

'the communication process that takes place in a circumstance in which a communicator's patterns of verbal and nonverbal encoding and decoding are significantly different because of cultural differences.'

Kim and Ruben (1988) are concerned with face-to-face encounters of people from different cultural backgrounds at the individual level. Intercultural communication leads to intercultural transformation, which is a "process of change in individuals beyond the cognitive, affective, and behavioural limits of their original culture (Kim and Ruben 1988:306)". Kim (2001:87) proposes an intercultural theoretical model which is a communication process based framework as seen in figure 8.4:

Figure 8.4 Factors influencing cross-cultural adaptation: a structural model
(Adapted from Kim 2001: 87)



Six dimensions of intercultural communication are identified in this structure and linked interactively: *host communication competence*, which is in relation to personal communication, sits in the centre and functions like an engine to drive the process. This driving force links with two dimensions either side of *host social communication* and *ethnic social communication*; the former refers to the interaction between a host society

and stranger in interpersonal and mass communication activities; the latter pertains to participation with the ethnic group. Personal and social communication dimensions produce a dimension of a new *environment*, responding to ‘receptivity and conformity pressure’ from the host society and strength from the ethnic community. Then *predisposition* of a stranger, including willingness to change, ethnic proximity and adaptive personality set parameters for the outcome of personal and social communication activities. These five dimensions interact with each other and also together interact with the sixth dimension of *intercultural transformation* resulting in personal change. These six dimensions are interlinked and are interdependent.

Host communication competence includes cognitive and affective competence as drivers to decide behaviour competence. Kim (2001) links these three components and suggests positive correlations among these three components: the more advanced the level cognitive competence is, such as more knowledge of host language and cultural patterns, the greater motivation for a stranger to interact with the host society. As a result, both cognitive and affective competences will have a positive impact on operational competence, which means a stranger is more likely to have a successful interaction with the host society. In term of cognitive competence, Kim (2001) notes cultural understanding is far more important than pure language skills to facilitate intercultural communication. Cultural understanding of the host society at a deep level involves its:

‘historical, political, economic, religious, and educational institutions as well as its values, ideologies, arts, sciences, technologies, attitudes, beliefs and reciprocal role of requirements (Kim 2001:104).’

In the real world, it is hard to find a person who is aware of all the elements named above of the host society as it depends on personal experiences and interests.

Host communication competence cannot be developed well without interaction with the host society, which is referred to as *host social communication* including *host interpersonal communication* and *host mass communication*. *Host interpersonal communication* is voluntary and based on the common interest and attitudes of the involved individuals. However, at the initial stage of the acculturation process, strangers may seek most supports from their ethnic group, which is via means of *ethnic social communication*; migrants find help from family members and friends back home and also with co-ethnics and their ethnic community in the host society. However, Kim (2001) remarks that too much interaction within the ethnic group is most likely to impede long-term cross-cultural adaptation into mainstream society. Kim's (2001) model considers that to fully comprehend the process of cross-cultural adaptation, such comprehension also requires understanding of the dimension of *environment*: the extent the host society likes to be open and accommodate strangers or pressure strangers to alter their original pattern of behaviour to conform to the cultural patterns of the host culture. The dimension of 'predisposition' refers to an individual's personal unique background and includes three aspects: preparedness for change and ethnic proximity, including ethnic similarity and compatibility and an adaptive personality.

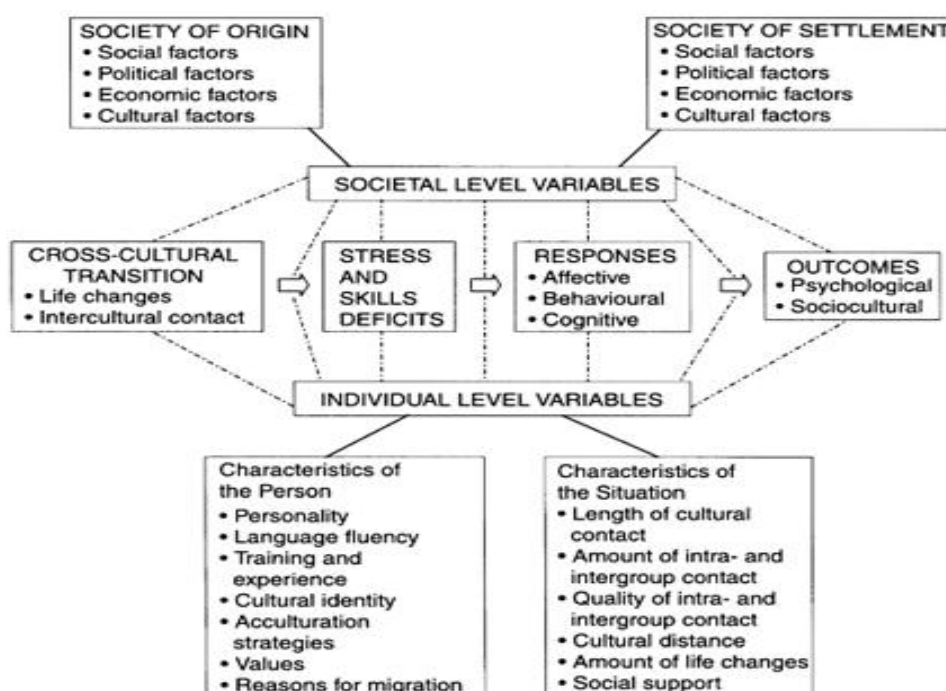
Adaptive changes take place gradually and inevitably even without awareness or a migrant's intention. Intercultural transformation covers three perspectives: functional fitness, the internal abilities of strangers to adapt to a new cultural environment on the basis of daily life; psychological health, harmony and a healthy inner state which fits dynamically with the external world; intercultural identity, a new constructed identity resulting from interaction with a new cultural pattern, encompassing individuality and universality so that a person becomes intercultural. The research findings are broadly compatible with Kim (2001) which provides understanding of the relationship between predisposition and host communication and the influences from a personal value system.

There are not found in Berry's (1997; 2001) model and so this model is of significance to this study.

8.7.3 Ward's conceptual model of acculturation

Ward (1996; Ward et al. 2001) presents a conceptual model of acculturation by integrating a large and diverse body of theories which involves both micro and macro level factors and also covers influences from the society of origin and of settlement. The model regards cross-cultural transition as a "significant life event involving unaccustomed changes and new forms of intercultural contact" and "a dynamic process rather than a static condition" (Ward et al. 2001:43).

Figure 8.5 The acculturation process (Adapted from Ward et al. 2001:44)



The model distinguishes factors from the perspectives of psychological and sociocultural adjustment, and combines "personal and situational, cultural and 'noncultural', and individual- and societal-level variables and describes their roles and

interactions in the prediction of acculturative adjustment (Ward 1996:139).” The model combines the acculturation perspectives of both stress and coping and culture learning, and incorporates a large range of variables in psychological and sociocultural domains. It is a research framework relating to the affective, behavioral and cognitive components of the acculturation process (Ward et al. 2001).

8.7.4 Critiques: conceptualization, construct, measurement, methodology and paradigm of acculturation research

Despite a large body of research in acculturation, particularly in relation to the models presented above, there is increasing debate around such research on acculturation. Lopez-Class et al. (2011:1555) remark on the “complexity and ambiguities regarding the conceptualization and measurement of acculturation”, in contrast to migration processes and acculturative changes which are constant phenomena clearly observed worldwide. Rudmin (2006; 2009a, 2009b) has carried out critical reviews of acculturation research and concludes that a century of acculturation research does not provide useful nor reliable information. What has been presented in the research records are:

“confused concepts, circular reasoning, wrong research questions, and mistaken citations of mistaken interpretations of studies using mistaken measurements (Rudmin 2010:299).”

Chirkov (2009a: 2009b: 2009c) shares similar points of view with Rudmin (2009b; 2010) about acculturation research. Chirkov (2009b:101) remarks that:

“the majority of acculturation researchers are not open to exploring and discovering new facts and regularities but are instead stuck in the safe haven of confirming the existing empirical regularities.”

This causes repetitions of previous conceptualizations and operationalizations without questioning their adequacy and validity (Chirkov 2009b). Therefore, changes in acculturation research are requested in constructs, measurements and models of acculturation and acculturative stress (Rudmin 2009b; 2010) and also research methodologies (Chirkov 2009b; Rudmin 2010), as so much research has been quantitative, and this is significant in relation to this study which answers a call for qualitative research.

8.7.4.1 Conceptualization in acculturation research

Rudmin (2009b) argues the probably most widely used definition of acculturation by Redfield et al. (1936) does not suit psychology research. This definition does not point out the possibility of individual acculturation as taking place in the real world. Therefore, Rudmin (2009b) considers this definition is not useful but causes bias in research. This definition has led researchers in the field to focus on finding out the

“collective acculturation attitude of the minority group...the consequences of that attitude on the group’s health and well-being, thus attributing the minority group’s problems to the minority group’s attitudes (Rudmin 2009b:109).”

Moreover, this orientation has overlooked the second-culture learning of the dominant group from its minority members (Rudmin 2006). In fact Rudmin (2009b; 2010) defines acculturation as “second-culture learning” instead of the dominant understanding of cultural change at the collective level. This definition by Rudmin emphasizes the acculturation process at the individual level, the direction of “assimilation” in it, and also a cultural learning process. It is of relevance to this study particularly when Chinese migrants refer to the low level of knowledge about China among host society members.

Chirkov (2009b) differentiates between the studies on ‘acculturation processes’ and ‘immigrant adjustments’ by acknowledging these two areas are interconnected in the research. He defines the former as a process ‘executed by an agentic individual’ whereas the latter is a multidisciplinary description on adaptation and function in a new environment. He refers to acculturation as a process which:

“...involves a deliberate, reflective, and, for the most part, comparative cognitive activity of understanding the frame of references and meanings with regard to the world, others, and self that exist in one’s ‘home’ cultural community and which one has discovered in a new cultural community. This process emerges within the context of interactions, both physical and symbolic, with the members of the ‘home’ and new cultural communities. Acculturation is an open-ended, continuous process that includes progresses, relapses, and turns which make it practically impossible to predict and control. This process should be described, interpreted, and understood by the researchers (Chirkov 2009c:178).”

In contrast to the most cited definition of acculturation by Redfield et al. (1936), Chirkov (2009b) defines acculturation by stressing the active nature of an individual during the acculturation process instead of a cultural change process that “happens to an individual” in Redfield et al. (1936). This definition therefore provides plenty of rooms for acculturation research to examine the acculturation experience as multidimensional at an individual level and is of direct relevance to this study of a change in values of Chinese migrants and influences on their cross-cultural adaptation in Ireland.

Rudmin (2009b; 2010) also distinguishes the meaning of “assimilation” at individual level and group level: at an individual level second-culture learning implies no disappearance of the first culture, whereas at a group level it does. Furthermore, the definition allows for the fact that individual acculturation is not necessarily subject to group acculturation so that a person may change in one cultural element while others do

not. As a result, this definition pursues both the exactness and diversity of the acculturation process at an individual level. The concept of ‘cultural learning’ in acculturation is also raised by other scholars, such as Grave (1967:342) who notes changes in psychological acculturation “can be conceptualized as a learning process, similar to that which obtains when an individual becomes associated with a new reference group.” Hence, both Rudmin (2009b; 2010) and Grave (1967) consider acculturation as a culture learning process at an individual level in association with a new culture system. The concept of ‘cultural learning’ in intercultural studies is, however, not new, Marden and Meyer (1968) mention this understanding as do Kim (2002) and Ward (2001) in relation to their models.

8.7.4.2 Measurement and operationalization of acculturation research

One of two major issues relating to the measurement of acculturation is identified in Matsudaira (2006) as dimensionality. Matsudaira (2006) notes uni-dimensional scales of acculturation have been used in earlier measures and caused problems. Possible acculturation experiences in relation to committing to either both cultures or neither culture cannot be presented in measurements of a uni-dimensional scale. Matsudaira (2006) remarks that a bi-dimensional scale can cover more cultural factors. Hence, it is a more practical and useful operationalization as also argued in Ryder et al. (2000). Rudmin (2009b) also addresses this issue and likewise, when Lopez-Class et al. (2011) reviewed acculturation research, they argue that new methodologies are required to avoid the persistent use of a “simplistic, uni-dimensional conceptualization of acculturation and their measurement (Lopez-Class et al. 2011:1560).” Schiefer et al. (2012) use Berry’s (2005) bidimensional model, combining Schwartz’s cultural value theories to examine the dimension of “cultural value fit” in the acculturation orientation of immigrants in Germany and Israel. The term “cultural fit” refers to:

“the degree of correspondence between an individual’s personality traits, values, beliefs and behaviour, and the values, beliefs and practices normatively shared by the members of a group the individual lives in (Schiefer et al. 2012:2).”

This research adds a new perspective of acculturation orientation, and also further contributes to the field as the correlation between cultural value fit and acculturation orientations has been rarely tested (Schiefer et al. 2012).

Ryder et al. (2000) recognize Berry’s (1997) bidimensional model of acculturation has been widely used and has provided rich empirical understanding in the field (Matsudaira 2006). Ward and Kus (2012) also believe Berry has contributed greatly as a leading acculturation theorist for more than three decades. In addition, Ward and Kus (2012:11) confirm with empirical research that integration is “the model response across all assessment techniques”. However, Ward and Kus (2012) advocate precise operationalization of Berry’s theories, as well as considering self-reported acculturation strategies and attitudinal assessments of acculturation (Navas et al. 2005; 2007). Snauwaert et al. (2003) find that the participants in their research prefer to keep a positive contact with their host society and also remain with the original culture. This orientation cannot be captured in Berry’s bidimensional framework (1997). Bourhis et al. (1997) propose a bidimensional interactive acculturation model, in order to “present a non-determinist, more dynamic account of immigrant and host community acculturation in multicultural settings (Bourhis et al.1997:379),” so that their model can predict more diversified acculturation orientations.

Rudmin’s (2009b) review of acculturative stress measures shows that the construct of ‘acculturative stress’ “refers to any and all psychosomatic health problems that

minorities experience if even remotely related to second culture acquisition (Rudmin 2010:303).” Indeed as reviewed by Matsudaira (2006:463), “Psychological acculturation is a core construct in health research among minority ethnic groups.” It has been presumed acculturation stress must happen and is a motivator for acculturation changes. Acculturation stress and attitudes are considered as both causes and consequences of acculturation. Thus, four acculturation attitudes are ranked from the optimal to the worst choice based on stress levels as integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization as for example in Berry (1997; 2005; 2008). However, in a close examination of more than a hundred acculturation studies, Rudmin considers that acculturation does not confirm this understanding (Rudmin 2006; 2010).

In contrast, Rudmin (2009b:116) notes “numerous studies have shown that perceived discrimination often has more impact on an individual than does acculturation.” In addition, it is inappropriate to pre-set the criteria of successful acculturation by researchers, as it should be decided and defined by each individual acculturating person (Rudmin 2009b). In other words, integration cannot be mistakenly regarded as the most preferred strategy nor be presumed to have the most positive adaptive outcomes than any other choices (Rudmin 2010; Snauwaert et al. 2003). Thus, the concept of “acculturation stress” is suggested to be dropped in the measurement of the construct of acculturation (Rudmin 2009b; Chirkov 2009c; Waldram 2009), though, Caplan (2007) notes acculturative stress is one of the important dimensions of acculturation from the health aspect of immigrants. These arguments are of direct relevance to the findings in relation to selective learning of various value systems and diverse outcomes in the cross-cultural adaptation of the participants in this study.

8.7.4.3 Methodology use in acculturation research

Rudmin (2010) calls for a change of the research paradigm in the acculturation area and argues that self-reflection of personal experiences of acculturation researchers may lead to new research paradigms rather than static measures of attitudes. Lopez-Class et al. (2011) also suggest new methodologies without specifying details but aiming to find models of real dynamic acculturation processes, whereas Chirkov (2009b, 2009c) strongly recommends qualitative methods to “interpret and understand the meanings with which acculturating individuals are dealing...to analyse people’s actions and interactions (Chirkov 2009c:179).” Chirkov does not mean to abandon the empiricist paradigm but to “follow the nature of the phenomenon we investigate...strive for epistemological and methodological pluralism in acculturation research (Chirkov 2009b:101).”

Similarly, Matsudaira (2006:462) suggests “the parallel application of qualitative and quantitative methods” and “the complementary use of emic and etic approaches to enhance the psychometric soundness of acculturation scales.” Matsudaira (2006) proposes using qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviews to account for a detailed acculturation process; also he believes subjective qualitative changes can be quantified by acculturation scales. The scale is bi-dimensional involving both overt and internal domains of real experiences of individuals. Therefore, Matsudaira (2006) supports neither the dominant quantitative research orientation in existing research, nor the newly called orientation to qualitative methods but emphasizes adopting both etic and emic approaches. As a result, acculturation research can not only discover observable behaviours and attitudes, but also find out ethnic values. In the etic research of cross-cultural comparisons research precise understanding of a specific culture

cannot be obtained but can be complemented by qualitative methods (Matsudaira 2006), a point of direct significance for the research methodology used in this study .

Lopez-Class et al. (2011) suggest a “real world” approach by Locke (1998) who proposes an actual case analysis of acculturative changes occurring in three domains: attitudes, behaviours and values. Under the integrative analysis of these domains, a deeper understanding of acculturation process can be obtained. Therefore, well-grounded and process-based approaches are advocated to investigate the dynamic, multifaceted and complex acculturation experience (Lopez-Class et al. 2011). As such, a grounded theory approach can meet this call, as in this study, particularly when so much research on acculturation has taken a quantitative approach.

8.7.4.4 Culture in acculturation research

Both Triandis (1997) and Boski (2008) have questioned whether acculturation models actually present culture content. Chirkov (2009b) argues there is no culture in the psychology of acculturation research and even no working models of culture as guides. Chirkov (2009b:99) states that there is:

“no analyses of shared ideas, norms and rules that constitute cultural reality and set up the normative meanings of various events and actions in the home and host societies except for several brief historical, economic, and political descriptions of the immigrants’ home and host societies”

The similar difficulties of a cultural component missing in acculturation research are also addressed in Sam and Berry (2006). It is argued that over-emphasizing acculturation stress has distorted the focus of acculturation research (Rudmin 2009; Waldram 2009). This misleads the development of acculturation psychology research by leaving out cultural elements. Consequently, “cross-cultural psychology has ignored

theoretical developments in anthropology (Waldram2009:176) which are concerned with culture,” so leading to this issue of considering that there is no culture in acculturation research.

Matsudaira (2006:463) notes a second major issue in acculturation research is about “focused changes in specific cultural domains”. Derived from a thorough review of specific domains of culture change Matsudaira (2006) found that cultural change includes both overt changes in daily life and also subjective internal changes. The former refers to behaviour and attitude domains, such as language use, and food choice, whereas the latter “are reflected by values, cultural beliefs, sense of social affiliation and ethnic identity, and cultural attachment (Matsudaira2006:473)” and are therefore of concern to this study. Matsudaira (2006) notes the largest body of research is about language in contrast to less attention which has been given to the domain of values. Tropp et al. (1999:366) suggest “more attention should be given to the individual’s psychological responses to cultural exposure rather than to more overt, behavioural measures which would imply an investigation of values.” This study meets this call by revealing the value changes of the Chinese migrants in Ireland.

Thus, the cultural content of acculturation research reflects not only the visible and objective change of behaviour, but also the underlying psychological phenomenon composed with specific and various cultural constructs, such as values and beliefs. This is compatible with the principle of cultural research, where the study of culture aims to find out different layers of a culture, as in the onion diagram proposed by Hofstede (2011) from visible to invisible and that values lie in the centre of the layers of culture. Rudmin’s (2009b) and Chirkov’s (2009b) arguments, especially the model proposed in

Rudmin (2009b) are closely related to this research in terms of revealing an individual acculturation process, such as acculturation motivation and acculturative learning as well as presenting the diversity of each migrant's experience and this will be further discussed in detail in chapter nine.

8.7.4.5 Paradigm shift in acculturation research: meaning of life and sense-making coping

Michaud (2006) suggests a paradigm shift in psychology research by attempting to explain “the role, the meaning, the motives, and the potential consequences” of behaviours instead of labeling them as risks. Frankl (2004:105) states that “man's search for meaning is the primary motivation in his life and not a ‘secondary rationalization’ of instinctual drives.” Frankl believes people have different meaning of life and this keeps changing. There are three ways to find out the meaning of life:

“(1) by creating a work or doing a deed; (2) by experiencing something or encountering someone; and (3) by the attitude we take toward unavoidable suffering.” (Frankl 2004:115).

The first way is straightforward to understand. The second way says a personal experience can arrive at a meaning, “such as goodness, truth and beauty –by experiencing nature and culture...(Frankl 2004:115).” The third way is the most important avenue to meaning of life, so that Frankl (2004) argues that even the worst suffering can transform a person to find meaning in life; his suffering in a concentration camp is a key example. Thus, a difficult experience may not only lead to stress but in the opposite way can keep a human spirit strengthened. Once a meaning is found in suffering, the negative impact can stop. Likewise, O' Connor (2002) remarks on the transformational process of personal emotional experiences from negative to positive by meaning-making.

Meaning in life is an essential construct in psychology research, but this theme has been less developed in both areas of psychology and acculturation (Zika and Chamberlain 1987, 1992; O'Connor 2002; Pan et al. 2008; Pan 2011;) and Zika and Chamberlain (1987) found that meaning in life is the most consistent predictor of well-being. In other words, the more strong meaning in life a participant reported in their research, the higher level of well-being shown. Zika and Chamberlain (1992) conducted further research to examine the association between meaning in life and well-being. It concludes that “there is a substantial and consistent relation between meaning in life and psychological well-being (Zika and Chamberlain 1992:142).” Hence, it is believed that meaning in life is one of the critical factors for helping understand psychological health including its maintenance. Likewise, Steger and Frazier (2005) argue that meaning in life is a key mediator between daily religious practice and well-being. They indicate that those religious persons who practice regularly have greater meaning in life (Steger and Frazier 2005), a point of direct relevance to this study on values changes.

Both Pan et al. (2008) and Pan (2011) found that meaning-in-life plays a positive role in the acculturation process of Chinese migrants from various backgrounds. They carried out research using a resilience-based and meaning-oriented model of acculturation. This empirical research breaks through the old pattern of research in acculturation in relation to health issues that mainly focuses on acculturation stress, such as depression and disappointments generated during the process of cross-cultural adaptation. Their research focus is on the more positive functions of “strengths, resources, and competencies of individuals” (Pan 2011:592; Michaud 2006). The findings in Pan et al. (2008) and Pan (2011) echo Zika and Chamberlain (1992) by showing that pursuing

life's meaning has positive impacts on mental health. The participants "who experience a lower level of acculturative stress are more likely to search for more personal meaning in their lives, which, in turn, is related to increased positive affect in acculturation (Pan et al. 2008:511)." This is a significant point in terms of this research on values. Pan (2011:601) believes the research "stresses the important roles of cognitive appraisal and meaning in developing resilience in the context of acculturation." Pan (2011) argues the research is an empirical support of Berry's (2006) theoretical model of acculturative stress and goes beyond the model by adding meaning as an influential element in acculturation. It is important to note that research participants in this study are concerned with values, including meaning of life, with personal morality as well as the values displayed by society-accepted behaviors.

The above advocate a paradigm shifting from negative impacts-oriented towards a positive outcomes oriented research in psychology research which carries a similar advocacy to Rudmin (2009b) and Chirkov (2009c). Therefore, this shift is of concern to this qualitative study of values changes and their roles in the process of cross-cultural adaptation of the participants in this research.

8.7.4.6 Counter critiques in relation to acculturation research

Ward and Kagitcibasi (2010a:98) recognize that Chirkov's (2009c) critiques go some way in:

- (1) framing acculturation as a process that promotes personal growth;
- (2) incorporating a developmental dimension in acculturation research;
- (3) situating acculturation research in a social, political and historical context;
- (4) critically examining the notion that acculturation is defined by an individual's rational choice; and

(5) using multiple methods and paradigms in acculturation research.

However, Ward and Kagitcibasi (2010a; 2010b) do not agree with Chirkov's (2009a:89) notion that "...modern acculturation psychology has become almost useless for the immigrant communities and for the immigrant-assisting organizations..." Therefore Ward and Kagitcibasi (2010a:98) created a special edition of the *Intercultural Journal of Intercultural Studies* to demonstrate the contributions of previous acculturation studies which have the same targets of "empowering acculturating individuals and communities, enhancing social integration and psychological well-being, and improving interpersonal and intergroup relations." Ward and Kagitcibasi (2010b:187-188) further argue about the nature and variety of the extant community-based acculturation research where family is important and where:

"cultural" issues are not always the most critical challenges facing acculturating groups. Practical issues such as securing employment, obtaining adequate housing, coping with grief and trauma, managing the stress of family separation, addressing economic disadvantage, and replacing social ties may be more debilitating than intercultural contact and change.

Thus, Ward and Kagitcibasi (2010b) believe acculturation studies have contributed both in offering academic analysis and findings and have also returned these findings back to community supporters for policy making. They argue that researchers can design a study based on practical utility and are able to interpret findings and then provide them to "community members, policy-makers, voluntary organizations, government agencies and the mass media (Ward and Kagitcibasi 2010b:189)." Thus, research findings can be translated to support and guidance in the real world.

8.7.5 Chinese in acculturation research

This section reviews literature in relation to Chinese people in acculturation studies as this study also draws on this group. Liu (2011) finds Chinese Australian business people benefitted from their Chinese identity such as Chinese language and Chinese networks

in doing business. Their maintenance of their Chinese original culture does not impede their integration with the Australian host society. Nonetheless they are aware of the disadvantages of being a foreigner, so Chinese participants act as Australian but remain Chinese. The pattern of interaction between ethnic culture and host culture keeps developing. Gradually the participants develop a hybridized identity of “Chinese Australian,” in which the original cultural values are relatively stable but vary in importance in a social situation (Liu 2011). Hence, integration is defined as “an on-going process” and it “involves a very complex mixture of performing differential status roles, social rules and value-systems” (Liu 2011:410). It is evident in this research as three patterns of value migration emerged.

This finding is consistent with the argument in Ting-Toomey (2005) that identity has two components of values and salience content where the former part is more stable than the latter one. This also challenges the notions in Berry’s (1997, 2001, 2005, 2008) acculturation strategy model that maintaining the heritage culture and pursuing a new culture are incompatible, a point of concern to this study. In contrast, in relation to identity in acculturation, Lin (2008) argues that family relationships and level of ethnic identification are not significantly associated with identity development. The findings suggest that family type variables were less important and intergroup variables were more important in relation to identity conflict during cross-cultural transitions (Lin 2008). Perceived discrimination is the most influential factor in the overall predictive model of identity conflict and is evident in this study.

8.8 Conclusion

This review of research on culture, values, religion, and belief in cross-cultural studies, acculturation studies and general psychology research leads to the controversies around acculturation constructs, the methodological merits of quantitative and qualitative approaches, and the place of values in cross-cultural research. It has shown a call for qualitative research methods in values research in cross-cultural and acculturation studies. This call looks for a process-based research and real-world research, which examines individual level experience including pre-migration, to present a full and meaningful picture of individual migrants' lives. This study has adopted a classic grounded theory research approach and from four chapters of the data analysis, it is found that this research meets these calls and challenges. The next chapter, will therefore conduct a dialogue with the findings in this research and the extant literature. Thus, the contribution of this research will be elaborated in full.

CHAPTER NINE:

DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS WITH RELEVANT THEORIES IN THE FIELDS OF CROSS- CULTURAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

The scriptures give the key to two kinds of knowledge—the knowledge of God and the knowledge of men and nature...It is an important principle to remember, in the contemporary interest in communication and in language study, that the biblical presentation is that, though we do not have exhaustive truth, we have from the Bible what I term “true truth.” In this way we know true truth about God, true truth about man and something truly about nature.

Schaeffer, Francis A. (1968)

9.1 Chapter outline

This is a dialogue between the existing influential theories in the cross-cultural and intercultural fields, value research and this study. It is to confirm both existing theoretical arguments and also to present findings that differ from current theories, which make a contribution to knowledge in relation to these theories. This research adopts a classic Grounded Theory approach which believes the findings sit beside existing findings and take them into consideration as part of data. Therefore, the final conclusion is the result of a mixture of deduction and induction of the empirical research and previous findings.

9.2 Outline of the research

Grave (1967) categorizes cross-cultural research into group-level and individual level where the former refers to a group outcome and the latter refers to individual psychological change. Cross-cultural research began from group-level studies in the field of anthropology and then developed to individual-level studies and similarly, cross-cultural adaptation has dominated the areas of social psychology and, more recently, in intercultural studies (Kim 2001, 2002; Ward 1996; Ward et al. 2001). In this

research, information at both group level and individual level is referred to, but it is a study focusing on individual level experience. The group level information serves as the context to help explain the social behavior of the participants. For example, in terms of migration motivation, a domestic situation, an economic situation or social, moral and cultural issues in China push a participant in this research to decide to migrate.

The years of stay in Ireland of the participants in the research range from less than one year to thirty one years. The majority of them have stayed in Ireland for more than five years and less than ten years. Therefore, the experiences investigated in the research covers both short-term and long-term adaptation, as the participants provide information from their pre-move, the beginning of their migration, future migration plans and their cross-cultural adaptation in Ireland.

9.3 Viewing migration and acculturation in the totality of migrant experience

Kim (2001; 2002; 2005) notes the disconnectedness between existing theories in the field of intercultural studies and tries to integrate previous theoretical findings and come to a broad picture which includes macro and micro levels of research outcomes. The approach of classic grounded theory enables data to direct this research to derive full pictures of the migrants' experiences in this study. From the previous four chapters of data analysis, the research findings have encompassed interdisciplinary areas, such as migration, cross-cultural adaptation or acculturation, intercultural studies, culture, values and religions, and psychology. Thus, the outcome of the data analysis is that once the experience of a migrant is looked at from a holistic perspective, all the above mentioned perspectives are involved. Therefore, the research meets the calls from Kim (2001; 2002; 2005), Ward (1996) and Ward et al. (2001) to find an integrative theory which is applicable to this study. This is also echoed in Berry (2001), that the study of

immigration is multi-disciplinary with roots in anthropology, demography, economics, political science, sociology and psychology.

Kim (2002) emphasizes the core of cross-cultural adaptation as the communication process between the individual and the environment. This interaction-based thinking guides research in the field and frees it from the limitation of ‘linear-reductionist-causal’ orientation, which according to Kim (2001), has been embraced by the majority of previous cross-cultural research. This assumption impedes a researcher to investigate social behaviors holistically and as a result, the migration experience is separated from its host background. Furthermore, this kind of separation fails to see the final aim of cross-cultural adaptation which Kim (2002: 260) considers to be: “...achieving an overall person-environment ‘fit’ for maximization of one’s social life chances.” In contrast, Sahlins (1964:136) calls it “...a compromise, a vector in the internal structure of culture and the external pressure of environment”. In these two definitions, different terms articulate similar meanings as Kim (2001) uses “person-environment fit” whereas Sahlins (1964) adopts “the internal...culture and the external...environment” in relation to cross-cultural adaptation outcomes.

In this study, findings show clearly that these kinds of cultural/environment interactions happen and the participants finally reach a functional value system to satisfy their internal and external needs, such as the motivation to change values or religion, including spiritual satisfaction and pragmatic satisfaction. The former refers to an internal pursuing of values and the latter means external chasing to fulfill needs such as finding a job. The characteristic of “maximization”, which Kim (2002) discusses, can be seen directly via the theme of “*satisfaction*” in each participant’s acculturation process. Nonetheless, when overviewing the acculturation process via the perspective of values,

a major difference from Kim's (2002) "maximization" and Sahlins's (1964) concept of "compromise" is the interactions found in this study among the old cultural framework and the new values acquired from a religion or from the host society, instead of the dichotomy in the distinction of person and environment or internal culture and external environment. These patterns of interaction will be discussed next in detail by tracing the influential cultural sources.

9.4 Tracing origins of factors influencing acculturation and migration

Rudmin (2009b; 2010) uses 'first culture' and refer to the culture of origin and 'second culture' as the host culture. Kim (1988; 2001) notes the influence of religion in a host society, the second culture in an intercultural communication process. In this thesis, 'third culture' is coined to distinguish it from first and second culture, as it is found that certain religions are not influential in mainstream society but have indirect or little relation with the major value system of the host society. The following accounts do not indicate that influences are only in one culture but highlight the origin of major sources of influences during the acculturation process of the participants in this study. In reality, the findings show diverse influences from the three cultural sources and present different patterns which can be led by any of the three cultural sources and be maximized. Thus, conflicts, compromises, compatibility lead to reconstruction in personal value systems from the three cultural sources, namely, first, second and third cultures.

9.4.1 Leading influence from first culture

With regard to migration motivation, it is revealed in chapter three that the strong awareness of 'filial piety' is a rooted element in Chinese tradition and is also the major reason for a number of participants to plan their future. For instance, Mrs Zhao and Mrs

Fang have to think about returning to China to mind aged parents in future even though they are settled in Ireland and willing to remain.

One of the sub-core categories in cross-cultural adaptation discussed in chapter five is to *compare*, which means the participants keep on comparing the situation in their country of destination and their original home China in terms of the economic, social and cultural aspects of each society. This helps the participants to achieve a balanced mindset. For example in chapter four, when Ms Qian and Mr Feng think over the issue of discrimination which they encountered, both of them refer to a similar situation in China as they understand this can happen in China too. From their experiences in China, when people have a low social position due to low skills, a rural background or because of no local protection, then strangers are very likely to be discriminated against. This explanation, is based on their experiences from their original culture, and enables them to accept discrimination which they experienced in Ireland. They compromise with tolerance and so fit into the new cultural environment in Ireland. In addition, the primary goal of Chinese communication is for a harmonized society. This cultural root can also be one of the reasons for the Chinese migrants to submit to the discriminatory experiences.

In terms of interaction orientation with the Irish host society, it shows that willingness of maintaining Chinese identity is a factor for Ms Shang to voluntarily reduce interaction with Irish society. Mrs Jiang felt reluctant to go to the pub, the main venue of socializing for Irish people only because she regarded a pub based on Chinese culture as a place for 'nasty' people to gather around.

Different from the above participants, the acculturation process of Mrs Fei shows

impacts from both first culture and second culture but she counterbalanced the two sources and followed the value orientation from the first culture. She learned Christianity from the interaction with non-Irish colleagues in the workplace in Ireland instead of a religious environment in Irish society. She tries to add a Christian faith to her previous belief of Buddhism. This intention is driven by the pragmatic influence from Chinese culture, her first culture and also under the condition of unawareness of the conflicts between two religious doctrines. In other words, Mrs Fei appreciates the outcome of prayer as a way to support her needs and also she does not want to give up her Buddhist belief also as a way to obtain help. Thus, For Mrs Fei, the ‘compromising’ involves both the influences from first culture and second culture, as a result to maximize her personal needs.

Thereby, it demonstrates the influences from first culture as decisive factors for the participants in this study on certain aspects of the process of their cross-cultural adaptation.

9.4.2 Leading influence from second culture

Another example of “maximization” and “compromising” is Mr Feng who claims no religion but has regular contact with a Catholic church due to his wife, a baptized Catholic; he also has some understanding of Protestantism because of their baptized Protestant friends. Likewise Mrs Hua and Mrs Lin, as Catholic believers, both show an inclination to accept the social pattern of the host society. Therefore, they have the orientation of assimilation. However, Mr Feng’s attitude reveals his passive feeling towards embracing a Christian value system, where he hesitates between Catholicism and Protestantism. Under the pressure of being discriminated against as perceived by Mrs Lin, she maximizes her intention to be accepted by disclosing her identity as a

researcher, instead of a low-skilled worker to the parents of her child's classmates and also works hard in the workplace to demonstrate her competence is no lower than an Irish national's. Therefore, being driven to be part of the host society, Mr Feng and his wife Mrs Hua and Mrs Lin prefer to assimilate into the value system of the host society as a vehicle through which to be accepted by the mainstream.

In the cases of Mr Qi, and Mr Wen, who are not religious oriented, are influenced by values in relation to social issues in the Irish host society, such as the awareness of democracy, freedom of religious practice and a relaxed and healthy life style in Europe. Likewise, Mrs Lin also revised her value towards abortion from regarding it as possible to forbidden due to the influence of Irish society. During the processes of cross-cultural adaptation, Mr Qi and Mr Wen do not show much struggle or compromise between the value systems in both first and second cultures but were attracted by the social environment in the host society and maximize their personal desires.

9.4.3 Leading influence from third culture: religious teaching, neither first nor second culture

As discussed in section 9.4, the patterns of compromising, and maximization of personal value system shown between first culture and second culture, it is also found in this study the third source influencing personal value systems and the pattern details are different from those mentioned in the previous two sections. For instance, Mr Wang, a Bible-lens-taker tries to meet the criteria in the Bible and Mr Li, a Bible oscillator tries to balance between the Bible and the Chinese traditions he used to believe in. Overall, the orientations of 'maximization' are either to satisfy personal desire or to meet personal religious pursuing, particularly in this study where the latter refers to one of the two core categories 'to glorify God' according to a number of Protestants in this study.

Mr Li, a Bible oscillator, demonstrates struggles and also the compromise that Sahlin (1964) indicates between his original values, originating from Chinese culture, such as not forgetting his origins, and ancestor worship, which he is prohibited to practice as a Protestant Christian. Consequently, Mr Li feels he has to follow Bible teaching and reluctantly gives up ancestor worship as his mother and wife are both Protestants and so he does not practice this ritual anymore. This also provides harmony in the family which is still a Chinese cultural value. Mr Li also mentions the reduced bond of his home culture due to being away from the original source of his first culture, as do Mrs Cheng, Mr Ma and Mrs Zhao. There exists a restructuring of their value system but a notable difference is that the changes stem from certain teaching of their new religions instead of forces from the external environment, from the Irish host society. The new values obtained from a religion start to work from their migration in Ireland but this new religion simultaneously does and does not relate to the migration environment, as discussed in chapter five with regard to the means of having values or religion changed. It appears that the new adopted religion, which also brings about a new value system during the acculturation process can stand alone from the external environment.

As stated by Ms Shang and Ms Zhao their change of religion has nothing to do with their migration experience but comes from being the chosen of God who they believe in. This can transcend the limitation of geography if they were to return to China. Therefore, their change of values has no direct or close relation with their Irish host environment. Consequently, there is a question: to which category should fall the religion of Ms Shang and Ms Zhao Does it belong to the internal structure of culture/person or the external environment/environment? Clearly, it does not belong to the external environment fully as Protestant belief is different from the mainstream Irish

host culture where Catholicism is dominant. This religious perspective cannot either belong to an individual's pure internal culture as this new value system has already been changed from the original culture.

In this study, the original cultural values are represented by those Chinese traditional values being asked or mentioned in the interviews such as filial piety, Fengshui, auspicious dates and good deeds bringing good fortune. These traditional Chinese value points work as parameters to see how far the participants deviate from Chinese traditions. On the other hand, this kind of change can happen without leaving the home cultural environment because the impacts are from religious teaching. It is not enculturation that is cultural adaptation in its general meaning as discussed in the previous chapter, nor is it cross-cultural adaptation in its general meaning. Therefore, the influence of a religion either during the migration period or the original culture is a third perspective from the two already identified internal and external cultural meanings. It therefore can be interpreted as presenting a view which has not previously been present in relation to acculturation (Rudmin 2009b; Chirkov 2009a, 2009b, 2009c). This migration experience perhaps echoes the definition of acculturation termed 'learning process' in Rudmin (2009 b). Alternatively, this is similar to the paradigm of 'meaning making' suggested in acculturation research (Pan et al. 2008; Pan 2011; Zika and Chamberlain 1987, 1992; Michaud 2006), as the pursuing of their religious faith for Ms Shang, Mrs Zhao, Mr Wang, Mrs Jiang, Mrs Cheng and Ms Zhang all involve 'meaning of life'.

Bible lens takers, or Bible embracers such as Mr Wang, Ms Hu, Ms Tai and Ms Zhang do not report struggles when giving up the traditional Chinese values asked about in the interviews. These participants regard the Bible as containing absolute truth which

contains super-ordinary criteria by which to lead their lives. They do not show a compromise between the internal culture generated from Bible teaching and their external environment. In their situations, religious teaching changed their Chinese traditional values instead of their migration experience. Mr Wu as a believer in Buddhism also has a similar experience. Therefore, in this research a key finding is that religion can function as an approach to have a person's values changed. This religion can either have or not have a relationship to the host society. That means a participant has been transformed by the teaching of a certain religion and applies the teaching in the conduct of everyday life. This is different from the "communication based" relationship between the individual and external environment, as noted in Sahlins (1964) and Kim (2002). The "communication based" interaction emphasizes the dual function to each other between personal and external environments; instead, the findings in this research show powerful influences originate from a personal religious belief. The religious teaching cannot be changed due to the interaction with the external environment but can acts as a facilitator to help the participants to fit into the migration environment. Thus, the interaction of values between Christianity and Chinese traditional values challenges the place of Chinese tradition at both the original culture and the new culture; this shows the influence on belief/values systems purely from religions.

As discussed in chapter four, the values conveyed in a personal religion influences the attitudes and behavior of the participants during their cross-cultural adaptation. For example, when Mr Ma, Ms Zhang, Ms Tai, Mrs Zhao and Ms Hu contemplate discriminatory experiences, they all borrow from their religious teaching and either find a way to face the issue positively and/or solve it. Additionally, Mr Ma and Mrs Cheng would not remain in Ireland if they did not lead a Chinese Church in Dublin. Mr Ma regards this church as his family and for him where most satisfaction comes from. Mrs

Cheng considers her meaning of life is to preach the Gospel to Chinese migrants in Ireland. This enables her to ignore the negative impacts such as the slow transportation system and the status of being a full-time housewife which is a lowly status in Chinese culture. Therefore, their religion motivates Mrs Cheng and Mr Ma to stay in Ireland for good.

9.4.4 Summary

Three cultural sources, namely culture of original society, host society and religious teaching are identified to trace the influences on the cross-cultural adaptation of the participants in this study. Firstly, acculturation can be regarded as a process of learning (Rudmin 2009b, 2010; Ward et al. 2001; Grave 1967) and this process involves reconstruction of personal value systems resulted from interactions among the three cultural sources. The interactions show three orientations and can be led by any of the three cultural sources. Value in this research is a term used in broad sense that can cover religion and belief and also the meaning in narrow sense which refers to the worldview of the participants. It has been shown in the research findings in this study that personal values and religion can play an important role during the acculturation process. The findings in this study also echo Feather (1992, 1995), that values are related to choices and actions and values affect personal goals in both the short and long term. Values can motivate people to invest in their efforts, for how long and in what way to carry out a plan. Values direct human behavior and this appears to be the case in the lives of the participants in this study.

9.5 Change/transform/Remain

Chapter six of the data analysis presents one of the sub-core categories of “change” which means that during the migration period, the participants in the research show

change in various levels and directions of their religion, values and belief. This change deviates from certain Chinese traditional values. However, the value of “filial piety” to living parents has been retained very well. Also from the discussion in section 9.4.1 about the influence from first culture, it reveals rooted influences from Chinese culture. Thus, this represents the pattern of *remaining* of the values of the participants in this study.

The patterns of “change/transform” and “loss of the original culture” have occurred repeatedly in the data analysis and strongly confirm the essence of acculturation as stated by Dyal and Dyal (1981) and Kim (2002): the very essence of acculturation is the re-socialization activities of the newcomers. Berry (1997) echoes this and states the key content of acculturation is cultural change. It includes, from superficial altering like food or clothing, to deeper levels such as language, religion and value systems. It is not a process of simply adding other cultures but is the learning of new cultural habits with deculturation (or unlearning) of the old culture. This is remarked in Marden and Meyer (1968:36): “the change in individuals whose primary learning has been in one culture and who take over traits from another culture”. Furthermore, Thayer (1975:240) notes the change based on the loss from the old cultural patterns is an unavoidable phenomenon in the acculturation process, because “being someone requires the forfeiture of being someone else”. As a result, newcomers experience an internal change or transformation as discussed in chapter six. One thing to note is that the participants undergo changes no matter whether they either remain isolated from Irish mainstream society or report frustration in interacting with their Irish host society (Kim 2001).

The pattern of changing in acculturation has been widely recognized in the extant literature (Berry 1997; Ward et al. 2001; Kim 2001) and ‘changing’ and ‘transformation’

are used interchangeably. In the research, however, the two terms of “change” and “transform” are distinguished as the former refers to the change of values in a partial and relatively superficial way, whereas the latter means change at an in-depth level. “To change” would be considered to “make or become different” in some way whereas “to transform” means to “make a deep change”. For example in the research, a Mass embracer or a Bible oscillator may keep part of their Chinese traditions and also adapt to a new cultural pattern in religious teaching. In contrast, a Bible lens taker would negate all values which are against Bible teaching. In these two kinds of situations, the former is termed as the category of “change” while the latter belongs to the category of “transform”. These two categories refer to the values development of the participants in this study and are different from the observable behavior of migrants. That means, a migrant may well integrate or assimilate with the host society in terms of food habits or language ability but can remain separate from the value system of the host society.

9.6 Acculturation orientation

According to Kim (2002), Montalvo (1991) and Van Oudenhoven and Eisses (1998), the direction of the interplay of deculturation and acculturation is assimilation. Assimilation is regarded by these authors as the highest degree of acculturation and deculturation. However, Berry (1997; 2005) remarks that most successful strategy of acculturation is integration, in comparison to the three other strategies of assimilation, separation and marginalization. There are robust findings in this research to support that change is the core of the acculturation outcome in chapters five and six. The orientations of acculturation in this study are assimilation, integration and separation. Therefore, assimilation is not the only direction in cross-cultural adaptation, and also separation is also a successful strategy which differs from Berry’s (1997) theory. This echoes Rudmin (2010) and Snauwaert et al. (2003).

9.6.1 The migration period and acculturation orientation

Tropp et al. (1999), using a newly designed scale with items in relation to the individual's feelings of belonging and emotional attachment to cultural communities, found that these factors "predicted more cultural behaviors and preferences than percentage of lifetime spent in the new society (Matsudaira 2006:474)." Tropp et al. (1999:366) suggest distinguishing "mere exposure to a culture and psychological ramifications of that exposure." This finding is consistent with the findings in this research: the time spent in Ireland does not definitely direct a participant to integration or assimilation.

A number of participants hold the strategy of separation, such as Mrs Cheng and Mr Wu who have been in Ireland for long time are rather happy with their current lives within their respective social circles, which is mainly around the Chinese community. Mrs Cheng reports she has voluntarily given up the opportunities to interact with Irish colleagues as she likes to spend more time with her Chinese friends. She feels quite settled in Ireland with her life in church. This separation may not be the most favored or functional way to adapt into a host society but it can be a favored strategy for a migrant who is satisfied with socialization within their own ethnic group. In addition, Mrs Cheng is a migrant of longstanding; nonetheless, she has little motivation to integrate into the Irish mainstream. Likewise, Mr Wu who also stays in Ireland for a long time is not interested in integration though he feels no difficulties to make Irish friends. This contradicts the assumption that a long-term immigrant has more motivation to adapt to a host culture system than sojourners (Kim 2001; 2002). The migrant who holds certain religious values may sustain him or herself within their ethnic group, centering on religious life where satisfaction is obtained, and socializing is also included.

9.6.2 Ethnic proximity and acculturation orientation

Kim (2001) remarks “ethnic proximity” is a one of the variables of dimension five of “predisposition” which affects social communication competence in her model relating to the process of cross-cultural adaptation. Kim (2001:84) notes that “A stranger whose cultural values and norms are highly compatible with those of the natives is likely to find the host environment less stressful.” However, in this research a key finding is that Mrs Lin who is a Catholic reports her religion does not help her integrate with Irish society. This maybe because her original cultural influence still plays an important role, such as her physical identity which cannot be changed. Being a Chinese person can impede her from smooth interaction with an Irish member of society, even though she has converted to Catholicism which is a dominant value system in Ireland. Nonetheless, Mr Feng believes more understanding and conforming to the religion norms of the host society will facilitate a migrant to adapt well into the Irish mainstream. Ms Shang, who is a Protestant, also agrees that more understanding of Christianity helps her better understand Irish culture, but she also believe a Chinese person cannot really integrate into a non-Chinese cultural milieu. As such, even adopting the religion system of the host society and active learning of Irish religion norms and culture, which leads to close ethnic proximity the assimilation orientated acculturation cannot result in successful interaction. Factors of influences from the original culture, such as attitudes of the host society also matter. This shows the motivation of acculturation from the host society is an important factor influencing acculturation outcomes and integration is a two-way process (Munck 2006).

9.6.3 Host communication competence and acculturation orientation

Kim’s (2001) theory regarding host communication competence argues that a migrant

who has good knowledge of local language and culture will find that this knowledge facilitates his/her interaction with local people. However, host communication competence may not lead to motivation towards more interaction with Irish host society. The research shows subjective will, personal values and religion, and other factors also matter with motivation to interact with a mainstream society. For instance, Mrs Cheng, Mr Zheng, Mr Wu and Ms Shang all have a good level of English language and understanding of Irish culture, but they both report less motivation to interact with Irish people. Mr Zheng and Ms Shang hold strong Chinese identities and are not motivated to make significant efforts to integrate into Irish society. Mr Zheng misses home and her culture so much while Ms Shang does not believe integration can happen for overseas Chinese because of the strong Chinese identity. Mrs Cheng has fluent English but due to her belief in Christianity, she would rather be willing to immerse herself in the life of a Chinese church than spending time interacting with Irish colleagues. Voluntarily, Mrs Cheng chooses an isolated style of migration life because she regards church life as the core of her life. Even though Mrs Cheng has good English, she has no motivation to integrate into Irish host society as she finds the most satisfaction in her religion.

Kim's (2001) model is probably more objective than subjective as the variables referred do not cover an individual's inner action whereas this study reveals the correlation between values, religion and motivation. For example, though a person may do well academically, he/she may not be motivated to study further as personal values and religion and other factors can direct him/her to choose other directions other than entering into a university. In addition, the reason for the difference of research findings in this study from Kim's theory is perhaps because the participants in the research talk about the psychological/spiritual level of integration with Irish society whereas Kim emphasizes the objective preconditions of a stranger entering a new society leads to

outcomes of interaction. Kim (2001:88) also points out that

“...strangers may accomplish little cross-cultural adaptation because their fellow coethnics insulate them almost completely from having to face the host cultural challenges.”

Kim (2001:53; 2002:261) considers that the final direction of cross-cultural adaptation is assimilation. However, this research sheds light on the spiritual life of migrants, who would rather pursue a sense of spiritual belonging than functional interaction with the host society. Mrs Cheng has been in Ireland for thirty one years and enjoys a life of separation from Irish mainstream society. Ms Shang mentioned that there are Chinese in the USA who remain in Chinatown for good and do not interact with the mainstream. Therefore, a strong Chinese identity also limits assimilating or integrating into the mainstream.

Thus, acculturation orientation has a number of layers of meaning: physical and visible, and psychological/spiritual and invisible. It means, a migrant may pursue integration or assimilation in the visible dimension or superficial cultural level with the host society, but seek separation in the invisible dimension of psychological/spiritual belonging, where in-depth level of culture and values domain lies. These are not highlighted in Boski (2008) and Navas et al (2005; 2007). and so this is a finding which contributes to our understanding of motivation and integration. Assimilation into the host society may not be the only successful acculturation strategy while it is suggested so in the literature (Rudmin 2009b, 2010; Grave 1967; Kim 2001), whereas integration is advocated by Berry (1997; 2001; 2005) and in this study also shows separation can be a successful orientation.

9.7 Intercultural transformation and religion practice

“Intercultural transformation” in Kim’s model refers to the outcome of the interaction

with the host society of a stranger, which comprises the three aspects of functional fitness, psychological health and intercultural identity. Ten axioms are outlined by Kim (2001:90) and number eight is that:

“Extensive and prolonged participation in ethnic social (interpersonal and mass) communication activities deters, and is deterred by, intercultural transformation”.

In addition, number three and six of the twenty one theorems in Kim’s model (2001:91) are that:

“The greater the host communication competence, the greater the intercultural transformation (functional fitness, psychological health, and intercultural identity)”

“The greater the ethnic interpersonal and mass communication, the lesser the intercultural transformation (functional fitness, psychological health, and intercultural identity)”.

The research findings in Chapter five have two polarized results: religious practice mainly in the co-ethnic group can either facilitate or deter interaction with Irish society. Therefore, the research contributes to the area of the function of a religion and value in cross-cultural processes by revealing that a high level of ethnic interpersonal and mass communication in terms of religion practice can also have positive impacts on intercultural transformation, such as promoting functional fitness, improving psychological health. However it discourages the forming of a full intercultural identity for some of the participants remain separate from Irish society. Overall, no one in this study can be considered to have assimilated fully into Irish culture. However, this does not mean that they are unable to function in Irish culture as there is still a fit.

9.8 Comparing the findings in this study with the acculturation model in Ward et al. (2001)

Ward et al. (2001) review the studies about outcomes of intercultural contact and do not mention values changes, but include satisfaction in the level of well-being, changes in emotional adjustment and adverse psychological consequences. For example, Dunbar (1992) highlights the general satisfaction in well-being of sojourners with their new

lives. In Ward et al. (2001)'s acculturation model, value is one of the characteristics of a person. This study sheds light on the perspective of values in the acculturation process where the participants pursue satisfaction at pragmatic, cultural and religious levels in the stages of pre-migration, acculturation process and future migration plan. For example, migration motivations are to satisfy personal needs in either non-financial or financial reasons.

This study discovers a relatively deeper layer of the migration experience as the values set within the original culture, host society and religious belief all interact, then leads to the value orientations of the participants and further influence their behaviors. In this sense, the research findings are quite compatible with the model of Ward et al. (2001). For example, the societal factors included in this study refer to factors in the social, cultural and economic spheres in both the society of origin and of settlement, except the aspect of politics is not included. Finally, the findings in this study also echo Ward et al. (2001) Kim (2001), and Rudmin (2009b) as the acculturation of the participants in this research is a dynamic process rather than a stationary condition.

9.9 International migration and acculturation

Tartakovsky and Schwartz (2001:97) define motivation for emigration as “expressions of basic, general motivations in the context of emigration”. They propose a new typology of migration motivation, which borrows the theory of basic human values (Schwartz 1994). It is a groundbreaking approach from the dominant ‘deficiency model’ which view migration from an economic lens. Re-conceptualization of the economic theory of migration, deficiency model, includes not only economic factors, but other perspectives such as proposed by Tartakovsky and Schwartz (2001:88): “preservation (physical, social and psychological security), self-development (personal growth in

abilities, knowledge, and skills), and materialism (financial wellbeing, wealth).” It is a contribution to the knowledge that in this study sheds lights on non-monetary migration motivation (chapter three), which falls under the category of *self-development* for education driven reasons, and *preservation* for seeking simple social ties. Also, Yijala and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2010:336) find that “potential migrants’ acculturation strategies begin to develop already before migrating to a new country.” And this is possibly apparent in the pre-migration plans of participants in this study, particularly when they wish to experience new cultures.

9.10 Using qualitative research approach in value research in cross-cultural areas

Chapter eight presents the various survey instruments are powerful to research structure and content of values, and to find universal dimension of value types. This achievement has been seen from Rokeach (1973), Schwartz (1994), Bond’s Values Survey (1987;1988) and Hofstede’s dimension (1991; 2001). However, a personal uniqueness and in-depth details of individual personal experience cannot be discovered via these instruments. They are useful to compare among values across cultures, but are weak in presenting a full picture of an individual human value system in a holistic way. Hofstede (2001:34) notes “Cultures, especially national cultures, are extremely stable over time”. He lists some exterior forces which affect values systems such as trade, conquest, economic or political dominance, and technological breakthroughs, but does not mentioned acculturation or religion influence. This research shows religious belief plays a role in acculturation and acculturation plays a role in religious belief. Hofstede’s studies (1991, 2001) focus on mainly national culture change than individual changing. Ward and Searle (1991) examine New Zealand immigrants’ adjustment in both psychological and sociocultural aspects. They use cultural identity and value

discrepancies as predictors. The results show “value discrepancies were not significantly related to either psychological or sociocultural adjustment (Ward and Searle 1991:209).” This is in conflict with the findings in this study as it shows different value orientation lead to different attitudes towards the host society, and also discrimination.

The abovementioned values research have all adopted a quantitative approach. One of the reasons for the differences of the orientation of their findings with this study is perhaps due to the nature of a qualitative approach being seen as exploratory (Creswell 2003), though also discovering complex life worlds (Flick 1998) as in this research. In this study, a number of values come across during the acculturation process of the Chinese migrants: Chinese traditional values, Marxism, Atheism, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Buddhism. An individual migrant carries the values mixing one with others and values were changed during acculturation process. Moreover, using classic grounded theory via both semi-structured and unstructured in-depth interviews a full story unfolds of an individual migrant experience (Kvale 1996; Seidman 2006; Warren 2001). Through data analysis, both the structure, content, and dynamic relations among values emerged. Thus, the study meets well the call of cross-cultural qualitative research in values research (Chirkov 2009; Rudmin 2009)

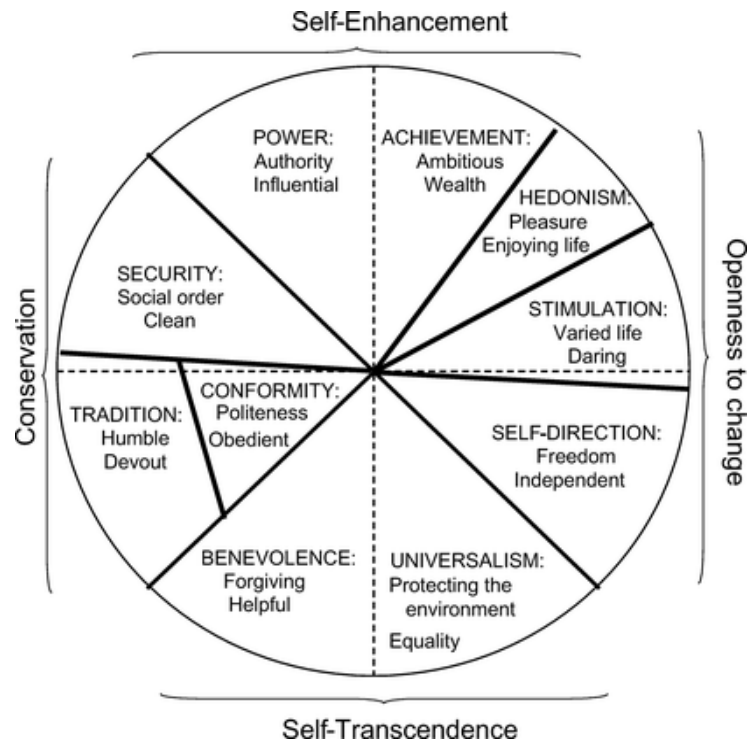
Family values have often been considered as resistant to change. However, Georgas et al. (1996) found that significant value changes in relation to acculturation. This is a joint process of ‘cultural shedding’ and ‘cultural learning’ (Berry 2005). In this study value changes of the participants are evident but there are two differences: firstly, the value of filial piety has been retained very well also with some revised understanding based on religious belief. However, it should be noted that filial piety as held by the participants

in this study has deviated from its original definition by Confucius. The meaning of ‘*to retain*’ also pertains to the contemporary interpretation and application of ‘filial piety’ in Chinese society, which mainly highlights the responsibility to parents. Secondly, the values changes originated from a third culture, meaning that a religion is unnecessary to be compatible with the second culture that is the culture of a host society.

9.11 Values comparison between Schwartz (1994) and this study

Georgas et al. (1996) argue that a value changes during the acculturation process. Therefore, they note that acculturative influences on indigenous societal values should be taken into account in international surveys of values, such as Schwartz and Bilsky (1990); otherwise, it cannot represent universal values cross-culturally. However, this qualitative study reveals that the changed values can also find a place in the value structure of Schwartz (1994). The purpose of Schwartz’s (1994) theoretical model, as seen in figure 9.1, is to reveal the structure and dynamic relationships among universal values rather than exhibit a typology of what are the values types. As figure 9.1 shows, ten value types are identified, including power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security. These value types are not independent from each other but generate a continuum of related motivations. This is why they are presented in a circular format. The neighbouring values types have similarities on motivational emphasises. This study shows evidences of existence of each of the ten value types and some of the contents under these value types. In addition, each value type is composed of a number of contents (Schwartz 1994:31). This research is a qualitative study, thus, the findings cannot represent the complete structure of the entire values of the entire Chinese people but provides a small window to show some of the values existing among Chinese migrants in Ireland and also their observation of Chinese people. Some of the following quotes have also been

Figure 9.1 Schwartz's theoretical model (Adapted from Schwartz 1994:24)



used in the previous text of data analysis prior to chapter eight. The quotes presented are not inclusive but are examples in this study relating to Schwartz's (1994) values. The following discussion presents and reshapes the findings in this study within Schwartz's (1994) framework and compares them with it.

9.11.1 Power

Schwartz (1994:22) defines the ten basic value types around its central motivational goal. *Power* is about "social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources". When Mr Wang and Ms Qian talked about the values of Chinese people, they both pointed to wealth chasing at an extreme level in Chinese contemporary society:

Wealth

China is developing. Care nothing but money.(Ms Qian)

At present, the faith of mainland China is money. Everybody regards money as the core. People may care nothing but for profits. Even many harmful businessmen, they are

clearly aware of certain unlawful things which may lead to legal punishments, but they would rather take this risk to win fat profits. (Mr Wang)

Contemporary Chinese hold a strong value of creating or building up wealth even at the cost of loss of morality. Apart from the evidence at collaborative level, Ms Hu and Mr Li shared their individual experiences in relation to monetary pursuing either in China or the beginning of migration:

Wealth

I accepted the medical business man who gave me more money but not considering about the quality of the medical equipment providing it would not kill patients. (Ms Hu)
In the previous stage of migration, seemed earn more money, have better life. Now, would say, care little about money... Before I got sick, as a man, all about money. (Mr Li)

Ms Hu changed her value towards wealth during acculturation due to conversion to a Protestant. Mr Li did not regard money-making as his full life goal any more due to suffering from an illness; he realized health was more important than money. In contrast, Mrs Fei also was motivated to make more money but only started this goal after sometime in Ireland. As Mrs Fei said:

Wealth

After a year of stay in Ireland, I did not want travelling anymore but make more money. (Mrs Fei)

Ms Hu, Mr Li and Mrs Fei have changed their motivation on wealth during the acculturation period. In sum, it shows evidences of the motivation goal of wealth pursuing existing in Chinese society and the participants in this study. Moreover, the cross-cultural experience also plays a role for participants to modify their value.

Thus, *wealth* orientation value is identified in this study under the value type of *power* in Schwartz's (1994) model.

9.11.2 Achievement

Achievement pertains to “personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards (Schwartz 1994:22)” and “highlights social superiority and esteem” as *power* does. Two contents under *achievement* are found in this study: capable and intelligent:

Capable

...have to work very hard in order to show I can do this job. Because I am foreign national here.....but I, as a Chinese I have worked extremely hard. I have to work much harder than some people in order not to be considered, oh, you are Chinese, you cannot do this job. (Mrs Lin)

Mrs Lin, was motivated to work hard to demonstrate her competence in an intercultural working environment, thereby obtaining social approval. This finding also adds to the cross-cultural validity of Schwartz’s (1994) theory as these value types exist and function under an intercultural context: as a migrant, working hard in an intercultural environment was motivation to obtain social esteem.

Intelligent

Feldman et al. (2008) report 83% of their surveyed respondents came to Ireland for education. Fifteen out of twenty two participants in this study are recognized as education driven in terms of reason to come to Ireland.

*...the main reason is study, when I graduated from senior high school in China. I wanted to complete my university course in an English language country. (Mrs Zhao)
Do my PhD. (Ms Tai)*

It is evident that seeking education is a strong driver for Chinese migration towards Ireland in this study and Feldman et al. (2008). The concern on education is strongly rooted in the Confucius ethos (Guo 1995) and it is one of main concerns to drive outward migration in contemporary Chinese society (Ye 2011). Thus, for Chinese people, motivation for education in a foreign country is to seek successful performance

academically in an intercultural context and also satisfy traditional value rooted in Chinese culture.

9.11.3 Hedonism

Hedonism means “pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself” (Schwartz 1994:22).

One value content under this category is identified in this study:

Enjoying life

Dublin is so boring...It is not like in Hong Kong that has colourful evening life...You just go downstairs and can buy food on streets there without walking much...I am homesick of Hong Kong so much. (Mr Zheng)

Life quality is very good here...the food is better than Ireland...the city is bigger, you have more things to do.(Mr Qi)

...not much food variety, not much amusement...so homesick... (Mrs Hua)

Mr Zheng, Mr Qi and Mrs Hua all complained about the limited food variety and amusement facilities and venues in Dublin in comparison to where they lived before, or currently, namely Hong Kong, Sweden and Mainland China. They are all in their twenties and have desire to seek pleasure at the level of what Schwartz (2009) calls ‘organismic needs’ to be satisfied personally.

9.11.4 Stimulation

Stimulation is defined as “excitement, novelty and challenge in life (Schwartz 1994:22)”. Both Ms Hu and Ms Liu shared their original motivation to come to Ireland as being for new experiences:

Varied life

I came to Ireland due to the reasons in relation to family, job and emotion. I have no choice...I wished to change my life and realize my dream.(Ms Hu)

...as youth people, I came to Ireland and seek for some fresh experiences.(Ms Liu)

In addition, the quotes in section 9.9.3 shows three participants sought enjoyment of life, such as variety of food and amusement, where Dublin cannot satisfy them. Both

stimulation and *hedonism* relate to the organismic needs of the individual, where this need is underpinned by *self-direction* values (Schwartz 2009). From chart 9.2, these three value types are adjacent and so they share similar emphasises (Schwartz 1994). Therefore, one value content of a varied life is found in this study under the motivation of stimulation.

9.11.5 Self-direction

Self-Direction is about “independent thought and action; choosing, creating, exploring (Schwartz 1994:22)”. This motivation type is derived from organismic needs for control, mastery, autonomy and independence (Schwartz 2009). There are three value types recognized in this study:

Curious

At the beginning, I just wanted to see the outside world. I did not think about what to do in future, nor about good job. (Ms Liu)

Independent

Learn to be independent, learn to survive. (Ms Qian)

Freedom

...People say foreign country is very free. People have simple life and honest. You may do what you want to do ...with this belief, I wanted to have my desired life and then I came to Ireland. (Ms Hu)

The third point of my value change after living in Ireland, I think human should have the basic rights of freedom of religion practice. (Mr Wen)

The above quotes demonstrate the motivational goals, such as curiosity of the world, independent life and freedom-pursuing of participants in this study. These motivations existed either in the stage of pre-migration or during acculturation. This value type of self-direction is evident in participants and motivate them to fulfil these goals in a foreign culture in Ireland.

9.11.6 Universalism

Universalism is defined as “understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature (Schwartz 1994:22)”. Two value contents under *universalism* are found in this study: social justice and inner harmony.

Social justice

No morality in hospitals in China. (Mr Wu)

This is one of the reasons for Mr Wu to leave his job in China as a doctor and come to Ireland. Ms Hu said she found justice in her faith in Protestantism based on Bible teaching:

A sister in Christ shared with me how she was transformed from Bible teaching to behave in a righteous way... We trust God is a righteous one. If you did nothing wrong, I believe he will help you and have you justice. (Ms Hu)

Inner harmony

In section 4.1, the reported behaviours of the participants in this study during their cross-cultural adaptation process show their value orientation to keep harmony of relationships, such as tolerance of others when being discriminated. This behaviour also has a relation with Confucianism in which the major goal for social communication is to preserve a harmonized social order (Gao & Ting-Toomey 1998). Thus, it is clear that participants in this study pursued harmony relationships both in an inner world and with others in daily life. In sum, the value type of universalism is evident in this study.

9.11.7 Benevolence

Benevolence means “preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact (Schwartz 1994:22)”.

Responsible

All twenty two participants in this study value ‘filial piety’ which is about fulfilling responsibility to their parents in terms of both material and psychological perspectives.

In addition, a number of participants also mention their concern with their siblings, such as providing any help they need. The following are two examples:

Family mainly is composed of parents, wife and child, also sisters and brothers. Parents, you should show filial piety to them. Happiness, should let them happy. To child, is. As a master of a house, financially, do better for the family, to fulfil the responsibility of a husband. Child, we won't interfere too much of his life. Primarily, on his study, succeed in his study. To provide him some good conditions financially. Then about brothers and sisters, we are from one big family and in a same descendant line, will try best to help him if I am able to. If not able to, so how can I do. The same to the relatives, I feel happy to help you within my ability.(Mr Li)

Likewise, Mrs Zhao also shows great concern on responsibility on her elder parents.

She said:

"...in Chinese traditional culture we don't really do that. A person living in a nursing home is just like being abandoned by their child. Chinese parents only hope are upon their child, they are expecting their children can be with them when they getting old".

Mrs Zhao has to return China one day as she is the only child in her family and has to fulfil the responsibility of filial piety of minding her parents.

Meaning in life

This value content reoccurs in this study. The following participants are all Protestants apart from Mr Wu.

"... not telling me what is the meaning of life, where do we come from? Where we are going? Does man have soul? If we died, do we have future? Do we have life after death? All these questions have perplexed us. And also, speaking in more macro-level, the mystery of universe, and the end of everything. ... Why do we have morality but animals do not, how to get rid of the sins in heart? If the theory of Evolution is right, then why human has such deep and essential difference in minds from animals around? Why for all these, how did they come? (Mr Wang)

Bible gave me answers about some questions I was puzzled for long time: where does man come from? What is the relationship about women and men... (Mrs Jiang)

To seek for the true purpose of life...after some research then believed...(Ms Zhang)
...to find beginning and end of life...(Ms Shang)

I think the most important thing is, you know, the meaning of life, the meaning of life. (Mrs Cheng)

Why human come to this world and why good and evil co-exist.(Mr Wu)

Mr Wu tried to find meaning in life and made it via Buddhism belief.

Spiritual life

Schwartz (1994; 2009) notes spirituality is not a cross-culturally reliable value type as it cannot be clearly discerned in majority samples. Schwartz (2009:6) defines spiritual

values as “meaning, coherence, and inner harmony through transcending everyday reality.” In this study this value content is reported repeatedly and it is used to contrast materialism oriented values. It has diverse interpretations in this study: to find a meaning to life; to have peace and hope of mind; to exclude loneliness; to exclude emptiness; to have a feeling of love in Church. Thus, this categorization shares the same meaning of spiritual values as Schwartz (1994) as seen in the following examples:

We are in the Church. Many Pastors, Elders, Preachers, and Brothers and Sisters, together we can share in spirit level. (Mr Li)

...The love is impossible from human but only because God love man firstly, man then can love Christian brothers and sisters with this love...more closer and intimate than with relatives. I have never experienced this before in my life...As the simplified Chinese character of love which has taken the part of ‘heart’ away from the traditional Chinese...Today many Chinese are lack of true love...(Mr Wang)

The spiritual values referred by Mr Li and Mr Wang do not have much relation with their cross-cultural adaptation, whereas Ms Hu, Mrs Lin and Mrs Hua stressed the initial motivation to engage with a new religion was due to seeking peace or friendship in an intercultural environment:

Because I have believed coming to Ireland could bring me future and I have paid a lot of money. I knew little about this country. I arrived in Ireland due to this belief. If Jesus could transform my life, and bring me peace and hope I need. Then why not believe him? (Ms Hu)

Over ten years ago. I felt very lonely and I felt even very depressed because there were no friends around. I didn’t know how to get on, and how to talk to Irish students, (unclear) friends. When I was first brought to that Chinese church, I found that I have found a second home. So I started to make friends there for I met some friend people. On that point of view, yes, it helped me cope with loneliness, with new culture in Ireland.(Mrs Lin)

...too boring, I then felt very pessimistic, and then I felt useless. Then think of a faith to support. I started to read many kinds of books, and explore more. Then felt quite good, then believe. (Mrs Hua)

Loyal

Do not fall in love with anyone when you see him/her, be loyal in your marriage relations. (Mr Li)

Mr Li talked about keeping loyal to a marriage which is under the value type of benevolence.

9.11.8. Security

Security pertains to “safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self (Schwartz 1994:22)”. The value content of a sense of belonging is recognized in this study. Feldman et al. (2008) reported that the majority Chinese people in Ireland feel little sense of belonging to a Chinese community in Ireland. However, a number of participants think Church functions like home:

Sense of belonging

I feel this fellowship is a very precious place to me. My home, like my home. You ask what influence being brought from Church and faith, I feel just a home, a satisfaction, find an attachment. (Mr Ma)

The Brothers and Sisters in Church are very kind. If they help you, you must not thank them... in the Church Brothers and Sisters' talking is honest. (Mr Li)

Various amusement life in Church make many overseas Chinese feel home at Church. (Ms Liu)

This demonstrates that church provides sense of belonging to participants in this study in an intercultural environment.

9.11.9 Conformity

Schwartz (1994:22) defines *conformity* as “restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms”.

‘Obedient’ is one of the cultural contents under conformity identified in this study.

Obedient

I have to do absolutely obedient to them... I have to marry to a Chinese people. You know. (smile). I was told when I came over. (Mrs Cheng)

Since my original family is fairly conservation and sticking very firmly to the traditional belief such as worshipping of ancestors. Given that my father is very strong will person, it would be very difficult for me to break away to come to another form of religious belief if I were to stay with them in the same locality. It would probably only be the case when my father passed away then I may wander off to explore a different set of belief. (Mr Ma)

To be obedient to parents providing not against Bible teaching and love parents and this is filial piety. (Mrs Zhao)

It is evident that participants in this study tried to be obedient to their parents so as not to hurt their feelings and also to fulfil filial piety which is a well-retained value in Chinese culture.

9.11.10 Tradition

Tradition is about “respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that one’s traditional culture or religion impose on the individual (Bilsky et al. 2011:761).”

It should be noted that tradition and religion for an individual may have conflicts as shown in chapter six, because an individual can either convert to a religion rooted in his/her tradition or not. That means personal religious belief does not always overlap with his/her tradition. The value content of respect for tradition is found in this study.

Respect for tradition

I still consider ‘filial piety’ is carried from Confucianism...For Chinese people, it is a virtue, so we should pass it down from generation to generation and educate our children how to respect the elderly, how to communicate with the elders with polite language and behaviours. (Mrs Lin)

...I realize people do a lot things just do it, follow the traditions, from generation to generation...(Mrs Cheng)

The Chinese priest considers what he said is right as the interpretation has been carried down for generations, so that he thinks he is right. (Mrs Hua)

... my second elder brother, he does not believe anything but the traditions, every year, if he is at home, he will go to visit tombs.”(Mr Li)

A number of participants respect their parents’ attitude towards tradition rather than traditional values. The only well-kept Chinese traditional value found in this study is filial piety.

Devout

Section 3.7.6 presents the motivations of future migration for Mr Ma, Mrs Cheng, Ms Zhang and Ms Tai, which are all about their faith in Protestantism. In chapter four, Mrs Zhao, Ms Zhang, Ms Tai, Ms Hu and Ms Gao resort to their religious faith in Protestantism to cope with the difficulties encountered during their cross-cultural

adaptation, such as experiences of being discriminated against or loneliness. Chapter five also examines the role of religion. The influences from the religious belief of the participants on their daily life as part of acculturation show how devout they are.

The two core categories presented across data analysis chapters of three to eight are to satisfy personal needs or glorify God. These two categories are the major value orientations revealed in this study and sections 9.9.1-10 unfolds the detailed motivational values by framing the findings in the theoretical model of Schwartz (1994).

9.11.11 changing value orientation of participants

Based on the findings in chapter three to six and section 9.9.1-10 and according to the definitions and structures of the value types in Schwartz (1994:22, 24, 31), table 9.1 presents the changing value orientations of participants in this study. It is also a comparison of motivational goals before arriving in Ireland and after acculturation. This is a qualitative study and no measurements of shifting of different value types are shown. Moreover, this research followed classic grounded theory so that the data discovered is not necessary to reveal full value types in a personal value system but be relevant to the research interests. Thus, these comparisons only demonstrate that the shifting of value orientations exist in this study and this shifting may and may not be a dominant change in an individual value system.

**Table 9.1 Changing of value orientation of participants
according to Schwartz (1994)**

| Name of participant | Shifting of value orientation before and after arriving in Ireland |
|---------------------|---|
| Mr Wang | Stays with the value type of <i>Benevolence</i> , self-transcendence |
| Mr Li | From <i>Power (wealth)</i> orientated to <i>Benevolence (security)</i> orientated, a stark shifting between two opposites: from <i>Self-enhancement</i> to <i>Self-transcendence</i> . |
| Ms Hu | From <i>Stimulation (varied life)</i> orientated to <i>Benevolence (spiritual life)</i> and <i>Tradition (devout)</i> directed, a shifting between the two adjacent value areas: from <i>Openness to change</i> and <i>Self-transcendence</i> |
| Ms Liu | From <i>self-direction (curious)</i> orientated to <i>security (family security)</i> directed, a stark shifting between two opposites: from <i>Openness to change</i> to <i>Conservation</i> |
| Mr Zheng | Stays with <i>Hedonism (pleasure and enjoying life)</i> and <i>Achievement (intelligent)</i> oriented, <i>Openness to change</i> and self-enhancement |
| Mr Ma | From <i>Achievement (intelligent)</i> oriented to <i>Benevolence (spiritual life)</i> , <i>Tradition (devout)</i> and <i>Security (sense of belonging)</i> directed, a stark shifting between two opposites: from <i>Self-enhancement</i> to <i>Self-transcendence</i> and also to the neighbouring value area of <i>Conservation</i> |
| Mrs Cheng | From <i>Achievement (intelligent)</i> oriented to <i>Benevolence (spiritual life and meaning in life)</i> , and <i>Tradition (devout)</i> directed, a stark shifting between two opposites: from <i>Self-enhancement</i> to <i>Self-transcendence</i> |
| Mrs Lin | From <i>Achievement (intelligent)</i> oriented to <i>Achievement (capable)</i> and <i>Benevolence</i> directed, a stark shifting between two opposites: from <i>Self-enhancement</i> to <i>Self-transcendence</i> |
| Ms Zhang | From <i>Achievement (intelligent)</i> oriented to <i>Benevolence (spiritual life)</i> and <i>Tradition (devout)</i> directed, a stark shifting between two opposites: from <i>Self-enhancement</i> to <i>Self-transcendence</i> |
| Ms Tai | From <i>Achievement (intelligent)</i> oriented to <i>Benevolence (spiritual life)</i> and <i>Tradition (devout)</i> directed, a stark shifting between two opposites: from <i>Self-enhancement</i> to <i>Self-transcendence</i> |
| Mrs Hua | From <i>Achievement (intelligent)</i> oriented to <i>Tradition (devout)</i> and also <i>Hedonism</i> directed, a stark shifting between two opposites: from <i>Self-enhancement</i> to <i>Self-transcendence</i> and also to a neighbouring value area of <i>Openness to change</i> |
| Mr Feng | From <i>Achievement (intelligent)</i> oriented to <i>Hedonism</i> directed, a shift between two neighbouring value types: from <i>self-enhancement</i> to <i>openness to change</i> |
| Mr Wen | From <i>Achievement (intelligent)</i> oriented to <i>Hedonism</i> directed and <i>Self-direction (freedom)</i> directed, a shift between two neighbouring value types: from <i>self-enhancement</i> to <i>openness to change</i> |
| Mrs Hou | From <i>Achievement (intelligent)</i> oriented to <i>Tradition (devout)</i> directed, a stark shifting between two opposites: from <i>Self-enhancement</i> to <i>Self-transcendence</i> |
| Mrs Zhao | From <i>Achievement (intelligent)</i> oriented to <i>Tradition (devout)</i> directed, a stark shifting between two opposites: from <i>Self-enhancement</i> to <i>Self-</i> |

| | |
|-----------|---|
| | <i>transcendence</i> |
| Ms Shang | From <i>Achievement (intelligent)</i> oriented to <i>security (family security)</i> directed, a shift between two neighbouring value types: from <i>self-enhancement</i> to <i>conservation</i> |
| Mrs Jiang | From <i>Achievement (capable)</i> oriented to <i>Tradition (devout)</i> directed, a stark shifting between two opposites: from <i>Self-enhancement</i> to <i>Self-transcendence</i> |
| Mrs Fang | From <i>Power (wealth)</i> orientated to <i>Tradition (devout)</i> directed, a stark shifting between two opposites: from <i>Self-enhancement</i> to <i>Self-transcendence</i> |
| Mr Wu | From <i>Power (wealth)</i> orientated to <i>Tradition (devout)</i> directed, a stark shifting between two opposites: from <i>Self-enhancement</i> to <i>Self-transcendence</i> |
| Mr Qi | From <i>Achievement (intelligent)</i> oriented to <i>Hedonism</i> directed, a shift between two neighbouring value types: from <i>self-enhancement</i> to <i>openness to change</i> |
| Mrs Fei | From <i>Stimulation (varied life)</i> oriented to <i>Power (wealth)</i> orientated, a shift between two neighbouring value areas: openness to change to self-enhancement |
| Ms Qian | From <i>Power (wealth)</i> orientated to <i>Self-direction (independent)</i> directed, a shift between two neighbouring value areas: <i>from self-enhancement to openness to change</i> |

Table 9.1 demonstrates that twelve participants have shifted from the orientation of **self-enhancement** to **self-transcendence**. One participant shifted from **openness to change** to **conservation**. These two pairs of orientations, as seen in chart 9.1, are in direct contrast to each other. Therefore this is a fundamental change in values. Two participants have changed from **self-enhancement** to **conservation**, five participants from **self-enhancement** to **openness to change**, one from **openness to change** to **self-transcendence**, and one from **openness to change** to **self-enhancement**. These pairs of orientations are adjacent as seen in chart 9.1 and these shifts took place during the process of cross-cultural adaption.

9.11.12 Discussions between the related findings in this study and Schwartz's theoretical model and related hypothesis

Schwartz and Bilsky (1987; 1990) and Schwartz (1994) present a theoretical model of universal human values and Schwartz and Bilsky (1987:561) believe their approach

avoids the shortcomings of survey research and involves both “motivational factors (individual personality) and pragmatic considerations (the organization of reinforcements in the social environments)”. The data in Schwartz (1994), collected across forty four countries, represent various cultures of the world. It shows the ten value types and their respective contents and structure and is a quantitative and cross-cultural value based research. In this study, the value types are derived from the lived experience of the Chinese participants during their acculturation processes. Thus, the structure and interrelationships emerged from real experiences rather than from designed surveys. This contributes to Schwartz’s (1994) theory by adding cross-cultural validity to it.

Firstly, all of the values types found in this study mesh with Schwartz’s value structure and also cover all the value types in the structure of Schwartz’s (1994) basic human values but are not exhaustive of the exemplar value contents displayed in Schwartz (1994:31). Thus, the findings in this study verify the real existence of the value categories included in Schwartz (1994) in the lived experience of the participants.

Secondly, in Schwartz’s (1994) model, the relationship between value types is critical as the closer two value types are in the model, the more overlaps and similarity on their motivational value orientations exist. Thus, *value migration* in this study (chapter six and nine) is due to the influences from both the second culture (the culture relation to Irish society) and the third culture (the culture relation to a religion). This shows the value orientation of the participants has deviated from the dominant value types found in the original society, China towards the value orientations of the Irish host society. In other words, in contemporary Chinese society, power and achievement orientation are

prevalent and this orientation has been found to weaken among a number of participants during their acculturation in Ireland. Moreover, it shows a number of participants seek more values in benevolence, such as ‘meaning in life’ and ‘spiritual life’ rather than material interests and social status which has also resulted from their personal religion beliefs. This change also echoes Hofstede (2001) as Ireland has a lower index of power distance than China and participants have changed in relation to this by converging to the lower index of power distance found in Irish society where social status is linked to power. Nonetheless, some original cultural elements have been retained which have fundamental influences on the participants, such as keeping social harmonization, education, and respect for the tradition value of filial piety which is recognized by all participants.

Thirdly, the participants found some value elements which have been neglected or overlooked in the original culture, such as freedom of religious practice and of speech, and little awareness of social justice. This can be one of drivers for them to remain out of China or to return, as they may identify a value which cannot be realized in Ireland, such as ‘filial piety’. Thus, they have to leave for China even though this hinders their career development. Schwartz (1994:21) defines values as “desirable trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life a person or other social entity ”. Therefore, values play a role in a hidden way influencing the behaviour of the participants.

Fourthly, in terms of value contents relating to discrimination in sections 9.9.1-10, the example values located in adjacent value wedges share similar characteristics and this echoes Schwartz (1994). One is not found in Schwartz (1994) the value type of tradition

represents both personal religion and tradition while these two perspectives might not be reconciled as an individual religion can be sourced from non-original culture. For instance, Christianity is not one of the traditional religions in Chinese culture but it has more and more influences in contemporary Chinese society. The next section presents a model grounded in this study.

9.12 Values acculturation

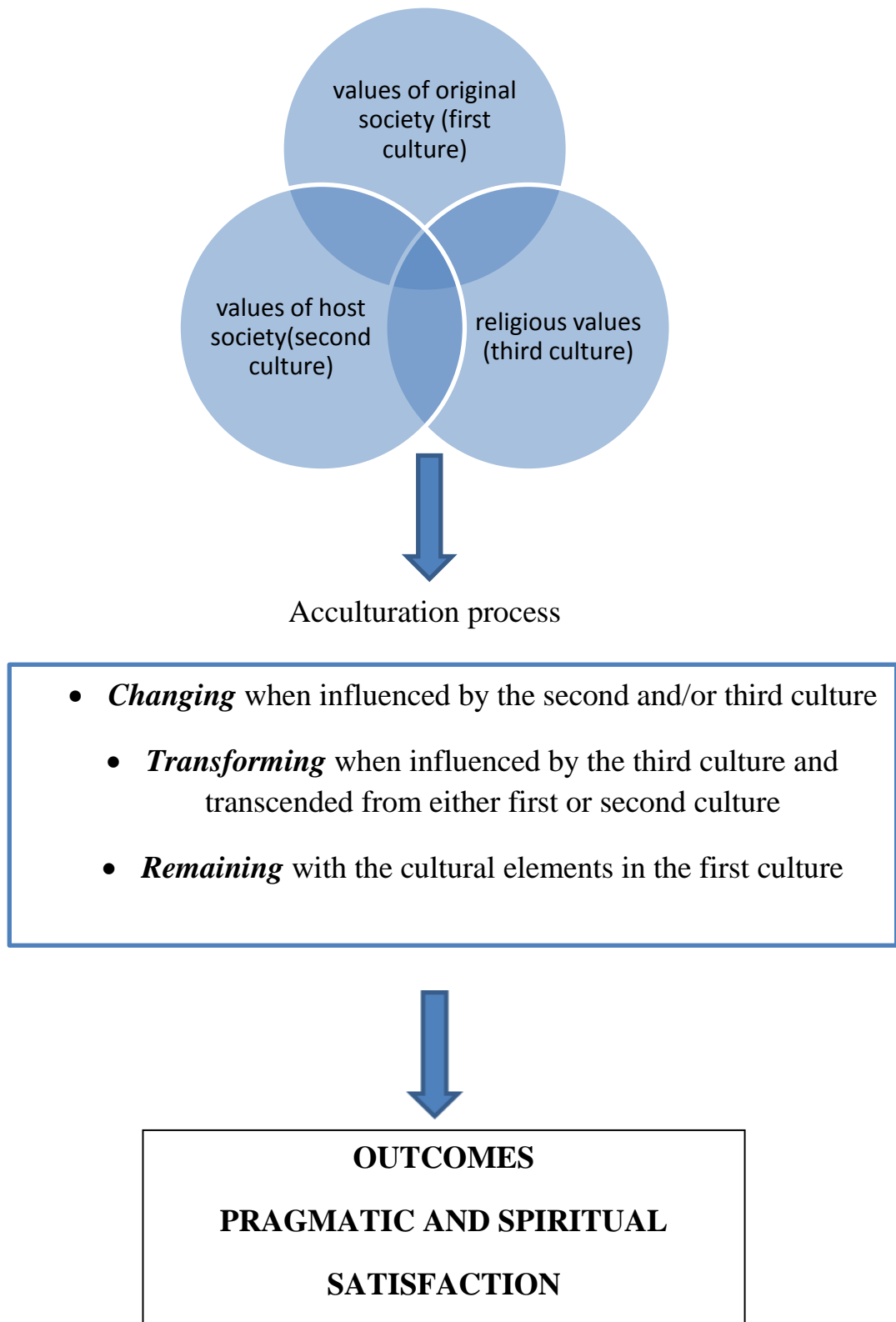
Figure 9.2 is derived from the findings in this study. Three circles represent the cultural backgrounds experienced by a participant during acculturation, which includes two situations: either with or without influences from a particular religion as not each participant is religious in this study. The patterns of value migration, include ***Changing*** when influenced by the second and/or third culture; ***Transforming*** when influenced by the third culture and transcended from either first or second culture; ***Remaining*** with the cultural elements in the first culture. Therefore, values acculturation outcome is an integration oriented process forming an invisible space supported by a new value system in which a dynamic balance is achieved and an individual functions in the new cultural context with the purpose of satisfaction across two pragmatic and spiritual dimensions.

This model also relates to the model in Rogler (1994:707) in relation to the cultural contexts of both host society and society of origin. Rogler (1994:702) states that “international migratory processes connect the two societies, each of which provides the context of the persons’ migration experience.” In this study, the acculturations experiences are mediated by the values of the participants and present three patterns of value orientations as outcomes: changing, transforming and retaining. All these values

types mesh with the two-dimensional theoretical model of basic human values as presented by Schwartz (1994). Based on this model, Tartakovsky and Schwartz (2001) also suggest future research to verify their theoretical approach with regard to motivation for emigration to arrive at an integrated theory. Moreover, it has been noted by a number of researchers that acculturation research does not address the content of cultural beliefs and values (Betancourt and Lopez 1993; Rogler 1994; Triandis 1997; Boski 2008; Chirkov 2009b; Rudmin 2009; Waldram 2009; Matsudaira 2006). In this study, the findings meet this concern and present the journey of value migration of the participants.

Liu (2011) defines “integration” as an interaction process between a heritage culture and a new culture. This research would add the influences from a third culture, a religious belief to this definition. Personal identity is viewed as a whole system as presented in figure 9.2 and Ting-Toomey (2005) notes two parts of identities: value and salience content. In this research it is argued that culture can be segmented for the convenience and necessity of social science research, but a personal value system embedded in a personal identity is integrated as a whole, which cannot be fragmented. Therefore, a person is a holistic entity, a possible carrier of more than one culture but not as segmented culture pieces. In other words this research stresses the importance of reassembling the pieces in order to present a relatively true and full understanding of migration experience.

Figure 9.2 Value acculturation



9.13 Concluding discussion

Rohner (1984) notes that little attention has been paid to determine what culture means and also little research actually in relation to culture in cross-cultural psychology studies. Rohner (1984:8) advocates the core of the definition of culture is “equivalent and complementary learned meanings”. Rohner (1984) remarks culture in cross-cultural psychology pertains to learned meaning by a certain group of people and its transmission across generations, and the two most important dimensions are firstly, meaning, both in words and behaviours, is shared by the majority or the responsible members of a society; secondly, specific learned meanings exist among a group with a certain status, such as between a physician and a patient. Thus, Rohner (1984) recognizes both the commonality of culture at group level and also the uniqueness of culture at the individual level. This study of changing values and religion of Chinese migrants during the process of cross-cultural adaptation, also presents an individual value transformation process against the background of the group values of both Chinese traditional values and the value system of Irish society. Snauwaert et al. (2003:237) consider that “ethnic minority members are far less inclined to identify with” or adopt the host culture “than to have good and regular relationships” with the host society. Thus, “individuals often strike a balance between cultural change and cultural retention” as reviewed by Matsudaira (2006) and as is evident in this study.

Integration has been strongly proposed as the most successful choice of acculturation strategy (Berry 1997; Berry 2000; Berry 2005; Berry 2008), but this is questioned by Rudmin (2009b) and Chirkov (2009a). This research shows that integration is not the only answer for successful cross-cultural adaptation. The outcome of the acculturation processes of the participants in this study are functional interactions which can keep a

balance in the multi-layered lives of the participants, such as in daily life, the school-place, the work place, while supported by a personal value system at in-depth level. The participants can find their own individual interpretation of their experience and seek support from personal values and experiences to manage the negatives aspects of their migration life. The outcome of acculturation in this research is an ongoing process of dynamic balance along an acculturation orientation among the interactions of a migrant's life and all factors external to him or her, including all layers of cultural life of the host society and interaction with other minority groups. Therefore, the orientation and outcome are not static but tend to be in a state of dynamic balance. This understanding is derived from the data collected from the real world and in relation to the literature review, based on a holistic view of human behaviors. Overall, this study finds that values orientation serves as a main thread in a personal life both in the original culture and intercultural communication contexts.

CHAPTER TEN CONCLUSION

Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you: for him hath God the Father sealed.

KJV Bible John 6:27

10.1 Chapter outline

This final chapter discusses the key findings and contribution of the study to extant knowledge, and evaluates the research. Following this are the limitations of the study, recommendations for future research are made before the final conclusion.

10.2 Key findings

In this qualitative study with twenty two participants, there is clear evidence of values change. Firstly, change can be separated into two groups as follows:

- Twenty participants had their values changed to different extents.
- Two participants had little change in their values.

The two people whose values did not change particularly are Ms Qian and Mr Zheng. Ms Qian remains faithful to communist party teaching which form her values, in particular personal economic advancement. Ms Qian has compared Chinese values and the values of her host society, but she feels no change in her personal values. In terms of research, there has been almost no transformation. Mr Zheng is unusual because he arrived in Ireland as a young man and was educated at secondary school onwards. However, his values did not appear to change. He has not been influenced by Catholicism which would be a host society value in his education. He does believe in Karma which is an influence from Buddhism in Chinese culture. Nonetheless, there might be some change as he is so young because Kim (2001) considers that transformation does occur without a person being aware of it. In this research, it is not

clear whether this happened.

The twenty participants whose values clearly changed can be divided into the following groups.

Eight participants are termed as 'Bible lens' taker in this study and this indicates that the influence comes from their faith in Protestantism to have values transformed. They compared their values, which have changed and transformed from Chinese traditional values. However, their values are also different from the values of the Irish host society because they take the Bible as absolute truth. However, what they believe does not necessarily mean that they will come into conflict with the host society.

One participant, Mrs Lin is termed as a 'Mass embracer' and this implies she was influenced by Catholicism. Her values are transformed but the degree of change is not as much as the 'Bible embracers' towards the Chinese traditional values asked about in this study. Nonetheless, her case shows the orientation of assimilation into the values of her host society. This satisfies her spiritual needs and it was also a pragmatic choice.

Eleven participants have their values changed in various extents. They may selectively choose one or more traditional values and also show signs of being influenced by the values of the Irish host society. For example, Mr Li, who is called a 'Bible oscillator', struggles between the Chinese traditional value of ancestor worship and his Christian faith. Mr Qi and Mr Wen do not convert to any religion but learn about Christianity during their stay in Ireland. However, both of them are influenced by the values of the Irish host society, such as democracy, freedom of religious practice and a relaxed life style. But, they also still retain Chinese values. Mrs Hua's values remain compatible

with Chinese traditional values though she is also a Catholic; she has reconciled these values.

Overall, it is evident that values change is significant in the cross-cultural experiences of these Chinese migrants. Despite a change in values, all twenty two participants retained the core Chinese value of filial piety. This value which relates to care of elderly parents may not need to be changed as all cultures take care of elderly parents in different ways. In Ireland, participants have seen a different way of taking care of elderly parents but they have not adapted to this way of doing things. In this case, despite acculturation, the participants choose to separate this value from the value of the host society.

10.3 The generalizability of the findings and the implications of the study

This study clearly demonstrates the vital role of religion in the acculturation process and also interactions between values and cross-cultural adaptation, termed value migration and value acculturation in this research. Three patterns of value migration emerged in this study: *changing*, *transforming* and *remaining*. Particularly, it finds the most articulated form of values migration is displayed by participants called ‘Bible lens’ takers, who convert to a new religion. Thus, they *transform* at a deep, religious level rather than merely change some values. The outcome of value acculturation pertains mainly to two dimensions: pragmatic and spiritual satisfaction. The pragmatic dimension refers to a motivational value orientation towards a non-divine related direction and mainly satisfies personal desire, whereas the spiritual dimension in this study mainly refers to a God-centred value orientation. The influence of the Irish host society may or may not be directly in relation to the value migration in this study. Rather, Bible scripture shows more strong influences on those participants called ‘Bible lens’ takers. However, value migration took place during the process of cross-cultural

adaption of the participants in this research. Moreover, the values types identified in section 9.11 all mesh with those illustrated in Schwartz (1994), which is a theoretical model with regard to universal motivation values. Thus, the overall findings may be generalized as follows: The process, patterns and outcomes of value migration may happen to non-Chinese ethnic groups and with all religion types in a non-Sino-Irish intercultural context. However, the extent of value changing and patterns of interaction may vary due to the cultural distance between the ethnic group and host society.

The research finding may help related organizations, migrant communities and their host societies to deal with migration issues properly and not blindly force migrants to integrate, or assimilate. Mainstream society should keep an open-mind and also provide more motivation to integrate and have a more positive attitude to migrants in daily life. Instead of just policy-level statements, such actions would effectively promote interaction between migrants and their host society. In addition, the spiritual dimension relating to migrants should not be neglected as this study has found values, including religion, play an important role during the cross-cultural adaptation of migrants. Lastly, special attention should be paid to the culture of origin of migrants which may influence their migration plan, such as ‘filial piety’ which has emerged in this research. Filial piety would be a factor hindering long-term integration of Chinese migrants in Ireland as they have to return home to mind their aged parents, as Ireland does not allow extended family reunification currently. Consequently, this may lead to loss of human capital from the host society and also the interruption of a migrant’s personal career development.

10.4 Contribution to knowledge

This research contributes to migration research in the Irish context in relation to Chinese

migrants, which has been less explored in-depth. This research is qualitative and the purpose is to explore the experience of Chinese migrants in Ireland, particularly their experience in relation to religion, values and beliefs. This is one of the merits of qualitative research which can provide an in-depth examination of participant experience and which has been called for in recent acculturation literature (Rudmin 2009b, 2010; Chirkov 2009a, 2009b, 2009c; Lopez-Class et al. 2011). In addition, this research meets the call for value studies in the cross-cultural area and cultural elements in acculturation (Triandis 1997; Boski 2008; Chirkov 2009b; Sam and Berry 2006; Waldram 2009; Matsudaira 2006; Tropp et al. 1999), paradigm shifting in acculturation research (Pan et al. 2008; Pan 2011; Zika and Chamberlain 1987, 1992; Michaud 2006), and also religion research in the global arena (Oudenhoven et al. 2006).

Lastly, the research meets two suggestions addressed in Gudykunst (2001) in terms of theorizing about intercultural communication: more subjectivist theorizing is needed and theorizing in other cultures not only the United States where the majority of theorizing is from. The study links a researcher with a Chinese ethnic background and Chinese migrants in the cultural context of Ireland. The research findings present more subjectivist discourse rather than objective theorizing.

10.4.1 Discussion in relation to Chinese migrants in Ireland

Previous research reported a short outlook for the future migration plans of Chinese migrants in Ireland (Wang & King-O'Riain 2006; O'Leary & Li 2008; King-O'Riain 2008; Feldman et al. 2008), whereas in this study seven patterns of migration plans are identified. The patterns are:

- 1) can and prefer to remain in Ireland for good;
- 2) can and prefer to stay in Ireland but have to return China;

- 3) can and prefer to stay but unsure of the future;
- 4) prefer to stay in Ireland but unsure of the future whether can stay;
- 5) can stay permanently but prefer to leave Ireland and go back to China;
- 6) can stay permanently but unsure of the future;
- 7) can stay but prefer to leave Ireland and migrate to another country.

This study finds successful integration depends on the interests and active attitude of each other from both Chinese migrants and the Irish host society. This echoes Munck (2006) that integration is a two-way process.

Overall, this study is consistent with Wang and King O’Riain (2006), King O’Riain (2008), O’Leary R. & Li (2008) and Feldman et al (2008) in relation to the social isolation or low level of integration of the Chinese community in Ireland. Most of the participants in these studies carried out to date in relation to Chinese migrants in Ireland have come from the Chinese international student population. Their student status predestines the vulnerable position of these students to integrate into the host society (Wang & O’Riain 2006). In this research, the immigration statuses of the participants are various as students, migrant workers, long-term residency holder, Irish citizenship holders, and join spouses. As a result, it presents more diverse personal background information. O’Leary and Li (2008) conclude that currently religion is not an important part of the lives of most of the mainland Chinese in Ireland, whereas in this research, only four out of the twenty two participants claimed they have no religion and one regarded himself as an ‘atheist’. Hence, eighteen participants show their diverse religious experience in Ireland and some of them are very religious.

This study reveals that an original cultural background has a key place in a person’s

intercultural experience. An individual is not a cultural vacuum immersed in a foreign culture, rather intercultural interaction is a process of meeting up of different cultures with personal uniqueness. Thereby, it can be seen why the migrants in this research interpret their intercultural experience by weaving this experience into their original cultural backgrounds. The role of values and religion in cross-cultural adaptation can be both positive and negative and in this research is mainly positive. This study shows that personal religion can influence the acculturation strategy, including to what extent and how an individual wants to keep contact with the host society and ethnic group. By researching this relationship between values and behavior, it can be seen that values direct behavior at a deep level. This research not only describes the pattern of acculturation of the Chinese participants, but also reveals a deeper motivation and reasons for their acculturation strategies.

10.4.2 Cross-cultural values research

This research adds to the cross-cultural validity of Schwartz's (1994) theory in both value types and dynamic relationships among values as discussed in Chapter Nine. This research also contributes to Hofstede's (1991; 2001) value research which confirms cultural differences between Ireland and China, in this research being power difference.

The value of this research is the combining of experiences across the pre-migration stage and the acculturation process; this includes future plans. To achieve this, the research focuses on the core part of culture (Hofstede 2001): value, the most inner and hidden part but also running through each perspective of a migrant's experiences. Acculturation has started during the pre-move stage from the global influences of Western media and personal perceptions (Chapter one). The strategy of assimilation or integration, which is, potentially giving up the values in the original culture and adopting some or all the values of the host society, is not the only solution for

successful acculturation. This study reveals the participants subjectively compare the first culture and second culture and form a new value system either with or without the influence from the third culture (chapter five). Thus, changing, transforming and retaining of the original values can be found in one individual in different ways (chapter six). Separation also proved to be a successful strategy of acculturation (chapter four).

A new value system with mixed sources of the first, second and third in diverse patterns, operates in the new cultural background and functions in complex interactions. The value types of each of the three cultural sources can take a lead to influence the behaviour of the participants (chapter six). Whatever pattern appears, the new system works and fits at an individual level. A person migrates both physically and mentally. A migrant physically keeps personal integrity and needs psychological integrity as well, otherwise, psychological fit cannot be maintained (Kim 2001). The pattern of a new value system results from three cultural sources, which are ethnic culture, host culture and particular religious influences. Culture here refers not only to cultural patterns but also factors at a macro-level during the course of migration (chapters three to six). The ultimate orientation of value migration is about the satisfaction in either a pragmatic or spiritual dimension forming a harmonized entity within an individual.

10.5 Evaluation

Glaser (1978) notes that four criteria are needed to evaluate grounded theories: fit, work, relevance and modifiability. In this study, the theory derives from the migration experiences of participants in a holistic view and these four criteria are discussed in turn.

Fit: The categories of this study are generated directly from the data and this process is not preconceived as in conventional research methodology of testing hypotheses with data collected. Thus, the findings are derived from a rigorous and systematic analysis, which meet this criterion (chapter two). In terms of extant theory, Glaser (1978) uses 'emergent fit' to remark that there is no borrowing from existing theories but they are woven into the emerging theory (chapter eight and nine).

Work refers to the fact that a theory can explain what has happened, what is happening and what will happen. In other words, grounded theory discovers facts in a substantial area. This study explored the real experiences of the participants during the process of cross-cultural adaptation in Ireland (chapter three to six). A theory about values acculturation is derived in chapter nine which helps illustrate and potentially predict value changes.

Relevance, as Glaser (1978) notes, means a grounded theory researcher does not need to convince others of the relevance but searches for relevance in the data. Following the procedures required by grounded theory, this study centres around the data, and has derived three sub-core categories which unfolded along chapters three to seven: chasing, comparing and changing. Therefore, the findings are relevant to the data.

Modifiability is an essential criterion in evaluating a grounded theory (Glaser 1978). A researcher should give priority to the data instead of holding personal interests regarding a theory. A basic social process remains unchanged at a general level but varies and keeps on changing in detail. Thus, a good grounded theory allows for future modification and advancement of the theory. In this study, the two core categories are satisfaction across the pragmatic and spiritual dimensions. In future research, collecting

data in relation to more religions and other cultures of origin may present different interpretations of *values migration*.

In addition, in terms of originality, this study meets the call to develop research in relation to Chinese migrants in Ireland, and elaborates the core cultural content of *values migration* and paradigm shifting (Pan et al. 2008; Pan 2011; Zika and Chamberlain 1987; Zika and Chamberlain 1992; Michaud 2006) from a stress to a meaning of life focus in acculturation research. Thereby, it is original research according to all these criteria.

10.6 Limitations

The scope of samples taken in the research is limited. Not all the religions of Chinese migrants in Ireland have been included due to limitation of time. These religions include Falungong, Taoism, Islam, and Jehovah's Witness. Therefore, a comparison across these religious values is not recorded nor analysed in this research. Moreover, the term of Chinese traditional values is only the gloss term to represent those value points asked about and related to the research.

10.7 Recommendations

Future research can make a more detailed examination of the relationship between values change and identity change as this was not a feature of the current study as the emphasis was on religion and values. Moreover, it is suggested in future research of distinguishing the religious perspective from the general cultural area. Particularly, religious orientation is suggested as a future focus of values research. Also, a longitudinal study is suggested to trace a more detailed development of the value system of migrants during the course of acculturation.

10.8 Conclusion

This qualitative research presents the findings that a personal value system and an acculturation process are interdependent. Qualitative research has the advantages of revealing a detailed acculturation process from a value perspective. An individual value factor plays an important role in the areas of migration planning and acculturation and this study has revealed rich findings in relation to the lived experience of the Chinese migrant participants. This shows the necessity in research to adopt both emic and etic approaches to discover a critical understanding of both acculturation and sociocultural adjustment.

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