



**DOUBLE HAPPINESS:  
BICULTURAL MEN - IDENTITY AND LEARNING**

A study of Australian-Chinese men born in the 20<sup>th</sup> century

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## **ABSTRACT**

Chinese were early settlers in Australia but little has been written of Australian-Chinese men now living in the twenty-first century, some of whom can trace their lineage, in the Australian context, across centuries. The focus here on this demographic was because of personal involvement with the lives and culture of Australian-Chinese people domiciled or linked to the Sydney region.

The question was how has a cross-cultural context effected the patterns of life long learning and the identities of Australian-Chinese men born between 1915 and 1945? All forty-three participants were retired Australian-Chinese men, who were either born in Australia or immigrated here, mainly as young people. The research explored their learning, formal education, adaptation to another culture, and identity development. A mixed methodology was used to ascertain that a change had been definitely effected, and that the difference was not a momentary transformation.

The study involved the collection of biographical data using three instruments: the data collection process included a video-taped interview with each participant, usually in their own home, to discuss their opinions and lives: secondly, they answered an information-gathering questionnaire: and they completed a psychological self-assessment instrument, the Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory (CCAI). This investigation also noted their work histories, community involvement, and what they thought they had achieved during their lifetime. It was anticipated that the combination of all these factors would yield more than sufficient qualitative and quantitative data for assessment, so as to explore the learning, identity formation, and transcultural adaptation of each man in the study. Two well-tested theories were referenced in this process. The first by La Fromboise et al. (1993) basically examined biculturalism, and the second by Levinson et al. (1978), considered the seasons of a man's life, and each theory added strength to the deliberations that sought to answer the research question.

This research enlarged understanding of twentieth century Australian-Chinese men, their learning paradigms, identity influences, cross-cultural adaptation, and perceptions of their achievements. It provided insights to the field of adult learning, education and sociology, history and biography. It expanded the image of Australian-Chinese men and contributed to the participant's and their family's identity and historical record.

# CERTIFICATE

I certify that this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not submitted as part of candidature for any other degree.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me, and that any help that I have received in preparing this thesis, and all the sources used, have been acknowledged in this thesis.

Signature of candidate

.....

Dorathy M. Hoy

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

Chinese have been part of Australia's population since the first European settlement in 1788, and it is known that there were Chinese visitors to Australia, particularly to the Northern areas prior to that. Predominantly, these men came from the coastal areas of the eastern Guangdong province, although their religious, ethnic and educational backgrounds were different. Entry for them into New South Wales was governed by many regulations and restrictions as to who could come, to their entry processes, their length of stay, together with their opportunities for work and family lives. Their distinct physical appearance from that of the Europeans positioned them as outsiders, so they were not seen as immigrants but as aliens, and it was largely their countrymen who gave them support. Yet they were eager to learn to speak English and to understand new ways, and they largely did so.

Chinese men were the focus of this research. The Anglo-Australian researcher was particular not to expound on her own experiences as the wife of a Chinese in Australia. Such wider discussion was outside the intended scope of this thesis but could be a possible subject of future research so as to reveal more detailed personal idiosyncrasies. All research has limitations and no guidelines were found in the literature to provide advice regarding the processes of interviewing, testing and appraising in a cross-cultural situation. The psychological self-testing process had a flattening effect so that the individual characteristics were minimized

This investigation, overall, sought to explore how forty-three Australian-Chinese present day men made this transition from one culture to another, and the degree of their blend into the Anglo-Celtic society of Australia. The men in this study recounted their stories of experiences from the past to the present in a video interview. What was it that enabled their cross-cultural transition? Was it their learning, in the main, received through Australian education facilities; or was it the work they undertook that was of paramount importance, to themselves and to others; or was it their cultural heritage of a value system that shaped their identity and aided their change? Did these men, all of full Chinese lineage, except for one man of Chinese/Aboriginal extraction, cross over cultural backgrounds, and find acceptance within the Australian community of the twentieth and into the twenty-first century? Experiences involving such background variation could result in identity crises, as an individual could be torn between the two cultures, or a synthesis of a new cultural identity may emerge. Overall, the study sought

to discover what effects these cultural factors impinged on the individual's lifelong decision-making, and those experiences that shaped his developing identity within his bicultural setting.

There were also indications that further exploration of each participant's life-course would provide further information to add to the present limited quantum. There was a paucity of published research material available that examined the cultural adaptability of second-generation Australian-Chinese men, who formed just over half of this sample. Most such evidence was anecdotal or as excerpts or inferences contained in historical and biographical collections. One such valuable input was the voices of today's Chinese-Australians in conversation with Diana Giese (Giese, 1997). It was important to examine these individuals even though, in recent years, there has been a proliferation of conferences dealing with the role of Chinese immigrants in Australia's growth since colonisation, and the positive contribution made by individual Australian-Chinese to the general Australian community. These had highlighted the necessity to collect information and investigate the Chinese diaspora experiences. This need was particularly emphasised by the 1999 Asian-Australian Identities Conference in Canberra, which brought together a wealth of resourceful young and also mature Asian-Australians who are now taking their place visibly in Australian public life.

In this biographical study, a significant history of each person under scrutiny was collected. This was a life history collection (Geiger, 1986) as each individual was still alive and providing facts about his life experiences. The focus was largely set in Sydney within the Australian and Chinese communities, and broadened to include various New South Wales country areas where participants worked at times during their life-courses. There are some references to their diasporic event, and of their ancestral family's movement to and across Australia, which revealed the growth and many facets of each individual's cultural and personal identity. All of this fact-gathering was set in the wider framework of Australia's movement from a dominant Anglo-Australian culture to a multicultural nation, and was strongly bound to Australia's historical progression.

Australia, is a country, a separate continent, poised within the Pan Pacific south-east Asian region, and was over the centuries visited by a multiplicity of races from many sources. The dominance over the original inhabitants was largely by Anglo-Celtic peoples, and it is still referenced in that way, with its English Queen. Australia was labelled as British, and a Christian song then taught to children, its words "red and



yellow, black and white all are precious in His sight”, today is an anachronism, for it was the ‘white’ who had clear passage but not so for the others. The difference lay, quite overtly, in colour. Particularly, was this so with the Chinese whose grandparents settled in Australia in the mid to late 1800s. The participants in this study, now several generations removed from those early Australian (Chinese) residents, are still often seen as different and categorised by skin and hair colour and eye shape. Many descendants of those early sojourners and settlers are now seniors, and are identified as “ABC’s” (Australian-born Chinese) in Australia. Many have lost their fluency with their ancestral dialect, and with their Chinese cultural practices, and are proudly Australian. They did not and do not want to be *different*.

The zeal to capture the facts, through their memories and analyses of this particular age group of Australian-Chinese men was because their health and age were, in some cases, proving to be a limitation. There were those who did not want their stories lost. They wished to tell them and this was an acknowledgment that their history, their experiences were worth recording. There were other recent studies that looked at the identity of Australian-Chinese but utilised mixed gender and ages, whereas this examination concentrated on the adaptation aspects of a single gender, a defined age group, and had a psychological base.

I saw younger students diligently researching the history of the early Chinese in Australia but as a contemporary of those born in the early twentieth century, I had a direct personal awareness of the occurrences of that time. Concurrently, there was a gradual output of mini-biographies and family memoirs of Australian-Chinese. To other seniors in their community, I repeatedly asked the question, “Have you written your story yet?” The reply was monotonously similar, “No, but I will’. My mind echoed with the phrase, ‘*manyana*’, the tomorrow, the time that never comes. I realized that as Australian-Chinese history and heritage groups strengthened in numbers and resolve, there was emerging a state of readiness. Some stories appeared as a recitation of a bloodline or as a joyful exposition of finding a long forgotten Chinese connection, even if only an obscure one. There was no need any longer to pretend the link didn’t exist. Like the convicts, the celestials too were now part of an exotic past and added that sense of specialness. Why was this so important to me? My marriage to one of their number, for over fifty-three years, brought me into contact with those, I categorised as the silent men. They, and their families, had made a valuable contribution to Australia’s pluralistic character, never flamboyantly but quietly and positively, in a productive way.

In Australia if one Chinese meets another, not previously known, and merely says “I’m an ABC”, there is complete understanding as to where he fits in the numerous diasporic shifts. However, what on the whole had not been expressed before was that many men who had spent the majority of their lives in Australia, and were known by that badge of honour, an ABC, were not, in fact, born in Australia. Secondly, It was also intended that men born in the 1920s and 1930s, virtually ‘children of the Great Depression’, would be the most appropriate examples of twentieth century men. Their lives would have spanned a major part of a century starting with the trials of their parents during the Great Depression, the Second World War, subsequent wars in Korea and Vietnam, and joyfully the lifting of the restrictions formulated and known commonly as the White Australia Policy in 1973.

Sadly, there was a period early in my planning of this study, when through age and deterioration in health, numbers of these men were no longer available as future participants. Not deterred, I wished to remain firm that the sample would be men who were born within the two decades of the 1920s and 1930s. Here my resolve was tested. On being offered the chance to interview a ninety-four year old, how could I refuse such an opportunity. He had spent almost a complete century as a Chinese in Australia, still bright and alert, and more than willing to tell of his experiences. So my parameters became somewhat elastic. Also, there were other possible participants on the borderline, those born during the early 1940s, who wished to take part in this study. Many realized that here was an opening, whereby their personal information could be captured by someone else, assisting them to gather together their thoughts and their opinions, detailing the opportunities they chose to accept or decline throughout their work times, their successes, their failures, and in total their life histories. Their biography transcribed from videotape and their voice recorded in a lasting medium, would also provide their families and friends with the nuances of their life, both visually and audibly. Added to this, they also self-assessed their cross-cultural adaptability using an accredited psychological inventory, as well as providing other valuable detailed opinions in their answers to a short questionnaire.

Wherever possible, supplementary information from friends, family and written articles was also considered to add to their biographical data. This study was aided by the use of the Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory (Kelley & Meyers, 1997), that revealed facts that doubtless would not have surfaced by employing other tools. This effective culture-general psychological self-assessment to measure of adaptability, was a user-friendly

instrument. It was understood that the data received from the Australian-Chinese males might lead to some new thoughts about cross-cultural adaptation in a new environment, and the role of learning over a lifetime. In total, each of the participants contributed a slice of their personal history. The voice was their own, it was their story, how they as an ABC made their contribution to Australian life.

The writing and presentation of this thesis was organized in the following manner. The literature review presented information encompassed from the disciplines of education, sociology and cultural studies, psychology, literature, history and biography. The topics of identity, culture, education, learning, and work were explored and examined aligned to the experiential relationships of each of the participants. Consequently, the characteristics of cross-cultural connections was a major influence. The third chapter dealt with the most important and valuable segment of the study, the methodology that was employed to seek and find answers to the problematic issues. The use of mixed methods gave a greater breadth of information, and subsequently a clearer understanding of the aspects that were dealt with in this exploration of Australian-Chinese senior men. Attention was paid to the ethics of the situation, which involved being aware of the cultural mores of both the Chinese and Australian communities. The fourth chapter displayed the results of the different segments of the methodology. There were the tables and charts of the individual Cross Cultural Adaptability scores, together with the individual and total findings from the questionnaire, the transcriptions, and summaries of the participant interviews. These correlated results of the participant's involvement were triangulated to enable conclusions to be drawn by analysis of all the factors. The miscellaneous sections of the thesis including the list of tables and figures, abstract, declaration and acknowledgments were placed prior to the main body of the document. The bibliography and the appendices with samples of relevant documents, such as the questionnaire and consent forms used in the construction of the dissertation, were placed at the end.

Overall, this study was to illuminate the lives of a unique segment of Australia's diverse population. It delved deeply into the lives of the participants seeking answers as to who they really were, their backgrounds and present day focus, their experiences in the general Australian communities, and commitment to Australia as their country.

## 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature is landscape on our desk;  
landscape is literature on the earth.

*Chang Ch'ao in Reflections of Profound Dreams.*  
*Late 17<sup>th</sup> century, China*

To review the literature was a continuous process (Kumar 1997, p.33) and intrinsic to the research paradigm. The question to be researched was: *How has a cross-cultural context effected the patterns of lifelong learning and the identities of Australian Chinese men born between 1915 and 1945?* This review placed the study in the broad context of a number of fields of study centred on education, psychology, sociology but also included anthropology, literature, biography, history and cultural studies. This was in order to shed light on what influenced this subcultural group of distinctive males over their lifetimes of learning and work, within a delimited historical period. An earlier single case study (Hoy, 2000) of a senior Australian-Chinese male showed the paucity of written research of this group of twentieth century Australians. While the study ranged through a number of academic disciplines, it had a distinct set of goals: to establish how each of the participants learnt to cross racial boundaries and cultural divisions; how they adapted and adjusted to living and working in the various communities that formed part of their family context; their attitudes to changing circumstances; what shaped their identities; and now at the cusp of their lives, and in a new century, the satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction they felt as to their lifetime achievements and/or failures. There was no research study in Australia that dealt with all the issues raised in this exploration of particular men and their adult learning/education experience, identity, biculturalism, biography and cultural heritage. The present study was of forty-three Australian-Chinese men born predominantly within the decades between 1915 to 1945, and targeted those connected with Australian-Chinese networks around Sydney, New South Wales. It considered how these men, living in a bicultural context, adapted their learning paradigms, and indicated the delineating factors in their identity formation.

### **'DOUBLE HAPPINESS'**

The insignia of the Chinese character of 'double happiness', often used at weddings, was here used to symbolize the cross-cultural nature of this research. The recurrent themes of assimilation, integration and separation occur when families bridge two cultures and countries. The four main themes that ran through this study were learning, identity, culture and work. These major strands were linked throughout to cross-cultural

adaptation, and the importance played by work in men's lives, firmly seated under the umbrella of adult education and learning.

## **INSTRUMENT**

The instrument used as part of this research process to provide quantitative data was the Cross-Cultural Adaptation Inventory or CCAI (Kelley & Meyers, 1995). It was an instrument found helpful in the realm of business, and currently being tried in a wider variety of situations. In global business, adaptation was important especially when a representative was to be sent to a country foreign to her/him. The use of the CCAI to explore the adaptability indications and strengths of such staff members was widespread. However, in this research, the CCAI was used by a number of senior Australian-Chinese men to answer fifty questions, not as a predictive test, but as a reflective self-assessment. It was believed that this retrospective viewpoint would provide a slice of valuable quantitative information regarding each man's identity, and the strengths that facilitated his cross-cultural transition. The benefit of the CCAI was that it explored each person's ability to cross cultures both psychologically and emotionally, and noted any cognitive changes. The CCAI considered adaptation (CCAI manual p.9), "*to denote a more long-term process than adjustment*" that included social and attitudinal changes as a person adapted to or felt comfortable in their new setting. In essence, the CCAI might forecast that an individual could be successful in mastering intercultural learning but it was not 'a one way fits all' solution. Each participant brought their own '*inner-referenced thinking*', and to varying degrees their '*outer-referenced thinking*' (Shaules 2006, p.70). It allowed their own value systems from their original culture to interact with an understanding of the standards of the new culture that they intended to adopt. This highlighted the differences between Anglo-Celtic and Chinese philosophies, where Christians and Muslims relied on an inner conscience, while Buddhists chose an outer reference that was linked to the cultural concept of 'face' (p.71). As noted, the findings of this research used the CCAI not as a predictive but as a retrospective tool, to elicit nuances as to the intercultural adaptation of those on their pathway to biculturalism.

## STUDIES OF CHINESE

Studies of Chinese can become stereotypical generalisations when summarising their cultural position, as 'eastern' in philosophical roots as versus the 'western' cultural context in which they are situated. Consequently, studying a unique group of Australian-Chinese men, who lived over a long historical period from an isolationist to modern era, had value, as an aid in overcoming stereotypes. The significance of this research study was supported by the words of Professor Wang Gungwu of Singapore (Wang & Shun Wah 1999), who in historical reflection stated, "*I have long advocated that the Chinese overseas be studied in the context of their respective national environments, and taken out of a dominant China reference point. It is necessary that each Chinese community overseas be open to comparative study, both among themselves and together with other migrant communities.*" So, this study was constructed to focus on the Australian-Chinese community in New South Wales.

## PARTICIPANTS

Participants for this research were males chosen not only as an extension to the earlier single participant study but also because in Chinese families the male was outwardly the dominant figure. Fitzgerald (1997, p.14) in his writing on the Chinese focused on 'the male' as reflected in the gender demographics of the time. He noted that the historical context meant that Chinese women in Australia were limited in numbers, and often their needs were made subservient to that of the males. The statistics Fitzgerald quoted of the women numbered at only 1.6 % of the Chinese in Australia in 1901, and by 1921 it had risen to 14%, and was followed by a steady increase of this ratio with further generations. Not all daughters were offered the breadth of education and autonomy given to sons in Australian-Chinese families. Also, not all ABC men were able to easily find Chinese-related young women to marry in Australia. Whether this was true in our sample was a fact to discover, as in the nineteenth century the absence of Chinese women was part of a deliberate Australian strategy to encourage Chinese 'coolies' to return to their homeland. Meanwhile, at home in China, rather than have their own needs met, females and younger siblings were expected to support the migration of their father, or brothers and uncles as an aid to improving the whole family situation. Nonetheless, one aspect of the men's lives, across the boundaries of culture, was their work, an aspect of life that was either their personal choice or governed by the prevailing circumstances. In the interviews, the participants were asked of their lifetime of work, as well as questions related to their family background that guided their life choices.

## **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF PARTICIPANTS**

The historical background of Chinese in Australia had been fraught with the necessity to overcome cross-cultural bias, since the first reports of the disembarkation of ‘celestials’. It was well known (Doyle, 2007) that historically Chinese were very early settlers in New South Wales as early as 1818 Mark O Pong aka John Shying arrived as a free settler. Another writer of Australian history, Eric Rolls (1992), also agreed that sailors had dropped off in Sydney before 1820 and that Pong was the first Chinese landholder in Sydney. By the 1840s, the first Chinese shepherds marshalled our famous merino flocks (Rolls 1992, p.34) and then the thousands of miners came for various ‘rushes’ seeking a range of metals, including gold and tin. “*The Chinese were late on the fields for they hated and feared the English for good reason*”. These “*newcomers were mostly from Guangdong province, smaller men with different languages*” (p.103). The predominance of Pearl River clans coming to Australia was also detailed by Gittins (1981). However, the proactive assimilation policies of the time meant the Australian-born descendants of the early Chinese diaspora were left isolated from their cultural backgrounds, and brought up in a strongly cross-cultural context. It was not until the 1970s, after multicultural philosophies fostered the expression of different attitudes, that histories other than mainstream ‘white’ stories began to blossom.

In this study, the Australian-Chinese men who told their stories were ones who had been born in Australia or had come for various reasons and chosen to stay. They were not sojourners, as had been earlier assumed by many historians that “*the absence of accompanying females signalled the intention of the Chinese male immigrants to return home to China*” (Fitzgerald 2007, p.14). They were part of a minority group during the time when the Australian Government promoted assimilation, and preferred the exclusion of Asian immigrants. So socially they were adapting to survive, to achieve some economic security rather than a “refugee” desire for safety. The 1950s in Australia was generally repressive, with cultural notions of ‘white’ superiority suppressing indigenous Australians as well as those of any other race that was considered to be of inferior breeding. So the old slurs of Asians being described as part of the ‘yellow peril’, mixed with a growing fear of communism, resurfaced with its negative connotations, making it uncomfortable for these men who had not previously experienced life in a western situation. They received emotional support from the existing resident Australian-Chinese, and their clans, which helped them to cope with

changing circumstances. They struggled economically and socially to make a place for themselves and their subsequent families, within a 'white' dominated culture where 'some' were considered as the 'other' and treated with condescension.

## **HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS**

Historical and social factors from 1915 to 2009 provided a background context to the study, as this was the Australian society in which these men had been born, and/or lived between 1915 to 1945. They were interviewed in c.2005, about sixty to ninety years of lived experiences. During that time annual immigration to Australia went from some eleven thousand in 1900 to one hundred thousand in the 1960s. The context of each person's arrival and/or their family of origin in Australia, made each story highly individual. Nonetheless, each lived within a cross-cultural context in which the notions of the mainstream Australian society had impact. This study looked at how historical-social factors affected them or their families, such as World War II, the rise of both nationalism and then communism in China, and the relations of the wider Australian society to these changes.

Macintyre (2004 p. 3) declared that, "*the blurring of origins turned Australian history into a story of journeys and arrivals, shared by all and continuing right up to the present*". To understand the Australian society as it was in the times of the lives of the participants, it was necessary to consider how their family lives were enmeshed within the culture of the day. For example, it was known that a number of the participants were linked, either through grandparents or parents, to Palmerston the present day Darwin, in the Northern Territory. For it was during the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, that the Chinese outnumbered the Europeans in the northern areas of Australia. The region was not conducive for 'whites'. "*Physically, the region called into question the colonizer's capacity to adapt*", and "*psychologically, it confronted them with the presence of other people more at home in an alien environment*" (Macintyre, 2004 p.102). The fears of the outnumbered Anglo-Celtic citizens of Palmerston meant they were outspoken in support of limiting Asian immigration to Australia, as exemplified by V. L. Solomon, a prominent and vocal public figure in both the Northern Territory and South Australia. It was simplistically stated by John Hardy (1988 Foreword), "*from the time of British colonization, Australian society developed as predominantly Anglo-Celtic, and this tended to determine what defined 'Australian'*". Certainly, in the twenty-first century, the response would be very different from what would be the given



reply in the early to mid-twentieth century, when ‘Australian’ and ‘Anglo-Celtic’ were synonymous terms. It was the Whitlam Labor government in 1973, that finally ended Australia’s pro-assimilation and exclusionist policies and gave recognition to minority groups (Teo & White, 2003 p.142). Multiculturalism became the official norm, notwithstanding the recognition that there was, and still is, a festering undercurrent of ‘white’ as versus ‘others’ issues, that has continued to surface periodically.

## **AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY**

The historical span encompassed in this study saw many attitudinal changes within the wider Australian society including those towards the racial myths generated in the colonialist period. In the 1920s, Australian society was subtly changing as “*the majority of Australians were becoming city dwellers with little contact and even less experience of the Australian outback*” and “*the sea and the coast were becoming more symbolic of the Australia which they understood*” (Greenwood 1978, p.301). The World-War II brought even greater change when an insufficient supply of skilled workers from the United Kingdom were available as immigrants, and this meant that European refugees filled the employment gap. The most dramatic phase was when non-white settlement was permitted. “*The settlement policies implicit in the pre-nineteen-seventies immigration embraced assimilation and integration*” and it was a period when large numbers of immigrants returned to their home countries (Graetz & McAllister 1994, p.80). Immigrants were still treated as marginal but in the late 1960s, voices were raised to express the need for cultural diversity. The evolution of the Government policy of multiculturalism from the 1970s onwards accentuated migrants, and the term ‘ethnics’ became entrenched in descriptions of those ‘others’ with ‘overseas’ origins (p.77). Nevertheless, equal opportunity and access policies increased the opportunities for ‘ethnics’ and other cultural groups, and importantly, subsequent governments have continued to affirm the spirit of multiculturalism (p. 81).

This affirmation was most assuredly needed from the Chinese viewpoint, as this point of ‘difference’ had, at various times, caused the entry of Asian immigrants to be raised as a major social and political issue. It touched upon the related concern as to “*whether immigrants should assimilate quickly adopting the language, values and customs of their adopted country, or whether they should be permitted to keep their distinct ethnic identities*” (Graetz & McAllister 1994, p.87). It was pertinent, and an anomaly, that on Australia Day 2007, the daily newspaper (Sydney Morning Herald. 26-28/01/07 pp.2-3)

featured a two page spread to show pictorially, and in print, the basic composition of Australia's migrants, through the decades from 1940 onward. Chinese were not pictured and only a small paragraph mentioned Chinese, noting the Lambing Flat riots in 1861. As Greenwood (1978, p.124) remarked, it appeared to be forgotten that the Chinese "*were a valuable element and filled a place in colonial life left empty by the whites*". On the other hand, in those early days they acknowledged, that it would be "*a mistake to set down the anti-Chinese feeling solely to racial prejudice*". The problem was more social, as Chinese were seen as 'lesser', as 'coolies', who could hardly be permitted to become "*citizens of Utopia*" (Greenwood 1978, p.124). Is then, our "*New World*" (Australia) "*still tethered to the old*" and cannot we yet "*escape its effects*", said Macintyre (2004, p.155) or have we not attained the "*vision of a casteless society*" as envisaged in colonial days (Greenwood 1978, p.124). It was felt that responses of the participants in this study might provide some clues or even a partial answer to this quandary.

Throughout the 1920s Australian politics looked inward, until, following Britain's lead, it supported the League of Nations doctrine of collective security. (Greenwood 1978, p.367). Much debate and diverse views eventually narrowed, and Australia's participation in World War II was predictable. "*Prior to Japan entering the War, Australia's main reason for participation was that we were part of the British Empire*", said Keith Archee, an Australian Chinese, who joined the Army ... "*and if the motherland is fighting for something, you try to help*", he said (Giese 1999, p.14). For some Australian-Chinese, of an eligible age for wartime combat duties, the war posed a dilemma. Some were rejected for military service in Australia, because of their racial heritage but regardless went on to become American servicemen. Yet others were accepted by one or other of the Australian Forces and "*served with courage in all theatres of war and at home*" (Giese 1999, p.1). Prior to World War II, China had suffered greatly from the Japanese invasion, and Australian-Chinese were united in their efforts to raise money to contribute to those in distress in China. The fundraising Dragon Balls held at the Trocadero Ballroom in Sydney were still remembered by quite a number of older Australian-Chinese men, such evenings were where some of them had met their future wives. Many young Australian-Chinese had come from country areas, such as the New England tablelands, to work in Sydney. They found that the fundraising activities for China, and later the general war effort, was a unifying activity for the Australian-Chinese community and strengthened their networks. War also precipitated changes to the systems of government, increasing the powers of the federal

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government, and spurring the industrialization of the whole country. “ *In the course of 1942 the Australian public realized for the first time what interferences with their established habits of life total war involved*” (Greenwood 1978, p.378). Historical variables, like the Japanese invasion of China, World War II, the effect of Chinese nationalism then communism on its relationship with Australia, became issues that were touched upon in the interviews, with questions such as, “did the war affect your life, learning or family situation?”.

## **AUSTRALIAN-CHINESE**

Much has already been written by numerous scholars, who strongly believe, that Australia’s treatment of its Chinese residents was distinctly racist. Most Chinese children in Australia have at some time been admonished by the racist chant of ‘Chingchong Chinaman’. It resonated with Kam Louie (2004, p.62), beyond his childhood, and now as an Australian-Chinese academic, he “*wrote on Chinese masculinity, not Chinese gender. I was interested in the ‘man’ part of the Chingchong Chinaman, not just any old Chingchong although the fact there isn’t a Chingchong Chinawoman is an interesting story in itself and relates as much to migration patterns as it does to gender non-specific language customs of the years prior to the 1970s and ’80s*”. Another opinion was expressed by Kevin Rudd (2004 p.12), Australia’s recent Minister for Foreign Affairs, and also a fluent Chinese speaker. He noted that, “*Australia was widely associated with white western colonialism and as a result of promotion of the White Australia Policy, its defining characteristic in the region for more than a century became whiteness itself. The long term impact of that period remains with us*”. He continued, “*Australia is commonly perceived in East Asian countries as having a derivative culture: a mixture of British and American*”, words that are still applied almost a decade later. Nonetheless, as far back as 1964, the Department of Immigration noted a cultural change, and the word ‘assimilation’ was changed to ‘integration’, at a time when it was assumed that 50% of the migrant intake would be British in ethnicity (Jordens 1997, pp.147-8). The notion that Australia was culturally and ethnically British persisted and was “*sustained by a network of legislative discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity and race*” (p.228). However, though the 1960s saw the beginnings of opposition to the ‘colour bar’, it was not until 1975 that these pressures for reform had achieved the beginnings of an openness to Asian intakes of future Australian citizens.

Such attitudinal stances were researched as 'White male identity development' by Scott and Robinson (2001, p.415) who worked in counselling, and researched models of white male identity development in America. They said, "*these models also delineate a difference between one's race, socially constructed attitudes about race, and racial identity development*". They discussed different identity models, and showed that normal human development is not linear but moved forward, backward and even stopped. "*Traditionally, White men, as are other men, are socialized to equate self-worth with economic terms*" (p.416) ... and are linked to power issues, with a focus on achievement. For 'Whites', immigration to America was an individual decision with the hope for a better and more prosperous future. However, for many early Australians who were sent and did not voluntarily choose to come, their original choices were made for them as the newcomers. For Chinese choosing to come 'to seek their fortune', they chose to fit the mould, or the restrictive social patterns already prepared for them. Both in America and Australia there was then not found the cultural pluralism which is present now, nonetheless acculturation occurred as the culture was different and constantly evolving. Change was still ongoing in the mix of Chinese diasporas ... with the more recent incoming migrants arriving from a wider range of Asian areas, and displaying a more definite degree of Chineseness.

## **IDENTITY**

Identity has been linked to the values and beliefs retained by an individual and their connection to the cultural context in which they developed. Research, exploring the ethnic identity of Asian American youth (Tse, 1999), first pointed to the individual's pondering as to their personal place in society. As children they had felt accepted and had downplayed any differences but with age came a more mature understanding of the dissimilarities between themselves and others, which at times was exacerbated by their physical singularity. The issue of difference was faced by these young people in a variety of ways, such as denial, inward-looking or research into their ethnic background. After such explorations, each individual had to first accept themselves and then find their own solution. Bond (1991, p.44), stated that "*identity is defined by one's family, social position, and group*" and further contended that, "*Chinese who migrate to foreign countries are still distinctively Chinese*" as "*they hold to their strong family traditions, self-restraint and cultural pride*" (p.116). The stories of the participants in this study

might or might not coincide with Bond's remarks, or his opinion that Chinese "*can modernize without westernizing*" (p.116).

The personal identity, perceived by oneself, is distinct from how one perceives themselves in the context of, for example, a national identity. Certainly participants who lived through World War II would have had some concept of Australian national identity. Tanner (1999, p.18) boldly stated, "*our national identity is laden with uncertainty, doubt and inferiority*". He attributed this to our defining "*ourselves by reference to others*" with our dual national identity, and linkage to the British Empire and successful ventures together in war. However, Australia's changing national identity was exacerbated by the potent influence of the United States of America. Change had occurred, but as Tanner (1999, pp.212-213) suggested, Australians "*as a nation are open, independent and racially tolerant*", and need to redefine their national identity. This has now begun to happen in the present twenty-first century as Curran (2006, p.xiii) wrote of the "*new sense of Australian identity*" in the post-nineteen sixties era, and of the demise of "*the shared Australian-British nationalism based on cultural and racial unity*". Curran considered that "*the collapse of the idea of Britishness in Australia was an epic event*". Further to this, he said that this collapse had caused, "*a crisis of national meaning*", which subsequent Prime Ministers had "*to fill the void and represent the evolving notion of national identity*". However, John Howard, a recent Prime Minister, rejected the idea "*that leaders shape identity*". He "*drew upon the nationalist tradition of mateship and war to provide a framework*" for his policies (Curran, 2006).

## **BELIEFS**

Questions of religion were included in the discussion with the participants, as beliefs are often formed early in learning, and may be shown to be involved in later epiphanies or conversions that might create new opportunities with a change of belief systems. Underlying the outer person is the inner: the core of a person's identity, strongly influenced by their beliefs. "*Chinese who migrated to Australia acknowledged Buddhism as their predominant faith*" (Ryan 1995, p.81). They were seen by many Celtic-Australians as heathens to be converted to Christianity, and in the belief that 'the converts' would then return to convert the heathens in their homeland. Nonetheless, "*Chinese were not monotheists and they could embrace different Gods and beliefs. For*

*example, a Chinese family could practice Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism”* (p.82) as part of their whole belief system. Actually, the Chinese adherence to the Confucian principles of family cohesion, with its marked allegiance and concern for the extended family, meant that Chinese who lived in Australia or overseas, always regularly contributed to those back in their usually one-name village. Care for the aged and the young (the future carers) was paramount to their beliefs, so as to assist in a spiritual, and also a material way to the benefit of others. Much living was communal, but where not so, there was still generosity. Distance did not mean that they did not still contribute to the general wider family both materially and in spirit. It was a way of showing respect for ancestors, a sense of responsibility, in fact obligation. Of course, good acts do not always produce the desired outcome, as exemplified by Shun Wah in the telling of her grandmother’s experience. Grandmother decided to take “ *the family to China so that they could have a Chinese education*”, a very common practice at the time. However, “*life in the ancestral village was not as she had imagined. The money she had been regularly sending her brother-in-law for repairs and medicines had evidently gone up his opium pipe*” (Wang & Shun Wah 1999, p.20). Not all returnees experienced such a negative event, and it was expected that some participants in this study, might have been sent to China for language and village experiences. In Sydney today, for those who retain their Chinese beliefs and practices, there are several Chinese temples, open to all, but supported by specific clan groups. They have for many years, provided comfort and solace to those who adhered to their worship. There has been longstanding opinion that Chinese belief systems were linked to valuing family loyalties and support networks, by which both wealth and education were sought and transmitted. Questions concerning Chinese beliefs were included in the planned interview questioning to assess the role that Chinese beliefs had played in each participant’s experience and developing identity.

## **RACE**

Although the participants in this research were delimited by their race as they were all of Chinese heritage, there was more interest in how they functioned as bicultural entities over the times, from assimilation and colour-based relations to those of multiculturalism and global relations. Historically, they had lived through times of racial inequality, so how did this effect their change of attitudes and values, their ability to adapt to a new social context, and were they affected by developing within a hostile context? The identity of the selected participants stemmed from their Chinese antecedents entwined with their heritage. John Fitzgerald in his challenging book ‘The Big White Lie’ (2007),

put forward the proposition that it was the incompatibility of values that brought about the exclusion of Chinese from Anglo-society, rather than the more accepted view that their harsh treatment was because of their race. Nevertheless, 'colour' usually equated with 'race' has always been a difficulty, and not just in Australia. Fitzgerald's argument though well measured and substantiated by his own Chinese speaking abilities and wide knowledge of Chinese history, was persuasive but his viewpoint still needs further consideration. As an Australian-Chinese pertinently remarked, whilst in conversation with the Anglo-Australian researcher, "*yours was not a lived experience*", a potent phrase that encapsulated the situation perfectly. It represented the bind of any researcher, wherever they are from, because it added those much needed perspectival parameters to the research process.

## **CHINESENESS**

Chineseness was a word not found in dictionaries but it is now spoken and written of prolifically in journals. For example, an excerpt that was an easily understood explanation was reported in the China Rights Forum (2008 No.3, p.3) "*on the meaning of Chineseness – which in different contexts can be either a geographic identification, a cultural and linguistic identification, or a political identification*". Chineseness (*zhong-guoren de guominxing*) is a much discussed topical descriptive of an Asian or ethnic characteristic that was not a static state but adapted to new contexts. It was part of a person's identity, and governed by the degree of change executed by each person in their adaption to a new setting. Chineseness referred to the cultural qualities valued in common, despite changing settings and disparate clan backgrounds. For example kinship in cultural practices like food, dress or celebrations that could be found in the Chinatowns of Australia, America, and Hong Kong. Some have adapted to host society expectations about Asians, catering to their own 'alien' image by keeping cultural dress and distinctive foods. Another label used in respect to Chinese was 'face' and it was another aspect of Chineseness not fully understood by westerners. Actually, it has been said to be "exclusively Chinese" (Broinowski 2003, p.12) but this was a questionable tag, as western or western, nobody likes to suffer embarrassment or shame or to 'lose face'.

The degree of each immigrant's attachment to China or things Chinese was governed by a wide variety of circumstances. The list of these included such examples as to whether any of their family still remained in the home village; how connected or important was

the relationship with any left behind for whatever reason; if family or fellow villagers were already in Australia; the reasons for seeking to live in another country; their connections to work in a particular area; what influence they had in the decision-making; and their age at the time of migration. The reasons for changing their domicile was sometimes quite simplistic, such as for the education of their children or even themselves. For some who were grounded in Australia with no remaining links to their home village, this was their home and they were Australians. Despite the depiction of 'coolies' or 'celestials', many of the early Chinese immigrants were seen to adapt quickly. For example, they wore suits to match the code of dress of the existing population but notwithstanding this there were others who chose to celebrate their differences and kept their cultural dress.

Chineseness had less impact on those in Australia, specifically among the ABCs and /or longer-term Chinese immigrants to Australia, whereas more recent arrivals displayed a greater degree of Chineseness in their liminal stage. In general, the majority of the more recent incoming future residents to Australia have retained their original language and/or a proficiency in one or more Chinese dialects, and social qualities belonging to their country of origin. It was this aspect of their identity, the retention of their original language, that was the potent contributor to their Chineseness. Notwithstanding this, there were also contributing factors apart from language, such as mentioned earlier, food and customs, that could vary from clan to clan and/or locality to locality; and their history and writing system.

Ang (2001, p.56) pointed to Chineseness being diluted, lacking 'authenticity', for those with little or no contact within China itself. This had been felt by the ABCs who had been discriminated against by other Chinese for having lost their language.

Nevertheless, chauvinism about language and culture are not restricted to the Chinese but common in other cultures. Jayasuriya & Poo Kong (1999, p.85) believed that the principal concern of many Asian Australians was with improving their life chances, rights of citizenship and equal participation in society. It was the experience of a number of the participants, together with other Australians, who as children of the 'Great Depression', saw their families lose their businesses, take to 'hawking', and their families labouring to survive. Later, numbers moved into market stalls, shops, hospitality and trades and still later as adults they sought further learning, to improve their work prospects and status. However, FitzGerald noted (1997, p.111) that in some



instances their Chinese language skills were not valued, and had inhibited their career paths.

## **BICULTURALISM**

It was anticipated that this study would clarify how, when and what happened to these men, and if they experienced difficulties living and working in a bicultural context. Did it lead to personal growth and learning or to disturbing psychological reactions as put forward by Stonequist and Park (La Fromboise et al. 1993, p 408). Or as Ang (2001, p.34) aptly noted, that identity can be hindered rather than enabled, “*when the question of ‘where you’re from’ threatens to overwhelm the reality of ‘where you’re at’*”.

Variables were anticipated to be about: the timing and reason for immigrating; or the period in which they lived; whether it was an urban or rural environment; their attitudes to being Chinese; had they had help to adapt or succeed; what degree of bicultural affiliations did they retain; how had their networks evolved; and what had influenced their learning over their lifetime?

So further identity questions asked the participants, both the Australian-born and the migrants, related to the strength of their kinship ties to Australia and to China. For example, how they felt about being Chinese in Australia, how their networks developed, and the strength of their association with either or both Chinese or Anglo-Australian social groups, and which school system they had used. As mentioned earlier, learning in the past was inhibited for some minority groups by factors such as non-admittance to public schools, poor English language skills, and extra responsibilities to their family of origin.

Australia was changing with the melding of a medley of immigrants, and with change, the term *multicultural* became an accepted label, and histories began to be written from a different perspective. These changed viewpoints were noted by Goh and Wong (2004, p.61) who stated, “*granting equal recognition and worth to minority groups, has resulted in debates in our increasing pluralist societies*”. It raised the awareness of the general public, and interest in their heritage, and it has meant that a greater number of Australians discovered and laid claim to a Chinese ancestor. The literature, which was relatively limited in this area grew considerably, as too were the number of requests to Genealogical and Chinese Heritage / History Associations, for help and guidance with a search for Chinese forbears. The overall history of the Chinese in Australia was provided by Rolls in two tomes, *Sojourner* (1992) and *Citizens* (1996), and pointed to

the lack of recognition given to the earlier Chinese for their admirable qualities and valuable contribution to the growth of the Australian society. More recently, Shen (2001, p.146) elaborated, “*their Chineseness had to be unspoken, in fact only became available as a cultural identity in Australia after the introduction of multiculturalism in the 1970s*”. The opinions that these two authors brought to their writing were from vastly different perspectives. Eric Rolls of Anglo-Celtic descent, and recently deceased, was an acclaimed prolific writer. His writings as a senior citizen contrasted strongly in background to Yuanfang Shen, a younger woman from China, whose pursuits were largely in academia. Previous research, a biographical study of a bicultural identity in an Australian-Chinese context, left some questions unanswered as its focus was on one individual (Hoy, 2000). It was apparent that there was a need to delve deeper, into the factors affecting and effecting the learning patterns and cultural adaptability of senior men from Australia’s established Chinese immigrant families in the contexts of their work, family and community.

A binding force was the traditional clan structure that came with them to Australia, and still existed as social clubs with a lesser emphasis on their earlier roles as relief agencies, communication channels and or disciplinary bodies (Yong 1977, p.189). These Australian men, whose families originated in China, are proof that Australia was a multicultural country from early settlement times (Couchman, Fitzgerald & Macgregor 2004, p.228) a fact not formally acknowledged until 1973 (Jordens 1997, p.227). Their origins within the Chinese context and their degree of adaptation within the Australian society mirror the movement of many other migrant groups. This spanning of differing cultures has been encapsulated in two currently popular words, ‘diaspora’ and ‘transnationalism’. These words have expanded in meaning over time, and are currently subjects of considerable research (Wang, ShunWah & others). Post-multiculturalism has embedded an inclusive attitude that has allowed different perspectives to be reflected in the story of the nation. Recent anthologies have included life-stories of Australian-Chinese men (Williams 1996; Khu 2001); the Chinese diaspora (Gilbert, Khoo & Lo 2000; Goh & Wong 2004); transnationalism. (Hsu, 2000) and Chineseness (Ang, 2001). In summary, Shen (2001, pp.128-9) stated, “*autobiographical narratives created by Chinese Australians since the 1970s appear in a variety of forms adopted or designed to provide specific information or achieve a particular purpose*”. There developed an increased openness where migrants were more willing to freely express their opinions

through their own stories. Two participants in this study (Participants #07 & #48) recently published their autobiographical narratives, and each created a unique story.

At present, newer migrants from China to Australia usually have the ability to speak the Mandarin language, whereas few Australian-Chinese, of a similar age to the participants in this study, use or indeed know Mandarin, preferring to speak English, Cantonese and/or their clan dialect. The speaking abilities of the participants in this research were noted as to their competency and their reading and writing of the Chinese language. Their overall adaption to Australia may have been aided with the use of the English language. So there was tension, between their conjoined Australian and Chinese identities, as each part of their identity was contrapuntal and co-existed in an adaptive framework.

This study represented an opportunity to see what had happened to a group of Australian-Chinese men. Had they experienced equality, and in what measure? Had they experienced racism? Australians espoused, “*cherished values, beliefs and customs that have served us so well in the past*” and “*the Australian ethos of a fair go for all*” according to Australia’s former Prime Minister John Howard at the 2006 National Press Club Address. He declared, “*fewer Australians are ashamed of this nation’s past*”, and that this was a “*corrective in our national sense of self*”. Howard decried racial intolerance, such as the Cronulla riots in December 2005 as incompatible with Australia’s beliefs, a country, he said, that has a commitment to racial equality. He stated that, “*the dominant [cultural] pattern in Australia comprises Judeo-Christian ethics, the progressive spirit of the Enlightenment and the institutions and values of the British political culture*”. Nevertheless, ponder the following points raised by the Racial Discrimination Act as foundational moments in Australia’s history. 1966 was a momentous year for all Australians, especially those of non-white heritage, when Sir Paul Hasluck signed the *Convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination*. Then in 1973, Al Grassby set his mark with the introduction of that mostly accepted but now hackneyed word ‘multicultural’, and linked it with social justice. So that 1974 saw the first official consultation with ethnic communities, and subsequently in 1975 legislation was passed and the *Racial Discrimination Convention* was ratified. This forward step in Government decision-making meant changes to the class and status of migrants to Australia. Further, Kyriakopoulos (in Ang 2001, p.194) said, “*Australia is slowly turning into a nation of hybrids*” and that by intermarriage

with Anglo-Celtic Australians and other migrants, we are and will be more so, an ethnically mixed nation. Just as Anglo-Australians are a combination of Anglo-Celtic and European cultures, so Australian-Chinese are also a medley of differing clans. Would these changes in the role of families and transmission of culture be reflected in this representative sample of Chinese-related men living in New South Wales?

## **BICULTURAL IDENTITIES**

As to their bicultural identities, the Australian-Chinese participants needed to be asked how they felt about many aspects of Chinese culture, language and beliefs. In the search for other studies measuring adaptation to bicultural identities, the La Fromboise framework was found to provide a model in which bicultural identities might have been described as having developed over time. The La Fromboise studies were focused on biculturalism and second culture acquisition. They noted, that research was needed to identify skills that were central to being socially competent in two cultures (1993, p.408). In the transdisciplinary investigation by La Fromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993), their position was that “*the psychological impact of biculturalism is influenced by an individual’s emotional and behavioral characteristics (psychology), relationship with human social structures (education), groups and diverse socio-economic systems (sociology), and cultural heritage (ethnology)*” (pp.395-6). It was the continuous interaction among and between these components that made their theory so applicable to this present research.

## **CLASS AND STATUS**

The aspirations or what were judged as success, in a male’s lifetime of work were closely linked in Australia’s sociological schema to notions of class and status, they were interwoven states of being. Class (Encarta, 1999) was defined as “*a category of people who have a similar level of opportunity to obtain economic resources and prestige*”. While status was defined as “*the relative position or standing of somebody or something in a society or other group*”. Class was very much part of Australia’s sociological schema, though most would hasten to remark that there wasn’t the sharp differentiation between classes, as was obvious in the United Kingdom. The participants were asked what class they were positioned in when young, and where they placed themselves at present. However, when Brett & Moran (2006, p. 307) asked the ‘class’ question of the participants in their study of a wide variety of Australians of both genders, they discovered that there was a “*decline in class as a meaningful category for*

*people to understand their lives*". Nonetheless, some people in their investigation "talked easily about class". The researchers categorized those people into two groups, those who (i) had studied social analysis at tertiary level and those who (ii) described themselves as working class with links to the Labor Party and Union membership. Brett & Moran described class as "*relations of the workplace*" but that each person brings to that concept their own understandings. Such class-based explanations, they said, "*protected people from self-blame ... and a sense of personal failure*" (p.308). In general, each person had their own interpretation of class, though few used it as would a sociologist, but rather as "*prestige and deference*". However, in marked contrast the researchers noted, that Australians' had a "*commitment to equality of opportunity, and the belief that everyone should be treated on their merits*" (p.309). One of the respondents summed it up with great clarity, she said, "*people are moving beyond structures*" (p.309). A simple statement that epitomized status, though defining where a person fitted within a group was not a simplistic decision.

In this present study of Australian-Chinese, the prime person was male, and most participants were married, adding another dimension to the status question. The research of Brett & Moran (2006, p.177) also included married participants and they spoke of a couple who were upwardly mobile. It was just a case of "*she and her husband just kept on doing what they always had, working hard, making sound business decisions, and lo and behold they became rich*". The wife didn't feel different nor had she ever wished to improve their social status. She didn't enjoy social events and was embarrassed by her husband's public display of their wealth. So, what was his or their status? Who decided? Was it decided singularly or jointly with his wife, or by others? Was it the person who started life in public housing and moved to a grand new house? Or was it his / her or their combined social activities / children's schools / clothes and / or other outward 'trappings' or their manner of speech and habits. In reality, does status matter? Australians show "*a lack of concern with class differences that are at the core of Australians' commitment to egalitarianism.*" (Brett & Moran 2006, p.178) . However, in China, matters of status were for centuries described, "*labor defined and displayed social status*", and "*its absence (as leisure or idleness) was deplored. Work meant not simply labor, moreover, but a respectable calling*" (Entwisle & Henderson 2000, p.17).

Perceptively, Brady (1994, p.3) expressed concern that "*in Australia today there exists no large social consensus*". She said that, "*self-interest has become a rule of life,*

*pleasure a good, and money-getting, money-having and money-spending a life task*”, and she emphasized that, “*we need to rethink our values and recover the idea of citizenship, a sense of working together for the ‘common good’*”. How our lives are lived daily, our practices, the meanings we attribute to our choices are influenced by our cultural traditions, and are shaped by our evolving identities. Squire (2000, p.2) was also disturbed that “*cultural psychology has classically been ‘cross-cultural’ psychology, studying culture comparatively*” and that researchers have not immersed themselves in the internal structures of each culture. Nonetheless, one aspect of men’s lives across the boundaries of culture was their work, an aspect of life that was either their personal choice or governed by prevailing circumstances. Work formed an economic barrier and/or created opportunities for further learning, it was not independent of educational attainment, and created a social network within each job/profession/vocation.

Customs in Australia may have changed during the participants’ lives, but the gender roles were clear. The old adage, ‘a woman’s place is in the home’ had long been held by Australians in general, even though specifically this was not so in practice. World War II changed this, as Entwisle and Henderson (2000, p.187) remarked, the “*normative ideology of what men and women are supposed to do. But what they actually do in the new socioeconomic context significantly differs from that seemingly unchangeable custom*”. The point, they said is, “*not that the patriarchal ideology in which this man lives is simply a false reflection of the changing reality, but rather that this ideology itself helps shape his conception of what reality is*”. Many men had absorbed through family, and the society around them, their roles (p.187). Work outside the home was considered ‘*a masculine activity*’, which culturally constrained women to an inferior role. However, the scarcity of men during wartime gave more women the opportunity to be legitimately accepted and involved in outside work. This practice continued in post-war times and brought with it, for women, increased responsibilities, improved status, and strengthened personalities. With time, and the acceptance of ‘working families’, further change brought the belief that, “*paternity leave taking has the potential to boost fathers’ practical and emotional investment in infant care*”, (O’Brien et al. 2007, p.375). Nonetheless, in the decades between 1915 and the early 1960s, men such as our participants would not have enjoyed flexible work practices or paternity leave, and childcare was often filled by grandparents or community facilities. Each generation

tried to improve on the previous one, to the betterment of all the family, and a key factor propelling this improvement was learning and education.

## **EDUCATION**

The research question refers to lifelong patterns of learning, raising questions about the participant's educational background, socio-economic status in regard to access to opportunities, vocational and/or workplace training, continuous learning, and whether they took opportunities for post-work learning in their retirement. Some of the men targeted by this study were Australian-born, and others came as migrants, arriving in Australia at an early age. Historical patterns through which they lived, the *weltanschauung* or worldview espoused in each time period, formed a part of the moulding of their identity.

An essential part of the changes the participants experienced was education, their acquisition of knowledge through an intentional action. So it was attested that family and school influenced the formative years. "*Values, beliefs and modes of behavior first set down within the family are reinforced, modified and adapted to meet individual needs as young people pass through the education system*" and "*inevitably the type and amount of education people receive become important determinants of their prospects for the future*" (1993, pp.147-148). Their education was largely provided free, which suited the Chinese parental emphasis on education (Yong 1977, p. 211). They chose Australian rather than Chinese schools (p.216), a contributing factor to their integration into Australian society.

## **EDUCATION AND LEARNING**

Included also in the general concept of education was the formal compulsory schooling that was a preparation for employment, and permitted an individual to function productively within wider society, and even acquire wealth and status. This point was a significant aspect of this study. Importantly, in their discussion of various learning types, Merriam and Caffarella (1999, p.299) held the view that "*the context, or social milieu*" was an important element. Australian-Chinese subcultural groups formed a significant social milieu for the participants' informal learning. However, cross-cultural studies of adult development are a rarity and only recently, adult educators have shown interest in how race, gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation might be linked to learning. They remarked, "*that the self-directed learning frameworks emphasize the*

*process and, to a lesser extent, the context and the learner as the most important variables*” (Merriam & Caffarella 1999, pp.392-397; 400). The learner, in this case Australian-Chinese, and the factors implicit in his identity were sex, social class and race. His sex as a male was tied not only to the norms of the day, where he was expected to become ‘the breadwinner’ and as a son, particularly if he was the Number One son in a Chinese household, that he would follow and do his father’s bidding, as part of his belief system. Correspondingly, his social class still held sway or power in his fit within society. The Australian society sometimes referred to as classless still maintained an ‘old boys network’ and it has operated and continued to operate, since the Anglo-Celtic invasion. It was a structure exacerbated by the perception that to succeed in business, contacts are valuable and private schools provided this advantage. This impacted on some Australian-Chinese, as on arrival in Australia they discovered that they were not permitted to attend the local public school, and their education was then at non-government schools, which were often linked to various Church networks. Race was a potent factor in opportunity for social mobility with successful access to a full range of occupations.

## **AUSTRALIAN EDUCATION**

The Australian education system was late in gaining national government support. Historically, it was only in the nineteen-sixties that the federal government of Australia assumed some responsibility for education. Previously the state governments managed their own education systems, and the majority of pupils left school at the end of an elongated primary school education, usually at aged fourteen years. The wealthy and some of the clever poor continued into High schools, and the remainder working-class students proceeded to factories, labouring and manual tasks. Fortunately, in Australia Post-World-War II, state governments gave greater attention to secondary education. There was an increase in the number of students who completed their Leaving and / or Matriculation certificates that allowed them to proceed to either University or College studies. This fuelled the need for more tertiary places, and by the 1970s other initiatives for higher education allowed those, who had no such opportunity when younger, to return to further study as adult learners. Their realization was that “*early school-leavers face a limited choice*”. (Graetz & McAllister 1993, p.150).

In the context of Australian education during the twentieth-century, Australian-Chinese experienced private and later public education systems but until the late 1900s they



were less successful, than other ethnic groups in New South Wales, in establishing ongoing community language schools. Earlier, efforts were made to establish Chinese schools for Australian-born-Chinese, but though they were unsuccessful due to staffing problems and parental apathy, it did work positively towards integration (Yong 1977, pp.214- 217). Most of the participants had experiences in Chinese learning within their home situation but their formal education was predominantly in schools that did not cater for 'other' languages. However, increased educational incentives, post-World-War II, allowed some early school leavers who, had faced a limited choice, to return to study. The significant changes in Australian education from the 1970s occurred largely too late to affect the life and work histories of the majority of the participants, except through their children (Meredyth 1998, pp.20-21).

## **ADULT EDUCATION**

Adult education and learning flavoured with a strong psychological thrust throughout this study, was supported by Kirschner (2006), whose work also sprang from a psychological base. He stated that adult education and learning are a duality and they are not a dichotomy, and likewise, learning and working are a duality. It was also noted by Galbraith in 1991, that the inclusion of adult education and adult learning had broadened the general field of education and learning. "*Adult learning is a very complex process that incorporates diverse paradigms of thought,*" he said, and the beliefs and perceptions of both the facilitator and the learner impact heavily on the learning experienced. The term, used academically, particularly in Europe, for lifelong and life-wide education / learning of adults in Europe is andragogy. Reischmann succinctly summarised this field of adult education when he wrote, "*in the historic and systematic memory of andragogy many formats for the education of adults are stored. Besides the intentional learning in adult education institutions or in autodidactic learning projects adults learn in various partly-intentional situations ("learning en passant"). Andragogy takes all these formats into consideration, formal or informal, traditional or non-traditional*" (2005, p.2). This present research, where possible, ignored the general, and sought to garner particular information related to the learning of senior Australian-Chinese men.

Certainly, for these Australian-Chinese men the educational learning patterns of andragogy would have impinged on them, but so also would pedagogy, as like all adults they are lifelong learners. If they as individuals had not experienced the "*firmly*

*entrenched pedagogical preferred methods*” as practised in China (Wang & Sarbo 2005, p.6), then most certainly their parents and other family members would have had that type of input. Wang and Sarbo postulated, “*that teachers are agents of change*” and “*their instructional methods may either facilitate learners’ transformation and emancipation or inhibit them*”. They further suggested that andragogy produced personally responsible learners, while pedagogy produced “*dependent, docile learners*”. “*Teaching in China,*” they said, “*is focused on the transmission of orthodox subject knowledge*” (p.8), so the language of learning, for those from a different cultural background was complicated by communication factors. Jarvis (2004, p.46) also highlighted difficulties. He said, that it was very hard to define terms in adult education, even the word ‘adult’ could be controversial, and explained the divergence of terminology between different nations.

This study required a review of the literature related to adult learning over a lifetime, thus including continuous education and lifelong learning. The participants were a number of senior living Australian-Chinese men who had moved in and out of and/or merged across two distinct cultures, during their lifetimes. The cross-cultural context of the participants prompted the questions that explored their experiences of education and learning. The unique viewpoint of hindsight might cast light on whether education had made a real difference to their life outcomes.

There was considerable introspection as to whether the cross-cultural context *affected* or *effected* the patterns of lifelong learning. The definitions for both words are so alike but there is a differentiation. Effect is “*to produce*” (Macquarie 1981, p.575) while affect is simplistically “*to influence*” (p.73). The final decision was effect, that is, to produce the patterns of learning rather than just influence them. So how have these patterns of learning produced change, and what effect did this have on the identities of these Australian-Chinese men? In the study, the participants had a number of key questions to answer. In looking back on their lives, could they answer whether education and learning (both formal and informal and as a child and as an adult) had effected their career outcomes or their opportunities for success in life? Also if during the process, had they experienced any effects from changes in attitudes to ‘race’, over the time from assimilation to multiculturalism, and from an homogenized to a more inclusively diverse society.

Many scholars brought insights to the discipline of adult education and learning. One influential scholar/practitioner was Malcolm Knowles who focused on life experience as a vital factor. However, there are those who questioned his stance. Jarvis (2004, p.129) mentioned that Hartree (1984, p. 209) and Tennant (1996, pp.113-122) criticized some of Knowles' concepts and arguments. Nonetheless, Tennant did not reject them completely and gave credence to the ideas of individual autonomy, a vital component to Knowles' notions. He stated, "*that autonomy makes sense within the social context*" (1995, p.147), and that self-construction was an ongoing process (1995, p.169). While Merriam and Caffarella (1999, p.310) believed that, 'autonomous behavior', as exhibited by individual adult learners, was influenced by the variables of technical skills, subject matter, personal competence and commitment, they also, agreed with Candy (1991, p.309) who wrote that "*a learner's autonomy is also likely to vary from one context to another*". As Reischmann (2005) said earlier, there are various ways of learning, and his viewpoint aligned with that of Merriam and Caffarella (1999).

Adult learning research suggested further questions and issues as to how the participants felt about their Chineseness. *Did they face racism or exclusion? How important were Chinese traditions to them? Was it necessary to learn the family language/s? How were they affected if unable to speak the Chinese language fluently? Was there a gulf between so-called ABCs and newer arrivals? Was there personal conflict regarding culture within their (i) home life, including their family of choice, origin, and extended family and (ii) within work structures? How important was work and status to them? Did they do further study and for what reasons? In which culture do they now identify most strongly? What skills do they consider essential to link mono and bicultural competence? Can generalizations be made?* So, it was reasonable to hypothesise that the participants, a mix of Australian-Chinese men, of varying origins, ages and abilities, reared and living in cross-cultural situations might (i) exhibit a strong work ethic, developed within their family of origin (ii) have reached varying degrees of acculturation / assimilation within either or both cultures in which they were participants (iii) have striven to achieve and increase their competencies. Certainly, adult learning could amend errors or omissions that occurred in learning as a child, the essential difference in the process being in the degree of the individual's autonomy.

## LA FROMBOISE AND ASSOCIATES

While this research examined the bicultural adaptation of senior Australian-Chinese men, and though La Fromboise's work was originally associated with North American Indians, it transposed well to an Australian-Chinese context. In it La Fromboise and her team sought to "*identify skills that make it possible for an individual to become socially competent person in a second culture without losing that same competence in the culture of origin*". They produced a model of bicultural competence (p.395), which ranged through assimilation, acculturation, alternation, multiculturalism and fusion, with an emphasis on alternation. They stated that the models "*can be used to describe the processes by which an individual from one culture, the culture of origin, develops competence in another culture, often the dominant majority culture*" (p.396). The earlier Hoy study (2000) found the Fromboise 'fusion' model appropriate to the in-depth study of one Australian-Chinese male. This study further tested the applicability of this type of model. In comparing the triangulated information from each of the participants in this research, with La Fromboise's theory, it was anticipated that each participant would be described by one of La Fromboise's models, so prior to the main study, this was trialled with five participants. The trial showed that the data gathered allowed for each individual to be categorized within one of the five models, as determined by La Fromboise and her team. Each model had its own embedded hypotheses. For example, "*the alternation model of second-culture acquisition assumes that it is possible for an individual to know and understand two different cultures*" (p.399), and it was anticipated that some participants in this study would fall within this framework.

The measure sought was one of bicultural adaptation as well as delineating a degree of Chineseness versus how thoroughly they had assimilated or fused their identity into a new one. Understanding the cross-cultural context engendered data to help answer the following questions: How well the incoming Chinese were given access to education and learning during their lives in Australia? What factors had helped their adaptation to a new society and/or what may have influenced their finding work as a bicultural identity? How did race affect their opportunities for work, marriage and other factors they considered important for a successful life? Did a mentor help? Did Government help? Did social networks help? What beliefs and values did they share in common? Were these related to their culture of origin? Learning how two different cultures functioned would influence each participant to varying degrees, and their life world would be shaped by their individual contextual experience. To determine the

measurable extent of cross-cultural adaptation there have been devised a number of quantifiable tools. Haslberger (2005) in his examination of a new measurement tool, categorically restated the principle “*that cross-cultural adaptation is a multi-dimensional phenomenon*” and in support of his premise, he noted that “*cross-cultural adaptation is a complex process in which a person becomes capable of functioning effectively in a culture other than the one he or she was originally socialized in. As people become immersed in foreign cultures their whole being gets affected.*” (pp.85-109). The resultant effect was not always dramatic but an acquired gradual blend of cultural qualities.

## **LEVINSON AND ASSOCIATES**

Returning to the research question patterns of lifelong learning, the work of Levinson and his associates, titled ‘*seasons of a man’s life*’, illuminated this proposition (1978). While Levinson’s focus was on well-educated white middle class professionals in the United States of America, Levinson theorised that work was the governing factor in men’s lives, an important focus in this thesis. However, there has been debate about the value of theories, Feist said, “*each theory is a reflection of its creator*” (1994, preface p.v), and that the evaluation and usefulness of a proposed theory depended not on its agreement with some established body of theory, but on five criteria - its ability to: (i) generate research (ii) integrate existing empirical knowledge (iii) suggest practical answers to everyday problems (iv) its internal consistency and (v) its simplicity. Levinson’s findings meet these five Feist criteria, and though he worked with white well-educated middle-class professionals in the United States of America it is believed that in this study of senior Australian-Chinese men that our understanding of biculturalism might be enlarged.

The Levinson model attempted to show, “*the concrete character of adult life is one of the best kept secrets in our society*”. His social-psychological theory, while presenting a “*developmental perspective on adulthood in men*”, provided concrete guides as to “the major seasons of adulthood”. Levinson’s concern “*that to pass thirty is to be ‘over the hill’*” (1978, preface ix & x) was prevalent in the 1960s and ’70’s, but in the late twentieth century, and today in the early twenty-first century, this concern was and is not as relevant. Nonetheless, Levinson’s theory was most apt for use with this research as it focused firstly on men, and an individual’s life-course in the context of his environment. So it was anticipated that patterns would emerge to show seasons of each

man's concrete character of adult life, including training received, learning, work, family, social life and retirement interests.

"Autonomy," commented Tennant, "*only makes sense within the social context*" and he further added that "*self-construction is an ongoing process*" (1995, p.147 & p.169). More recently, Tennant named Levinson as one of the theorists, who along with others such as Loevinger are allied to "*the psychoanalytic and humanistic traditions*" of the psychological aspects of adult development (2006, p.4). The idea of adult developmental stages was suggested in 1978 by Daniel Levinson, [a psychologist from Yale University], and his team who used in-depth interviews to determine these stages, which they deduced were supported by a life structure. This life structure was then seen not as an even flowing advance through life, but rather as one of more stable phases interspersed with intermediary questioning episodes. Merriam (2005, p.3) while noting the criticisms levied against such tied-to-age transitional periods, declared that "*the underlying life structure, with its alternating periods of stability and transition, was helpful for understanding the place of transitions in adult life*". Transitions are part of every life, though some experience more dramatic events than others. Nonetheless, said Merriam (p.5) "*the potential for learning and development from a life event is linked to the timing of the event*".

Timing indeed is a crucial factor, and particularly no more so, than in a culture such as Chinese, that enunciated set expectations. The Chinese sage Confucius expounded on the virtue most honored as a desirable quality, that "*young people should observe filial piety*" (Khu 1991, p.32). The traditional Chinese father would hope, and certainly expect, his Number One son to follow him into the family business, potentially to eventually accept the responsibility and leadership from his father. The disappointment and stress, should this not occur, could lead to a learning curve for both involved, with of course, the possibility of either positive or negative outcomes. Certainly, it would be a time to colour future development for each of them, and it would have a 'roll-on' effect to the other family members. Merriam (2005, p.5) also reflected upon the work of Schlossberg (1995) that detailed a variety of transitional non-events, the happenings that didn't occur and sleeper events, those happenings that gradually brought about change. What wasn't discussed was the life course that moved steadily and evenly forward seemingly undeterred by life's ups and downs – a life of evenness. Such a life would be possible for a person imbued with Chinese cultural concepts. "*According to the author*

*Lin Yutang, one of the most notable Chinese attributes is mellowness ... the superior man is a man of equanimity, of refined ways and polite speech, slow to anger and condemn ... a part of this mellowness is patience and tolerance” (Tan 1998, p.31).*

Furthermore, there were numbers of scholars interested in dissecting the periods of transition, some like Bridges (1980 & 1991) who talked of endings, neutrality and finally new beginnings. This information combined with the known outcomes of Levinson’s investigation of men’s social behaviours, which related to different ages in their lifespans, and his intense examination of men’s work to determine its centrality to their ‘self’ (Levinson et al., 1978), when applied to the participants expanded and enlightened a little known area in Australia’s bicultural setting.

## **MEN’S WORK**

For men, the focus area of work was pertinent to the ‘bread-winning’ role then assigned to males by the prevailing norms of the Australian society, in which women still had to have a male signature for their house loan despite having the right to vote. World War II changed this role of women somewhat. As Entwisle and Henderson (2000, p.187) remarked that there was an “*ideology of what men and women are supposed to do. But what they actually do in the new socioeconomic context significantly differs from that seemingly unchangeable custom*”. The point, they said is, “*not that the patriarchal ideology in which this man lives is simply a false reflection of the changing reality, but rather that this ideology itself helps shape his conception of what reality is*”. Many men absorbed through family conversations the expectations of their roles, through comments such as “*men’s work is highly valued*, (p.187). Work outside the home was then considered “*a masculine activity*”, which culturally constrained women to an inferior role. The scarcity of men during wartime gave more women the opportunity to be legitimately accepted and involved in outside work. This practice continued in post-war times and brought with it, for women, increased responsibilities, improved their status, and strengthened personalities. Childcare became an issue, and some workplaces had the foresight to establish crèches on site to lessen their worker’s concerns. With time, and the acceptance of ‘working families’, further change brought the belief that, “*paternity leave taking has the potential to boost fathers’ practical and emotional investment in infant care*”, (O’Brien et al., 2007 p.375). In the decades between 1915 and the early 1960s, such men as our participants did not enjoy flexible work practices, and they were not given paternity leave. Each generation tried to improve on the

previous one, to the betterment of all the family, and as mentioned a key factor toward this improvement was their learning and education.

## **SUMMARY OF LITERATURE REVIEW**

This research study was set in a particular historical time period in Australia, and one in which the participants had lived in a cross-cultural context, so consequently engendered a large number of variables. In the timespan of these participants, Australia was an inclusive society that moved from an assimilation policy, to integration, thence to multiculturalism. It was a society with a postcolonial context that imposed cultural myths, such as race, over various individuals' experiences.



### **3 DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

Today's research world is becoming increasingly interdisciplinary, complex and dynamic; therefore, many researchers need to complement one method with another, and all researchers need a solid understanding of multiple methods used by other scholars to facilitate communication, to promote collaboration, and to provide superior research.

*Onwuegbuzie & Johnson 2006, p.47.*

#### **DESIGN OF STUDY**

The research design was trans-disciplinary – inquiring into Adult Education and lifelong learning and the development of Australian Identity in a bicultural context during the twentieth century.

The strategies of inquiry were considered from various approaches to research methodology, prior to the decision to choose a mixed mode pathway using three data collecting instruments for the study. Some fifty questions of the Cross Cultural Adaptability Inventory provided quantifiable indicators. The video recording of each personal interview collected qualitative information, which was integrated with the answers given to the twenty questions in the attitudinal questionnaire. The decision provided an all-round strength with the use of a unified strategy, to connect the qualitative and quantitative elements of the data, helped the creation of a whole conjoined outcome. The combination and correlation of the gathered data was given considerable attention, so as to establish tangible results.

This study extended an earlier Honours dissertation by the researcher (Hoy 2000), where the triangulation of qualitative and quantitative approaches proved effective in a one-person case study. In this present study, the number of participants was extended to forty-three men, and though a triangulation method was used, the approach varied from that of the single study to accommodate the extra quantity of data. The single person case study had revealed that the theories proposed by Levinson and Associates (1978) and La Fromboise and Associates (1993) were most applicable, in relation to the lives of men and cross-cultural adaptation, so the same theories were used in this research.

## APTNESS OF MULTIPLE MIXED MODE METHOD RESEARCH

A multiple mixed mode methodology was chosen for the study's design based on the strategy of triangulation so as to hone in on the chosen focus areas of the study. Particular methodological approaches were frequently described as paradigms, and the most used types of research within the social sciences were the qualitative and quantitative paradigms. For each of these paradigms, there have been strong advocates. Kuhn (1970) used the term 'paradigm' in two ways, as a *disciplinary matrix* and as an *exemplar*. Scholars accepted this use of the paradigm within the natural sciences, but not within the social sciences. Other scholars disagreed, and the concept moved to being described as *tradition*, aspects of which were still undergoing consideration and modification.

The qualitative component of this inquiry was located in the life story of each participant. As Denzin and Lincoln (2003, p.187) noted, "*in psychological research in particular, and sociological research at times, the tendency is to use qualitative methods to supplement quantitative data*". However, in this research the quantitative data was used to supplement the qualitative information gathered from the participant's personal interview. As Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2006, p.46) remarked, "*there are strong advocates for each of the most used types of research, that is the qualitative and quantitative methods and even those who declare most definitely that never the twain shall mix*", that qualitative and quantitative data should be kept separate. Then there are other academics with another opinion such as (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2006, p.14), who saw "*mixed methods research as the third research paradigm in educational research*". However this third paradigm, they stressed, was not in opposition to the other two methods but drew from their strengths to produce an alternative way. They freely admitted that there was still much to be done "*in the area of mixed methods research regarding its philosophical positions, designs, data analysis, validity strategies, mixing and integration procedures, and rationales, among other things*" (p.15). So, although this was quite a lengthy list, it is only when researchers trial these methods that an assessment of their usefulness, worth and quality can be achieved.

Two scholars, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003, p.1) urged that qualitative and quantitative research methods should be taught in a linked, and not a separate approach, and they differentiated between the design terms of 'mixed methods' and 'multi-method'. Mixed methods entailed the use of a procedure that combined a qualitative and

a quantitative data collection to answer the research question, as do multi-method. In this study both mixed mode and multi-method strategies were used by combining more than one tool, such as a quantitative self-assessment inventory and a qualitative interview. Also, there was a quantitative questionnaire, and the use of this instrument encompassed all within the multi-method technique (p.2). Researchers must needs trial methods of all types, in a variety of combinations and situations, as possible models. Humans are so various that it was difficult to predict and/or to make precise causal inferences, so multiple tools would enable cross-comparative method, although considerable discussion regarding the use of mixed methods has continued. It seemed that up to now, a discussion of what constituted a strong mixed methods approach has, by and large, been pushed to the background, instead the discussion has focused on paradigmatic, methodological, and political issues surrounding mixed multi-method, "*it is an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding ... and is an alternative to validation ... providing rigor, breadth, complexity, richness and depth to any inquiry*" (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998, pp.229-231). There were other scholars who had agreed with Flick's respected qualitative methods, and some who had used a multiplicity of highly colourful metaphors. Qualitative research was spoken of as "*in a new age*" (Denzin & Lincoln 2003, p.8), and likened to quilt-making, landscape and portraiture (Lightfoot & Davis 1997), with the use of such words evoking and allowing for the visualization of concepts in an artistic, almost poetic form. These notions reflected researchers attempting to portray a rich data set collected with various media, and to reconcile the data with more quantitative results. The researcher noted that there had been a change, a broadening of the field, a more sympathetic approach, and a delving deeper within a participant's responses, looking for the paradigms of the soul, that inner private person, the true self.

Conversely, Denzin and Lincoln (1994), however, saw uncertainty and changes occurring in qualitative methodology, though more lately they have seen it as a signal of strength, originality, and a future beneficial transformation (Denzin and Lincoln 2003, p.604). On the other hand, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p.17) pointed to the fact that "*what is fundamental is the research question*", and that the present interest in "*mixed methods research is also an attempt to legitimate the use of multiple approaches in answering the research question*" As new variations of the method were devised, the debate has continued.

Overall, this study had a qualitative and a separate quantitative phase, although the gathering of the information was done concurrently. The actual cross-relationships between the qualitative and quantitative threads were strongest during the analysis and interpretation of the data. The latter was where the integration occurred, in the triangulation phase. As mentioned earlier, these multiple case studies of forty-three men were an expansion of a previous single case study by the researcher, where the mixed mode methodology had fulfilled expectations. The format used in this larger study had some variation but also much similarity, and it was believed that there would be much useful information gleaned to produce worthwhile answers to the research questions, and to add to the general body of knowledge in this under researched area.

The series of actions taken were that (i) the research question was determined (ii) the mixed method / multi-method mode was chosen as appropriate (iii) the data was collected, analysed, and interpreted. Now that the sample had been expanded, the question to be investigated was, '*how has a cross-cultural context effected the patterns of lifelong learning and the identities of Australian-Chinese men born between 1915 and 1945*'? To answer this question, the researcher first checked the compatibility of the qualitative and quantitative paradigms to ensure their consistency with each other. Secondly, the emphasis was on the pragmatic or straightforward practical way of how the processes would work in tandem to achieve results, and to so reach a successful outcome.

Each of the research strategies chosen had its strengths and weaknesses. To take but one example, the audiotape was once the main method of oral history data gathering, now video recording has surpassed that medium to give a more holistic portrait of the individual being studied. Body language, as well as voice nuances, add to the meaning and interpretation of the dialogue. So for this research study, an oral interview, a written questionnaire and a psychological self-assessment were selected to triangulate the responses to some key questions across this aging but sizeable sample of forty-three men.

The qualitative aspect of this study, relied on the biography of each individual, extracted in a semi-structured process of allowing the story to unfold naturally but guided by questions requiring answers apposite to the particular thrust of the research. The important fact that biography cannot generalise did not diminish the value of the collected content. Biography suited this study, which dealt with the formation of

identity of forty-three senior Australian-Chinese males. These narratives were a valuable way to gather detail, of events and of matters of interest and importance to each of the participants, the narrator and to the listener. It was a learning tool of some significance to all parties. During the ongoing process of the interviews, the content of the incoming narratives was summarised, analysed, and compared. Some of this data was quantitative, and was assembled and linked as 'like' and 'unlike' variables to contribute to the timeline of each man's life.

Also problematical was the methodology of the case study, which though it has been often used across disciplines, has a poor reputation among those who value precision and objectivity. Yin (2003 pp.viii-6) questioned, "*the hierarchical view of research strategies*". He saw case studies, surveys and histories, and experiments not as separate entities but as pluralistic strategies that could be used for exploration, description and explanation. While most case studies are qualitative, exploring, describing, and even explaining happenings, this research supported and extended the case study's collected information by the use of a quantitative questionnaire.

The use of a single strategy would have limited the data available for interpretation. Whereas a multiple mixed strategy allowed more of the responses made to the questionnaire to be correlated and authenticated against other responses made in the interview. This was of considerable importance to the reliability/validity of the study. Observation and strategies were also included, and while these are sometimes described as a qualitative method, in these case studies they were used merely as an addendum. They were simply other means of data collection, and not a major component of the research methodology. The video of the interview showed facial expressions, pauses, the thoughtfulness of the subject, and were all aids to understanding. In the cases where the researcher visited the participant's family home, it presented an opportunity to view the ambience of the home, and to note particular decorative items of either western or western origins. The researcher made sure that during the interview, the video camera was focused on the participant, that he was comfortable in his chosen setting ready to speak of the passage of his lifetime activities, to provide a visual and auditory recording. The researcher's own internal paradigm about the nature of Australian-Chinese experiences did affect how questions were posed both in the interviews, and the development of the questionnaire. The researcher was not able to be extricated from such a human encounter, both in the design phase and its implementation, that so

greatly expanded the extent of the cross-analysis, and the subsequent range of variables. An observer's stance was adopted with as much psychic distance as was viable, with the minor percentage of participants who had known the researcher prior to the study.

The research community in the Social Sciences has continued in its efforts to overcome the schism between quantitative and qualitative research, and allaying skepticism, among researchers, which sustain the paradigm 'war' between the quantitative and qualitative 'camps'. Many researchers were hoping that this lingering tension would decline with the growing interest in mixed methods research. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p.22) contend that it "*is time that methodologists catch up with practising researchers... [and] formally recognize the third research paradigm and begin systematically writing about it and using it.*"

Ryan and Bernard (2003, p.294) went further by proposing that as "*researchers recognize the full array of tools at their disposal, and as these tools become easier to use, the pragmatics of research will lessen the distinction between qualitative and quantitative data and analysis*". Given this, it was reasonable to propose that researchers engaged in mixed-method blended-design studies were likely to drive an increase in the use of these new aids. As interest in evidence-based research rose, so too, the possibility of full mainstream adoption increases. Graduate students engaged in applying mixed-method design needs pay particular attention to the blending of theoretical orientations. Such shifts between qualitative and quantitative perspectives had a direct impact on the study's overall conceptual framework. Successful shifts take into consideration the alignment of the current and prior theoretical orientations, as well as the subtle distinctions created from qualitative design changes. These shifts were even more pronounced as the researcher blended qualitative and quantitative strategies, and reflected upon the interactions with each upon the other.

## **ETHICAL PRACTICES**

The implementation of a human study required that there was: ethical practice; supervision of the research; and permission granted by a responsible member from the institution, in this case, the University of Technology, Sydney. The age of the target participants complicated the ethical requirements of the study but this was a guiding priority. As elders were involved, a higher level of duty of care was essential. The ethics of the study included ensuring that a good process for dealing with privacy concerns

and that appropriate protocols were in place. There was consideration for their age in terms of the range of practical matters, including: the choice of a venue; a comfortable setting; a short stint in front of the camera; assistance with the questionnaire and other forms where necessary; as well as consultation with the family if needed; and feedback from the DVD copy of interview sent promptly to the participants.

The protocol for the study was in line with the guidelines provided by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Technology, Sydney. Clearance was granted for the collection of data through interviews, the psychological survey, a questionnaire, and by observation. The collected responses and observations were coded to ensure anonymity, and in line with the confidentiality assurances given to participants, the full transcripts were not prepared for public release. However, each participant personally received a DVD copy of his biographical interview, and the results of their CCAI psychological survey. They were also provided with a reference sheet explaining the segments of the Cross Cultural Adaptability Inventory, to aid in their understanding of their personal CCAI chart.

The participants were carefully selected for their willingness to give their time and interest to this study. Reluctant participants were avoided. Inclusion was voluntary, and they were fully acquainted with the nature of the research, and were assured that they had the option to participate or withdraw at any time. As part of the ethical approval process, participants signed personal consent forms as required by the University of Technology, Sydney. They also designated where they wished the original research material, pertaining to them, to be lodged for the time period specified by the Research Guidelines of the University of Technology, Sydney. Though few requested anonymity, the researcher treated all participants as anonymous, as she considered that the safety of the research materials and preservation of anonymity were integral to the study.

## **DATA COLLECTION**

Data collected from the large target sample of forty-three participants was multidimensional. An expanded definition of data was *“information, often in the form of facts or figures obtained from experiments or surveys, used as a basis for making calculations or drawing conclusions OR for example, numbers, text, images, and sounds, in the form that is suitable for storage in or processing by a computer”*

(Encarta, 1999). It meant that more than words were integral to the study. Transcription was required to elicit comparable text-based information.

The following three methods of data collection were undertaken:

1. Cross Cultural Adaptability Inventory (CCAI). Responses to specific questions were sorted and calculated by a computer statistical analysis programme, that allowed them to be used qualitatively as well as quantitatively, if necessary
2. Questionnaire responses were assessed in a similar manner, both qualitatively and quantitatively;
3. Video recorded interview was qualitative in method, however the transcripts provided data, compiled as spreadsheets, which were linked to responses to both the inventory and the questionnaire.

Additional miscellaneous information where available, such as observation, photographs, documents and information conversations was also collected and compiled.

## **ACQUISITION OF PARTICIPANTS**

In this study, the process of data collection concurrently used the three strategies (outlined above), focused on its target sample that was retired men aged between sixty-four and ninety-four years. The acquisition of the sample of male participants was largely by 'word of mouth', moving from known members of the Australian-Chinese community in Sydney to their unknown connections through extended family relationships, their friends and other State-wide links, such as the various Australian-Chinese Associations. In essence, the sample of men was acquired by 'convenience'. The researcher, an Anglo-Australian, had been part of this widely linked community for over fifty years, so she too had been heard of by potential participants through the myriad networks, and had been accepted. The selection criteria for participants was that they were willing to take part in the research, considered themselves to be Australian-Chinese, were of retirement age, and had the ability to speak, read and write English. The percentage of the participants that the researcher actually knew personally was minimal, and she attempted to avoid where possible, any close family members so that the data was newly acquired, and free of possible bias. Some possible participants disqualified themselves for being, as they said, 'too Australian', although there was no systematic differentiation in their backgrounds as to their length of time in Australia.



Data collection procedures employed were that:

- \* each prospective participant was mailed a formal letter detailing what was involved in the study
- \* those who were willing to be part of the process, indicated their assent, either personally or by telephone to the researcher
- \* a letter was then sent to each respondent elaborating on the nature of their involvement
- \* a questionnaire, and a copy of the CCAI questions were provided to each participant to be filled in at home in their own time
- \* a time was then made to interview the participant usually in their home
- \* the interview was conducted
- \* their video interview, on DVD, was supplied to each participant, within days
- \* a CD-Rom was simultaneously sent to the transcription agent, who returned the transcription, coded for anonymity, to the researcher

The researcher then:

- (i) drew up the resultant CCAI chart for each individual
- (ii) entered these figures into the SPSS for later analysis
- (iii) scored the replies to each questionnaire, and listed them
- (iv) summarized the transcription from the interview
- (v) collated and quantified information from the questionnaire, interview transcription and CCAI chart, which could be analysed by the SPSS program and integrated through reflection e.g. date and place of birth, clan, educational level, language/s, work, arrival year in Australia, religious affiliation if any, and whether they had encountered discrimination.

## CROSS-CULTURAL ADAPTABILITY INVENTORY

The Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory (CCAI), an accredited psychological self-assessment, was the pivot of the quantitative methodology. Where possible, other resources checked, such as archival, census and historical material, were additional quantifiable elements. Though the CCAI had been used in the single case study some years earlier, and was found suitable for the purposes of that research, nonetheless further investigation was pursued to find whether, in the intervening years, another instrument had been constructed which would better suit the purposes of this study. As no such tool was found the CCAI was re-deployed to provide a 'measure' of each person's potential for cross-cultural adaptability. Key features of the CCAI that prompted its use were that no previous experience of such 'testing' was required and that its process was easily understood, non-threatening, quickly executed and seemingly accurate. These were important factors for the aged multicultural participants. Its completion involved thought to be given by the respondent to fifty questions entailing a selection from a six-point scale, that of *Definitely true/ True/ Tends to be true/ Tends to be not true/ Not true/ Definitely not true* to answer each question. The participants self-administered it, taking as much time at home as they needed, to complete their answers, which were then posted back to the researcher. The results were also non-threatening, being designed to be presented as insights for the participants rather than a measure of success or failure. It was available as a training tool for individuals to have the opportunity to strengthen those areas revealed as needing attention in the individual self-assessment by the CCAI questioning.

This inventory was initially devised as a diagnostic tool to help determine a measure of cross-cultural adaptability. It could be used, for example, if staff were to be posted overseas in order to give an indication as to whether their adaptation to a new cultural situation could be achieved with ease or some difficulty. In this particular research, the CCAI was not used diagnostically before the event but retrospectively as a review instrument. It extracted details that provided a set of data that gave a measure of the adaptability strengths and weaknesses to each of the forty-three individuals, and raised their personal awareness of these issues. These questions were largely psychologically based, related to cross-cultural adaptation, and were not ones that the men would likely have considered previously.

More importantly, each participant was able to view his profile in a chart format, which indicated how his four inner scores cross-related to each other. He was alerted to the fact that his self-examination was more important than any comparison with the scores of another person. The four areas self-assessed were: Emotional Resilience (ER); Flexibility / Openness (FO); Perceptual Acuity (PAC); and Personal Autonomy (PA). These four areas were self-explanatory but the CCAI manual provided further detail. It pointed to each man's ability to recover positively from problem situations; enjoy the diversity of behaviour and thought patterns; be alert to differences around them, and, most importantly, be aware of how he dealt with his, and the value systems of others. To assist each participant in his understanding of the self-assessment of his cross-cultural effectiveness, each man was given the necessary details to interpret his chart, and the cognizance of comparing his own segments within the profile, rather than with the profiles of others. It was not a test. (CCAI Manual, Kelley & Meyers 1995, p.81). Each participant was able to see psychologically how he fitted within the Anglo-Australian culture, and the strength of his retention of his Chineseness.

## **THE INTERVIEW**

The technique for the recording of the personal interview was by video recording. The participants were all agreeable to this method. The use of video recording was simpler, more achievable, easier to 'back-up', and had a wider final usage than the use of an audio recording. A suitable place and time for the personal interview was arranged to be held in either the participant's own home or that of the researcher. The use of the researcher's home was largely due to its inner city accessibility, that was more convenient for some of the participants. Also, there were interviews arranged with three participants living in the northern New England Tableland district of New South Wales. These participants had links to now Sydney-based families and Associations. This northern district visit was planned to coincide with an organised tour by members from the Chinese Women's Association of Australia. Many of these ladies wished to see the places where their male family members had first worked, following their arrival in Australia in the early twentieth century. These male relatives came, often as boys or young men directly from their village, to work with either their fathers, uncles or fellow villagers. For example, in Tingha, and in other towns such as Ashford, Inverell, Glen Innes and Moree, and other surrounding mining areas, some were employed as staff in the already established local Chinese general stores. Others of the younger migrants

came as school students but nevertheless worked in the store before and after attending, for example, the local Convent school.

It was intended that the time allowed for the interview session should be an average of one hour. This time span was to include the setting up and removal of the videoing equipment, and the discussion before and after, and the signing of the consent forms. There were two consent forms, which covered the consent to the interview, the wish to be identified or not, and their choice of the final placement of their collected data. The actual video recording was expected to average about forty minutes. The forty-three interviews were completed within the span of about three years. This span was needed to accommodate the availability of the participants, many of whom, though retired, still had very busy lifestyles.

During the interview, care was taken so as to not deter the storytellers from their narration. Nonetheless, the researcher had some key questions to be asked so as to propel their thoughts into the various periods of their lives where learning was meaningful - in childhood, youth and adulthood. Did they achieve what they had intended? Was their cultural ancestry a deterrent to advancement? How did they overcome stumbling blocks? The demographics, in brief, included gender, date and place of birth, education, their work, marital status, children and their education, present location and focus of the family, clan and / or religious affiliation, present links to the family village/s, and how they identified themselves ethnically, and how able they were now in their family language/s.

It was anticipated that they would speak of their family background, the present family structure, their age, time of arrival in Australia, sometimes of their earlier home, and present circumstances of residency. Plus their ability in various languages such as English, Cantonese, their village dialect, Mandarin and other languages specific to their area of occupancy. Also, that there would be mention of their various networks, their religiosity, and their encounters with discrimination. This study placed great value on the qualitative and quantitative methods of investigation, and used the trustworthy means of triangulation, "*to check the consistency of findings by using different data-collection methods*" (Williamson, 2002, p.36). The interview method may have required space, time, and the completion of many tasks but the interview was the foundation of the qualitative data gathering of the study. The key questions explored, were described with examples from the participant's *real* lives and explained by them, with their

hindsight as elders. As the interviews were carried out in a conversational manner the questions were expressed in a fluid way to suit the dialogue of the moment. Examples are given below to show some of the differences in expression when moving through topics of discussion to promote answers.

### **INTERVIEW QUESTIONS - EXAMPLES (adapted to suit participant history)**

**EDUCATION:**      What school did you come to, in Australia?  
                            And did you go to school then?  
                            When you came out here, where did you go to study ?

**WORK:**             When you finished study, where did you go then ?  
                            Tell me a bit about your work?  
                            Let's talk about your working life...  
                            What was your first job?  
                            Did you find it hard to get work?

**FAMILY:**          Tell me about your family now...  
                            How many children you have?  
                            Who were you closest to in your family?  
                            How many children in your family?  
                            Have all your family married Chinese?

**LANGUAGE:**      Tell me then what languages you  
                            understood at that time ?  
                            Have you followed on with language  
                            with any of your children?  
                            What languages did you hear spoken at home?

**CLAN:**             Are you of a particular clan ?  
                            Where were you born and what clan?  
                            Do you attend your clan group ?  
                            Was the clan grouping the same for your  
                            mother and father ?

**CULTURE:**        Do you have a Kitchen God yourself,  
                            as they would have had in China?  
                            At home, did your mother uphold any  
                            of the observances, like having the

Kitchen God and so on?

What about the culture in the family,

have you a household where there is a Kitchen God?

Do you have a Kitchen God ?

FOOD: Do you have a Chinese rice meal at night?

What would your main meal be ?

Do you have a Chinese main meal at night?

Do you cook for yourself? Do you cook Chinese?

Do you still keep up the Chinese tradition of the Chinese meal at night ?

RETIREMENT: Do you have any particular interests in your retirement?

In your retirement what are your interests now?

Do you have a sense of achievement, now in your retirement?

What are your interests now in retirement ?

In each of these case studies the participant was to be the prime mover in the interview, with the guiding/probing questions of the researcher being introduced when appropriate, so as not to disturb the reflective mood of the storyteller as he recounted his real-life events. The videoing of the case study's conversational interview gave direct observation of the participant and revealed his facial expressions and demeanour as he recalled past events in response to questions or to his own thoughts. Some of these thoughts were mentally tied to several transitions or crossing of cultural boundaries. Having interviews recorded with the use of video, a medium that gave a more holistic portrait of the individual, showed body language as well as voice nuances. This method enhanced interpretation of the transcripts being studied and aided the researcher in the correct interpretation of their meaning.

## **THE QUESTIONNAIRE**

The design of the questionnaire used response ratings to rate statements related to the four focus areas of: learning; identity; culture; and work. The twenty items used cues to evoke attitudes to the four focus areas using key statements. The four areas of focus provided the structure (i.e. 4 x 5) for the items, although the items were seen by the participants in random order.

The questionnaire (see APPENDICES) involved twenty questions in random order, relevant to the research question. Each question required an answer of either *Agree*, *No opinion* or *Disagree*. This simplistic nature of three choices provided additional information, and clarified facts elicited from the interview. On the return of the questionnaire from each participant, the researcher sorted their responses to the twenty questions into four sections of five questions each. Each question was specific to either the topic of learning, identity, culture or work. This quantitative component added that extra element of substantiation and reliability, and made it possible for an expanded comparison of results. The devising of the five attitudinal statements to which participants would respond, under each of the four focus areas, was the most difficult of the methodological tasks.

### **TRIANGULATION OF TOOLS**

Each method was given equal significance with the synchronized gathering of the data. The researcher reasoned and gave priority to the view (Creswell, 2003, p.212), that the supportive use of both qualitative and quantitative processes were as parts unified to generate a whole, and ensured greater reliability with the combination of various methods and wider perspectives from differing sources. By interlocking the individual's life story interview with a psychological survey, questionnaire and observation, there emerged a good coverage of the selected questions, synergy for results, and also minimized bias. This combination of qualitative and quantitative procedures, were informed by the theories of La Fromboise and that of Levinson and their teams, supplied a better deductive framework, a more explicit theoretical perspective, and reliable information for valid analyses. These theories were related to bicultural adaptation and second culture acquisition, (La Fromboise et al., 1993) and the effect of a man's work on his identity (Levinson et al., 1978).

The triangulated tactic employed in this study, facilitated the acquisition of a richer qualitative data set, not quite a 'portrait' of each participant but a 'sketch' of a whole lifetime of learning, while concurrently gathering information that was substantively compared with the quantitative data. The research engendered considerable information, another benefit of the concurrent triangulation strategy. Also, it was a way to shorten the data collection time as balanced against sequential pathways, a longer route. As Creswell enthused, "*this traditional mixed methods model is advantageous because it is*

*familiar to most researchers and can result in well-validated and substantiated findings*" (2003, p.217). Nonetheless, there were disadvantages to using the concurrent triangulation strategy. The use of more than one method applied to problem solving or the comparing of different data types, compounded the difficulty of sorting of data by the need to compare and contrast information derived from different data formats. The analysis of so much information was assisted by the use of the computer program SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Studies), which organized, displayed, and analysed the data from the questionnaire, and from the CCAI psychological survey. These computations were checked by a registered psychologist, as required for users of the CCAI (Cross Cultural Adaptability Inventory). The SPSS sorted the details, displayed them, and enabled the production of visual tables and charts to specifically categorise, compare and contrast findings.

The interview, the qualitative element, was employed to track each participant's learning and work achievements over a lifetime, and also questions of their identity and adaptability as a member of a sub-cultural minority group. Questions related to notions about identity required a qualitative research methodology because they involved attitudes, behaviours, and feelings in a cross-cultural context. The triangulation of different methods used in this study, of these multifaceted living Australian-Chinese senior men, created an all-inclusive composite construction of each participant. As Fine and Weis (1996) wrote (in Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p.187), "*methods are not passive strategies. They differently produce, reveal, and enable the display of different kinds of identities*". Identities indeed are multifarious, and are adjusted to suit the context in which an individual is situated. Nonetheless, context, time, generalisations, and objectiveness fit within the quantitative area, notwithstanding that there are quantitative purists who stress their belief, that social sciences can be objective too (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson 2006, p.46). The objective stance of the research was better substantiated by the evidence being cross-correlated with facts from other instruments. The psychic distance needed to evaluate the personal interviews was aided by the quantitative psychological data, as the joy of research was that results are not always as predicted. In this study the quantitative tools, the questionnaire and the Cross Cultural Adaptability Inventory were not employed to make generalizations, as each person was an individual case. Nonetheless, as anticipated the study produced much precise numerical data able to be sorted quickly with the SPSS. The SPSS [Statistical Package for the Social Sciences] has been widely used for statistical analysis since 1968, and it



has continued to be highly used despite the introduction of newer programs. There was a growing trend toward the use of a blend of methods, and there was also a streamlining of various qualitative data management programmes. In this instance, the qualitative data was assessed and executed without the use of a computerized program, as the researcher sorted the information into specific categories. In this study, there were collected many variables which related to schooling, marriage, cultural affiliations, work histories, and various other opportunities for learning. This data was cross-correlated with answers given by the participants to the questions in the Cross Cultural Adaptability Inventory. One such question that was asked was regarding discrimination to their families, as the White Australia Policy was part of the background to their lives. Finally, this triangulated study of forty-three Australian-Chinese senior men was assembled, taking into account all the aspects and intricacies involved in embracing, collating and contrasting three different instruments and two theories. To accommodate the participants, the study took longer to complete all the interviews than anticipated, however the feedback given to the participants was prompt.

Much useful evidence was collected to reach conclusions and enabled a satisfactory answer to the research question, *“how has a cross-cultural context effected the patterns of lifelong learning and the identities of Australian-Chinese men born between 1915 and 1945?”* The researcher reflected on her role in the study, and was aware of her impact on the process of the research (Laine 2000). She was careful to ensure that this did not affect the analysis of the results. The researcher endeavoured to keep an observer’s distance even when showing interested responses in the interview situation. This required a delicate balance, which was assisted by her age and lifelong Australian-Chinese experiences. Respect for the age, and physical and mental capabilities of the participants was given so that all tasks were executed in comfort. Even more important was respect for their unique stories contributed to the oral history videos. These were a valued by-product of this research. The analysis of the responses of the forty-three Australian men of Chinese background to three distinct instruments as part of the methodological approach in this investigation proved a large analytical task.

## **SUMMARY OF DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

The overall design of the study was largely determined by the methodology that employed the use of a multiple mixed mode research strategy. This mixed method approach ensured the involvement of the participants in the three strands, namely the

face-to-face interview, the questionnaire, and the CCAI, their personal psychological procedure. As a result of each participant's close involvement in all segments of this study, there was collected much data useful in determining the answer to the research question.

## 4 RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This research study was gender specific, restricted to older males of Chinese extraction, who had lived and been educated in Australia. It used three instruments, that of an interview, a questionnaire, and a cross-cultural inventory of each man's opinions. Forty-three men completed the study but another five men through illness or home circumstances were unable to do so. The results showed variables such as age distribution, place of birth, birth order, location of family of origins, clan group, and immigration details. Also recorded was their range of language ability, education and learning, their working occupation, wartime armed services involvement, their own family of choice, plus attitudes to class, religion and racism. The focus areas were their learning, culture, identity and work.

The findings for each category of the results were itemised as a number, and as a percentage, to suit the inclinations of the readers. The relationship between the results of the qualitative data from the interviews and the questionnaire with that from the quantitative CCAI provided information of each participant's cross-cultural adaptability, over his lifetime of experiences.

The use of the CCAI fulfilled expectations by providing acceptable quantitative data to be used as part of the triangulated methodology. The resultant findings were given support by comparison and contrast with the evidence from the theories of La Fromboise (1993) and Levinson (1978) and their teams. This use of multiple strategies was a valuable way to collect 'rich' data, not just a lot of data. This triangulated data was to answer the research question, '*How has a cross-cultural context effected the patterns of lifelong learning and the identities of Australia-Chinese men born between 1915 and 1945?*'

### **Men of the Sample Group**

The participants for this study were all of Chinese extraction, and aged from 60-90 plus years of age. Some men in the Australian-Chinese community chose not to take part as they considered themselves to be more Australian than Chinese. It could be said that these particular men saw the research as being related to bicultural identity and they considered that they did not fit the criteria. One of the participants who was born overseas (#47), questioned his 'Chineseness', and his ideas of identity, before becoming part of the research. So the Australian-Chinese men in this sample represented a diverse range of clan backgrounds, migrant experiences, and a range of perceived identities. Some

men were thought of, by themselves and by others, as ABC's but were actually not Australian-born. Then there were those who were thought of as Chinese by others but now were fully integrated, and thought of themselves as fully Australian. Their perception of their identity had changed over time, while the ABCs always felt Australian, some were less certain of their Chineseness.

The forty-three participants who fitted the research criteria were retired men who were willing to take part in this study, and had lived through decades spanning World Wars, and great social change. All participants declared that they were Australian citizens, and some cited the year their citizenship was recognised, usually in the 1960s or 1970s range. This was after the new system of entry permits, and the abolishment of the dictation test in the late 1950s eventually led to the Immigration Restriction Act (White Australia Policy) being abandoned in March 1966.

In this segment some overall comparisons of results were made, with the understanding that each participant had individual differences. Twenty-two men were born in Australia, and twenty-one were born overseas at various locations. There were variations in their abilities, their cultural background, the composition of their families, and their work and recreational experiences.

The videoed interview, the first tool used by the researcher with the participants, produced the largest quantity of information. They answered the questions in their own conversational way, allowing their verbal and visual responses to be captured on video, to later provide a bank of rich data. It was the largest input collected. The transcripts had some family names deleted, particularly for those who had requested anonymity. Many variables were acquired through the interviews using a semi-directed but relaxed style of questioning, within a framework of key questions for the research. Where possible the participant's conversations were allowed to flow but because of their age and comfort, the overall time taken by the interview was limited to roughly an hour. Their CCAI and written questionnaire were completed at home, and feedback was given to each participant of their inventory results together with a video copy of their interview. The oral and written evidence of the aged cohort was trusted. The testimony of the participants was of primary importance in this study, and from their contributions much specific information was acquired of their life events and feelings.

These variables were analysed for common shared factors but what was gained was an understanding of each participant's cultural background, family of origin, clan background and language. The place of birth was a major factor in identity, as it pertained to their original country of citizenship and their language abilities. Nonetheless, it was less important than where they were reared, a major influence on their socio-cultural development during language development and schooling. Other information collected was about what studies they had needed for vocational opportunities, if they had studied further during their time of work or in their retirement, and whether their Australian home-life showed particular influences related to culture, language and education.

These variables described the sample group.

- Age distribution
- Chinese background, including
  - Place of birth
  - Birth Order
  - Location of Family origins
  - Clan
  - Year and Age entry to Australia
- Range of language ability
- Education and learning
- Occupations during their working years,
  - wartime experiences such as armed services, effects of wartime hardship
- Attitudes to class, religion and racism
- Choice of family
- Retirement interests

All percentages shown throughout are of the total group, unless specified otherwise.

### **Age Distribution**

The age of participants effected the methodology. Special attention was given to possible difficulties related to age, such as the length of time some could manage for the interview, possible hearing and/or language difficulties, as well as loss of capacity. A few participants were unsure of their date of birth. One (#42) had no birth certificate, as in China records were not always kept. Although, certainly the birth of the Number One son would have been recorded, back in the village, on the family tablet in their clan temple. #14 was one whose birth date was an estimation made by his older brother, as when children without their parents, they had entered Australia during troubled times. Another factor was that the traditional Chinese birth date differed by gestation or up to a year longer than the Caucasian

birth date. It was necessary for the participants to be aware that their western birth date was the one to be recorded.

**Table 1: AGE DISTRIBUTION**

Age Range	Tally	%
90+ years plus	3	7.0%
80 to 90 years	11	25.5%
<b>70 to 80 years</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>42.0%</b>
60 to 70 years	11	25.5%

*The ages of the research participants ranged from 64 to 94 years as noted in the research question 'Australian-Chinese men born between ...'.*

The interviews were conducted prior to 2009 - all ages, and correlated dates were calculated as at 2009.

The most recent retirees were the eleven participants of 60-70 age. Of these, four were Sydney-born, and one in Moree, NSW. Of the overseas-born, three from Hong Kong and one from Malaysia. All eight 60-70 year aged were still active in business and community.

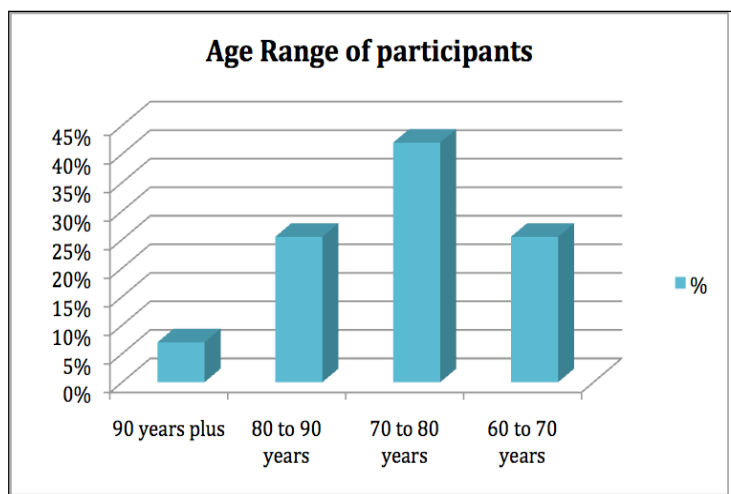
The largest group were eighteen participants who were 70-80 year olds. Eleven of these were born overseas having arrived in Sydney at an age ranging from less than one year to thirty-eight years. So some came as young children to Australia, and others at an older age chose Australia for further education, while some adults came for work opportunities. Ten were still engaged in part-timework, and nine enjoyed family within their retirement time.

The eleven 80-90 year olds comprised seven who were born in Australia, and the remaining four in Zhongshan province, China. Three of these immigrants came when aged thirteen, twelve and seven years respectively, and one from Guangdong was only four years old on his arrival in Sydney. The former occupations of this age group involved them in work as an architect, engineer, and as electricians, accountants, teachers, and private business owners. In retirement, positions of responsibility in community organisations absorbed seven of the men, and another four spent their social life with the extended family and friends, and one of this number continued to maintain his family business.

The ninety-plus aged men numbered only three, and all were born interstate in Australia, not in New South Wales. One participant (#10) recently died at the age of ninety-three. His early life was as an itinerant but later steady work in Sydney brought him a stable lifestyle, where he enjoyed being involved with voluntary work in the Sydney Chinese community.

The other two men (#05 & #23) were also Sydney-based for some time, and were of a similar age but health problems were becoming noticeable. Of the ‘ninety plus’ participants, two worked at tradesmen level (#05 & #10), and the third (#23) worked long-term as an accountant in a large company. Their lives were long and fruitful. They were survivors, who adapted from an western culture to the mainstream western culture in Australia.

**Chart 1: AGE DISTRIBUTION**



*These participants, born within a thirty-year span of 1915 to 1945, were each willing to discuss his personal twentieth century life. The age range from 60-90 years plus gave an overlap of the perspectives of four decades. As noted in the results, those aged from 70 to 80 years were the largest group.*

The choice of senior retired Australian-Chinese men was deliberate. They totalled forty-three, and each had a full life story with a unique historical perspective. They retained good health and were active, and committed to both their Australian and Chinese communities.

Likewise, the 80-90 year olds were still active, and using their skills and expertise to help others within their families and beyond. The death of a mid-ninety year old (#10), over the time of the writing of this study, came as a surprise, as he was still active in helping his favourite Australian-Chinese association. His life story on video, from this study, was available for viewing by his family and friends. Overall, the forty-three participants presented as active, alert and interested in their present life stage.

**Place of Birth**

The determination of their place of birth indicated how many of the participants were Australian-born, and how many were born overseas, and whether their backgrounds were largely from urban or rural areas.

All the participants were male of full Chinese descent, except for one (#10) whose mother was half Chinese/Aboriginal. There were twenty-two who were Australian-born Chinese and twenty-one who were born overseas. Of those who were born in China, fourteen were from the highly populated southern areas of Guangdong, such as Zhongshan in the Pearl River delta, and from Hong Kong island. The participants were not told by the researcher

the names of other participants. Sometimes they acquired this knowledge by chance through family or community conversations but it was of little concern to those involved. Only seven participants requested anonymity (#01, #09, #18, #21, #31, #32, #42).

**Table 2: PLACE OF BIRTH**

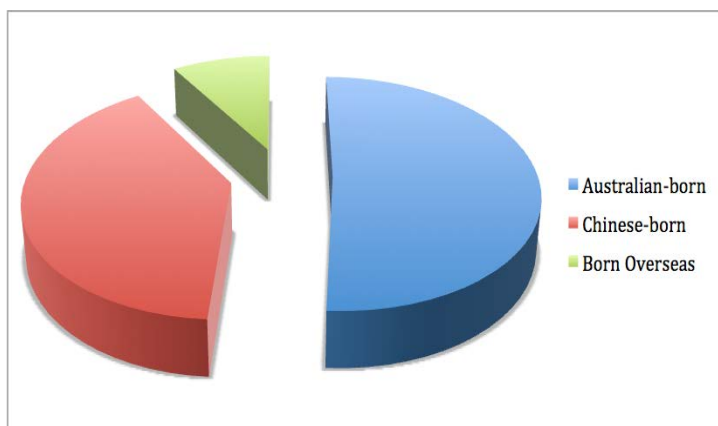
Country of Birth	Place of Birth	No:	%	Comment:
<b>Australia</b>	<b>NSW</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>With 9 in Sydney</b>
	Northern Territory	4	9%	All in Darwin
	Queensland	2	5%	Cunnamulla, Tambo
	Western Australia	1	2%	Broome
	Victoria	1	2%	Melbourne
Australian-born	Subtotal	<b>22</b>	<b>51%</b>	11 of city, 11 of rural
<b>China</b>	<b>Hong Kong</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>14%</b>	
	Zhongshan	5	12%	
	Guangdong	3	7%	
	Northern China	2	5%	
	Swatow	1	2%	
Born in China	Subtotal	<b>17</b>	<b>40%</b>	Both urban & rural
<b>Other</b>	Malaysia	3	7%	
	Fiji	1	2%	
Born overseas	Subtotal	<b>4</b>	<b>9%</b>	
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100%</b>	

Overall, the social network of the Australian-born men was usually well connected to other Chinese. Whether based in a country town or in the suburbs of Sydney, most ABCs were linked to a General store that was owned or operated by either their immediate or extended family. Stories about their shops can be found in the interview transcripts, see such numbers as #05, #08, #09, #10, #22. Some of these families were large with ten children, so that new babies were often reared by older sisters, and had little contact with the father (#09).

The Chinese-born, and others born in overseas locations, relied on their family members, some of whom, as with the Australian-born, were linked to a General store (e.g. #14, #47, #26, #04, #07). The immigrants in some instances merged into the existing clan groups while others, such as #43 who came alone, as a young self-responsible adult, had to establish their own networks. Sometimes, they came with an ‘uncle’ from the extended family or village, but it was largely a participant’s own strength of character and adaptive resourcefulness that saw him succeed in a new community (#02, #24, #31, #38, #42).



**Chart 2: PLACE OF BIRTH**



*This even division of the sample between Australian-born and Chinese immigrants was not planned. It consequently became a useful factor in analysing the four Focus areas. This natural division, colour-coded in red and blue, was used throughout the rest of the study.*

### **Birth Order**

Birth order was only of interest to males in the inheritance line, females for many years were left out of this order completely. The established Australian-Chinese families understood and accepted this hierarchical system, and it was not peculiar to Asian societies. Each family valued the continuance of their lineage, as ancestor worship was a linked cultural value. Chinese cultural mores relating to filial piety, translated to respect and often unquestioning obedience to the male hierarchy of elders.

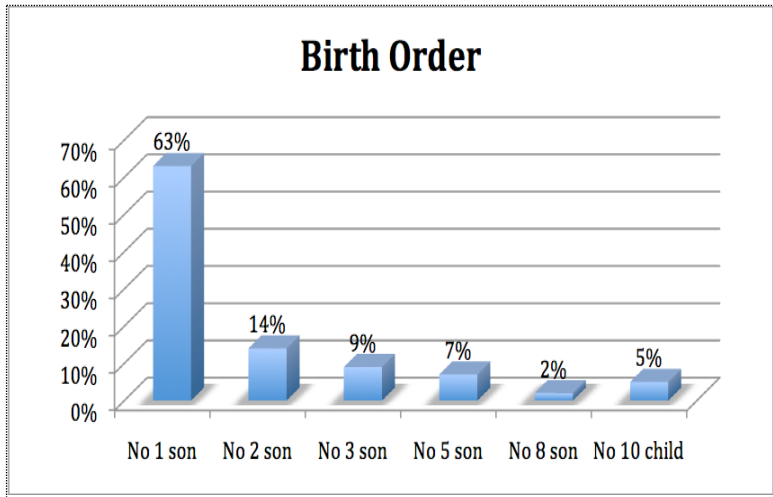
**Table 3: BIRTH ORDER**

<b>Birth Order</b>	<b>Tally</b>	<b>%</b>
No 1 son	27	63%
No 2 son	6	14%
No 3 son	4	9%
No 5 son	3	7%
No 8 son	1	2%
No 10 child	2	5%

*There are only one hundred family names in the Han Chinese cultural listing, and Confucian Chinese valued the 'Number One' or first-born son as the anticipated inheritor of the family name and property.*

It was not expected or planned that so many of the participants were first-born sons. That there was a large number of Number One sons in this aged cohort implied a cultural factor had influenced this, that they as Number One sons had developed confidence in dealing with family situations, and were sufficiently self-assured to be involved in this research study.

**Chart 3: BIRTH ORDER**



*Twenty-seven (63%) of the participants were a first-born son, the ultimate male birth order, although this was not a factor in the sample selection. Of the rest, six were Number-Two sons; four of Number-Three, three of Number-Five, one of Number Eight, and two were Number Ten.*

In a Chinese family there was the expectation and obligation that the Number One son would follow his father to Australia, and assist him to raise funds, to send home to the wife (or wives) and family remaining in the home village. It also gave the Number One son the opportunity to broaden his education, to obtain new skills, and become adept in another language, as well as being the obedient son. If the Number One son had died, the family circumstances would have been reassessed, and a decision made as to the one who would then assist their father. Sometimes elder brothers had to economically contribute or gain independence before a younger brother was sent. These are generalisations, as some fathers were able to bring the whole family with them or within a few years (e.g. #25). The mothers were not always as adaptive or exposed to outside influences as their husbands, and were slower to learn to speak English, and so retained their home language (e.g. #09).

Over time the effect of large families had consequences for the children late in the birth order. The two participants who were a Number Ten child came from large families in rural areas. In the first case, he (#03) was the tenth living child of his mother, as not all her babies survived. His family had been in Australia since 1860 when his grandfather came searching for gold. However in the second case, #09's recollection of his father was only from a photo of an old man. He knew little of his father as #09 was reared by his older sisters, who lived in another country town. In their grandfathers' generation, when it was very important to have a son, it was not unusual to have a large family, especially if there was more than one wife. For example, #03's grandfather had three wives, a situation that created household tensions, as each of the wives were concerned that her Number One son be given special treatment. The solution for participant #03's

father was that he moved his number-three wife and children to a new business out-of-town, where they were no longer involved in the family household.

Questions to ascertain a participant’s birth order was not asked specifically but it emerged in discussion regarding the number of siblings. For example, it was #09 who said, “I being the youngest”, or #02 who remarked, “Not like my elder brother, you know, always being compared by me”.

Psychologically, the birth position did have effects on the social standing of males within the family, as well as in the cultural community. Birth Order has been linked to personality, and decision-making. The Number One son was more dominant due to his sense of security, and because he was older. Nevertheless, in this study its effect was not discernable. These men lived, and live now, in a cross-cultural context. They each consider that they are Australian while recognising that they are also Chinese. The position of first-born was respected in both cultures but in Australia, the distribution of inheritance was more equitable since the post-War 1950s era.

#### **Location of Family Origin**

Identity has always been linked to where one was born, even though where one grew up would have had a more cultural impact on a person’s identity formation. However, where one was born decides one’s citizenship. The place of origin of a participant’s parents and ancestors was an important lifelong link to his identity.

**Table 4: LOCATION OF FAMILY ORIGIN**

<i>Locations of Family Origin</i>	<i>Tally</i>
Australia	5
Zhongshan (7) and Shekki (8)	15
Dongguan, southern China	1
Hong Kong, China	7
Guangdong, China	10
Swatow, China	1
Northern China (Shandong, Ningbo)	2
Malaysia	2

*Of the forty-three participants, there were thirty-eight (88%) whose family of origin came from the Chinese mainland and Hong Kong. One each were from Dongguan and Swatow in Southern China, and Shandong and Ningbo in Northern China, in total four men. There were two men from families who had migrated to Malaysia in much earlier times, while five were sons of Australian-Chinese citizens.*

The parents of the Fijian-born participant were originally from the Zhongshan area in China. So, those from Northern China (2), Malaysia (2) and Fiji (1) totalled five, highlight that the majority of the sample were born in Southern China. Guangdong is a large province that has supplied many immigrants to Australia, and a large proportion of the population cluster close to Guangzhou, the capital city. Another major city in the Guangdong Province is Zhongshan, and it

was the birthplace of fifteen (35%) of the participants, so it was counted separately. There are several dialects spoken in this area, and eight participants from Shekki used their own dialect.

The Chinese background of the sample was considered a factor of identity, and links to a possible clan. This list of the location of the family of origin could have been abbreviated as those from Shekki, and parts of the Dongguan area, might have been totalled under Zhongshan. The benefit in using the exact locales tendered by participants, was that there were some overlapping location data. Participants from Shekki were often exposed to several dialects as they were speakers of a Shekki dialect, and others from nearby areas used the Long do dialect, while still others spoke the Dongguan tongue. There were also those who understood Cantonese, which was the most used language both in Hong Kong, and Guangzhou that adjoined the Zhongshan area. These findings were consistent with the migration stories of the Chinese in Australia by historians, such as Diana Giese (1997) and Shirley Fitzgerald (2008). The migratory movement to Australia, sometimes referred to as diaspora, was mostly from Southern China in the pre-twentieth century. Arrivals of the gold rush periods, and the Colombo Plan from the 1950s onwards encouraged the entry of overseas students (e.g. #02, #18, #24, #48).

Retirement was the usual period when there was time to investigate cultural origins. In a search for their 'roots', thirty participants (70%), who were Australian citizens, specifically visited China, and there were thirteen (30%) who did not. Various reasons for the visit were given, such as to reunite with the extended family. Others chose to go for curiosity, and/or to show their children the location of the ancestral family village from several generations ago. For some it was a joy to find extended Chinese family members in the village, and to establish an ongoing link. Also, there were those who chose not to go for a similar reason, that the earlier link no longer existed. For those who were not successful in locating a living member of the extended family, there was still satisfaction in having tried, and in the process they learnt of their historical identity.

### **Clan**

Clans were strongest in the South rather than in the North of China. In the South, clans evolved in the ancestral village where many had the same surname, shared property, and spoke the same dialect. In the north, clans were structured differently, not always sharing the village name and property. Various clans in Sydney today, retain links with their counterparts in Hong Kong and China. As in earlier times they give support to their members and families. Participants who were active in their clan groups in Sydney, enjoyed speaking their dialect at meetings.

As noted above, clans are virtually composed of the extended family, often part of quite large villages with a shared surname. Such data was gained in interview by asking directly about their clan of origin. Beyond food and dialect, clans are representative of a cache of cultural customs that are intrinsic to identity.

*Cantonese* was the most spoken language in Hong Kong and Guangdong China. Interestingly, there were men who were so absorbed into the Hong Kong culture, that they were no longer sure of the clan to which their family once belonged originally in mainland China. As mentioned, clans have always been more important in Southern China rather than in the North. Of the two men unable to name their clan, the one born in Australia (#36), was quite absorbed into the Australian culture, and the other from Northern China (#24), explained that clans had not been part of his experience.

**Table 5: CLAN**

Clan	Tally	%
Long do	11	26%
Hakka	8	19%
Cantonese	5	12%
Hong Kong	5	12%
Dongguan	3	7%
Sze yup	2	5%
Zhongshan	2	5%
Taishan	2	5%
Shandong	1	2%
Swatow (Teochiu)	1	2%
Hokkien	1	2%
Clan unknown	2	5%

*Eleven (25%) of the participant sample were of the Long do clan, and the next largest proportion came from the Hakka, Cantonese and Hong Kong groups. Roughly, half the target group (21/43) came from another country, and they arrived at different ages, and at different points in Australia's history.*

The choice of participants for this study was by 'word of mouth', a chain effect process of recruitment, which may account for the fact that the *Long do* and *Hakka* clans featured the most prominently. There were fewer *Sze Yup* and *Dongguan* men in this study, although in Sydney, they are strong in number. The clans have their own Associations in Sydney, as in many cities worldwide. The *Hakkas* have two Clubs and the *Dongguan* group, known as *Goon yee tong* is quite a substantial group. They provide scholarships for their high performing students, and other incentives to their members during Ching Ming festival activities. Popular media often portray the early Tongs (Clans) as groups aimed at criminal activity but to the newly arrived Chinese in

Australia in the twentieth century, the Tongs were a major support. They assisted such ways as charitable funds, translating letters, helping pay debts, sending money back to the village, procuring food, and looking after the welfare of their members.

Their clan of origin, stemming from the ancestral links, influenced their language dialect, customs, and even the food preferences, all of which form the basis of an individual's cultural identity. Some traits of each clan evolved from their historical geographical location, and how they differentiated themselves from others. For example, the Punti were known to be the original inhabitants before the Han Chinese, and lived in areas where Cantonese and Hakka were spoken. In Southern China, loyalty to the clan was strong. They usually shared a common ancestor and surname or family name, and were connected to the village of their ancestors. The clan is an important link to identity, especially to the family identity. Whether a participant was born in Australia or immigrated to Australia, their father or antecedents of the male line were fully Chinese, and would have participated in their clan activities. Some still do, and perform the Chinese rites or 'grave sweeping' at Rookwood Cemetery, Sydney during Ching Ming festival. This is a special time each year, when the ancestral graves are visited and tidied up often by repainting inscriptions, and food is brought to the gravesite. It is a time of remembrance and respect for the ancestors. There are also those with strong links to Christianity, and a rejection of old paganisms. This showed that assimilation was an important link into communities, and that a familiarity of their clan identity was evidence of their retention of Chinese cultural knowledge (discussed later in relation to La Fromboise et al.). The younger were more able to culturally assimilate, and the older were more likely to retain home culture and language.

### **Year and Age on Entry**

The sample of forty-three men divided into twenty-two Australian-born and twenty-one born overseas, and so presented an opportunity to assess any differences between the groups. This origin had impact on their language, 'Chineseness' and cultural adaptation.

Early visitors to Australia from Asian countries sometimes chose places other than Sydney to disembark, such as Darwin (known earlier as Palmerston), Townsville and Melbourne. It was in the twentieth century that Sydney became the chosen point of disembarkation for many Asian immigrants, who then dispersed to the country areas of New South Wales, in search of work or to link with other family village contacts known to them. There was an intermingling through work, family and friendships across

Australia, and particularly with the men in this study, across the suburbs of Sydney. Those participants living in the Northern Tablelands of New South Wales, also had extensive networks of family and friends with links to those in the Sydney suburbs.

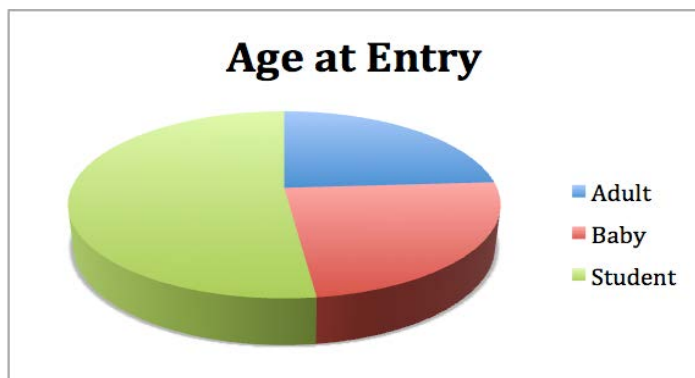
**Table 6: YEAR AND AGE ON ENTRY (n=21)**

Year	Age	Point of entry
1926	4 years	Sydney, NSW
1933	7 years	Sydney, NSW
1935	13 years	Sydney for Tingha NSW
1938	2 years	Sydney, NSW
1939	<1 year	Sydney, NSW
1939	12 years	Sydney, for Warialda NSW
1941	5 years	Sydney, NSW
1945	5 years	Sydney, NSW
1946	9 years	Sydney, NSW
1947	10 years	Sydney, to Roseville,,NSW
1951	12 years	Sydney, NSW
1952	16 years	Sydney, to Bathurst NSW
1952	17 years	Sydney, to Cooranbong NSW
1957	17 years	Sydney, NSW
1960	18 years	Sydney, NSW
1960	23 years	Sydney, NSW
1961	17 years	Sydney, NSW
1961	20 years	Sydney, NSW
1963	25 years	Sydney, NSW
1969	38 years	Sydney, NSW
1981	38 years	Sydney, NSW

*Since twenty-one (49%), almost half the sample of forty-three participants, migrated to Australia it was important for the overall picture to record their year of arrival, age at arrival, and point of entry into Australia. All twenty-one participants entered Australia through the port city of Sydney. Some stayed in Sydney, and others went by railway to country towns in New South Wales, where there were some of the extended family, or others from the same village.*

This study had a bias towards New South Wales as all the migrant participants disembarked in Sydney, and most of the families who went to New South Wales country towns still retained links with others in the city. The majority of the participants in this study were presently living in Sydney, plus a few others who had retained well-established links. Each lad was sent or came at the request of a family member, but the adult immigrants came either at the insistence of family, or of their own volition. The eleven (52%) in the schooling age range benefitted from the Australian education facilities, and the resultant subsequent opportunities. For some their standard of education helped them achieve, and broadened their choice of employment. Some of the factors that influenced their adaptation included their age at arrival, which facilitated their crossing of the boundaries. Also, their time of arrival historically determined what Government restrictions were in place to affect their livelihood.

**Chart 4: YEAR AND AGE ON ENTRY (n=21)**



*Five (24%) of the twenty-one participants were aged more than twenty years old, and five (24%) were pre-school age, while eleven (52%) filled the middle or schooling age range, spanning from eight to eighteen years old.*

In general, there was a common practice for those from overseas who wished to enter Australia, and qualify for a legitimate student visa. It was to lower their actual age of, for example fourteen years down to twelve years, which was the required age limit for student entry. This was a fairly common occurrence. As #42 stated, “the reason for that, I will explain to you, was much to do with the time of the White Australia policy, was when I came in. We could only apply, in my case, to come in as a school children to finish our study in English. And the, ah, the minimum, or the permissible age, to be allowed to enter is twelve”. Actually, the maximum age for entry for students was indeed fourteen years. #07 who came as a twelve year old remarked, “*as long as you're with your parents you don't worry too much. When we go to school we had a bit of a culture shock, because the Australian kids had never seen Chinese children before*”. So the age of the newcomers was one factor in their absorption into the new country.

Another determining factor was the period they arrived in Australia. When #04 entered Australia toward the close of World War II, he was a child at Primary school level. His family was given temporary residence but in order to stay, he said, “*we had to import or export the minimum amount of 10,000 Pounds per year*”. His merchant father fulfilled this proviso as he like other immigrants, sought a better life for themselves and/or their family. The participants each have a story of adaption to school and work. Those who came as infants basically thought of themselves as ABCs, while those who immigrated as older students or adults were less influenced by Australian education and socialization, and they retained more of their Chineseness. Some participants spoke of the adjustments they made such as understanding Australian sayings (#43). However, there was no reticence by the participants, in offering their opinions. One such was #42 who wished to say what he believed was ‘culture’. He considered that Chinese practices, such as Ching Ming were tradition, while culture was to do with knowledge. That #42 was willing to debate



semantics was notable for a man who came to Australia at aged fourteen years from a home where his life was worked out for him, and where he made no decisions of his own.

### Language Competencies

All forty-three participants were capable speakers of the English language, which was a necessary attribute to be a participant in this study. Dictionaries were an important and early part of their learning (e.g. #04). A number of participants related that while serving in the shop, they had a dictionary under the counter, so that they could quickly check unknown English words, not only for themselves but for ‘the boss’ and other employees too (#01). Mathematics did not appear to be a problem with those involved in retail shops. The ability to use the abacus in calculating sales was often left to their father and / or uncle who were more able in their Chinese skills. Although, in several cases, it was remarked that their mother, though illiterate in English, was still expert in summing up the costs of the produce sold in the family store.

It was not possible to state that the twenty-one participants who were born overseas were more fluent in their Chinese language or clan dialect, than those born in Australia. Other factors played a more determining role, such as age at the time of arrival, language abilities of the parents and of the extended family, their determination to assimilate as quickly as possible, and the networks that were maintained through family, village, work and friendships. These were some of the nuances that effected the language learning of these men in their early growing years.

**Table 7: LANGUAGE COMPETENCY (self-assessed)**

<b>Able to SPEAK:</b>	<b>Tally</b>	<b>%</b>
English only	9	21%
Cantonese- a little	5	12%
Cantonese - capably	<b>25</b>	<b>58%</b>
Clan & or dialect	<b>15</b>	<b>35%</b>
Mandarin - Standard	6	14%
Japanese	2	5%
Malay	2	5%
<b>READ Chinese</b>	3	7%

*A large number of twenty-six (60%) had proficiency in speaking Cantonese but there were few, only three men (7%) who had the ability to read the written language. Nine men (21%) could speak English-only with all but one (#07) Australian-born.*

In general, while these men said that they could not speak Cantonese fluently, they were often able to gather the gist of conversations through their knowledge of Chinese ‘household’ words. Nonetheless, one participant, #06 stated quite unequivocally that he was

unable to understand conversations in Cantonese and/or family dialects, even though he had regular exposure to these languages at home. In his working life, his contact with others of Chinese heritage was rare, so there was no necessity for him to continue to foster his Chinese language skills.

Another five men (12%) candidly said that they could speak Cantonese, but only a little. Four were Australian-born, and the fifth man (#38) came to Australia at aged four years old. They all achieved positions of responsibility in their careers within the Australian community with English as their language of usage. Other than English, the next largest group was those competent in Cantonese. It was a language with a wide usage in the city of Guangzhou, formerly known as Canton, hence the name of the language. Cantonese was the most used language in the provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi and also in Hong Kong and Macau. It was from these regions that so many Chinese came to Australia, some to stay, and others to return to their Motherland, either permanently or periodically.

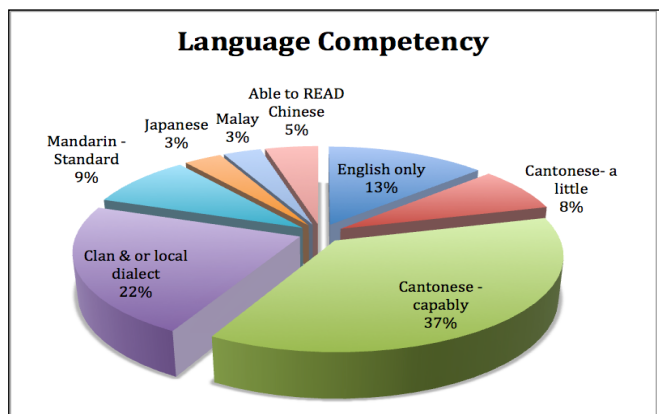
The seventeen (40%) participants from overseas who were able to speak Cantonese came from a variety of districts. Two were from North China, one from Fiji, two from Malaysia, four from Guangdong province, six from Hong Kong area, and two from the Sze Yup clan villages in Southern China.

There were eight (19%) Australian-born men who were capable Cantonese speakers. Three were originally from New South Wales, two from the Northern Territory, one from Queensland, and one each from Victoria and Western Australia. They are presently all residents of New South Wales, except one who has recently moved to Victoria. That they have retained their language of origin had been of benefit to them, not a disadvantage. It made it easier to move between, and be part of two communities, whether for business and/or recreational interests. For those who married someone from another Asian area, the usual compromise was that Cantonese became the common tongue, although in the case of #48, he and his wife chose English as their mutual language.

Fifteen (35%) of the participants retained their family dialect, or 'regional tongues' (*fangyan*), which were allied to their clan. Tongues spoken included Swatow (Teochiu), Long do, Zhongshan, Dongguan, Shandong, Ningbo, Hakka, Hokkein and Sze Yup. It is worth noting that sometimes dialects such as Sze Yup were not always understandable to those who spoke the Standard Cantonese. There were households where the dialect of the father, and that of the mother were intermingled with the use of Cantonese, so that a child

hearing these sounds was not always able to understand which dialect he was hearing. This was the case, mentioned earlier, where the participant (#06) was unable to speak Cantonese and/or one or other of the two clan dialects, he had heard as a child in the home.

**Chart 5: LANGUAGE COMPETENCY**



*All of the participants were competent users of Australian English. Only nine (21%) spoke only English, while most of the group were bilingual and/or multilingual. Few were adept at reading Chinese.*

Expertise in speaking Mandarin now the official, and the most spoken Chinese language has increased as more westerners, and westernized Asians update their language skills. Six (14%) of these participants were speakers of Mandarin, with some more able than others. All six men were born overseas in various East Asian locations where the use of Mandarin was prevalent. The speakers of Japanese were firstly the Australian-born translator (#23) who served Australia during World War II in that capacity. The second Japanese speaker (#17) arrived in Sydney as an adult in the early 1960s, and had lived in Northern China. Two men spoke Malay and both were born in Malaysia. Only three participants (7%) were adept in reading Chinese - two were Australian-born, the other from Hong Kong.

Language facility was seen as a major factor in cultural adaptation. An individual from a minority culture who was well versed and competent in the mainstream language, would find it was a major tool for adapting to socially-linked activities, especially work. The lack of an accent was a particular advantage in socialising successfully. So this was not a group, who generally read the Chinese newspapers available in New South Wales. Despite being Australian-born most of these men had some competency in the home dialect or local Chinese community dialects. For example, Hakka men spoke Cantonese conversationally with other Sydney Chinese, while in their family home some continued their clan dialect.

These facts dispel the image held by many Australians of Anglo-Celtic origin that if you are Chinese, then of course you know your cultural language. Anglo-Celtic Australians went to school to learn to read and write just as a matter of their education. The Chinese-born in Australia encountered the same education system, and many were in the age group where

assimilation was an expectation of the Government of the time. Their subsequent exposure to the Chinese language would have been determined by the extent of their contact with other Chinese speakers through extended family, friends, work colleagues or just necessity. However, an ABC (#03) considered the Chinese language to be a part of being Chinese but his personal experience came as a surprise, *“I only kind of realised in my thirties or that type of thing, I was trying to speak Chinese and I realised I couldn't actually speak it in a sense, or not be able to form the words, because in my mind I can understand Cantonese, but when I come to speak it, I realised I couldn't, because I never had the practice”*. Of course, many resisted speaking the Chinese language they heard at home, they simply didn't want to be different. So language was linked both to cultural identity, and to the ability to assimilate easily into the 'new' culture.

These findings support the notion that language was linked to cultural identity. There were strong biases against those who didn't speak the language of their adopted country. It indicated that linguistic abilities were part of adaptation, and that a competency in language could be seen as a measure of this, and as an important part of identity. The range of language competency was noted as a measure of the cross-cultural abilities they had at their disposal in crossing boundaries into the Australian society.

Showing personality too may influence how one coped with the small adversities faced by minority subcultural identities. While acknowledging poverty or hardship might be shameful to speak about, there was also the point of perspective. Although life as a child might have been hard in rural Australia regardless of their racial background, he had said, *“Still, even though life's hard, but as a child, we don't really feel that way. You know, we just live the life as it is, and quite happy with it”* (#24).

### **Education and Learning**

In the interview participants were asked about their educational background. They enumerated the various schools they attended from primary and secondary levels, and if any other study was undertaken prior to and/or during their working years. It was difficult to differentiate their levels of educational attainments, as there were variations in training and awards, between other countries and also between the States of Australia, wherein tertiary or post-secondary education had different levels. In Australia, it usually meant that after leaving secondary school further training was taken at a college or university. Students seeking vocational training faced a number of choices. They could leave High School after completing the Third Form Intermediate level, and proceed to a Trade course at a Technical

College. Trade courses provided a wider selection than the name suggested. Apart from the usual trade selections of fitting and machinist, electrician, refrigeration engineer, carpenter and builder, and also secretary, bookkeeper, business manager, accountant and auditor, real estate, cook, motor mechanic, and nurse. This meant that students from working-class homes could proceed faster to a paid position, eventually to add their contribution to the family household expenses. The highest level of tertiary education was available at University for those who qualified, and had ‘middle-class’ finance for such further education.

Of the forty-three participants in this research thirty-two (75%) studied at tertiary level and eight (19%) participants went no further than High School level. Twenty-three participants (53%) had a Chinese component to their education, three of whom studied in China until until their sixteenth, twentieth or twenty-third year of age.

**Table 8: EDUCATION AND LEARNING ACQUIRED**

Education	Tally	%
<b>overseas Born</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>49%</b>
Tertiary - University	13	62%
Tertiary – Technical	4	19%
Secondary	4	19%
Primary	0	0%
Chinese part in education	16	76%
<b>Australian Born</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>51%</b>
Tertiary - University	10	45%
Tertiary – Technical	5	23%
Secondary	3	14%
Primary	4	18%
Chinese part in education	7	32%

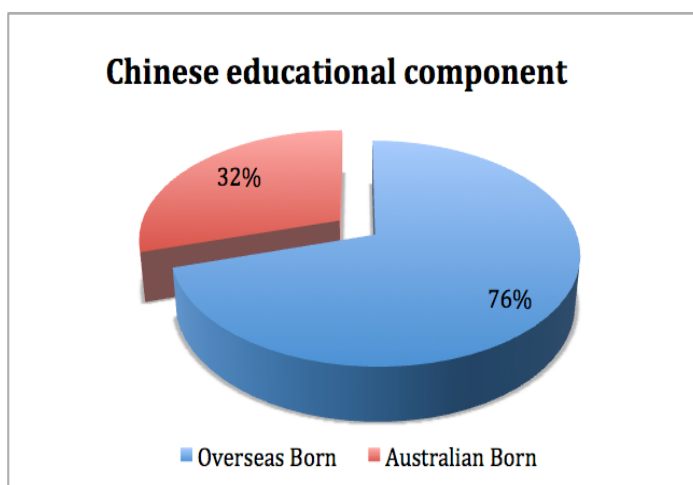
*Half of the overseas born side of the sample group studied at a University, while a quarter attended tertiary Technical College, and four to High School level only. On the Australia born side, ten went to University level; five to Technical College; three men left their studies at secondary level; and four departed formal education before High School (#05, #07, #10 & #30).*

Overall, the participants were a well-educated group who improved their socio-economic position through work over their lifetime. If judging success on academic achievements, then two of the primary-schooled men (#07 & #30) might have been judged as failures. They actually were quiet achievers who in retirement are wealthy. The other two men (#05 & #10), who were only educated to primary level, came from remote areas in the Northern Territory. In Sydney they improved their status, and #10 enjoyed helping others in the Chinese community. There was only one participant (#02) who expressed regret about his curtailed education, “*I maybe should have finished my*

*studies at University, that's one regret*". Though he explained that he knew others who had completed University studies were not as successful and happy as he was now.

In general, as regards the educational level of the participant's parents there was no certainty as to the accuracy of the information, only for some a longer period of recall, and for others they knew little of their fathers (e.g. #09 & #30). Four (9%) of the fathers of the participants had been tertiary educated. Some others had attended a Secondary school but the largest number had an education that was completed at Primary school level, largely in China. Also, it was quite usual for Australian-Chinese to send their Australian-born children to China, often for two or three years, especially for tuition in the Chinese language and culture. This was not always possible because of costs involved or not of interest to some families who wanted their children to be well adapted to the new country, and encouraged them to speak English.

**Chart 6: CHINESE EDUCATION**



*As numbers of those born overseas came specifically for continued education at a higher level, it is not surprising that their numbers exceed those born in Australia reaching that standard.*

It was expected that those born overseas would have a higher number of participants with a larger component to their Chinese education. This was true, as in fact, most of those born overseas had a Chinese component to their educational life experiences that was more than double that of those born in Australia. However, there was considerable variation. One Australian-Chinese (#06) was required by his parents to attend a Sydney Saturday Chinese school. He went to Chinese School, but says, "*I thought that was a great big joke .... so it was just a waste of time*". He did not benefit from the classes, and does not know nor understand the Chinese language. Anecdotal remarks from non-participants who attended the same school, gave some support to his view, yet others applied themselves diligently to the task of learning Chinese, and benefitted from the experience. It was commented that

those who did hear English spoken at home, like #06, were not as fluent as those who heard Chinese more often with family.

The interviews sought to discover some opinions from those men who had been sent to China by their fathers for language and cultural learning, and some participants spoke of their feelings regarding this experience. #05, #08, #25 and #30 showed different attitudes to being given a Chinese component in their education. As #05 remarked, *“it was about 1955 but I didn't get to learn much at all ... learning Chinese is not like learning English, you got alphabet, this is not an alphabet. Dot and dash is a different word. So very hard. They start very young, I was ten or twelve years old, when I learn it. It's like a poetry, repeat, repeat, repeat. It's too noisy there, I can't concentrate. I lost track of it”*. In his working life in Australia, #05 had no need to use the Chinese language but retained a limited fluency. Nonetheless, #08 found his Chinese experience an asset. *“When I was fifteen years old, I was taken to Hong Kong for eighteen months, where I learnt Cantonese”*. Later, as an adult, this extra learning was helpful in his business, and his involvement in Australian-Chinese community groups.

Another such experience happened to #25, but it was his father's decision. *“My father thought it was good for us to get a Chinese education. So we went back ... we lived there for a while”*. #25 is pleased to have the ability to speak his family language, and #30 has found it helpful to converse with his suppliers of imported goods. Those participants were given a Chinese educational experience as boys and found it a useful ability to have as an adult, particularly in business dealings.

Attitudes to education are portrayed by selected case study examples, #02, #34, #48. The interviews sought to find out what value participants placed on education for themselves and their children. Participants #02 and #48 both continued their education after school, and changed their original choice of vocation. #34 saw school as hard but strove to be the best.

Participant #02 saw the value of education and more study, as he would spend extra money for his children's learning. Nonetheless, he saw learning on the job the best way, and he was undecided as to whether public schools provided better education. #02 lost three years of schooling, because of the Japanese occupation of Malaysia, when he was sent to a village without a school. Later in Kuala Lumpur, he attended a high standard school on a half-day basis but at aged sixteen, he asked to study in Australia. He attended a private college in a country area, and was popular and happy because he was good at sport. He passed his Leaving Certificate, and went to University to study Architecture, then changed to a

Commerce degree. He married, and didn't finish his University course. He secured menial work but it was new to him, and he managed through incidental 'learning on the job' to acquire new skills. He then found a position in his area of expertise, as a draughtsman. He said, *"I love my work, in fact because I enjoy it"*. He changed workplaces several times but remained as a draughtsman to retirement.

For participant #34, school was a testing place. He had an urge to succeed, as coming from a small town, he wanted to prove himself. He was subsequently Dux of the school every year. *"The High school did a lot for me as a Chinese, for my self-esteem"*. He became the School Captain. *"To my knowledge"*, he said, *"there's never been a Chinese School Captain before, and there's never been one since"*.

Another man #48, in speaking of his education remarked, *"Well, actually I was quite ordinary when I was in Hong Kong, after I came to Australia I became quite good. I suppose I put more effort into it, and then I achieved very good results in mathematics and physics"*. He first became an engineer but learning was a particular interest. He had been helping Cantonese listeners to a Special Broadcasting Service for those Australians with multicultural and multilingual interests, and he had written books to support this language programme. *"Well, it was a learning technique really. You were teaching people who weren't proficient in the Australian language or 'slanguage' almost, you know, to understand what these idioms meant? I put it into the form of a short story or an essay or recount my experience, then listeners of different levels of proficiency can appreciate it. Even if you don't understand English you can listen to the story, and find it interesting."* At the time, his fulltime work was in the Public Service but when a position became available at the Broadcasting Service (SBS), he changed jobs.

Australian-Chinese immigrants while they initially strive for financial security for themselves and their families, nevertheless place great value on education for their children. This was obvious from the predominant number of tertiary educated children in the participants' families. For those who were still able in their Chinese language, it was now an asset, but for those whose families chose quick assimilation, their original language was largely lost to themselves and their children. As China's official language was now Mandarin there were participants who wished to keep abreast of the latest developments and attend Mandarin language classes (e.g. #46). This study gives support to the notion that that Chinese parents and/or other migrant parents place a high value on education.



## Occupations – Working Years

The interviews sought to understand ‘the seasons of a man’s life’, and how he had earned his living, since work was central to the male role during the twentieth century. Did they have opportunities for work in Australia independent of familial connections, and was vocational training or on-the-job training offered by their employers? The variety of work undertaken by these forty-three participants diverse, although there were particular business occupations that absorbed a large number of them. Choice of a career or work was motivated by need, and enhanced by education and learning and sometimes governed by family circumstances and opportunities.

**Table 9: OCCUPATION WORKING YEARS**

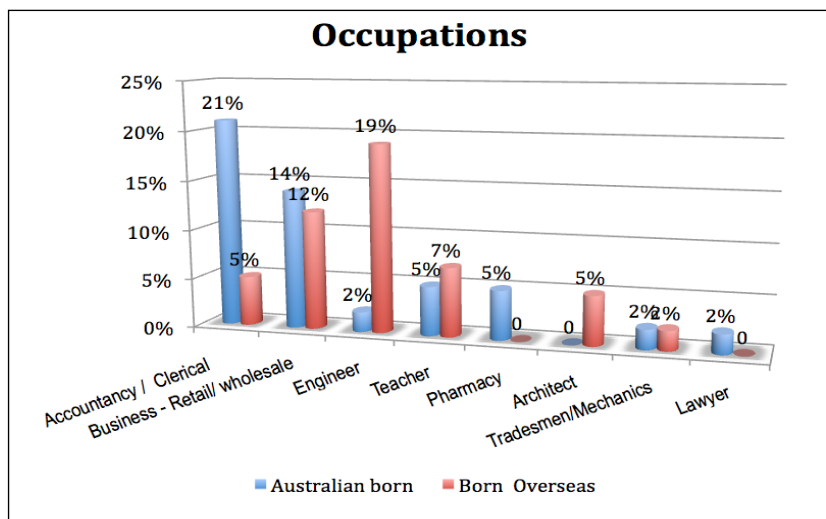
Occupation	Born overseas	%	Australian-born	%
Accountancy / Clerical	2	5%	9	21%
Business - Retail/ Wsale	5	12%	6	14%
Engineer	8	19%	1	2%
Teacher	3	7%	2	5%
Pharmacy	0	-	2	5%
Architect	2	5%	0	-
Tradesmen/Mechanics	1	2%	1	2%
Lawyer	0	-	1	2%
		49%		51%

In this study, the question was not asked of the participants as to what type of work was their father’s occupation, though ‘what does your father do?’ was a common question in Australia in the twentieth century. It was an intrusive question, and was used to categorise a family’s social status as to whether their father was a blue-collar worker or tradesman or a higher status white-collar worker engaged in clerical or office work. The parents of the Australian participants were mostly shopkeepers, and a few fathers had originally been market gardeners. This information was freely given without specific questioning, and it was known that the fathers of the overseas participants had a greater variation in their work, as for example, there was a dentist (#18), plantation owner (#31), Government officer (#42), farmer/merchant (#24), wholesale merchant (#26), and auditor/accountant (#43). However, the participants themselves had largely chosen work that entailed tertiary study, in a range from trade course to University degree.

The occupation chosen by the largest proportion of the men was allied to some form of accountancy, though not all became accountants as a first choice. In one case it was a matter of chance, as #06 recounted, “*the law came out that the Secretary [of a Company] had to be qualified in accountancy. I was sitting with him in the Pub, after work ... so he said, “I’m going*

to Tech". So I said, "I'll join you", and I did the accountancy. The sample's workplaces varied from private businesses to public sectors. Engineering was a favoured professional choice for overseas-born men, with eight who followed this pathway. This proportion was not matched by the Australian-born men, as only one of them chose engineering. Accountancy, and allied clerical work, involved nine of the Australian-born but there was minimal involvement in this area by the overseas-born participants. It was business, either in retail or wholesale areas, that produced a close match with five from the overseas-born and six men from those born in Australia. The figures for those who chose teaching were minimal.

**Chart 7: OCCUPATION WORKING YEARS**



*Accountants and Engineers were the most supported jobs while the distribution among other professions result from individual preferences such as chemist, architect, lawyer and trades.*

The following examples #25, #04 and 06 exemplify how some men came to be in a particular occupation. There were participants who had a determination to follow their own pathway, and not that of their father. One such man (#25) was removed from school to work for his father in his shops and cafes. He accepted 'his fate' for a time but then rebelled, "you can keep it all I'm going! I'm going back to school", and he returned to school to study for his chosen profession. For some time, there was a tense relationship with his father but eventually the situation mellowed. "My father used to come down quite a bit ... because I was only a student, he used to send me money. I must admit he was pretty generous, even though". His father was indeed proud of his son's professional accomplishments. However, #04's experiences were the opposite to the story above. His whole life was spent in the family business, so it was not within his experience to change employment. "I have been able to integrate in both cultures quite comfortably and quite confidently too, because I enjoy being an Australian, I enjoy the living standard here. And ah, it is of benefit also, if you have a touch of other culture to integrate. So each year, ah for the past forty years, I've been doing community work, I've been able to integrate both

*east and west. Each year I commemorate Chinese New Year each year, as well as the western New Year, and it has been advantage to mix that in my business, which I was there for thirty years.”* His remarks showed his pleasure in his workplace, continuing the business his father and he established, and his satisfaction in bridging two cultures.

There were other men who worked for various Government Service Depts, although their remuneration was less than in the commercial market but as #06 said, *“I loved the Public Service! Thought I was doing something worthwhile”*. He was a man who did further study that enabled him to change from a trade to a professional level. These three men (#25, #04 and #06) expressed emotively their feelings about work. All of the other forty participants had a unique portrait and pleasure that they, now largely in retirement, hold of their work, and how it contributed to their self-esteem, to their families and communities. For these men, work played a central part in their lives.

### **Armed Services and Wartime**

Some of the questions in the interview touched upon the effect of wartimes upon the participants and their extended families. The war that was foremost in many minds was the Japanese invasion of China because either they or most certainly were some of their extended family were personally involved. #27 commented, *“during the War years, when we were caught in Australia, we were able to communicate rather sparsely. My mother made every effort to maintain contact, and even occasionally managed to send small amounts of money. We ourselves were struggling to make a living with the number of us. In retrospect I know they worked very hard and they were a very devoted family”*. He further remarked, in answer to a question regarding those family members who were left in China during the periods of war. *“Oh yes, it was difficult to get anyone to comment on their experiences actually under those times when the Japanese occupied that part of China. They were certainly grim times”*. There were other families in Northern Australia, such as those of #33, who were evacuated South by ship. Several families like that of #41 moved inland from the coast, just in case the Japanese invaded the east coast of Australia.

The number of the forty-three participants who served in the Armed Forces for Australia was minimal, totalling 16% or seven Australian-born, and none were from those born overseas. This low number of enlistees may have been due to non-Europeans not being permitted in the Services up to 1948, with the discriminatory clauses amended in 1951.

That seven of the participants did in fact do so, was possibly because they were Australian-born or as #09 stated: *“I have heard of cases where they wouldn't accept Chinese. But in the*

*country because of, I don't know, ah because the recruitment officer was probably not aware of the rules or regulations at the time*". Of the seven men who were in the Australian Armed Forces, three were in the Army, two in the Air Force. Two men were involved in the National Service scheme of which one also joined the CMF (Citizen's Military Forces).

Those participants who were not involved in military duties were occupied with 'War effort' work, as in technical and metal work factories, wharf labouring, food production, and other such protected industries. As expressed by #10, "*when the War started, they turned out making things for the War, and I was classified as in an essential industry and that's how, I think, I was never 'called up'*".

During the War, Australia interned Japanese families but not the Chinese. Several Australian-Chinese families in Darwin were affected by the War, and were evacuated to the south for their safety. As #08 recounted, "*we kept the shop going until 1942 in the first raid, and ah we had to leave Darwin. Just close up, drop it and left everything*". He waited in Sydney until he turned eighteen when he joined the Air Force. From the wartime memories of these participants, it was the Japanese invasion of China that had the greater effect on their families. The interview of #01 presented memories with explicit detail of his involvement with China, and in helping other Chinese in Australia.

### **Class, Religion and Racism**

The word 'class' here pertained as to how each participant felt about his family, firstly his family of choice, and secondly his family of origin, and their standing in the community, whether in Australia or China. It was a subjective judgement based on his own perceptions at that moment influenced by his own feelings and opinions, and linked to his understanding and concepts of class and status. Yes, it was an individual attribution, based on the individual's understanding of class.

**Table 10:PERCEIVED CLASS**

CLASS	Born overseas	%	Australian-Born	%
UPPER	1	2	2	5
<b>UPPER-MIDDLE</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>28</b>
MIDDLE	8	19	7	16
LOWER_MIDDLE	0	0	0	0
LOWER	0	0	1	2
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>21</b>		<b>22</b>	

In Australia, the majority of the participants enjoyed a comfortable living in the range from middle to upper-middle class living. There was only one participant (#10), a nonagenarian now deceased, who considered himself to be of lower class with limited assets and delighted in being cared for by others, in the their comfortable upper-middle class home.

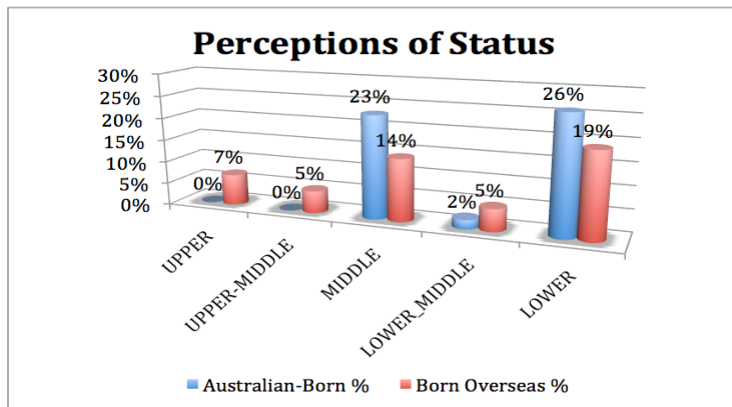
**Table 11:PERCEIVED SOCIAL STATUS**

CLASS	Born overseas	%	Australian-Born	%
UPPER	3	7	0	0
UPPER-MIDDLE	2	5	0	0
MIDDLE	<b>6</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>23</b>
LOWER_MIDDLE	2	5	1	2
LOWER	8	19	11	26
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>21</b>		<b>22</b>	

At the other extreme, the overseas-born (#26) who chose Upper as his and his parent's Class, were merchants who had always lived an affluent life, despite the fact that they lost considerable property and wealth with the change of government in China. The two (#32 & #41) Australian-born Upper class men were both businessmen. One was notable in his local community, and the other equally so without display of his wealth.

It was an unexpected result that the overall ratings from the overseas and the Australian-born respondents were so closely matched. It could indicate that they all understanding of what 'class' means, and are confident as to where they are positioned within the Australian community. They were able to assess their standard of living as against that of the home where they were raised in their family of origin, and draw conclusions.

**Chart 8: PERCEIVED SOCIAL STATUS**



*Their analysis was based on their history, and gave a sense that they knew who they were, and were confident in their standing in the community.*

Certainly, as far as material comforts were concerned, their lives in Australia had provided well for them. They had worked conscientiously and constantly, and made not only provision for themselves but also for the wider family. In a number of cases, the movement of the extended family to Australia had been facilitated, and there was now no necessity to return to connections in China.

### **Religious / Belief Indication**

The widely used term of 'religious indication' was a pointer as to whether the participant took an active role as an adherent of either a western or western religion. One question that was asked in the interview, "if they had a Kitchen God", was an indicator of their convictions in upholding the older western practices.

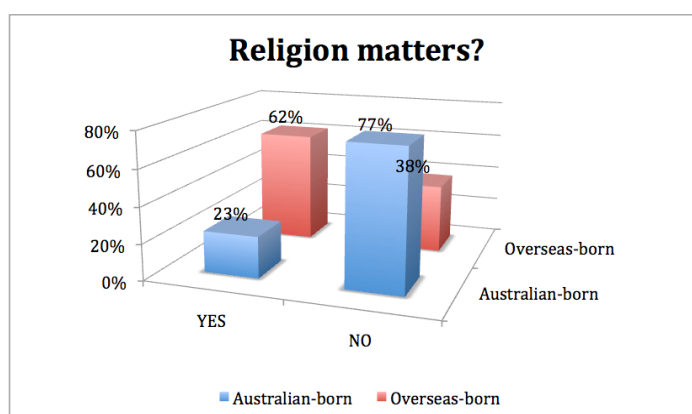
This gauge too was a subjective judgement based on the multifarious understandings of what constitutes religion. In general, Australians assumed that if you attend a church, of whatever denomination, then you have religious leanings. In Sydney there were the earlier established Chinese churches, firstly in Campbell Street, and then later the Crown Street Presbyterian were ones that had a large congregation. The Crown Street church still caters for both English and Chinese speakers, and is exceptionally well-attended. Other Sydney suburban churches, for example in the Strathfield area, also have swelling numbers of Australian-Chinese attending their services. Because of age, some members chose to attend a local church rather than make a possibly long trip into the city proper to their first known church.

**Table 12: RELIGIOUS / BELIEF INDICATION**

RELIGIOUS	YES	%	NO	%
Australian-born	5 / 22	23%	17 / 22	77%
overseas-born	13 / 21	62%	8 / 21	38%

The religious indication of the interviewees numbered five (23%) Australian-born who considered themselves as ‘religious’ and seventeen (77%) who did not. Whereas for born-overseas, thirteen (62%) respondents answered in the affirmative, and eight (38%) answered in the negative.

**Chart 9: VALUE OF RELIGION**



*Participants who were born overseas valued religion higher than the Australian-born men who were doubly disinterested in religion as compared to their overseas brethren.*

Every family had its own personal dynamics, whether it be social or psychological. Earlier, the central family background of all of these men would have been effected or changed by Confucius teachings that are a core structure of Chinese families.

Some factors already mentioned would have some effect on the marked differentiation between the two groups. For example, of those born-overseas, there was a percentage who came as children, and thus had a longer period in which to adjust to the Australian society. Participant #01 arrived at aged thirteen years, and he believed that he could be part of both the Australian and the Chinese cultures. He was an initiator, who created his own business, and provided comfortable living for his family. He did not aspire to richness, and was more concerned with the inner ‘soul’ but not in a fundamental Christian sense. #02 had friends with whom he played sport, and of a consequence, also attended a religious discussion group with them. Whereas, #38 derived much pleasure from his church going, and had held positions of responsibility for many years within his religious community. In this study, an attitude quite common with the men was summarised by #07, “*Although I’m an Anglican, Chinese are quite flexible*”.

#22 was committed to Gay Lesbian groups and noted, “*it’s something I feel strong about, because I grew up with a very strong evangelical, fundamentalist Christian upbringing and background and experience, and I’ve since made a great change from that position. With my awareness of being homosexual, [it] has helped me change that. From being a strong Christian to probably being, well to being a reasonably active gay person, I suppose*”. When he was asked if there had been any censure of him from dedicated Christians, he replied, “*No, No, No, I feel it more myself. I’ve never, never had anyone censure me*”.

There was an old saying, still commonly heard in Australia, “you never talk about religion or politics”. However, the participants didn’t hesitate to express an opinion on their belief system. In their youthful years religion was popular worldwide and numbers of theologians, such as Billy Graham, came from overseas to hold massed gatherings in Australia. Churches in Sydney flourished in the early 1950s, and community centres were established to provide social activities for all ages. Participant #10 noted that on first coming to live in Sydney, he quickly established a network of friends by attending the Campbell Street Chinese Church. He freely admitted that his attendance was not for religious reasons but for friendship.

### **Racism**

The target group having survived several decades in Australia obviously had accommodated or coped with the mainstream cultural attitudes and mores. However, since Chinese have been taunted and subjected to restricted immigration practices, the participants were asked about any experiences they may have had. As elders they were less worried by encounters of the past but some did have strong memories when a racist act had meant they had been forced to react. Experiencing racism was largely a subjective viewpoint. It was interpreted by an individual, and often coloured by memories.

**Table 13: RACISM EXPERIENCED**

<b>RACISM experienced</b>	<b>% Yes</b>	<b>% No</b>
<b><i>Born overseas</i></b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>33%</b>
<b><i>Australian-born</i></b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>30%</b>
<b>Totals</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>63%</b>

*One in three participants reported a happening of racism or discrimination.*

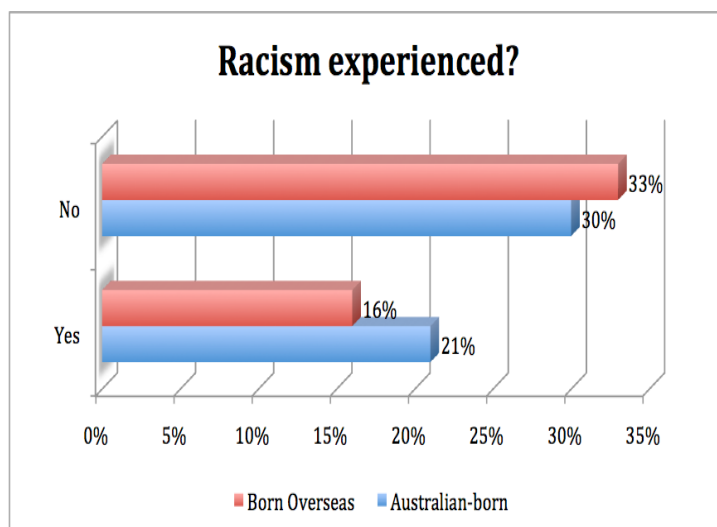
There were seven participants (16%) who were born-overseas and nine (21%) Australian-born. The Australian-born had more racism encounters than their counterparts from overseas. The ‘No’ vote was closely matched between the two sides of the sample.



Among those born overseas there were seven (16%) who gave a ‘Yes’ reply and two men who indicated, “*Yes but No*”. Another one indicated, “*Yes, it was bad*”, and it related to school incidents after his arrival at aged nine years. Although #07 related, when as a twelve year old with his brother and sister, that they were seen as interesting in their Australian school, “*we got tormented in the earlier part, but once we got to know them, there was no problem at all*”.

Other explanations of racist moments were that it was: (i) a school harassment for no known reason (ii) a once-only occurrence at school (iii) “*a little*”, said an adult arrival, but that he dealt with it, and yet another said that it was (iv) a work problem in relation to promotion (this incident was said by the participant to be a cultural difference). Another man explained that he was a confident person, and believed that he could manage such situations.

**Chart 10: RACISM EXPERIENCED**



*Sixteen participants (37%) reported that they had personally experienced racism, including seven of whom were born overseas, versus nine Australian-born. There was very little difference in the rate of reported “racism”.*

One participant #01 remarked, “*I had no prejudice against me. Because I think my boss, was the top man in [that town]. Everybody practically shopped there with him, and he lent money to farmers, and so on. He was such a powerful man, and I were there. So I was well respected there, you know, [he] was so powerful*”. His sponsor was a man of influence and power in the town, so #01, as his protégé, was not harassed. However, later #01 was very much affected by the White Australia policy, and was not permitted to visit China until some twenty-seven years after his arrival. Australia saw him, during the ‘cold-war’ years, as a Communist - a label of unacceptability. He saw discrimination metered out to Chinese seamen who had been stranded in Australia by the War, and felt concerned and compelled

to help them. If he had left Australia before that time before 1962 he would have been refused re-entry.

The nine Australian-born participants also suggested differences such as, *“Yes, very bad”* and *“Yes, lots”* as well as two with *“Yes, but No”*. All the *“No”* answers were straightforward without tags or added remarks. Some reasons given by the Australian-born participants noting that they had experienced racism were like #16 in a work incidence that spurred him on and yet proved a positive, *“and I was put in charge of forty technicians, who were all non-Asian. It was an achievement. Ah. One of the guys there was a bit jealous of me getting the job, he said, ‘... You're not going to have a Chinaman tellin' you what to do!’ . But I got on well and did a good job in the workshop, and that was it”*. Later #16 said that he, *“started my own electronics business. And I used to do pretty good, because the Chinese had the reputation for being honest. I got a lot of work from being Chinese and recommendations from previous customers”*.

Another incident happened to #09. He was searching for accommodation in Sydney on his return from World War II, and in this situation too, found a way to demur the disadvantage. *“As soon as I got off the ship, I went to the camp, I think the next day or day after, you were out on the street”*. He stayed at the Salvation Army hostel ‘The People’s Palace’ in the city, while he looked for somewhere to live. *“Every Wednesday or Saturday I'd get the paper. I'd go to these boarding houses ... I read the ‘Herald by the time I'd had breakfast. You'd have to go to the boarding house by the [public] transport. By the time I'd go, they'd say, ‘– Sorry, it's taken–’. Oh well, I accepted that, as it was ten or eleven o'clock by the time I got there, but this happened quite often. Some were genuine, I believe.*

*One time, I thought this can't be right. One day I got there real early, and I knocked on the door and they say, ‘Sorry, taken‘. So I did a real sneaky thing. When I was going back to the train ... there was a telephone there, so I rang up [laughed] I asked them, ‘–You got a vacancy there?–’ They agreed they had, so I said, ‘–I was only there a few minutes ago!–’ he said. ‘Oh!’ - he was sort of dumbfounded then. [laughed] That was one”*.

#12 in speaking of his primary school days, where he and one other were the only Chinese boys in the local school, he said, *“I suffered some discrimination against me [by] the Anglo-Celts, and even in Primary school I suffered some discrimination ... so what we did was, we suppressed any desire to accentuate our Chinese origins in that school.”* In summing up his dilemma #12 explained, *“Ah, well, firstly, you have two cultures. You have a culture at home, which is the Chinese culture, usually food, language, customs, and when*

*you go out into society, it's the western culture where you're expected to integrate and assimilate, and adopt all those linguistic and sporting and cultural practices that are Anglo-Celtic.*

*“Now, when I was young, you dare not embrace both of these cultures openly, um you had to do it in a secret way, practice the non-Anglo-Celtic culture. There was a lot of peer pressure, so I denied myself learning Chinese, and practising the Chinese culture, or understanding more of it, because I wanted to be accepted in the community and the white peer pressure prevented me from doing so. As I grew up I understood that this was a cultural conflict. Now there are laws against discrimination”.*

Australia is freely termed a multicultural nation, and indeed it is with its multiplicity of immigrants. There is still a division of opinion however, as to whether Australia is a racist country. Certainly Chinese immigrating to country areas during the years of the White Australia policy would have exacerbated their chances of running into remnants of imperialist jingoism, as generally 'taking the mickey' out of anyone new was one of the mateship characteristics of Aussie subgroups. Though a number of the participants experienced discrimination, it was of varying degrees. Of the number who said yes, there were those who shrugged off such encounters as minor intrusions that they did not wish to dwell or expound upon. Nevertheless, there were others who did strike counter-productive instances of a marked degree (#12). They accepted that it happened, and dealt with it in their own particular way. For example, in the work situation, they might note the occasion but walk away. However, in a school playground scene, the taunt might be tackled more forcibly to show that they had the courage to fight back, and not accept inappropriate behaviour. While numbers of others discounted racist experiences, it has been remarked in the Chinese community as regards racism, that if you don't look for it, you don't see it. When #03 was asked if he had difficulty in getting a job, he replied, *“not really, it depends on your attitude a little bit. If you don't spot any difference, not so much in yourself, you know. You realise you're Chinese, but growing up in Darwin with the environment there, you're no different from anybody else, you know. The only thing is you're a different colour that's all, but the attitude in your own self, is nobody any different from you, you know”.* These Australian-Chinese men largely indicated that they chose 'to turn the other cheek', that they were not confrontational in counteracting racist occurrences directed to them. They were willing to accept the situation, and not themselves transgress the established standard of behaviour.

## **Family of Choice**

As mentioned earlier, there was a considerable interconnection of ABC families due to historical reasons. It was considered best that Chinese men marry a Chinese woman in preference to a wife of occidental lineage. In comparison to the number of men in Sydney during the 1920s, the number of Chinese women was minimal, especially those who had been born in Australia, as was the mother of #06. Fortunately, some Australian-Chinese rural families were large, and this facilitated intermarriage across New South Wales. These men were aware that during their father's generation, there were wives who were domiciled in China, and were only allowed a limited time as visitors to Australia. However, post-World War II, when restrictions were eased there were numbers of Australian-Chinese families reunited. Nonetheless, there were some harrowing tales, which resulted in quite a dilemma, as with #30. His mother was only permitted to visit Australia for a limited time. So he, as a young boy, returned to China with his mother to help her with a more recent baby. In China, he and his younger brother, with their mother in the home village, endured traumatic times during the war years that ravaged China. His older brother had stayed with his father in Australia, though the older brother had been born in China, and the two younger boys were Australian-born. Of a consequence the Chinese son who remained in Australia had the benefit of a good education, and so achieved professional status. Our participant, the middle son, had a minimal education in China, and on his return to Australia after the World War II found that his father had died in the interim. Work was hard to find so he moved to Sydney, and eventually secured his own shop. He prospered and was alert to his community's needs, and changed the type of goods he sold. Though his education was minimal, he was very successful as a business man. He extended his business activities further, and in retirement has continued with some of his enterprises. He may have missed a formal education but all his family including his Chinese wife are tertiary educated. Overall, the wives of the majority of the participants were of Chinese extraction, and only two men married women of Anglo-Celtic heritage.

Only two men married women of Anglo-Celtic origin (#19), and for one of them (#39) it was his second marriage. There were a number of wives listed as overseas-born Chinese but no specific birthplace was given.

**Table 14: FAMILY OF CHOICE**

<b>Marriage Partner</b>	<b>overseas-born</b>	<b>Australian-Born</b>
<b>MARRIED</b>	20	20
<u>Other inclusive Facts</u>		
Married Late	1	3
Divorced	3	2
Re-married	2	1
<b>BACHELORS</b>	1	2

The details of the participant's married state were firstly, that there were approximately 7% who were bachelors, and of these, there was one overseas-born and two Australian-born men. One of these wished it known that he was of 'gay' inclination, and had been with his Anglo-Celtic partner for many years. Thirteen Australian-born men and nine overseas-born men married Australian-born Chinese women. These men were successful survivors of Australia's assimilation strategy, and the social movements that did not encourage mixed race marriages.

There were men who found Chinese women to marry who had Malaysian, Hong Kong and/or New Guinea roots. Three overseas-born men and one Australian-born man married Malaysian-born Chinese women. Two overseas-born and one Australian-born men married New Guinea-born Chinese women. One overseas-born and two Australian-born men married Hong Kong-born Chinese women. The number who were divorced and /or subsequently remarried was not noteworthy.

The results of their marriage choices overall was quite detailed. It showed that twenty-two men (51%), that was roughly half of the men, married Australian-born Chinese women. Nine (21%) of these men were overseas-born and thirteen (30%) were Australian-born. That only two men married Anglo-Celtic women was surprising considering the length of time that the men had spent in Anglo-Australian communities. However, these are men of the twentieth century whose marriages would have been largely concentrated in the 1940s to 1960s eras. It was still askance at that time for an Anglo-Australian woman to marry an Asian man. In fact, from the point of view of each of their families, both Asian and Anglo-Celtic, it was not considered a suitable bonding. There are Anglo-Australians who are still bedevilled by the images thrust upon their families in the late nineteenth century portraying the influx of Chinese men as intruders who had come to take Australian gold, and despoil its white women.

Though it was rarely stated openly, there was still an expectation in Australian-Chinese families that a son would marry, preferably to someone of Chinese lineage, and produce Chinese children to further the family line and name. Only two of the forty-three men chose a spouse of Anglo-Celtic heritage, and three remained unmarried. In conversation with the researcher, one of the unmarried men (#10) stated that “*Chinese women want a house but Australian women accept you for who you are*”. He never married.

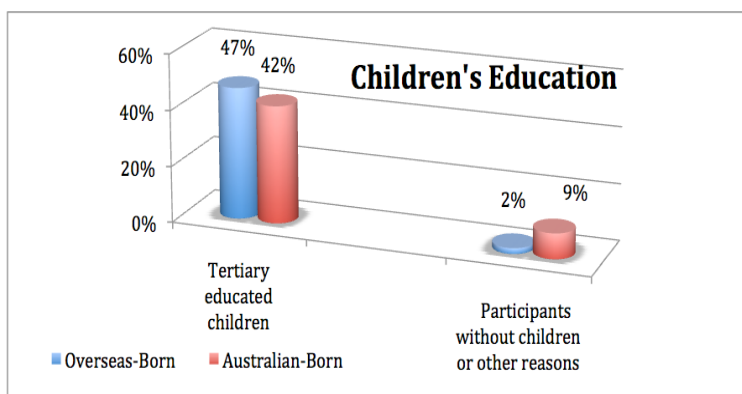
The average number of children per family was three. There were four families who had five children; eight who had four children; twenty who had three children; five who had two children; two who had one child, and four who were childless. Of those without children three were bachelors (#10, #22, #25), one childless couple (#09), and one with adopted children who had severe learning difficulties (#39). Two families adopted and/or fostered children (#27 & #39).

**Table 15: FAMILY OF CHOICE – children education**

	overseas-born	%	Australian-Born	%
Tertiary-educated children	20	47%	18	42%
without child or other	1	2%	4	9%

Large families amongst Australian-Chinese are no longer usual. This sample group, after deducting the three bachelors and one childless couple, represented thirty-nine families, and averaged three children per household.

**Chart 11: EDUCATION OF CHILDREN**



*The education of these children was of prime importance, and all the children were educated to tertiary level, except for three with developmental and learning problems (from #16, #39 [adopted]).*

### Retirement Interests

As stated earlier, some participants have continued to keep their business interests active. While others are consultants in their area of expertise, mark exam papers, make toys, enjoy electronics and reading. Apart from the expected extra time with family and friends other interests include sport such as tennis, soccer and golf, card games (bridge),

ESL tutoring, studying religion and beliefs, history and Chinese culture, languages (Mandarin), cooking, old-time and new vogue dancing, choir & drama, writing books and outdoor pursuits (horse riding, fishing, gardening), and woodwork.

In their retirement, there has been increased contact with Chinese community and heritage associations, and it has given these participants time to travel, follow recreational interests, pursue extra studies, and most importantly reunite with friends of their earlier years. They, like other Australian retirees, are researching their family histories, and expanding their knowledge of their heritage. The sample follows a similar range of retirement interests as any other group of Australians of this age group. Some have pursued their cultural interests by studying more Chinese language and/or literature, visiting China and often their family villages, or by joining or attending more events with Chinese cultural groups and clan associations.

### **Summary**

What did the participants, who came earlier, want from or in Australia? They needed basic work so that they could send money back home to China to help their families. They also saw that they had the opportunity and ability to assist others of their countrymen in need in Australia, and often this was done through their clan groups. In their lives here they needed safety, health and happiness for themselves, friends and understanding, and the opportunity to learn new ways of living. They felt it was vital to ensure they felt safe, wanted, and part of a community. World War II changed attitudes and opportunities for some of these young men. They, as Australian-Chinese, no longer saw themselves as 'second-class citizens' working long hours in cafes and market gardens. Those who returned from war service, and others, were given the opportunities to study, and so entered professions. At that time, the Government and Public Service departments provided for those who had acquired extra skills.

In review, when those from China, and other overseas came to Australia they were largely lacking in culture-general knowledge or skills. The exception was those few who came as adults from Malaysia. There were those who had little or no competency in the English language and/or ways of doing things in an Anglicized country. They were not given much time to make an adjustment to their new home situation as their options were limited, they had to help their extended family back in China. Some came as children, and as to the issue of their mother adjusting to a new country, they managed. For that generation, regulations forced some Chinese mothers to return to

China. A particular exception was #46, who came as a married man with established qualifications. He stated, “*I came because of the children, my children. I thought of Australia as a good place for them to have their education, and it’s a more equal society*”. Second, to the need of those who were intent on helping their Chinese families and villages with money, was indeed education. It too was a pivotal factor in the choice to come to Australia.

The interview, as part of this study, unearthed the participant’s encoded and stored memories. Some of these acquired pathways that connected their experiences and ideas had been retained, while others were discarded. One man (#08) had decided what he wished to say and said it, finishing with, “*That’s it. Thank you very much.*” However, he was willing to expound further, and at length, when prompted by questions. Each participant’s interview was unique and provided a valuable historical resource for study, and to their families and community. The minutiae of their lives and experiences highlighted minor differences rather than similarities. The information gathered was separated into the two segments of overseas-born and Australian-born as the division was fairly balanced at twenty-one vs twenty-two, and might indicate any marked differences. The tables in the results give greater detail for contrast and comparison.

So what were some of the factors that aided adaptation and change in the participant in his absorption into the new culture?

- age of the newcomers
- time of arrival historically
- linguistic capacity of the participant
- linguistic profile of the parents, and of the extended family
- commitment to responsibilities to family and well-being
- determination to gain a sustainable niche as quickly as possible
- networks through family, village, work and friendships
- friends - whether Euro-Australian / Chinese/ or other nationalities
- positive outlook with the ability to maintain a project
- education – practical type / place / performance/ study incentive to gain Euro-Australian qualifications
- will to adapt

Listed above are contributing influences that facilitate change and acceptance of a new culture. There would be others as each person’s psychological disposition is unique.

#12 was one of the younger men, and he and his son had markedly experienced racism. Nonetheless, in answer to a final question, ‘*what does it mean to be Chinese in Australia now?*’ He summarized the situation, from his perspective, “*Ah, well, firstly,*”

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*you have two cultures. You have a culture at home, which is the Chinese culture, usually food, language, customs, and when you go out into society, it's the western culture where, you're expected to integrate and assimilate, and adopt all those linguistic and sporting and cultural practices, that are predominantly Anglo-Celtic".* He suppressed his Chinese ways and recognized that he was experiencing cultural conflict. He has noted the change in the Australian community with greater opportunities now for Australian-Chinese to retain their original cultural practices. He complimented the Chinese community groups for their encouragement of their people to develop themselves in a society that is basically Anglo-Celtic. Overall, the interview supplied extensive detail of each participant's life, personal viewpoints, and their distinct and independent existence within two diametrically different communities.

### **Findings from the CCAI**

The use of the commercially available and widely used Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory was chosen for this study because of its focus on the psychological qualities involved in successful cross-cultural adaptability and its well tested content validity. It had been employed in a wide range of ways varying from its original intended usage. Its use in this study was pushing the limits of the inventory. There was no concern in this instance as to whether an employee could adapt to a posting in a foreign country, rather the purpose of its use, in this context, was to retrospectively ascertain clues as to how the forty-three participants successfully crossed from an Asian to a European culture. Also older persons were not the intended audience or takers of such a test, but its use may shed light on what qualities were shared by these bicultural men, since they had all adapted to Australian culture while having a base in their Chinese background.

The CCAI produced quantitative data suitable to assess alongside the qualitative information from the interview, and the findings of the questionnaire. The triangulation of the combined data was expected to inform as to the patterns of learning and how identities successfully adapted across cultures. The inventory was self-administered in their own space and time, then posted in the supplied envelope to the researcher, and this process raised no concerns with the men.

The CCAI used four quadrants dealing with the qualities of

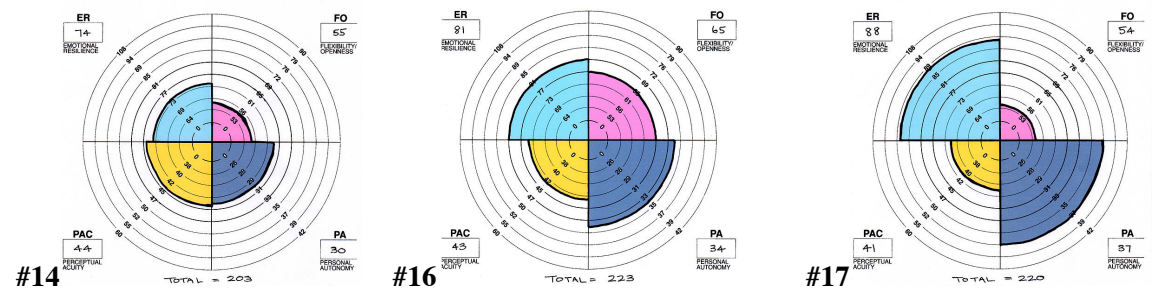
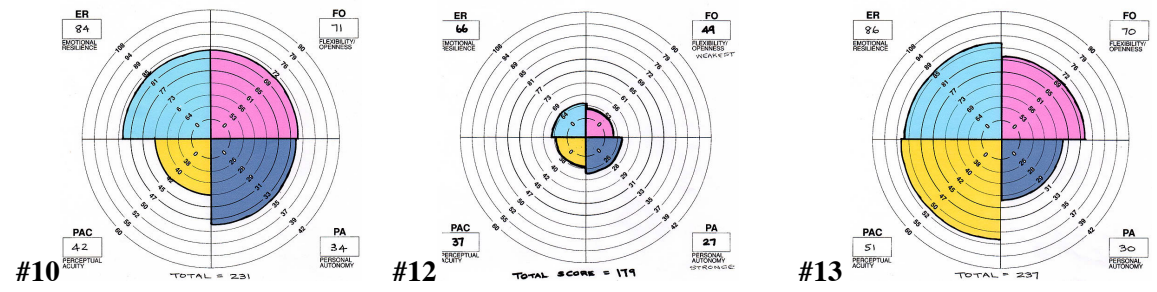
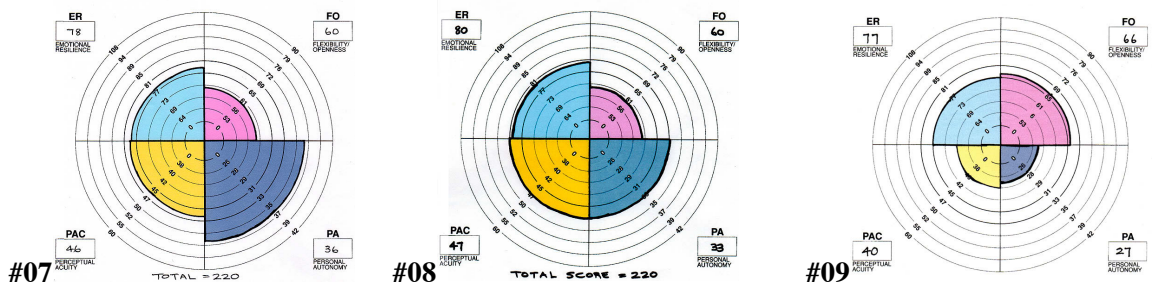
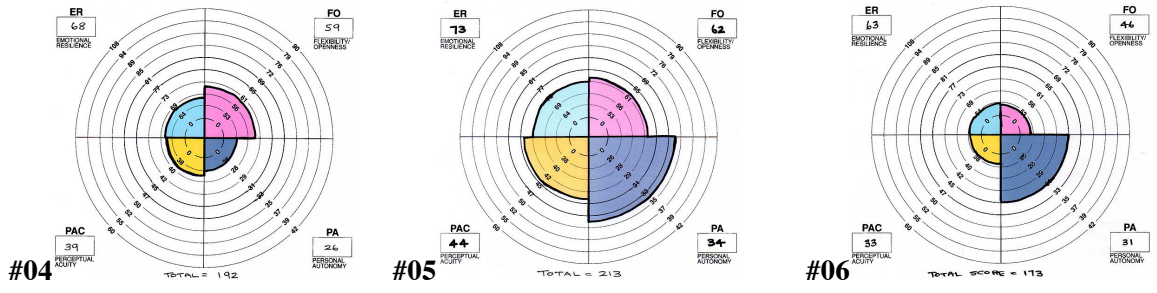
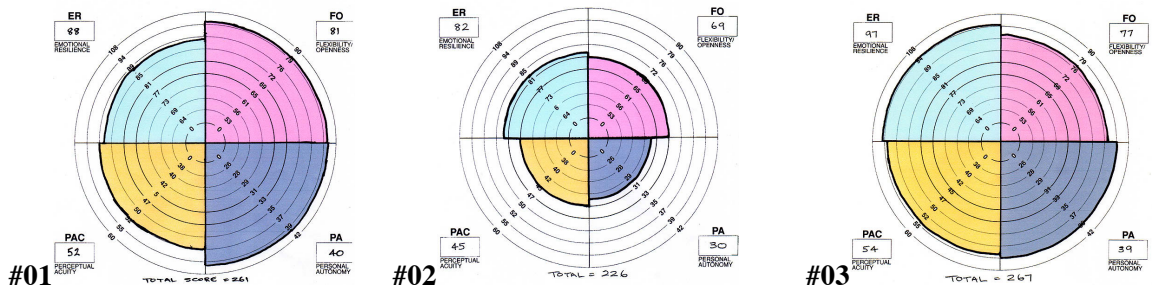
- Emotional Resilience (ER),
- Flexibility / Openness (FO),
- Perceptual Acuity (PAC) and
- Personal Autonomy (PA).

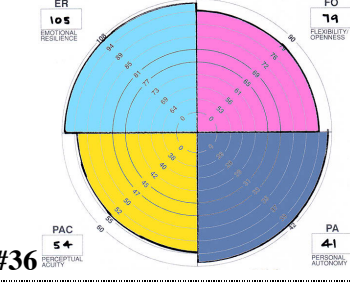
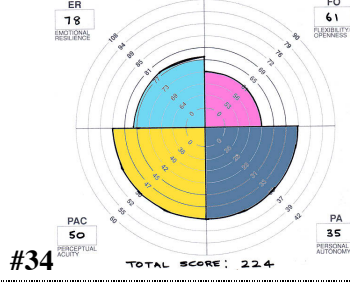
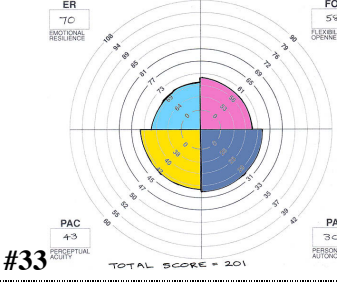
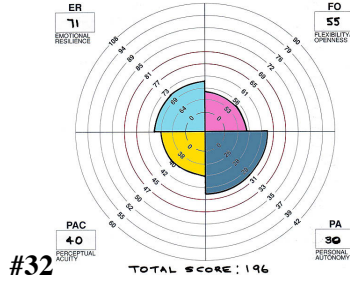
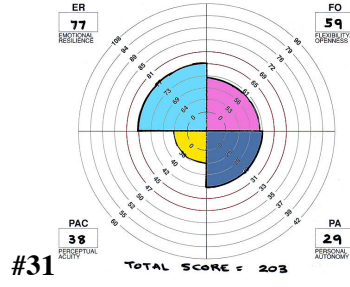
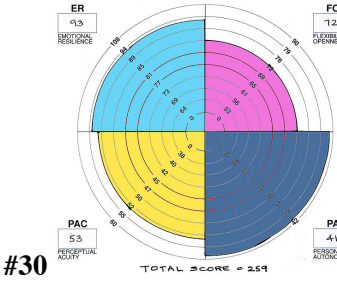
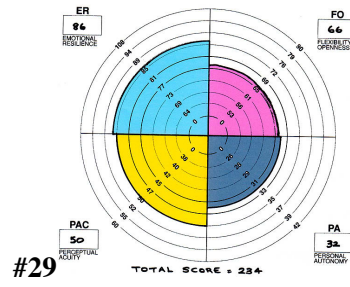
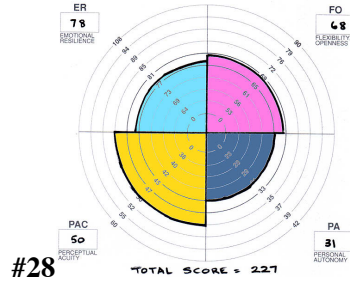
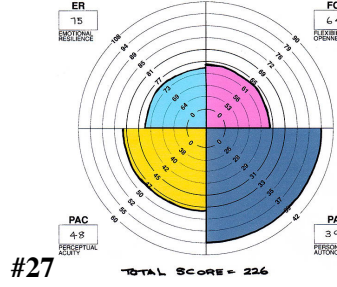
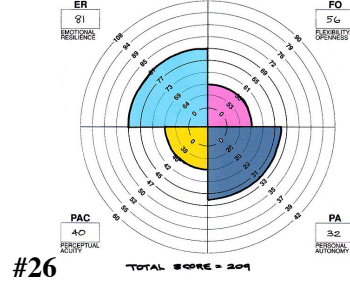
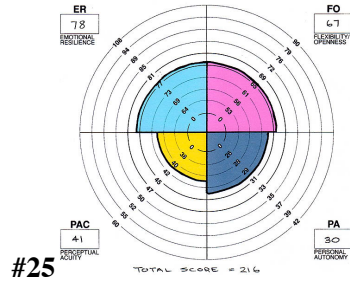
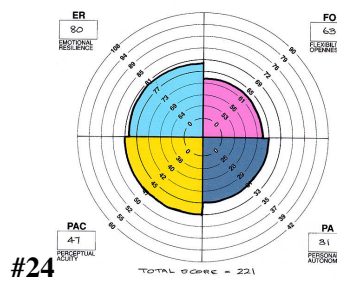
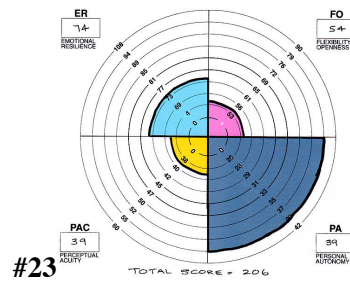
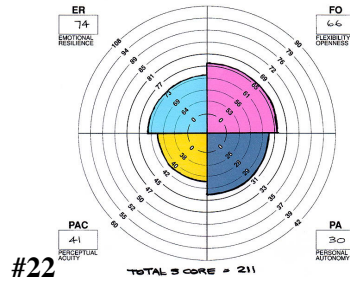
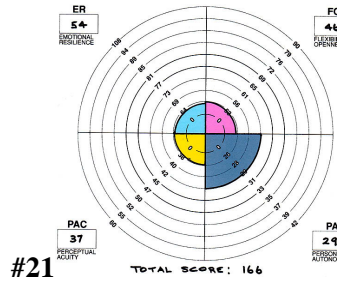
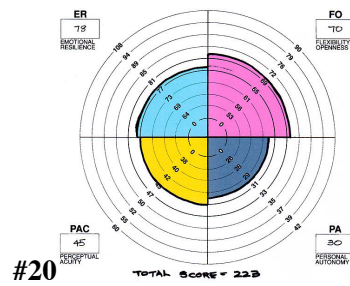
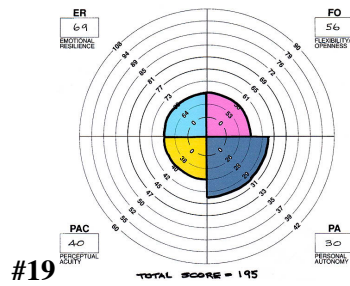
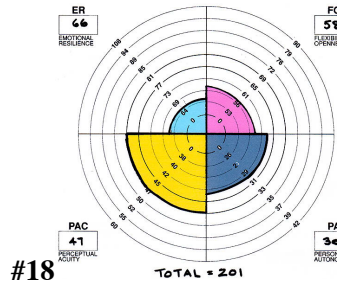
ER signified a person's capabilities in bouncing back from setbacks and misunderstandings that might be encountered in a new culture where unknown situations might arise. Emotionally resilient people are confident, think positively, are able to deal with any faux pas they may make, and thoroughly enjoy new experiences. Similarly, those endowed with flexibility/openness or FO personalities have positive attitudes towards difference, and a desire to learn more about other cultures.

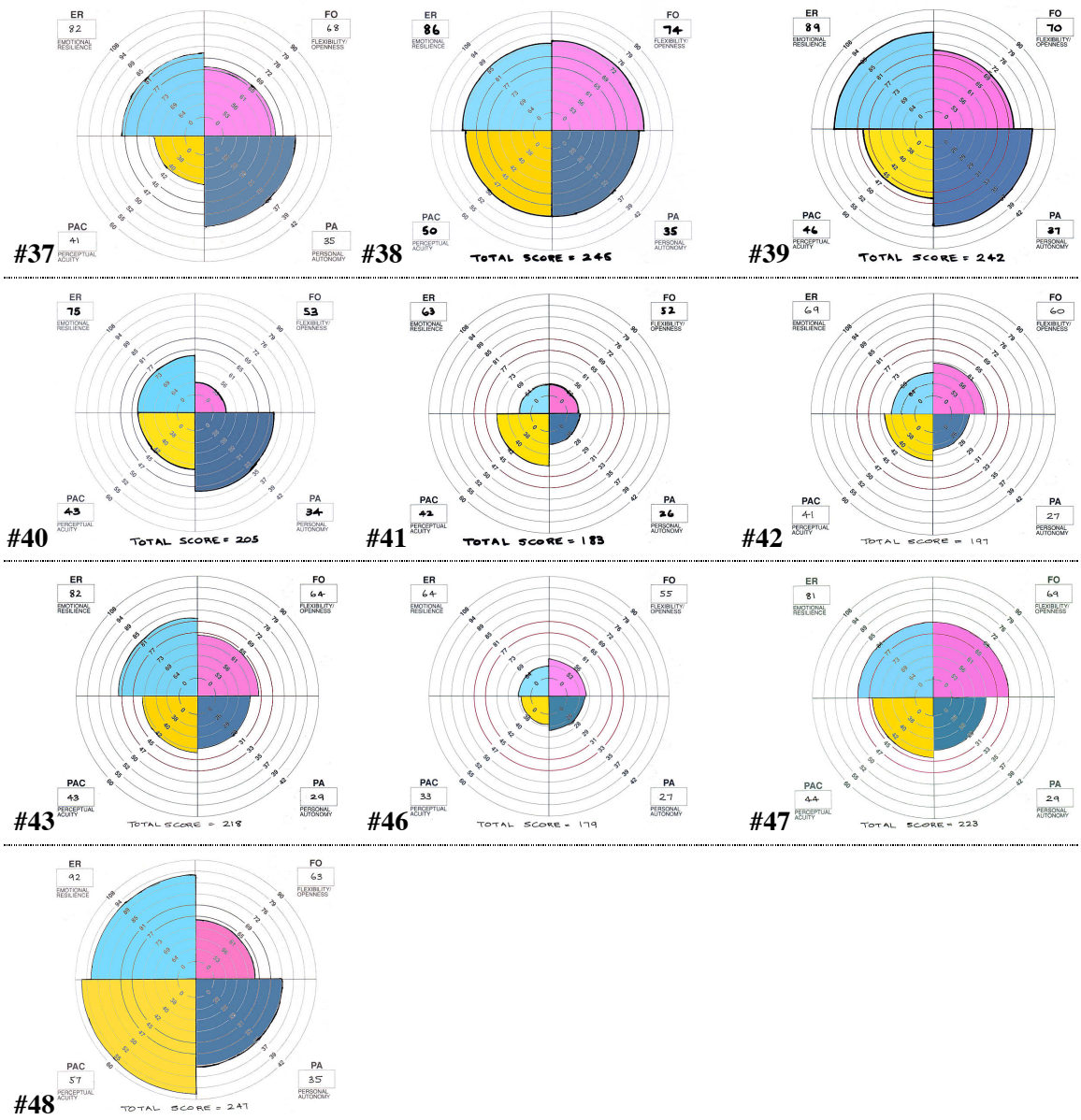
However, the perceptual acuity or PAC scale drew attention to the necessity to take note of verbal and nonverbal cues in communicating with others of cultures different from one's own. Also, there was a need to be sensitive, aware, and empathetic in communicating with others of difference, so that no misleading message was conveyed.

Finally, the personal autonomy or PA items in the scale provided an assessment that showed those persons who were 'context dependent' and those others who were strongly aware of their 'sense of self', and were confident decision makers. These readings of the participant's answers to the CCAI questions were not a comparative exercise, as the findings were only applicable within the CCAI parameters.

## Chart 12: INDIVIDUAL CCAI PROFILES







While the CCAI manual stated that the most reliable indicator of cross-cultural adaptability was the total score, in the original usage of the CCAI as a training instrument, this factor was not given precedence. Whereas, in this study the total score had considerable value, as it had been established that when the total score is of a high rating then it indicated that the person involved had the skills and ability to function and achieve desired results with others of differing cultural backgrounds. This capacity included a confidence and understanding of self, steadiness of character, and the skills to convey and exchange information across cultures. This reciprocal action would be strengthened if the knowledge and skills of those interacting included some expertise in languages and/or theoretical or practical understanding of the other culture.

The participants understood that the CCAI questions were related to cross-cultural adaptability, and were quite happy to respond. Feedback was given to each participant

a short time after their completion of the CCAI. Each man received a copy of his CCAI chart, which was a visual representation of his answers, and showed his adaptability strengths and weaknesses. He was told that it was more important to look at each quarter segment of his profile chart, in relation to his other three quarters, in order to examine his personal strengths and weaknesses. He was assured that the CCAI was not a test where results were to be compared and contrasted with those of other people but it was a learning tool, and an opportunity for him to reflect on his own adaptive qualities, his strengths, and other areas of his personality that would benefit from extra attention. One question for him to ask was ‘if the findings fitted with his opinion of himself’ A number of the participants phoned the researcher to respond to the results of their CCAI and made such remarks that they were happy with their scores, that the results equated with their own opinion of themselves, though one stated that he didn’t think that his results were good. Indeed, his total score and his ER rating were the second lowest of the sample. His FO and the PAC were the lowest of all, but his PA was in the middle range, and was his highest rating. This indicated that he was not paying sufficient attention to the behaviour cues from others, though his PA pointed to an inward self-assurance. His work performance was very good, and he rose to a managerial position that gave him great pleasure. The feedback was not threatening as they were in retirement, and it focused their reflection on themselves, which was consistent with the inventory’s purpose. Statistical analysis with reference to the CCAI procedures was conducted to establish the mean and standard deviations for the sample.

**Table 16: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR CCAI RESULTS**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Dev
Total CCAI Score	43	166	279	217.14	24.711
Emotional Resilience	43	54	105	78.02	9.905
Flexibility/Openness	43	46	81	62.56	8.328
Perceptual Acuity	43	33	57	44.21	5.574
Personal Autonomy	43	26	41	32.35	4.191

The average CCAI score for all forty-three participants was 217.14, with a standard deviation of 24.71. So anyone who scored more than 241.85 (mean + standard deviation) or less than 192.43 (mean – standard deviation) was outside the “normal” statistical range in his instance.

**Table 17: STATISTICAL CORRELATIONS ACROSS QUADRANTS**

		Tot.CCAI Score	Emotional Resilience	Flexibility/ Openness	Perceptual Acuity	Personal Autonomy
Total CCAI Score	Pearson Co-Rel.	1	(**).951	(**).892	(**).857	(**).736
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.000
Emotional Re-Sil	Pearson Co-Rel.	(**).951	1	(**).792	(**).742	(**).682
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000	.000
Flexibility /Open	Pearson Co-Rel.	(**).892	(**).792	1	(**).695	(**).477
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.000	.001
Perceptual Acuity	Pearson Co-Rel.	(**).857	(**).742	(**).695	1	(**).587
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000		.000
Personal autonomy	Pearson Co-Rel.	(**).736	(**).682	(**).477	(**).587	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.001	.000	

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

High correlations between factors might suggest that the two tests were measuring the same thing. i.e. ER has a high correlation ( $r = 0.79$ ) with FO – so participants that have high (low) ER tend also to have high (low) FO. There were 16/43 participants whose ER and FO scores were closely matched, and of these nine were Australian-born and seven were born overseas indicated that birth place was not necessarily a determinant. The ER was something each individual had to deal with himself when he encountered difference in others. He needed to foster positiveness to counteract any negativisms or diminishing confidence in his own abilities. The FO dealt more definitely with difference, and the need for being open, flexible, positive and non-judgmental.

As an example, #47 came to Australia as an infant then later as a businessman went to Singapore to work. His original Cantonese language, that he needed to converse with his non-English speaking mother, changed to English for his education, and subsequent workplaces. In Singapore, he had the opportunity to improve his Cantonese ability even though all business was conducted in English. Twice he had changed cultures, and when asked what it meant to be Chinese in Australia, he replied, *“I think that it is good to be Chinese, because of the cultural differences that exist between the western and the Chinese side. For me both sides are okay but they are both different. For me, I think, the Chinese side has a lot going for it. Um. I don’t think it has been a plus or a minus. I think, ah, for me the acceptance into jobs and such is based on your own personality, and your own knowledge and expertise for when people wanted ya. It didn’t matter whether you were Chinese or English, in my situation”*. The results of the CCAI for #47 showed a matching score for his ER and FO. As mentioned, the ER questions asked the participants to give their opinions about their own inner strengths and weaknesses. The FO questions enlarged on this, asking the participants for their reactions to others,

particularly those who are different.

The rating of #47 indicated that he reacted positively and flexibly with others of difference. The cause of this may have been his home situation, where daily he spoke English with his father, siblings and customers to their shop, and at the same time needed to speak Cantonese with his mother, who was unable to adapt to the new culture. #47 showed an ability to manage situations at home and abroad with equanimity.

Interesting too were the CCAI results that indicated some low correlations. This was when high (low) Personal Autonomy tended to have low (high) Flexibility/Openness ( $r = 0.477$ ). There were eight men whose PA and FO scores fitted this criteria, and ten other men whose scores were very close to a match. One such participant, #36, whose total score for the CCAI was the highest, but whose FO was lower than his PA, told of his schooldays. *“Bigger kids would pick on me, and bash me up for a while, then after a while, I’d notice that they’d back off. I really didn’t know why, they’d just ease off”*. This puzzled him for some years until he realized, *“They always scratched me on the outside, they never harmed me on the inside. I always had an inner strength”*. Later, he showed his inner strength in another way, watching a football match. *“I didn’t play sport”*, he said, *“they used to play rugby league, and I could never figure it out. Why do you play this game, when you get bruised and battered, and all this sort of stuff?”*

Nonetheless, he was determined to show the bullies that he was not a weakling, and so decided that he would play football just once, and would tackle one of the big guys. This he did, he had set his goals, and proved his point, his strong sense of self, his Personal Autonomy was in place.

Another participant (#27) had strong recall of a *“series of abrupt changes”* that were part of his early life in China. However, his schooling in Sydney led him to a career in engineering that developed into full-time tertiary teaching. This fostered his writing on engineering design to the present day. He knew his own strengths, loved working in his area of expertise, and sharing it with others. His ‘culture shock’ came when mature-aged he visited China, and realized, *“this is odd, this is strange, I don’t fit into this”*. He recognized difference, and was surprised that his original culture and language were no longer dominant in his life. His CCAI chart revealed that his ER and FO were very close to a match at a below average level, but that his strength lay in his high Personal Autonomy. Indeed, #27 gave the impression that he knew himself well.



**Table 18: TOTAL CCAI SCORE CORRELATED TO CLANS**

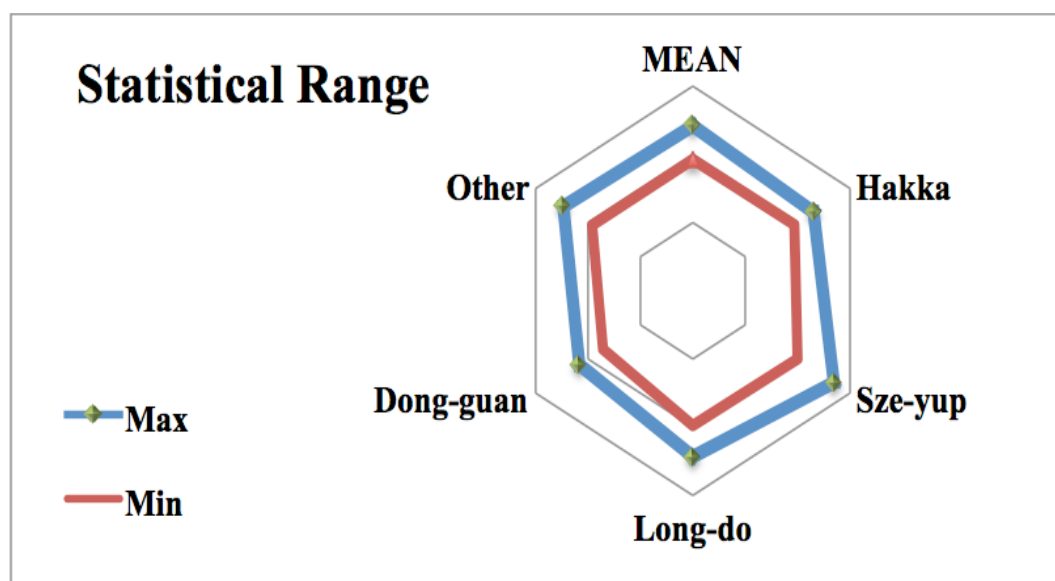
Ancestry			CCAI Score
Hakka ... n=9	Mean		212.11
	Std. Dev.		18.367
Sze-yup ... n=2	Mean		234.50
	Std. Dev.		34.648
Long-do ... n=11	Mean		220.36
	Std. Dev.		22.883
Dong-guan ... n=3	Mean		194.00
	Std. Dev.		22.605
Other ... n=18	Mean		219.61
	Std. Dev.		27.470
Total	Mean		217.14
	Std. Dev.		24.711

*Participant's CCAI total score was correlated to the 'variables' of ancestral clan, educational level, language/s fluency, work/career, period of arrival in Australia, and racial and religious indicators in the following tables number 18 to 24.*

Comparison of the ranges between the groups showed overlap or were the same in a statistical sense. Generally the CCAI total scores are all the same in a statistical sense – so place of birth was not associated with significantly different total CCAI scores.

Comparison of the ranges showed overlap or were the same in a statistical sense, this can be seen in Chart 13, where the maximum and minimum ranges have been expressed as lines, the space between them demonstrating the degree of overlap. Thus, there were no significant results when correlating ancestral clans and CCAI results.

**Chart 13: STATISTICAL OVERLAP OF CLAN RANGES**



**Table 19: CCAI CORRELATED TO EDUCATION LEVELS**

Education		CCAI Score
Primary/Elementary	Mean	234.33
	N	3
	Std. Dev.	23.180
Secondary/High School	Mean	224.86
	N	7
	Std. Dev.	36.389
Technical/Vocation-TAFE	Mean	211.33
	N	12
	Std. Dev.	17.385
Undergraduate-Tertiary	Mean	220.33
	N	12
	Std. Dev.	24.751
Postgraduate-Tertiary	Mean	208.89
	N	9
	Std. Dev.	22.696
Total	Mean	217.14
	N	43
	Std. Dev.	24.711

*The correlation of educational levels attained (Table 19), as gathered in interviews, and the CCAI total scores showed no statistical significance. All levels showed overlap, for example the range for Secondary 260 -188 or Postgraduate 231-187 showed no useful difference.*

**Table 20: TOTAL CCAI SCORE CORRELATED TO LANGUAGE**

Language/s fluency	CCAI Score	
English	Mean	204.20
	N	5
	Std. Dev.	25.917
English +Cantonese	Mean	221.27
	N	22
	Std. Dev.	27.019
English +Mandarin	Mean	216.50
	N	14
	Std. Dev.	21.749
English +Dialect	Mean	216.00
	N	1
	Std. Dev.	.
English +Cantonese +Dialect	Mean	201.00
	N	1
	Std. Dev.	.
Total	Mean	217.14
	N	43
	Std. Dev.	24.711

*The correlation of language/s fluency (Table 20), as gathered in interviews, and the CCAI total scores showed no statistical significance.*

**Table 21: TOTAL CCAI SCORE CORRELATED TO WORK**

Work		CCAI Score
Accountant	Mean	218.67
	N	6
	Std. Dev.	9.953
Engineer/Architect	Mean	221.64
	N	11
	Std. Dev.	19.480
Business	Mean	219.94
	N	16
	Std. Dev.	30.167
Public Service	Mean	198.71
	N	7
	Std. Dev.	18.527
Other	Mean	225.67
	N	3
	Std. Dev.	36.679
Total	Mean	217.14
	N	43
	Std. Dev.	24.711

*The correlation of careers chosen (Table 21), as gathered in interviews and the CCAI total scores showed no statistical significance.*

**Table 22: TOTAL CCAI SCORE CORRELATED TO ARRIVAL**

Arrival in Australia		CCAI Score
1925 - 1950	Mean	219.91
	N	11
	Std. Dev.	20.344
	Median	220.00
1951-1970	Mean	215.44
	N	9
	Std. Dev.	23.554
	Median	220.00
1971 - 1981	Mean	179.00
	N	1
	Std. Dev.	.
	Median	179.00
Born in Australia	Mean	218.18
	N	22
	Std. Dev.	27.151
	Median	216.50
Total	Mean	217.14
	N	43
	Std. Dev.	24.711
	Median	220.00

*The correlation of times of arrival (Table 22), gathered in the interviews and the CCAI total scores showed no statistical significance.*

**Table 23: TOTAL CCAI SCORE CORRELATED TO RELIGION**

Religious		CCAI Score
Western	Mean	215.40
	N	10
	Std. Dev.	29.258
	Median	206.00
western	Mean	226.63
	N	8
	Std. Dev.	16.978
	Median	226.00
None	Mean	214.80
	N	25
	Std. Dev.	25.032
	Median	220.00
Total	Mean	217.14
	N	43
	Std. Dev.	24.711
	Median	220.00

*The correlation of religious affiliations (Table 23), expressed in interviews and the CCAI total scores showed no statistical significance.*

**Table 24: TOTAL CCAI CORRELATED TO DISCRIMINATION**

Discrimination		CCAI Score
Yes	Mean	220.38
	N	16
	Std. Dev.	28.317
	Median	223.00
No	Mean	215.22
	N	27
	Std. Dev.	22.662
	Median	218.00
Total	Mean	217.14
	N	43
	Std. Dev.	24.711
	Median	220.00

*The correlation of discriminatory experiences gathered in interviews (Table 24), and the CCAI total scores showed no statistical significance.*

In interpreting these results, the scores are often similar with big standard deviations, so it is relatively easy to see the ranges are unlikely to be significantly different.

This means that there was a high degree of variability in the CCAI within each group. The subsequent analysis of the total CCAI scores and the variables showed that they did not readily correlate, and statistically the differences were insignificant.

Further analysis of the results, with reference to the CCAI manual produced the mean or average with stanine scores. As suggested by the name, stanine scores represented Standard Scores with a range of 1-9, with the mean or average score of 5. They provided a clearer and unambiguous viewpoint that was general, and without the detail given by the percentile reading. The bulk of the participants fell within the middle range, of having a total score between 192 and 242. The *mean* for this group of aged 50+ years was 217, (72%) for the thirty-one men who fitted this middle range.

The methodology of this study has been to take the quantitative analysis of the CCAI, and compare it to the qualitative data gained in the interview. So those participants closest to the group's average were analysed for a 'portrait' of some of their life experiences pertinent to those qualities, which would show cross-cultural adaptability. It should be remembered that these brief portrayals have been given not to provide another stereotype, or to measure up to some such mythic image of the 'typical' Chinese immigrant and/or an Australian-born Chinese, but rather to show the value of the qualitative data, and the truth and individuality of each man's adaptive experiences.

**Table 25: CCAI CLOSEST TO MEAN OF 217.14 & AGE 50+ (n=6)**

Code	ER	FO	PAC	PA	TOTAL	Stanine
<b>Level 4</b>	<b>74-77</b>	<b>62-65</b>	<b>43-45</b>	<b>30-31</b>	<b>212-220</b>	<b>4</b>
#05	73	62	44	34	213	4
#25	78	67	41	30	216	4
<b>MEAN</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>217</b>	<b>4</b>
#43	82	64	43	29	218	4
#07	78	60	46	36	220	4
#08	80	60	47	33	220	4
#17	88	54	41	37	220	4

Two participants were closest to the average results for the group, as participant #43 and #25 had a total score of 218 and 216 respectively, and were adjacent to the *mean* of CCAI scores. It could be suggested that the stories of #43 and #25 exhibit two portraits of 'average' participants, as aspects of their stories were reflected in the stories of others. The rating of #43 was just above the mean. He was born overseas, the Number One son of an accountant. He was sent to Australia alone, aged twenty-three years, to study accountancy. He had a good understanding of English but needed some adjustment to the Australian voice inflexions and teaching styles. #43 did experience a

mild culture shock as on arrival he was without assistance in a hostel with Anglo men and Australian meals, with no nightly rice meal, as served by his Amah at home. He made friends with other Chinese students, then shared accommodation with them, but when he had to cook his own meals, he realised then the value of the service he had received at the hostel. He well knew the value of education, and that on completion of his studies, he would be ensured a good job. When faced with controversial circumstances, he said, “*Well, I think sometimes speaking, you make it worse. It’s best is not to speak any, and let it go. If you fight another person, you know, you can’t get anywhere. We Chinese call [it] ‘rennai’ - ‘patience’. You’ve got to have patience to do anything. If you don’t have patience and you get the temper up, it’s worse.* His value system was a considerable help to #43, “*Yeah, I always have patience you know, unless I can’t do any more. I might blow up!*” [laughs]. He married an ABC, and happily settled in Australia, and his parents have also moved here. #43 says, “*he has made his own decisions, no trouble adapting*”. His ER rating, his highest score, was a little above the average, and he has stated about the way that he has adopted to deal with difficult situations. He was tolerant, and has rationalised that holding back, and patience would defuse a problem. He practised this method and found it successful during his working years. His next highest score was actually below average, it was his FO, which indicated that his confidence in this area needed strengthening, #43 was not a risk-taker.

The other participant with a total score just below the *mean* was #25. He was the fourth son of the first wife, and at age seven his father brought him with his brothers to Australia. As the rules of the time did not permit his attendance at a Public school, he was taught English by the Sisters of Mercy, some of whom were Asian themselves, and had helped other participants of this study. He was then bilingual, and returned to China, until the Japanese war precipitated a return to Australia. Later, his father decreed that he leave school, and help in the family businesses. There was a wide family network of businesses, established by these ‘sojourners’, which stretched through Queensland, New South Wales to Victoria in the south. #25 said that he was working seven nights and seven days each week doing all the back-up jobs, and he felt that it was too much work. He described how he exploded one day and told his father that he, in his mid-twenties, was going back to school. This he did, and though their relationship was tense, #25 still adhered to the Chinese way, and deferred daily to his father. He knew his Chinese values and he considered them a plus. The family all had a strong work ethic and value system, where truthfulness was stressed.

His parents and extended family remained in Australia and became 'settlers', and #25, on completion of his university degree, discovered that his father was delighted. #25 joined a Company in the 1960s, and remained with them until retirement. His story showed how fidelity to parents was an issue for some Chinese men but also how he dealt with such a challenge in his own way, and that the autocratic nature of many Asian parents, now in Australia, has changed over their lifetime. The matching Emotional Resilience and Flexibility/Openness ratings for #25 were at an average level, but he dealt with a stressful situation in a constructive manner. In his younger days, his friends were Chinese but now he has many Anglo-Celtic friends whom he meets with regularly, and is very much part of the Australian community. These two stories provide a cultural sample, they are not stereotypes.

There were three other men whose score was close to the *mean* of 217, as each had a rating of 220 (#07, #08, and #17). So more broadly than in the portraits of those who were average in adaptability, their mini-portraits showed that they too had successfully merged into their Australian communities.

One such was participant #17, who was born in Northern China. He was not involved in clan activities, as were many of those from Southern China, however he played a leadership role in his Australian community activities. Education was extremely important to his family who, like himself, had tertiary qualifications. He was particularly competent in Asian languages as well as English. He came to Australia as a twenty-five year old to do further study but met his wife who was an ABC, and so the family bridged the two cultures. He exuded confidence in himself, and the ability to tackle new tasks but his very low Flexibility/Openness and low Personal Acuity ratings strongly implied both low objectivity and flexibility but these characteristics were not obvious in his interview. This was a puzzle, as those with a higher education generally have a high PAC and a low PA (CCAI manual p.28), whereas #17 had a high PA and a low PAC. There was no apparent reason for this.

Another participant #08 was born in the Northern Territory of Australia, and attended school in Darwin until at about fifteen years old, he was sent to Hong Kong to learn Cantonese, even though he was proficient in his family dialect. On his return, he waited in Sydney until he was eighteen years old so as to join the Royal Australian Air Force. The Services provided training in electronics, a skill that he later updated, and it provided work for him in civilian life. #08 is affable, has taken positions of

responsibility within his clan group, and the older Australian-Chinese community. He has strong ideas of his own. His lower rating in Flexibility/Openness showed some lack of confidence in new situations, though outwardly this was not apparent.

As an example, further analysis was made of #08 to determine why his ratings did not match his public persona. His Emotional Resilience (ER) was within the mean of this largest segment of the CCAI. He said, *“when you’re educated you like new experiences, new ideas. I read up the latest ideas, I read up the latest on electronics and the latest on everything, and try to keep up-to-date”*. An emotional resilient person is a positive constructive thinker, and #08 agreed that it was true that *“I feel confident in my ability to cope with life, no matter where I am”* and *“I can laugh at myself when I make cultural faux pas”*. He knew his imperfections, and has the ability to bounce back. In fact, he tended to answer positively to most questions, even to some of those reverse-scored. This on the surface presented a quandary, nevertheless it can be explained by #08’s deeply held beliefs as he declared, *“What do I value most? Oh, my parents what they taught me”*. He was strongly imbued with Buddhist teachings, from both his parents and his closest aunt, and when faced with contentious situations, he took a ‘softly softly’ approach and was not argumentative. His FO score was below the median. This group of questions was the second largest number of the total of the CCAI questions. #08 said it was true that he could live a fulfilling life in another culture as he enjoyed relating to and being with all kinds of people. Nevertheless, his work ethic was very strong and was part of his inner strength, as he said, *“I worked hard, it wasn’t easy but I didn’t mind working hard. When I was in my own electronics, I used to work seven days, and get up early, ‘course I never saw much of the kids”*. When reverse-scored questions, his answers were all ‘tends to be true’. At no time were #08’s answers negative, rather just a slight drawing back. His low FO score was somewhat surprising, as recently he joined a Clan Club, where the members were largely from Indonesia, and used their own dialect. This meant he had a gap in his language ability. He had experienced a similar incident during a China trip when he found his Mandarin language was only at a basic level. The highest scores of #08 were both his Perceptual Acuity (PAC) and his Personal Autonomy (PA) and both scores were on the high edge of the median. Throughout his life he lived in both the Chinese and Australian communities simultaneously, and was aware of both the verbal and non-verbal cues. He was firm in his belief, basic to his Chinese background, of the importance of respect for parents and family. He attended his clan ‘cemetery days’, such as at Ching Ming when



homage was paid to the graves of parents, grandparents and other deceased family members. He frequented his local RSL (Returned Servicemen) Club, where Anglo-Australian members formed the largest group. His life was a balanced intermingling of the two cultures. This further exploration of the life of #08 did not find any explanation as to why his FO (Flexibility/Openness) score was low, and markedly different from the other three quadrants whose levels were matched.

Seven Australian-Chinese men had established CCAI total scores close to the *mean*. The profiles gave a clear visual picture of the relationship between the quadrants. It was of interest to note that three participants (#07, #08, #17), who each had a total score of 220, had quadrants that rated FO as their lowest and PA as their highest. There were no obvious links, such as time and place of birth, and these such matters were dealt with earlier. What these factors did show was that individuals' stories were more varied than the factors measured by the inventory. Below, Table 26 indicated the range of the highest participants' scores above a total score of 242. It was important to discuss the range of results, particularly those that were statistically significant. At the extremes were the high scores above 242 and the lower ratings of below 192. The Stanine figures highlighted those at the top and bottom ends of the range.

**Table 26: RANGE OF HIGHEST PARTICIPANT SCORES (n=7)**

<b>Code</b>	<b>ER</b>	<b>FO</b>	<b>PAC</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>Stanine</b>
<b>Level 9</b>	<b>95-108</b>	<b>80-90</b>	<b>56-60</b>	<b>40-42</b>	<b>261-300</b>	<b>9</b>
#36	105	79	54	41	279	9
#03	97	77	54	39	267	9
#01	88	81	52	40	261	9
<b>Level 8</b>	<b>90-94</b>	<b>77-79</b>	<b>53-55</b>	<b>38-39</b>	<b>251-260</b>	<b>8</b>
#30	93	72	53	41	259	8
<b>Level 7</b>	<b>86-89</b>	<b>73-76</b>	<b>51-52</b>	<b>36-37</b>	<b>241-250</b>	<b>7</b>
#48	92	63	57	35	247	7
#38	86	74	50	35	245	7
#39	89	70	46	37	242	7

In the CCAI scoring, seven participants (#36, #03, #01, #30, #48, #38, #39) achieved an above 242 total level, and each had an interesting profile. The highest scoring individual (#36) with a 279 total had a percentile of 99%+ and a stanine of 9. He was the Number One son in an Australian-Chinese family of seven children, and though he was not a keen

student, he followed his father's wishes to go to University. He did not train as a doctor as was the usual suggestion, but graduated as a pharmacist. In so doing, #36 raised his status from working class to professional but this does not show his adaptability nor why he has a high CCAI score. It may have been his father's desire that his son achieve an improved status in the community but #36 never wished to own his own business preferring to work for others. He felt that he had reached a stage of inner peace but nevertheless he was still probing for answers. As an active thinker, still 'looking for the truth', he had the belief that it was necessary to take total responsibility for oneself, and choose your own outcomes. He was constantly questioning and searching for answers, which was the only indicator as to why his CCAI total score was the highest of the forty-three participants.

The second participant (#03) with a high score of 267 had a 95+ percentile and a stanine of 9. His parents were both Australian-born, and had thirteen children, though not all reached adulthood. #03 grew up in the Northern Territory, and attended the local public school where Caucasians were a minority group. Wartime difficulties caused the family to evacuate to the south, and during this time #03 attended High School. Though his parent's own education was minimal, they encouraged #03 to continue with his but family circumstances precluded this. After two years he left High School to help his father in the family shop, until they were able to return to the North. They were all very family oriented, entrepreneurial and willing workers, and believed it was important 'to give it a go'. As a result, #03 had a number of job changes, and his flexibility and movement back and forth from the North to the South of Australia most certainly aided his adaptability. He had a way of rationalising his thoughts, and said, "*I think if you grew up in Australia, especially Asian family, ... I think you adapt to things. I think [it's] the training area, I think when you're younger, you got an easy life. The family, the parents are passive, whatever you call it, quiet type of people. So the children kind of grow up that way in a sense*". When asked if he raised his own children in a similar way, he said that he had thought back on his own life, how he was reared, made some improvements, and yes he agreed that he had followed a similar pattern of upbringing with his own children.

The third participant (#01) had a total of 261 with a 95%+ percentile and a stanine of 9. In all he had received twelve years of schooling, seven of which were in China. In Australia, he was placed in the private system, for as he said, "*no Chinese child sponsored for five years can take a place in a public school*", and his yearly assessments were sent to the Department of Interior. He faced many difficulties at the end of his sponsorship including

possible deportation, but other Australian-Chinese helped him to overcome this difficulty. He changed to factory work, where he learnt about Australian Trade Unionism. He joined the Chinese Youth League, which then led to his working with the Chinese Seamen's Union as an organizer/interpreter and welfare officer. It was here that he learnt an assortment of Chinese dialects, and as he remarked, "*That was continuing my education – my social education*". In his work, he said, "*I have contact with the Seamen, that was the real education. I learn of their plight, their conditions, their exploitation by ship owners*" but when he tried to alleviate their stress, he was seen as a Leftist, and could not leave Australia and then return. It took twenty-seven years, until 1962 when he was granted permission to do so. For him to return for a visit to his home village was a special moment in his life. He then returned to Australia, continued his own business, and has been actively involved in Australian-Chinese community associations and affairs. His CCAI rating was very high in the FO and PA segments which matched, while his ER and PAC, though a band lower, almost matched. His high FO assisted #01 in his work with the distressed Chinese seamen, it gave him the opportunity to help others but it was also an indelible and vital learning experience for him. His high PA sustained him as he made decisions on behalf of the stranded seamen, and encountered opposition from the authorities. This work was also supported by his positive attitude (ER) and confidence in his own ability to alleviate the suffering of the men who needed help (PAC).

The fourth high total score of 259 with a 90%+ percentile and a stanine of 8 belonged to an Australian-born man (#30), whose education was limited to primary school. This was largely due to the fact that he spent fifteen years from a very young age, with his mother and baby brother, in China during a very difficult wartime period. Nonetheless, on his return to Australia, he needed to work and establish himself, so chose to work in factories as it paid overtime. He saved, became a shopkeeper, and at aged thirty was managing his own hardware store, and later wholesaling other goods. Post-war his mother was allowed residency in Australia but the hurt of her exclusion was still there. His children were all tertiary educated and held positions of responsibility in their areas of expertise. He adhered to what he labeled as Chinese ways, in that his wife does not work but cared for the home and family. He was pleased to have a son as the first child, and considered it would be nice if his children married a Chinese but he was not overly concerned about this. None of his children are able to speak any Chinese dialects. Though in interview, #30 baldly stated, "*No, I had no education at all!*", his CCAI ratings showed an overall high result. His Personal Autonomy was very high, and was followed by a high Emotional Resilience and

Perceptual Acuity. His lowest score was his FO but it was still above average. His lifetime of moving forward, without a formal education, with limited resources both practical and human are a tribute to his personal system of values and beliefs, his positive attitude, his sensitivity to others, and his openness and acceptance of difference. He presented in his interview as an unassuming and a compassionate man.

The fifth participant (#48) was one of the younger men, aged at 65 years. His CCAI overall rating was 247 with an 86%+ percentile and a stanine of 7. He came to Australia when sixteen years old for study purposes but found it lonely without family. However, there were many other students in a similar situation, and they melded into a support group, and achieved their individual occupational degrees. He considered his Chineseness an asset, in terms of possessing the culture and the background but had found difficulty in gaining recognition and promotion in the workplace. He made his own decisions, was an energetic, creative and productive person, who had linguistic abilities, and had authored several books. He was philosophical and said, *“There’s a motto that says: ‘In adversity Patience, in prosperity Caution’. So when things are really going well, I try to be not too happy about them and when things go really bad, I try not to be too upset. I think that’s a very Chinese philosophy”*. Apart from a high performance with his studies, he has held executive positions within a number of Sydney’s Chinese voluntary associations, and was awarded the Medal of the Order of Australia (OAM) for outstanding service to the community. His CCAI above average scores were recorded for his PAC and an above average for his ER, with an average PA, and below average FO. This indicated that #48 is good communicator, which he is, as shown by his work on radio and in print. In his life he has taken the initiative, and developed his ideas into practical outcomes. However, his below average FO does not quite fit his image as perceived by others.

The sixth participant (#38) had a total score of 245 with an 86%+ percentile and a stanine of 7. He arrived in Australia as a Chinese speaking four year old, the Number One son of ABC parents. Although he was western educated, he still understands the household Chinese language but can’t read or write Chinese. He said, *“I enjoyed learning. It was a great opportunity. It was a great adventure, finding out about how the rest of the world got on, how little you knew and how much there was to know!”* He was inclined to mathematics, did further studies, and in his work as an engineer rose to a top senior position, remaining with the one employer throughout his career. So when asked if being Chinese was a plus or a minus, he replied, *“I think we just go on. People accepted you, you*

*were a bit different, but you know, we accept you*". He believed that Chinese philosophy is better than western philosophy, whereas scientifically the western philosophy wins hands down. He said of his parents and grandparents, *"they were realists, whatever was necessary, they'd conform with it. What wasn't necessary, they didn't bother"*. #38 is an avid churchgoer, proud of the number of University trained members within his own and close-knit extended family. He held the belief that he has had a fortunate and even life. His CCAI profile attested to the evenness of his profile. All four quadrants were at much the same above-average level. The FO followed by the ER were at a marginal higher rating. So he related well with other people, had an even temperament, and has played a prominent role in his Church and cultural activities.

The seventh and final top ranking was #39 with a 242 total, an 86%+ percentile and a stanine of 7. His ABC parents were older and unschooled themselves, and unable to help him with his education. He was the Number One son of the second wife. He had difficulties at school, some of which were racist, so he moved from a country public school to a city private school. Later, he found it hard to get work and felt that racism was part of the problem. He married, and they adopted two mentally handicapped children, whose care meant large medical expenses that strained the household resources. However, it was later as a taxi-cab driver, he made an income sufficient to repay the debts accumulated during this first marriage. He has since remarried to an Anglo-Celtic friend of his family. When it was suggested that he do a Valuation course, he did and topped the class. He was offered a teaching position, which he accepted. In his retirement, he marks papers for a Technical College, likes to keep occupied, and so is involved with various community Associations. He overcame several difficult situations in his lifetime, and found solutions but considered that being Chinese in his younger days was definitely a minus situation. His strongest CCAI ratings were in ER and PA, both of which were above average, with his FO just over the average score. It was his PAC that was a midway average, his lowest rating. The strong scoring on his ER and PA would have helped #39 deal with the racist events he experienced, and his above average FO would have been supportive. His work as a taxi-driver would have helped him accommodate to the idiosyncrasies of others but his PAC level showed that his empathy with others was low.

Summarizing the facts about these men, four were Australian-born and three came as children, aged at four, twelve and sixteen years. Only three were a Number One son, and they were tertiary graduates plus one other man. The remaining three men, of the total of

seven, had a Primary school level of education. It was important to note that three men whose formal education ranked high in their CCAI total scores, had a formal education that did not extend into a High school level. Some phrases that could be applied overall to these seven men are that they enjoyed learning, problem-solving, were creative, productive and very involved in their work.

The participants in the lowest range of below 192, numbered five (#41, #12, #46, #06, #21) and all were of a Level 1 with a stanine of 1.

**Table 27: RANGE OF LOWEST PARTICIPANTS SCORES (n=5)**

Code	ER	FO	PAC	PA	TOTAL	Stanine
<b>Level 1</b>	<b>0-64</b>	<b>0-53</b>	<b>0-38</b>	<b>0-26</b>	<b>0-191</b>	<b>1</b>
#41	63	52	42	26	183	1
#12	66	49	37	27	179	1
#46	64	55	33	27	179	1
#06	63	46	33	31	173	1
#21	54	46	37	29	166	1

The first of this lower rating group had a total score of 183. An ABC, he was born in Sydney as the fifth child in a family of eight. His schooling was a happy time, and he obtained a scholarship for his University studies. Later, as a young chemist he enjoyed a working holiday travelling the world but found that his Chineseness worked against him, as he was expected to know the language at which he was not proficient. As a businessman in Australia he succeeded, and now says the benefits are that ‘choice’ is a luxury... He said, “*I could go out and buy a Mercedes [car] but I don’t want a Mercedes*”. He noted, “*If you can choose, if you want to go on a train or get a taxi, or buy a BMW [car] I think if you have that choice OR can have that choice, I think that’s a luxury*”. Now, still in his sixties and retired from his business undertakings, he is involved in various Australian-Chinese associations, particularly his clan society that is now over one-hundred and fifty-seven years old. He is most interested in finding out more about his heritage, and has been to China twenty-one times since 1984. He has a happy family, and is married to one of his own clan, with English as the main language of the household. His CCAI four quadrants were all in a very low rating with his PAC higher than the other three. He was competent in his communication across cultures (PAC) but his low results in the other three areas of ER, FO and PA cannot be explained. As #41 has the type of behaviour and demeanour that are outwardly Australian but happy to be Chinese, because, as he says, he can speak two

languages, and can pick the best of both worlds. Daily, he crosses cultures, back and forth, without hindrances.

With a total score of 179, #12 another Sydney-born participant experienced racism throughout his public school education, and left school at the Intermediate Certificate level. His parents were ABCs who followed western ways, and #12 as a child inhibited his Chineseness to avoid discrimination. His wife was a graduate, and both their children were tertiary educated. The children were sent to Private schools but the son was involved in a number of damaging racist incidents, and to some degree his wife also met discrimination in her work area. During his working years #12 studied for a degree, and in retirement did a course to enable him to teach English in China. Similar to many other ABCs, No 12 has retained some of his family dialect and Cantonese, and his wife speaks both Cantonese and Mandarin. #12 said that he was not academic minded, he just mastered the job at hand, and was interested in social welfare, and liked to encourage others. His CCAI was very low in each of the quadrants, with his PA only marginally ahead. He presented in interview as a strong personality, keen on continued learning, especially on reclaiming his Chinese culture.

The third man, #46, also had a total score of 179. Malaysian-born, he had come to Australia for the education of his children, he was already fully qualified and experienced as an engineer. He had considerable work experience in several countries, and had not encountered problems adjusting to different cultures. He said, *“when I was in the UK, I learn more about the democracy and things like that, a better way of life, and what you call, a real ‘free country’*. His transition to Australia was a smooth one, he had a supportive wife, had a happy temperament, and made friends easily. #46 presently studies Mandarin, and is thoroughly enjoying it. He also does Chi Gong and Tai Chi, and has become actively involved in the affairs of his clan in Sydney. His CCAI profile exhibited a range of low scores overall with his FO and PA just slightly ahead of the very low ER and PAC ratings. #46 arrived in Australia as a mature person with many attributes, and there was no sign that his CCAI rating might be low as he had all the appearances of a most adaptable man.

The fourth low scoring was by an ABC, #06 whose total was 173. It appeared that he fitted into the ‘Aussie’ culture without difficulty. He was yet another participant born in Sydney, who left school at aged fifteen years and proceeded to after-work studies at the local Technical College. He completed his training as an electrician but then returned later to train as an accountant. His work in the Public Service for over seventeen years was very

stable, and gave him great satisfaction. He was comfortable in both his workplaces, took on quite a breadth of responsibilities, and had no difficulty getting promotion in the both companies. He did not experience racial discrimination in any of his workplaces. He said, *"I make quick decisions and hold to them"*. He has no recall of any Chinese language, and in retirement has wished that he was able to speak one or other of his family dialects in order to converse with overseas cousins and Chinese friends. #06 had experienced both a decidedly Australian home-life and workplace too. His only language was English, and he believed that he was throughly Australian. His CCAI scores were very low in ER, FO and PAC but close to average for his PA. His PA was no doubt a reason for his successful work as a manager, and reflected his feeling that he was happiest in the Australian culture, although he remarked that he felt at home in China too, and enjoyed many Chinese practices.

The final low rating of 166 was the result for #21. He was able to speak both English and Cantonese as he had been born in Hong Kong. He stated that he was not a scholar but was educated to Intermediate standard. He had come to Australia at aged eighteen to continue accountancy studies but had done no further study in Australia. #21 answered questions succinctly, and with little or no embellishment, he did not reminisce. He had sponsored his parents, who had sponsored his sisters, so that now all the family were in Australia. He was not judgmental, and allowed his children their own choices. He considered his life even, without drama and had not experienced epiphanies. #21 was not linked into the Chinese networks but made his own business opportunities. His clan was unknown to him, a quite common occurrence with Hong Kong men. #21 did not linger on the past, so no family history was available. He had visited Hong Kong many years ago but now there were no reasons to return. He considered that he had adapted to Australian ways so that he would be a stranger in Hong Kong. His wife was Anglo-Celtic, and their home had an Australian ambience. His wife and children only spoke English. Work had been his dominant interest, and without outside help, he owned two restaurants. His recreation was largely visiting family and friends. In his CCAI profile, #21 scored the lowest overall, with personal autonomy as his strongest rating. His profile was almost a match to that of #06, except that his PA was a band lower. The PA focused on a person's inner feelings and their value systems, and points to poor adaptation. Yet he presented as a confident decision maker, who considered that his life was very Australian oriented. He felt that he had adapted well to western ways, and that his birthplace was no longer his home.



These five men, who had the lower CCAI total scores did not present as low adaptors but rather that they had adapted well to their lives in the Australian community. Three were ABCs, and two came as mature persons from overseas. Four of them had tertiary training, and the fifth was a competent businessman. They were not lacking in educational ability, and each had business acumen, and were personable seemingly well-adapted individuals.

The statistics from the CCAI questions provided data individually applicable to each of the forty-three participants in this study. There was no generalisation of the figures but the normative and statistically significant results were analysed for the group. The profiles of men relevant to particular groupings of results were supplied to see if there were any common factors. For example as to vocation, a pharmacist was the first of the higher scorers, and a pharmacist was the first of the lower scorers. There were none of any particular strength or central tendency to account for difference or link to the CCAI results. The results and analysis of the CCAI, of the ratings of the four quadrants, and the total scores showed some minor similarities and correlations of no significance.

The antecedents of these men were all Chinese, mostly working-class standard but they had come from different locales, at different periods of the Chinese diasporas, and for differing reasons. The variance within and between groups, as detailed above with the sorting of the levels, and the subsequent mini-portraits of the men involved did not reveal any particularly strong links overall. The most significant point of difference was the overall division determined by their place of birth, either Australian or overseas, this was the context that effected changes to their identities and learning.

There were no comparable study found, that utilized the CCAI, with a similar size sample, age of participants, and bicultural status. This study used the CCAI outside its original intended application, as have several other studies (see Ch. 2). These results may be of interest to designers of future inventories related to cross-cultural adaptation.

As the quantitative instrument in this study, CCAI in juxtaposition with the interview, the information from the questionnaire and to balance triangulation revealed interesting findings, related to each participant, but produced results that were difficult to equate with other factors known about these individuals. The findings overall did not indicate that place of birth, ancestral clan, educational level, language/s fluency, career or religion were of significance in relation to their CCAI scores. The results displayed on the individual profile of the participant's four quadrants did not always equate with their expectations or those of

the researcher but they did indicate aspects of each man's inner self, that would not have been collected so readily, as for example in numerous interviews conducted by Levinson's team. It gave quantifiable data with which to compare and contrast with their interview and questionnaire replies, all of which enabled a fuller portrait of each man. The CCAI did not provide a match with other data to confirm the cross-cultural adaptability of the participants but it did provide an avenue to the respondents to collect data about and by themselves away from other influences.

### **Findings from the Questionnaire**

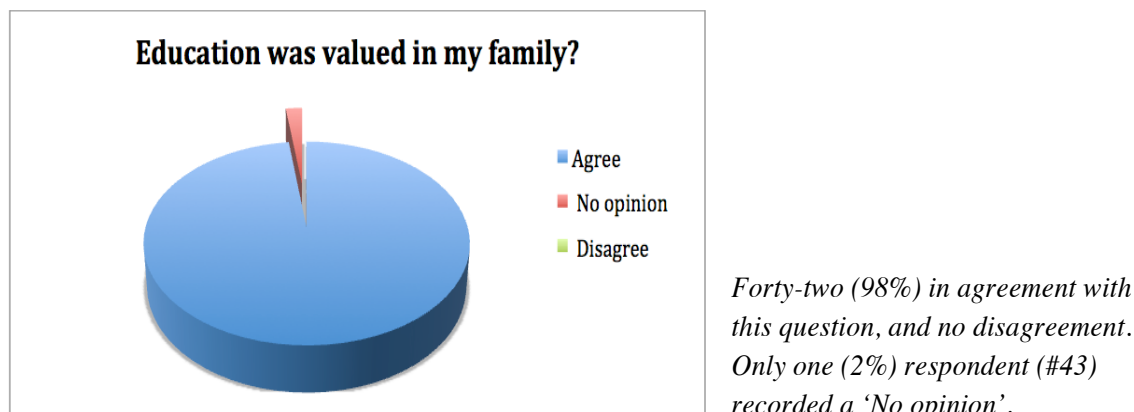
The third instrument completed by the forty-three participants was a questionnaire of twenty questions, which was completed prior to recording their interview on video. The questions answered by the participants were related to the four categories of particular interest to this study, *learning, identity, culture and work*.

To recap the methodology, each man was given a list of twenty questions, which he chose to answer either "1. Agree 2. No opinion 3. Disagree" to each of the questions. The answers to the twenty questions were later sorted for research purposes into the four categories, of *learning, identity, culture and work*. This meant that their answers could be compared easily with other data extracted from their interview. These raw figures from the answers were converted to rounded percentages. The list of questions was then scored on the basis of the three categories (*agree/no opinion/disagree*) in rounded percentages, and the question number is the number used on the participant's uncategorised set of questions. The scoring was ranked from the highest to the lowest results in each of the four areas of interest.

### **Learning Responses**

The five questions about learning were statements for the participants to comment on whether education was valued in the family; learning on the job is the best way; Chinese spend extra money on their children's education; after leaving school everyone should do extra study; public schools provide better education.

**Chart 14: “Education was valued in my family” –Q10**



The single ‘No opinion’ respondent had been specifically sent to Australia for further education, from a family who were all tertiary educated. The extended family now live in Sydney, and his children are tertiary educated. It could be conjectured that valuing education in this family was considered the norm, but that the respondent was rejecting the question for some other reason.

Generally, these Australian-Chinese participants considered education to be valued by their families, and they encouraged their children to undertake tertiary studies. Few of the grandparents or the parents of these participants would, back in the village, have reached a tertiary level of education. However, the grandparents would have known of the importance of the Examination Systems operating in China, which led to successful candidates having increased status and responsibilities within the community. The attainments of their Australian-educated progeny would be prized.

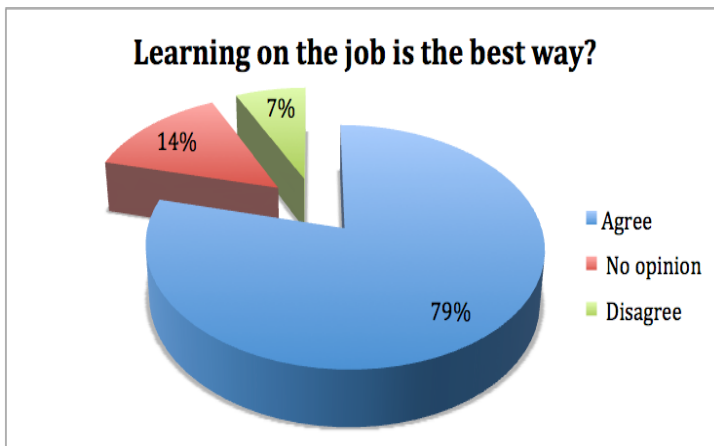
Nonetheless, family circumstances often meant that some participants left school early. One (#04) left High school at Intermediate level to help his father with their shop. He never regretted this, and through his subsequent own self-education and learning he became a force for excellence in the Australian-Chinese community. He said, *“I feel very pleased and proud of learning all that, without being forced to learn you know”*.

There were those who were not able to achieve their first choice of vocation (#29), *“I only got my Intermediate Certificate, because when I was looking for a career path at that time, I was going to be a teacher but they weren’t allowing Asians to be teachers”*. He chose instead another avenue, becoming at that time he felt “the only manager of Chinese extraction in the Commonwealth Bank”. *“I never suffered discrimination whatsoever in the*

Bank – it was like one big family, wonderful, very, very similar to what Chinese think about, you know”.

Though some men left school at an early age, as exemplified by #06, their education was ongoing, they continued their education at an evening Technical college to gain a trade certificate, and later did further study to gain a higher qualification. Through education they were able to improve their lifestyle and standing the community.

**Chart 15: “Learning on the job is the best way”– Q9**

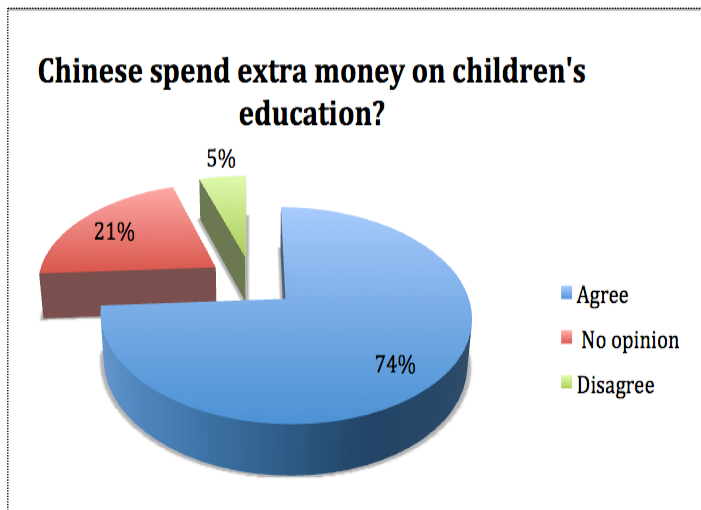


*The ‘Agree’ vote was favoured by thirty-four men, with only six men, giving a ‘No opinion’, and even fewer, three men, with a ‘Disagree’ decision.*

One third of the ‘No opinion’ voters had learnt ‘on the job’ and the other four men were professionals with tertiary qualifications. As with the ‘Disagree’ vote, only one participant had learnt ‘on the job’, and the others were highly qualified professionals.

The majority of the participants had acquired academic qualifications but seemingly had enjoyed the practical aspects of their work to a greater degree, and saw ‘learning on the job’ as a valuable feature of their training and work. However, one of the ninety-year old participants (#05) summed up his learning, “*they are all well educated now, see education’s the main thing. In our days there was no education, we pick up any job that we can find.*” His learning was completely ‘on the job’.

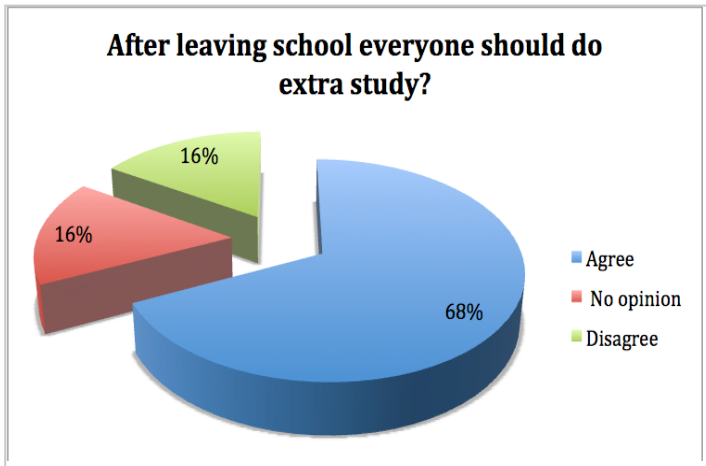
**Chart 16: “Chinese spend extra on their children’s education” – Q11**



*A score of thirty-two (74%) was recorded for the ‘Agree’ statement, with a tally of nine men (21%) who had ‘No opinion’. These figures were all from tertiary educated men. The three (5%) who “Disagreed” came from men skilled in financial matters.*

This score did not match the high ‘agree’ rating of the earlier question ‘education was valued in my family’ but was definitely very much in agreement with the statement above. There were numerous variables related to the children, that could account for difference, such as number of children in the household, whether they were boys or girls, if the grandparents were part of the household, did both parents work, what was the income structure of the household, and other specific commitments, such as private school fees and travel expenses. It was accepted that the participants believed that education of children to be of prime importance but it is possible that the word ‘extra’ may have caused some uncertainty. The question was not asked of the men as to the type of school where their children were educated, only as to the level of education reached by their children. However, if their children had attended a private school then it would have been expensive, as one participant (#06) whose child did have a private school education commented, “Private school must have cost us over \$40,000,” and that was for only one child. So yes indeed, Chinese did largely spend extra money on their children’s education, notwithstanding the fact that they are also aware of the various options that are available for educationally gifted students. In New South Wales, largely based in the Sydney area, there are at present seventeen fully selective High schools, such as Sydney High School, where the single sex schools of boys and girls, adjoin each other. Entry into each of these schools is by academic excellence linked to the results of each student in the Selective Student Placement Test and other academic merit or sometimes linked not only the student’s academic abilities but aided by a family connection through an earlier attendance at the school of an immediate family sibling or parent.

**Chart 17: “After leaving school everyone should do extra study”– Q5**

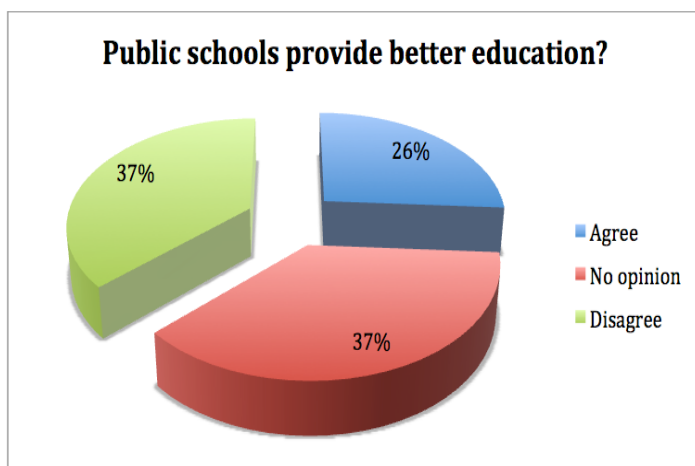


*Twenty-nine (68%) supported extra study, and the remaining percentage for ‘No opinion’ and ‘Disagree’ was evenly matched with seven (16%) for each category. In these, only one participant in each category had not done extra study. Other details checked in their individual profiles did not offer any reasons for the range of choices.*

The high value of education was traditionally linked to Confucian values and the old Chinese Examination System was well known to most. The large bloc of fathers (32%) who did not ‘Agree’ opinion, had themselves studied beyond their school days. This could be interpreted in several ways: the word ‘should’ is a directive, and it is not polite to tell someone what to do. If the question had been that extra study was helpful, then the ‘agree’ vote may have been considerably larger.

As part of the triangulated methodology, a comparison with the interviews did not reveal a reinforcement of stereotypes. It rather showed that like all generations, parents tended to give their children what they, the parents, didn’t get themselves, but valued, whether it was music lessons or a tennis racquet. One father (#26) who had been sent to University and did not find it a useful experience had encouraged his three sons to choose their own vocations and levels of study. Yet another participant (#03) left High school at Second year to help his father with their shop, yet he encouraged his own children to do extra study.

**Chart 18: “Public schools provide better education” – Q20**



*Only 26% of the sample agreed with this proposition, while the majority (74%) opted for ‘No opinion’ and ‘Disagree’ replies. This question on public school education showed a divergence of opinion.*

Of the twenty-two (51%) Australian-born, twenty were attended public school while two moved from the Public system to a Private school because of discrimination, and one had no Australian schooling at all. The latter had lived his early years in China during the War, and only schooled there until Six-grade Primary. A marginally higher proportion of the immigrants attended non-State schools. While some remarked that on entering Australia they were not permitted to attend public schools, only three overseas students (#01, #07, #31) attended private schools after immigrating in 1935, 1952 and 1957.

The discussion as to whether the Public State schools in Australia are better than the privately owned schools has been an ongoing and unresolved public debate. The private schools are generally referred to as having better facilities, and are better resourced than in the public sector. Overall, parents have a wide choice of schools, at every level. The non-Government schools are not as prolific but do cover all study levels, with some schools linked to religious institutions. Not everyone was aware of or affected by the Government proviso as stated by one participant (#01), “*that no Chinese sponsored for five years can take a place in a Public school*”. Perhaps this had its benefits, as one Australian-born participant (#39), was subject to racial slurs at a Public school, and he moved to a private school to escape.

**Table 28: TYPE OF SCHOOLING**

Type of Schooling	ABC	O/S born	Subtotal
Private or non-Government schools	1	3	4
Public State schools	20	9	29
Tertiary institutions only	0	9	9
No Australian schools	1	0	1

This table showed that initially the State Public schools provided the basic education for most of the forty-three participants in this study. So, despite the fact that incoming aliens were encouraged to attend schools in the private sector, rather than take places to be used by long-standing Australian residents, the migrants obviously did attend the Public schools. The Public schools would have been part of the local community where the participant’s family shop was located, while the higher cost of private schooling would deter those on lower incomes.

Since Australian immigration policies had changed over the years in which the participants lived, some had claimed that it had affected their educational experiences and those of their original family. #14 told of how his elder brother brought the younger children to Australia to be reunited with their father. Their father and two elder brothers went north to Brisbane

to find work, and the three younger children were boarded out with friends. The family was reunited later when their father bought a shop in Sydney. The elder brother “*realised then that he didn’t have a huge education, and he went to Tech*”. He learned a trade, and served as an example to the younger children, who all used Australia’s public education facilities.

Nine of these men had their early education in an overseas country, and twelve had theirs in Australia. The fact that these twelve participants had their primary education in Australia made their transition across cultures easier and less stressful. This was so particularly for those who came with their parents, as #07 earlier remarked, “*as long as you're with your parents you don't worry too much*”. They attended the local public schools and became part of the Australian community, in spite of the fact that some incoming Chinese children had been excluded from State public schools, so as not to take places set-aside for non-Chinese students.

**Table 29: IMMIGRANTS WHO ENROLLED IN AUSTRALIAN SCHOOL (n=21)**

Year arrived	Tally
1920s - All Public	One in 1926
1930s - All Public	One in 1933
	One in 1935
	One in 1938
	Three in 1939
1940s – All Public	One in 1942
	Two in 1946
	One in 1947
1950s = One Public Australian Tertiary	One in 1952
	One in 1952
	One in 1957
1960s Australian Tertiary	Two in 1960
	Two in 1961
	One in 1963
	One in 1969
1980s Australian Tertiary	One in 1981

*The arrival dates for those overseas-born men were tabulated and indicates the numbers, and the spread of years from the 1920s to the 1980s.*

Of those who came alone as young adults, their adjustment took time. As participant #43 noted “*Not quite used to it, at first, but afterwards, I was used to it. When I come here, I said, ‘-A lot of difference now--’*”. During his study period, he said, “*the courses I not used to it, I was not up to the Australian sayings. The Australian sayings different from Hong Kong, the British people’s sayings, the sounds and tunes*”. He adapted well to the new teaching styles, completed his course, and secured a Public Service job that he retained for



his whole working life. He was aware that education had given security for himself and his family. He stressed this explicitly by his statement “*education is very important to us*”.

### **Summary of Learning Responses**

The five questions about Learning indicated that education, or schooling, was valued by all participants, bar one, and their overall attitude towards continued learning was positive. The one participant (#01), who had a different emphasis on education, considered ‘real’ education for him was when during World War II, he had contact with Chinese seamen, unable to return to their homes. “*I learnt of their plight, their conditions, their exploitation by the ship owners*”. He shed further understanding, noting that in speaking of seamen, many did not realise the many different grades of seamen that there were engineers, fitters, turners, shopkeepers, ordinary firemen and sailors. Certainly, for this man ‘on the job’ was the key aspect of his learning. However, he now spends considerable time self-educating and exploring the Chinese Classics.

A substantial number of the participants had experienced primary education in Australia, despite the few who were affected by immigration policies that restricted their access to State schools. An interesting example of one of the migrants who was affected by World War II, was when he lost three years of schooling due to the occupation of Malaysia by the Japanese. So, at sixteen years, he asked that he might complete his studies in Australia. He did so at a private college in rural New South Wales.

Comparisons between the data from the interview and the questionnaire showed that each migrant had their personal story of adaption to this new country. They often went to a country town where the local experience of Asians was limited. “*When we go to school we had a bit of a culture shock, because the Australian kids had never seen Chinese children before*”. They were seen as interesting, and “*we got tormented in the earlier part, but once we got to know them there was no problem at all*”. This man’s education (#07) was completed after three years of Australian schooling. He said, “*I didn’t go into school anymore, I never had much education at all. [I] just learnt [by] reading and studying, mixing with people*”. His education was not at a school but largely acquired ‘on the job’, and within the family and the community.

Other learning questions covered aspects of investing in education for their children, and there were parents who wished their children to enjoy the better facilities, resources and kudos of a private school education. This touched on their aspirations for increased status and class within the community, and the future contacts for work for their child. No matter

what their beginnings, all these families now live in comfortable circumstances, in middle to upper class communities, and have children educated to varying tertiary levels. One man (#14) succinctly noted, “*Learning is necessary to stay afloat*”. Yet, though quite a number of respondents favoured study beyond school years, there were those who said ‘No’, and others of a similar number who made no decision. Perhaps they considered it not their choice but rather the choice of the individual student. The divergent result to the statement, ‘Public schools provide better education’ could have arisen from the influence of media input that has occurred at regular intervals, comparing the pros and cons of each type of educational body. In New South Wales, the public schools have been organised and funded by the public service, and the private schools have their own school council and monetary arrangements.

In New South Wales Public schools, multiculturalism is the accepted norm but how this works in making all students feel included, needs further investigation. The focus may need to be shifted from the student to the knowledge and understanding of the teacher. Certainly in the school days of the participants, particularly those who had a longer period of education in New South Wales’ schools, the experience for them was not as inclusive. After overcoming any initial reactions to their presence in a school largely composed of those from Anglo-Celtic origin, the participants appeared competent in dealing with day-to-day occurrences, and were prompted to prove themselves by excelling at their studies.

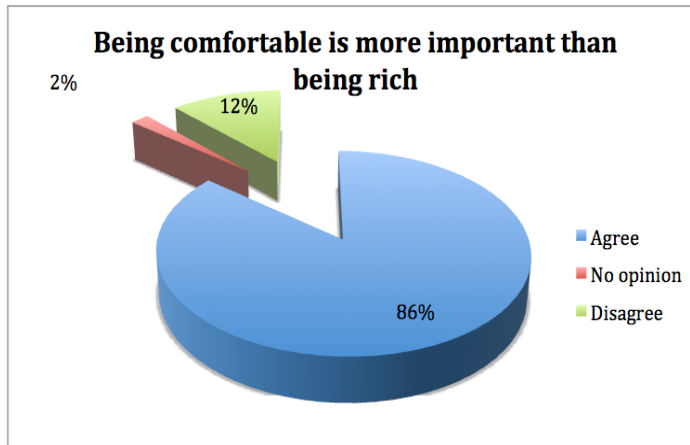
Their attitude to their schooling was a factor. Indeed, #04 remarked that he did quite well at school, and attributed his success to his personal approach, “I was very disciplined,” he said. Though he did not do extra studies after school, he coped well, and found time to help his father in the family store, and assist his younger siblings with their school homework. While #38 offered, “*I enjoyed learning. It was a great opportunity. It was a great adventure, finding out about how the rest of the world got on, how little you knew, and how much there was to know!*” In speaking of his parents he said, “*Well they sensed that education was the key, and it is the key, more people should realise that. That it’s a key to independence and progress*”.

### **Identity Responses**

The five questions about Identity asked whether being comfortable was more important than being rich; had the White Australia policy affected my family; did private schools provide better business contacts; had all Chinese experienced discrimination in Australia; and when caught between two cultures can you only adopt one?

The five participants who disagreed with comfortable over being rich ( #05, #06, #09, #21, #47) had experienced poverty in their childhood, although their present circumstances were considered ‘well-to-do’ and Anglicized. The ‘No opinion’ participant had achieved much, and was comfortably situated.

**Chart 19: “Being comfortable is more important than being rich” – Q3**

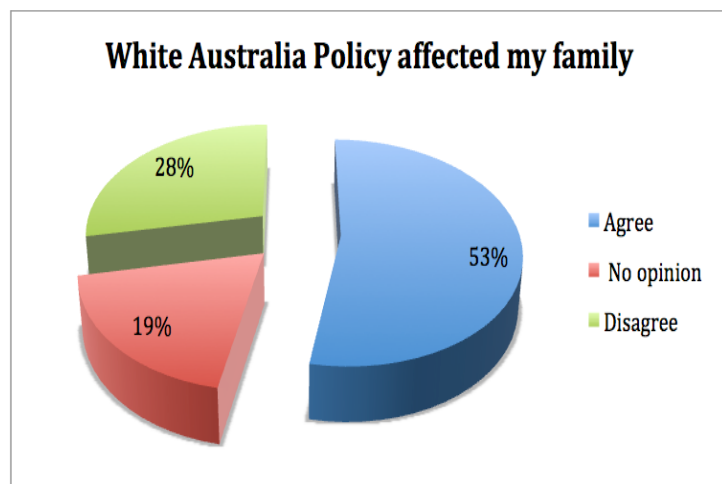


*The ‘Agree’ vote for this question was a high thirty-seven persons (86%) and the ‘No opinion’ (2%) of only one man (#19) with the ‘Disagree’ vote of five participants (12%).*

The thirty-seven men who are comfortable in their living standards are now free from financial worry, and the stress of providing for everyday living, but they can still recall the poorer circumstances in their youthful times. Of the five who would prefer more assets, there was only one (#47), who was already well resourced, and still consulting in his area of expertise. However, the others would benefit from extra finances toward their anticipated future costs for aged-care facilities.

To choose between being comfortable and/or being rich are judgments that can only be made by each individual in reviewing their own situation. What one person might consider to be rich, to another might see it as just comfortable. One’s personal value system is the key to the answer. Simplistically a value system can be tied to monetary worth but more potently to subjective cultural values, acquired within their Chinese household and community, as an important part of identity.

**Chart 20: “White Australia Policy affected my family” – Q15**

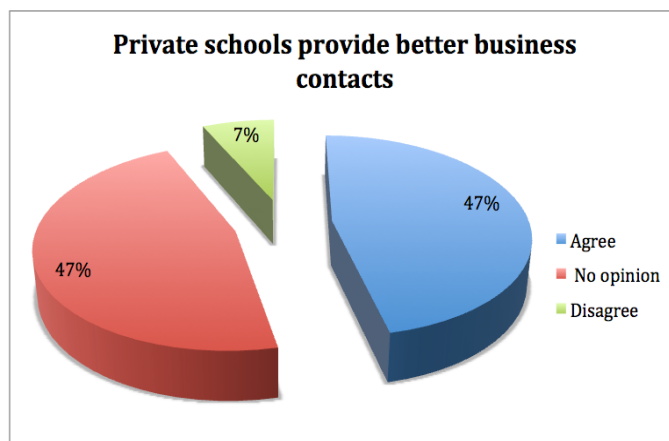


*This question was straightforward but produced a mixed result with twenty-three (53%), of the participants agreeing that the White Australia Policy did affect their family. Eight men (19%) declined to state an opinion, and twelve men (28%) did not consider that their family had been affected.*

Of the eight men who chose ‘No opinion’, only two (#17, #41) were Australian-born with one from a rural area, and the other from city. Of the twelve participants (#05, #07, #08, #09, #10, #22, #23, #24, #31, #33, #40, #47) who answered ‘No’, two-thirds were ABCs and the remaining four from overseas locations. Of these four, two arrived as young children, and two as secondary students. They have all remained in Australia, and married either Australian-Chinese or immigrant Chinese such as themselves.

Historically, much has been made of this issue of White Australia, and there was an expectation that yes, the early Chinese had discriminatory behaviour directed toward them, so the Disagree and No opinion numbers raised queries. Of those who disagreed the eight Australian-born men were from early settled families who had prospered, and were very much Australians. The four men born overseas were happy to have been accepted as Australian, and did not see any separation in their roles. Perhaps as seniors, the opinion of these men had mellowed, and they no longer felt concerned about the difficulties caused by the restrictive Government policy, that their families may have experienced earlier. As children they would not have suffered the angst of their parents, and they were now certainly all pleased to be Australians. Were they polite, and not wishing to dwell on past negative events? Possibly, a more likely explanation was that they, in general, held positive views, and looked for solutions to problems, rather than dwelling on negativisms.

**Chart 21: “Private schools provide better business contacts” – Q12**

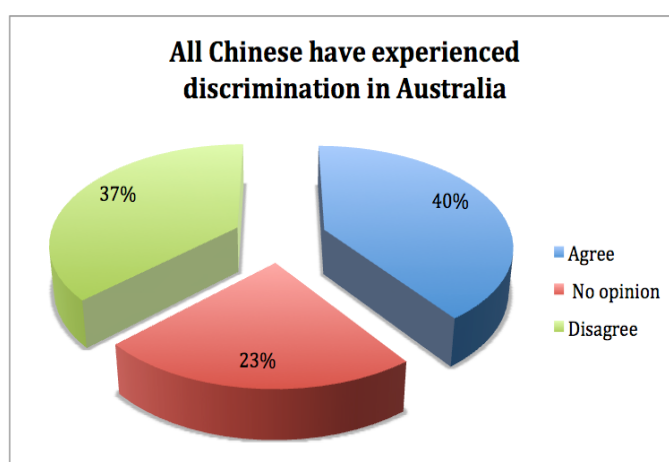


*There was a score of twenty men (47%) for ‘Agree’, and again twenty men (47%) with ‘No opinion’, that contrasted with only three men (7%) for ‘Disagree’.*

In conversation, Australian-Chinese parents had cited the statement above as a reason for sending their child to a private school. These scores above showed some vacillation as to whether this was so. The men who disagreed were educated in Public schools, and like their fathers later achieved an improved standard of living. There was no obvious reason for the decision of twenty (47%) men to choose the “No opinion” option.

As mentioned elsewhere, the participants were not asked if their children attended a Public and/ or a Private school, but it is known that some did attend Private schools (#06, #26), and others went to their local Public school (#12, #14, #16, #34). Again the decisions were very individual, and linked to their personal experiences.

**Chart 22: “All Chinese experienced discrimination in Australia” – Q18**



*Apparently not, as there were quite varied opinions to this statement, as seventeen (40%) chose ‘Agree’, and sixteen (37%) for ‘Disagree’, with ten (23%) for ‘No opinion’.*

Under half of the group did not see all Chinese as having experienced discrimination in Australia, a fact that had been readily assumed by numbers of Australians. However, if the question had not been so extreme, with the use of ‘all’ as the quantification, then the use of ‘some’ may have elicited a clearer result. At least one of the Australian-born men (#12) who

disagreed with this question, had spoken quite strongly of the discrimination that he and his son had suffered in their school days, but then the question did state 'all Chinese'.

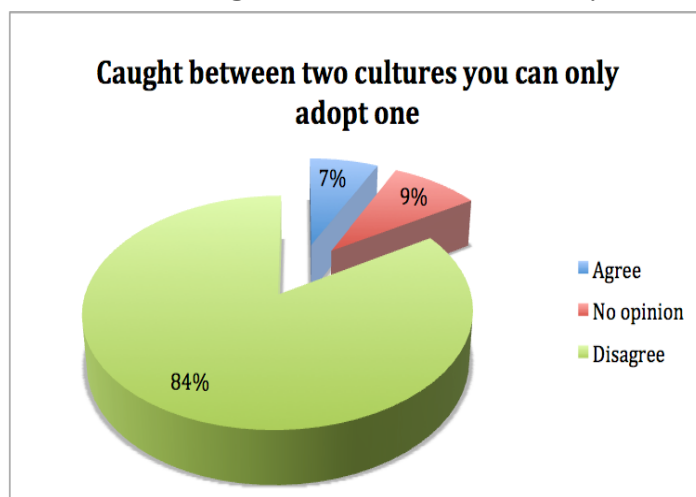
The clear stance of the sixteen men who answered negatively to the question, that all Chinese had experienced discrimination in Australia, included nine who were born overseas, and seven born in Australia, so not much difference in the numbers. In regard to discrimination, the researcher found that in an earlier study (Hoy 2000) that the participant was prone to remark in conversation, in relation to discrimination, "*if you don't look for it, then you don't see it*". A maxim worth noting that may also be the reason that 37% disagreed with this question.

The seventeen men who took a position of agreement with the statement that all Chinese had experienced discrimination in Australia, included six born overseas and eleven who were Australian-born. As part of the triangulation of the results, the overseas-born men were checked as to their time of arrival in Australia, to ascertain if this factor had some bearing on their answer but it did not provide any clues as to why they answered 'Agree' with this question. There were three pre- and three post-war WW2 men who came at unconnected times. (#38 arrived in 1926; #1 in 1935; #26 in 1938; #42 in 1946; #02 in 1952; #21 in 1960).

Of the ten participants who gave 'No opinion', six were born overseas and four in Australia. The Australian-born men all succeeded in their occupations. One (#08) noted that being Chinese helped his business because Chinese were seen as honest, while another (#23) enjoyed executive status, for many years, in an iconic Australian Company, and saw no discriminatory actions. The other two men had businesses that flourished, and they enjoyed high respect in their local communities. There was no apparent reason to not choose a positive answer. Of the six men who were overseas-born (#07, #17, #25, #28, #43, #46), three were long-term Australian residents (#07, #25, #28) as they had come as young children, and the remaining three came as adults (#17, #43, #46). Again, there was a divergence of background experiences in the Australian setting.

Comparing the percentages of two linked statements 'the White Australia policy affected my family', and 'all Chinese have experienced discrimination in Australia' resulted in the following percentages, Yes 53% vs 40%; No opinion 19% vs 23% and No 28% vs 37%. In all, answers to these two questions were very individual.

**Chart 23: “Caught between two cultures you can only adopt one” – Q7**



*It was clear that a considerable number thirty-six (84%) of the sample believed that it was possible to live within both cultures. A phrase often used in conversation was ‘enjoying the best of both worlds’, which appeared to be the case for those who chose ‘Disagree’.*

The three participants (#10, #23, #34) who chose ‘Agree’ and answered that you can only adopt one culture were Australian-born, had lived their lives very much within the Australian culture. Interestingly, their birthplaces were vastly separated places across Australia. #10 came from a remote country town in the Far North of Australia, #23 came from a bustling Southern City, and #34 came from a New South Wales country centre. Using the example of these three men, in a compare and contrast procedure as part of the triangulating methodology, showed the importance of their Australian-born feeling, that the dominant culture has to be assumed for identity to succeed. Of the four (9%) who gave ‘No opinion’ three were Australian-born and the fourth man, though born overseas, he had married into a very long-term Australian-Chinese family.

This was a question about implied identity that received an majority responses confirming their belief that you can be part of two cultures. They would have applied this question to their own circumstances, and seen themselves as being adaptive within both the Anglo-Celtic and Chinese communities. A very clear response that identity was not a choice between cultures but a balancing act, that indeed required a delicate balance between different requirements.

### **Summary of Identity Responses**

The five questions about identity asked whether being comfortable was more important than being rich; had the White Australia policy affected my family; did private schools provide better business contacts; had all Chinese experienced discrimination in Australia; and caught between two cultures you can adopt only one? These five questions about identity produced some curious results. Being comfortable rather than rich showed that most participants were happy dealing with each of these points. Thirty-

seven of their number, in their retirement, attested to being comfortable, in fact they all are, and no longer are any of the participants living in poverty.

The background of Australia's 19<sup>th</sup> century history would prompt the general opinion that 'ALL Chinese had been affected by the White Australia Policy'. However, in this study 53% agreed and 28% disagreed with 19% choosing to not give an opinion. The results to this statement did not reflect the assumption. Generally, the participants were aware of the effects of the White Australia Policy but some were reluctant to highlight this issue.

The statement about attendance at private schools leading to business contacts for their children in their working years, may simply be that the participants had never heard this cultural statement before, as 47% of the men recorded a 'No opinion', the largest 'No opinion' of all the questions. The reference to private schools enabling business contacts is quite commonly heard among Anglo-Celtic conversations but obviously not among Australian-Chinese. As to all Chinese experiencing discrimination, this too revealed a spread of percentages, with 40% for 'Yes', 23% for 'No-opinion', and 37% for 'No'. This three-way split answer to a statement, that in this context was a 'loaded' question to all Chinese, and one to which they were less likely to agree. In their comfortable old age, the participants may have preferred to disregard negative experiences of their younger years. The final possibility was that discrimination had not occurred as much as generally assumed. The fifth statement, 'caught between two cultures you can only adopt one' produced a definite majority of 84% of the participants, who believed that one can be part of two cultures.

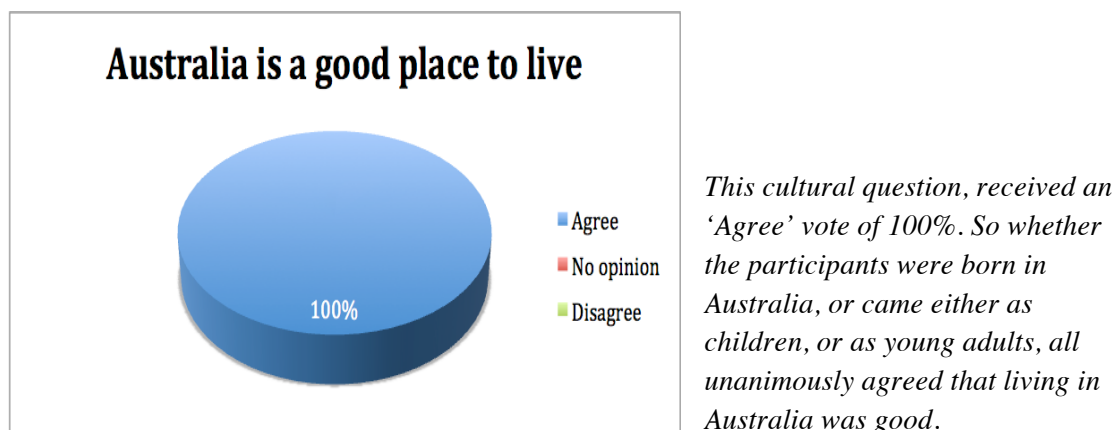
The Identity questions included reference to racism and discrimination. The men didn't dwell on negatives and not one denied their Chineseness. They were all comfortable in their blend of cultures, that they had maintained their Chineseness while fully assimilated into the Australian community. That some of the men were losing or had lost their fluency in their original language did not, in their senior years, cause them any concern. They had learned to speak and write English. It wasn't an imposed task, they chose to do so, to better their opportunities. With multilingualism they became transcultural identities. For some, their fathers may have come to Australia as sojourners, to remit money back to their village, but they themselves were most definitely settlers. These men were relaxed, assured and confident that they belonged in their Australian society. They felt a successful identity could be interwoven in both cultures.



## Culture Responses

There were five statements relating to notions about culture and lifestyle. The first question, ‘Australia is a good place to live’ was a positive approach to ascertain the participants’ general philosophical notion of Australia. The questions that followed were all general notions assumed to apply intrinsically to Chinese. The researcher, an Anglo-Australian who had spent over half a century in the Australian-Chinese community knew the phrase ‘*Chinese do it this way*’ very well indeed. That children should support their parents; that Chinese language is essential to being Chinese; that Chinese food is better: and that different clans should not inter-marry are all concepts known within the basic Australian-Chinese family. Of course, each family member would have formed his or her own view or opinion on each notion, as to its practicality for them personally.

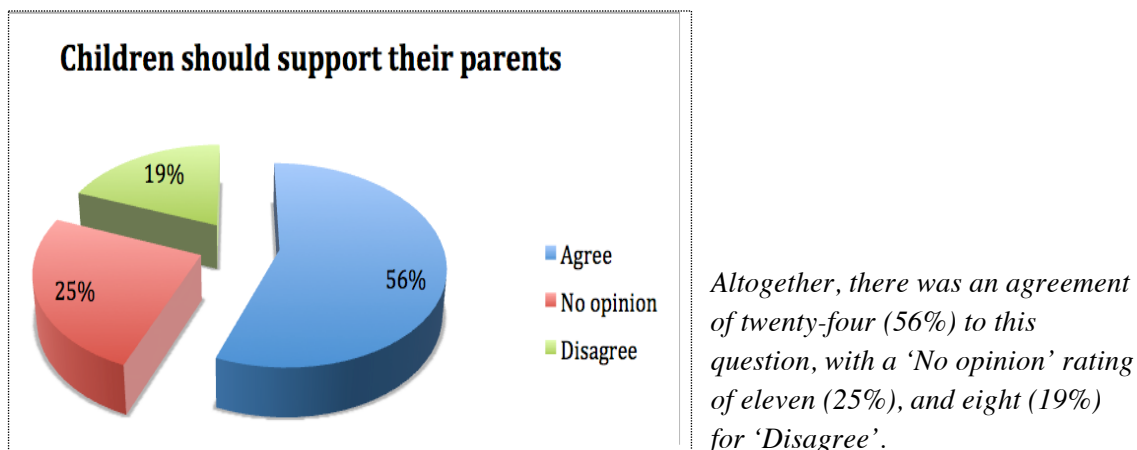
**Chart 24: “Australia is a good place to live” – Q16**



This was an expected result. The children of these retirees also call Australia home, and while some of them have visited or revisited their family village in China, others have assisted their parents, siblings, and other extended family to emigrate to Australia.

The participants were given the opportunity to be negative and they didn't take it. In effect, they said ‘thank you’ to Australia for giving them the opportunities of a lifetime. They appreciated the values of their lifestyle, and the qualifications and chances for success that they had gained in Australia. The value of the question was reduced by such a firm response.

**Chart 25: “Children should support their parents” – Q13**



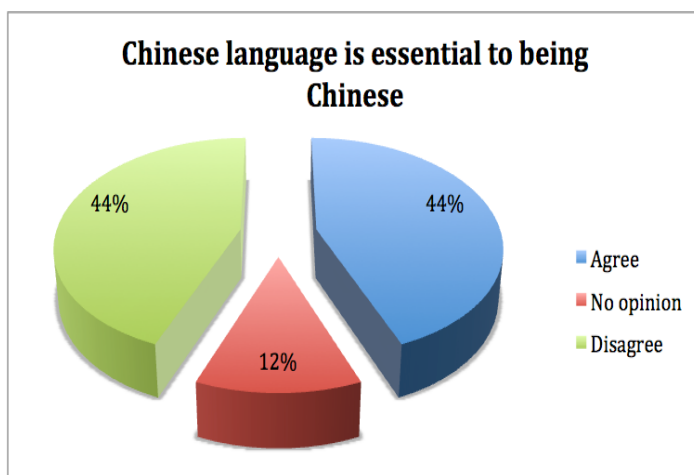
Chinese cultural values of filial piety embodied in Confucian ideals meant that there was a strong belief in Chinese families that children would assist their ‘elders’ in the family when there was a need to do so. It was linked to cultural male hegemony behaviours, where the children’s obedience was expected, almost without question. This was a lifetime commitment to filial support, and related behaviours of obedience, family identity and associated tablet/tomb worship. The belief fitted the circumstances in the time when there was no social security system in China and then the one-child policy exacerbated the commitment. In many cases, the Number One son was sent overseas for study, so that later he would receive a high income for the benefit of the family but then many sons did not return. Among the forty-three participants, twenty-seven (63%) held the notable position of Number-One son. Fifteen (#04, #07, #13, #17, #18, #21, #24, #28, #31, #37, #38, #42, #43, #47, #48) overseas-born men who were a Number One son remained in Australia, and some were able to bring their parents and other family to Australia.

This change from adherence to ‘old ways’ indicated an adaption to Australian norms. In some cases, it might not just be because of a change of place but also because of a change of household management. Extended families of the nineteenth century gave way to nuclear families in the twentieth century, and in the twenty-first the post-modern family assumed a much more varied identity. Fewer children were being born, and the population was aging. Households no longer predominantly contain several generations such as grandparents, their children, and their grandchildren in the one home. An example from the interviews illustrated these new solutions. An only son (#43) and his wife had their own home, and several of their children lived independently. His parents migrated later to Australia, to be geographically closer to him and his family. The

parents purchased a unit that resembled their former home overseas, it even had a similar view, so that their transition to a new country was simplified, and this arrangement proved satisfactory to all. Their overseas home was retained so that for return visits and holidays, accommodation was readily available. Not now, as formerly, was the expectation there that he, the only son, had to accommodate his parents in his house.

The responses to this question indicated that it was no longer stereotypical or in fact an obligation for these Australian-Chinese men, in their role as sons and to undertake the care of parents within their own home. They knew that Australia has a Social Security system, and that a pension and medical support are available to retired workers should they have a need. It is a measure of their success that they knew that they will not to be a burden for their children, showing that they had indeed adapted to Australian middle-class values.

**Chart 26: “Chinese language is essential to being Chinese” – Q1**



*The sample’s responses were equally divided, a 44%, language being essential, and language not considered essential. This result was a surprise to have a matching score for Agreement (19 men) and Disagreement (19 men). Five participants (12%) had ‘No opinion’.*

Language is usually seen as an essential component of a person’s cultural identity. Further analysis of this group of five showed that only two of these five had some Chinese speaking ability, and all had worked in positions requiring a high capability in English, not expertise in Chinese.

For those men of older years, who grew up when the White Australia Policy was a force within the community, and assimilation was the catch cry, how did they retain their language of origin, particularly in rural Australia, where there were no Chinese language schools as there were in Sydney (attended by #06 and #33). There was no obvious grouping of the men that would indicate a reason as to why they answered as they did to the statement, that their Chinese language was essential to their culture. This

was illustrated in an extract from one of the interviews with a bilingual participant from overseas (#18), he told of teaching English and Chinese in Public schools, and that in his retirement, he was giving private lessons. His reply to the question was 'No'. In effect, he believed it was not essential to the Chinese cultural identity to retain the Chinese language. If the word 'important' had been used instead of 'essential', #18 may have answered differently.

Again, further analysis of those who answered that language was not essential, showed that of the nineteen who answered 'No', only six (32%) were *monolingual* or English only speakers, and all of these were ABCs, except one (#38) who came from overseas as a four year old child, and his parents only used English in their household. These six men may have heard their parents speaking Chinese between each other but in the home, English speaking was encouraged.

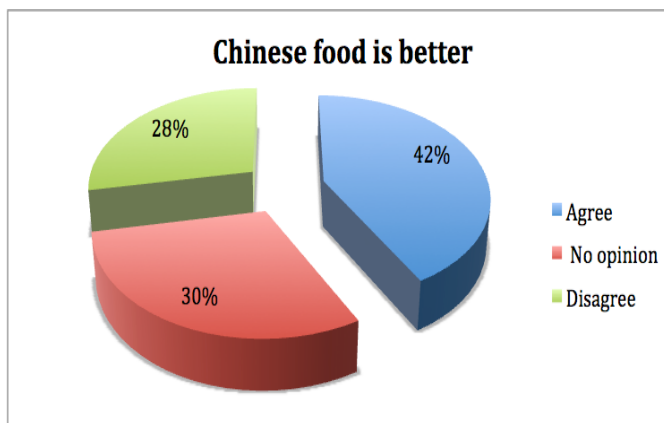
A large percentage of those who answered 'No', thirteen of the nineteen (68%) retained the languages of their childhood, which was usually Cantonese and/or their family dialect/s. The *bilingual* group consisted of ten men, three were ABCs and the remaining seven came as migrants. The bilingual men were an even split of five who spoke three tongues, and five who spoke only two.

Three men were *multilingual* (#32, #46, #48) with a range of languages. The first was proficient in English, Cantonese, Mandarin, Hokkien and other dialects, Malaysian, Indonesian, a little German and Russian, and he reads Chinese. The second spoke English, Cantonese, Malaysian, his dialect, and he is learning Mandarin. The third participant of this multilingual group used English, Cantonese, Mandarin and a dialect.

However, (#32) an ABC made a pertinent remark, and expressed it in his own way. He said, "*because we have been here for three generations, our language has changed. If we went back to China and spoke that, the way as we do now, they probably wouldn't know what we are talking about*". For most of the men, the use of their Cantonese language and/or their dialect declined, they could manage without their original family tongue, and were intent on learning English as quickly as possible. The father of #34 discouraged the family from speaking Cantonese at home, so as to speed their assimilation. Another (#12), responding to racism at school, took the drastic step of suppressing his Chineseness and he refused to speak his language. In retirement, to fill this gap, he was motivated to learn more Chinese culture / language.

Allied to language proficiency was a cultural practice, whereby Chinese fathers sent their sons, home to China to become proficient in their ancestral language and culture. There were four of the ABC participants who were sent to China for this reason. Participant #05 was sent when at sixth class level, #08 at aged fifteen was sent for eighteen months study, #23 at ten years was dispatched to Canton for three years, and #27 went at aged five for three years. The intent of their parents would have been that their children be bilingual, and be able to feel comfortable and adept in either country. That only four were sent overseas would have been governed by a multiplicity of reasons. Such as where to send your son, was there a responsible person who would accompany him on his voyage, and who would care for him during his studies, plus the overall costs? #08 went to Hong Kong to learn Cantonese, while others returned to their family village. This cultural practice amongst overseas Chinese was practiced in other countries, such as North America, and must have produced the right results most of the time for it to be a continuing practice. These four Australian-born men have retained their Chinese language fluency to the present time, while some who remained in Australia have lost their native tongue, and with it the benefits of being bilingual.

**Chart 27: “Chinese food is better” – Q6**



*The result for this food question was distributed across the three options, with the ‘Agree’ vote of eighteen people (42%) only a little ahead. While the ‘No opinion’ vote of thirteen men and ‘Disagree’ vote of twelve participants had close matching scores*

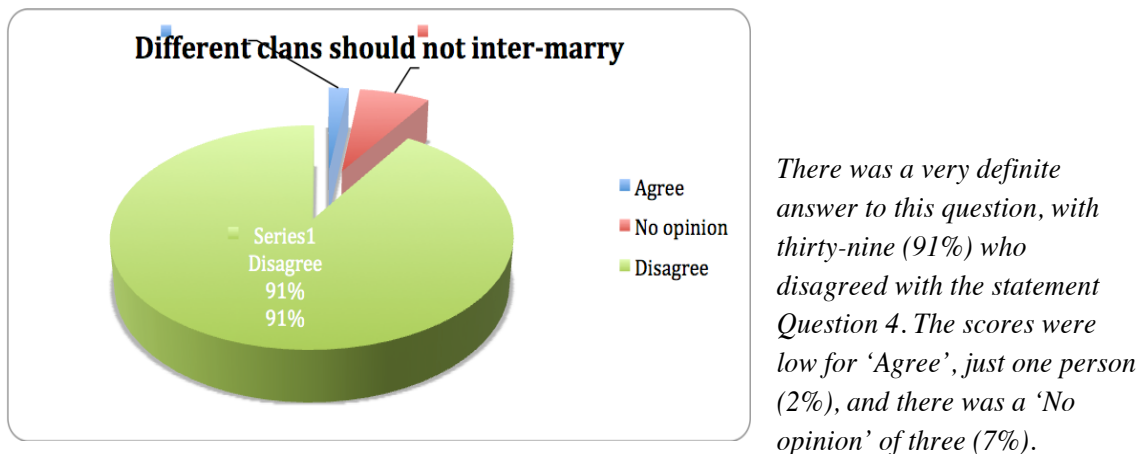
This was an interesting spread of opinions, especially as food is a paramount involvement within Chinese families. One participant (#43) noted a change in his eating habits.

Food questions were also asked in the interview, about their personal food choices. The statement that ‘Chinese food is better’ might infer that Chinese food provided a better diet but this was not ascertained. Traditionally, the Chinese evening meal was designated as the ‘rice’ meal but a number of participants acknowledged that their family adhered to a more varied diet with meals derived from other countries, on alternate nights. The triangulation

of their ideas specifically about whether Chinese food provided a better diet or if it was their personal choice, showed that it gave variety to the household menu and a willingness to try new tastes. It assisted them to gain understanding and acceptance of the mores of other cultures and to adapt. That foods prevalent in European cultures had supplemented and to some extent supplanted the long-established Chinese methods of cooking. Notwithstanding such changes, the traditional evening ‘rice’ meal was still prevalent, and participants may have been polite, and hesitant to say that Chinese food was better.

Over the time that these men lived in Australia general community tastes have changed from the ‘meat and three veg’ English type of meal, to a much broader cuisine. The participant’s attitude to cultural foods was eclectic, reflecting assimilation rather than cultural chauvinism.

**Chart 28: “Different clans should not inter-marry” – Q4**



The participant (#01) who agreed that different clans should not intermarry was extremely proud of his Chinese heritage, and saw the older practices within Chinese families as beneficial. Cross-correlating the information from their individual interviews, the ‘No opinion’ group were all men who married a wife from a different clan, so their opinion was based on personal decision-making. However, in the 1950’s era and earlier, it was viewed with concern should an Asian marry an Anglo-Celtic wife. The reason for disagreement, often publically cited, was that it would be difficult for any children of the union, though there was often a racist agenda. Three participants (#19, #21, #39) married Anglo-Celtic women, for #39 it was a second marriage. However, only five of the forty-three men were divorced (#02, #08, #13, #14, #39), and three (#02, #13, #39) had remarried. There were three bachelors one of whom was homosexual and had been in a long-standing relationship with an Anglo-Celtic partner.

Overall, the participants in this study who had married, chose their own spouse/s and also did not follow the practice of arranged marriages, so usual in prior generations. From the results, some 91% of the Australian-Chinese men in this study were quite definite that they no longer adhered to the 'old ways' of marrying within the clan group, and clearly stated that the choice was theirs to make. However, they may not have married within their own clan but 93% of them did marry women with Chinese background.

### **Summary of Culture Responses**

The cultural probing was about support for and obedience to elders, speaking the Chinese language and home dialects, eating foods related to clan customs, and allegiance to cultural ties, such as clan associations. The sample did not reflect any bias about Chineseness, which is part of their cultural identity. Four of these statements that related to cultural convictions, stirred the participants to answer firmly, honestly and contrary to traditional practices.

The Cultural statements dealt with long-term accepted notions about Chinese. The first asked if they liked living in Australia. It was innocuous but did give the men the opportunity to criticise if they wished to do so. They didn't, they enjoyed living in Australia, it was the place where they had chosen to remain, and they displayed their loyalty to Australia by their answers. The second, about supporting the parents showed a change in stance, and no longer indicated that the children, especially the Number One son, must have his parent/s, to live with him, when they were aged or infirm. Living in another culture had facilitated a change of custom. The third question, for many in our sample, the need to retain a family language and/or dialect was passé - they were now Australians. Nonetheless, the statement that 'Chinese language is essential to being Chinese' was definitely a divided issue. As to whether the retention of the original language was an essential factor in being Chinese, the voting numbers were equal each way. So this judgment showed a strong difference of opinion, and may prompt further studies. In the interview as well as the questionnaire, the participants were asked questions about culture and language. Ten of the men who answered 'No' to the Chinese language being an essential component of being Chinese, nonetheless retained their family dialect. Taking everything into account, most of the Australian-born men retained some understanding and/or use of their 'household' Cantonese but did not profess to be fluent speakers. All but three of the incoming migrant men brought with them a fluency in Cantonese, which they had sustained. Language is important in the process of assimilation, it is intertwined with culture. Yet language chauvinism was not fully supported by the participants.

As to the statement that ‘Chinese food is better’, it did not receive an overwhelming ‘yes’, and showed a divided scoring, it pointed to a change of eating patterns and points of view. As #41 noted, “*We enjoy all types of food, spaghetti or Italian, or roast, whatever, and we are very lucky in Australia, being here*”. The fifth cultural question was related to clans and a choice of wife. The answers indicated a definite rejection of ‘the old ways’, with 91% saying that it was all right to marry someone from a different clan than your own. In Australia, there was no need for an arranged marriage within your own clan, the choice of whom you married was yours.

This segment of the study showed evidence that for those who cross cultural boundaries, the experience of mainstream and minority cultures was not static but dynamic and identities are formed that might be better described as evolving entities. The sample showed that adaptive individuals change their values to deal more effectively with different attitudes and behavioural characteristics experienced in a new social group. Those with more conservative or traditional Chinese values may have simply not remained in Australia, or were given refuge by concerned Australian-Chinese. This study dealt with survivors, those who adapted and adopted ‘Australian-ness’, as well as retaining qualities of ‘Chineseness’. The degree of fusion and/or assimilation that was part of their ‘new’ identity would have affected the strength of their adherence to those older cultural practices, which indicated difference.

Australia did implement racist policies from 1901-1967 despite anti-racism legislation. The name ‘White Australia’ has continued to cast a racial slur, while other countries that also had restrictive immigrant policies, such as those in North America, may have a softer image. Yet Australians have also been recorded as welcoming to migrants, and during the twentieth century may have been just as likely to help their Chinese neighbours integrate into mainstream way of Australian life rather than denigrate them.

The culture questions were particularly useful to triangulate against other responses, such as attitudes to language as intrinsic to culture, and what languages they ended up being able to speak and/or write, or whether marriages should be restricted to culturally-allied groups. A more complete portrait of each participant was able to be ascertained by using both objective and subjective instruments, and they lent greater depth to the analysis of the answers.

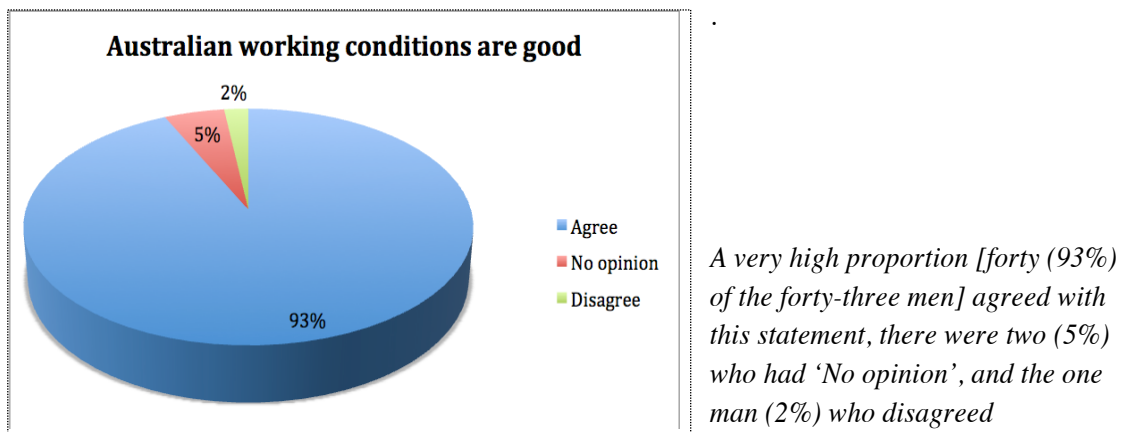


## Work Responses

These five comments about work stated Australian working conditions are good; it is easy to get work in Australia; work is the most important part of my life; it is good to change jobs, and working long hours is necessary?

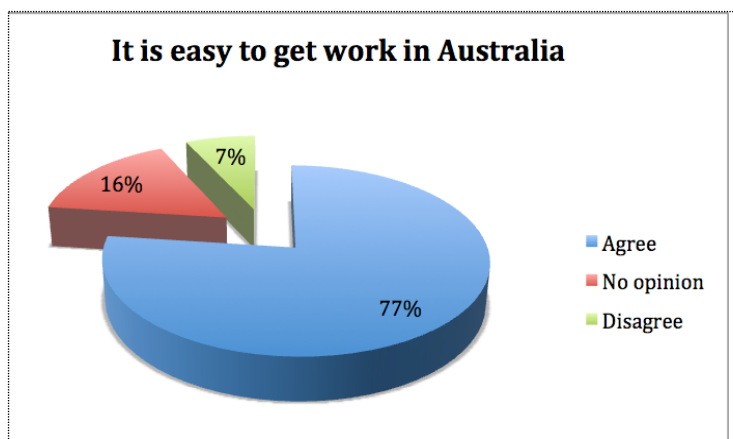
The remarks made in interview of #42 and #27 are representative of the other thirty-eight who also agreed with the statement. #42 had no complaints about work and stayed thirty-two years with the one Company, “*they moved me from one section to another to learn different skills*”. “*I’m fortunate,*” he said, “*I was happy about it*”. When #27 was asked if he enjoyed going to work, he replied, “*Oh, I loved it! I loved every minute of my work ... the technical side, it was great. In fact, that’s what really pulled me along, even to the stage of teaching and teaching’s a challenge of course*”. Overall, 93% of the participants expressed satisfaction with the conditions that they had experienced during their working life. This was supported by their comments about the workplace in interview.

**Chart 29: “Australian working conditions are good” – Q8**



Of the two participants who had ‘No opinion’, one was a business owner (#08), and the other a public servant (#18). The working conditions of the former were his own choice, he enjoyed work but did work long hours, and for the latter, the conditions were quite usual and acceptable for his profession. The ‘Disagree’ vote of one (2%) was from a graduate (#20) who only ever worked for the one Company, largely in a supervisory role.

**Chart 30: “It is easy to get work in Australia” – Q19**



*The score of thirty-three (77%) for ‘Agree’ presented a moderate to high outcome, while 16% had ‘no opinion’ and 7% ‘disagreed’. Most had found it easy to get work in Australia, but several had taken a while to find their vocation, and at times just work.*

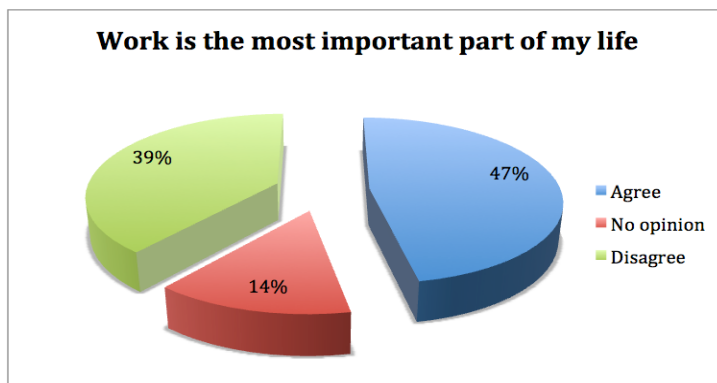
The interviews also showed that, for most, it had been easy to get work in Australia but helped with pointers as to why they had offered a different opinion. The seven (16%) from the ‘No opinion’ advocates (#02, #06, #19, #22, #27, #32, #43) were all tertiary trained professionals, with only one (#02) who had some trouble gaining the work he wanted to do. Most were Australian-born, except for two who emigrated as mature-age students.

Those who had not found it easy to get work had still managed to do so. The three (7%) who chose ‘Disagree’ (#10, #18, #34) had experienced some glitches in their working life. For example, #10 was a man who moved across Australia and had to find work wherever he happened to be. It was not easy looking for itinerant work but he was usually successful, and his application and attention to his work gained him praise from his employers. Then there was #03, who when asked if he had difficulty getting a job answered. *“Not really, it depends on your attitude a little bit. If you don’t spot any difference, not so much in yourself. You know, you realise you’re Chinese, but growing up in (town) with the environment there, you’re no different from anybody else, you know. The only thing is you’re a different colour that’s all, but the attitude in your own self, is nobody any different from you, you know”*. #03 was one of the men who left school after two years at High school, initially to help his father in the family shop. The third person to disagree was #34. The hardship for him was that he had no support or mentor when he was studying to gain his qualifications. However, as he later said, *“Fate played a hand,”* and through a series of unexpected events that worked to his benefit, he was offered a partnership – it lasted for thirty-five years in the one firm.

However, #18 stayed with the one employer, and did not seek promotion. He said, *“I think I did my best to do [the] job. I taught a lot of people and they learned a lot of things”*. Some participants were concerned that they had been overlooked for promotion within a Company or Department, and some felt that it was a discriminatory action. #43 remarked

that, “sometimes they ask you a lot of things. Sometimes you don’t get the job. Appeal is sometimes no good, you know. The boss is there, you appeal as much as you can. You might annoy him”. Nonetheless, #09 recounted that following World War II, it was easy to get work. “In 1946, there were lots of jobs around. People would come in the office one morning, and then they don’t come back. They’d go to another job, that’s how easy it was then”. So most of the men (77%) had found it easy to get work in Australia, so agreed with the statement. Those who did not agree proffered some opinions as to what made the difference. It was considered that attitude and opportunity made the difference getting work.

**Chart 31: “Work is the most important part of my life” – Q14**



The question was asked, was work the most important part of their lives, and twenty (47%) voted ‘Agree’, and seventeen (39%) chose ‘Disagree’. The remaining six (14%) had ‘No opinion’.

In general terms, all the participants could be described as diligent workers, men who cared about their work. The spread of opinion indicated that 14% had ‘no opinion’ but that 47% did consider work to be the dominant factor in their lives, while 39% did not agree, which showed a divergence in viewpoints. In the ‘agree’ group there were 50% born overseas and 50% Australian-born, so birthplace was not a factor in determining their attitudes to work.

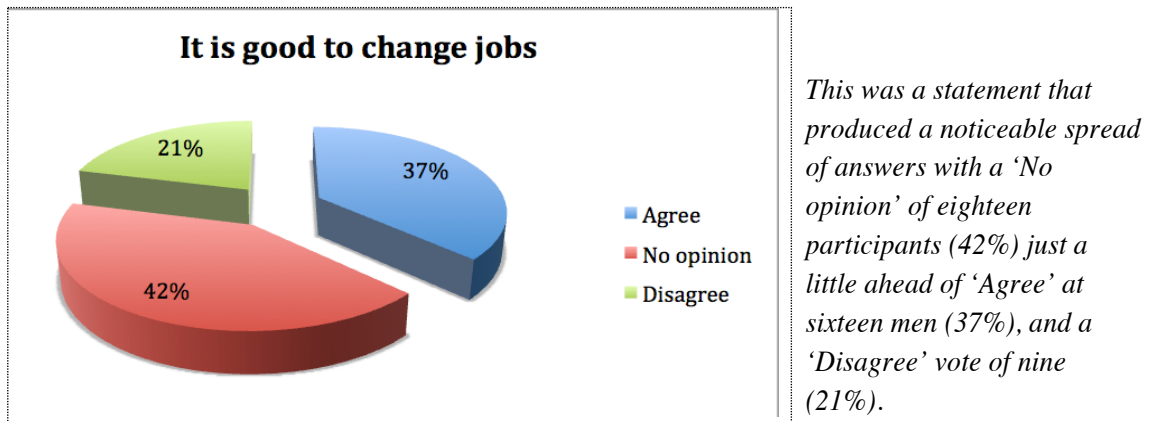
The history of each man’s life, as gathered in the interviews, was compared with these results as part of the triangulated methodology. Among those who agreed with the statement, the most important work in the life of #01 was when he moved from working in the Anglo-Australian community to interpreting for Chinese seamen. He had suffered ‘culture shock’ on his arrival in Australia, and had felt lost and lonely like these seamen, who were unable to contact their families in China. So, during World War II, he took employment with the Chinese Seamen’s Union in Sydney, and worked very hard for them. There was another man (#32) whose work was with the family business. It was a closed society embodying a life lived working in the store, and within the whole extended family. It was his choice, and he still enjoyed being part of it. Yet, there was #40 who loved work so much that he combined full-time work with three other part-time jobs. He said, “well, I

*maintain that the job is what you make it to be, I've enjoyed wherever I worked. I wouldn't apply for a job if I didn't like it. Even if it becomes difficult, you find out why it is difficult and try to make it easier".*

There were ten Australian-born and seven overseas-born who disagreed with the statement that work was the most important part of their life. One was an Australian-born man (#16), when as a Junior Clerk, he had a challenging encounter, when he wanted to be an Accountant but needed to be indentured. *"That was the first time I came across racial prejudice, when I applied for a job with a Public Accountant. One of the partners, in all seriousness, said um, "Look, I don't think you would be accepted in any of the Accounting firms. We have to go and see clients, and um because you are Chinese, um I suggest you follow um the professions of um your forebears, and that's in the restaurant or gardening area."* This rebuff only increased #16's determination, and yes, later he did have a successful career as an Accountant but his family and Church beliefs were equally as important as his work. One of the overseas-born participants did higher-level studies in Australia, and became a consultant, first for others and then in his own business. He found chasing up payments to be too stressful, so work was not the most important part of his life.

Two (#06, #19) of the men with 'No opinion' were born in Sydney, and were fully assimilated. The remaining four (#13, #17, #18, #42) from this group were overseas-born, and came to Australia as adults. They studied, achieved their desired qualifications, worked fruitfully in various Government departments, and in retirement are involved with Australian and Australian-Chinese community activities. The distinctiveness of each of the forty-three answers indicated that the men were willing to say what they believed, and not just what was agreeable.

**Chart 32: “It is good to change jobs” – Q17**

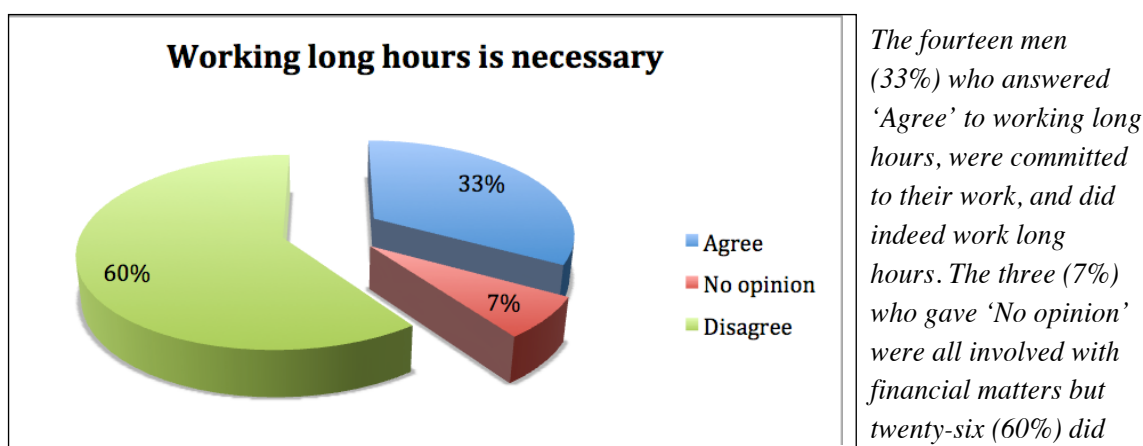


The large ‘no opinion’ was an honest reply. On the whole, there were very few of these men whose working life was not stable. There were a number of the participants who after completing their studies found a job to their satisfaction, and remained with the one employer for their whole working life.

Job stability was important for families of the early to mid-twentieth century, when the father was seen as ‘the bread-winner’. This group of men largely had jobs that provided them with stability, and enough variety to sustain interest. For example, those who were teachers moved from school to school, and thus from area to area, they taught at different levels and in different classes, sometimes within the State education system, and sometimes in the Private schools. The engineers might be working on a viaduct in the outer city or perhaps on a country road. Likewise the accountants could move through different divisions and choose to be tax agents or auditors, as their jobs too provided sufficient variety to maintain and increase their interest and expertise.

The move to the Information age in the twentieth century meant that many had to develop new skills within their work environment. Training and retraining became the mantra of human resource management, rather than the manpower planning of earlier decades. The idea that it was ‘good’ to change jobs inferred both promotional opportunities as well as a ‘good change’ for better pay, lifestyle or interest. Those participants who had worked in Public Service Departments, such as #06, were able to progress within the system supported in their adaption to new roles, by relevant, often ‘in-house’, retraining courses.

**Chart 33: “Working long hours is necessary” – Q2**



*The fourteen men (33%) who answered ‘Agree’ to working long hours, were committed to their work, and did indeed work long hours. The three (7%) who gave ‘No opinion’ were all involved with financial matters but twenty-six (60%) did not believe that working long hours was necessary. Of these, fifteen were overseas-born and eleven were Australian-born, and they were mostly of professional status.*

The forty-three participants were occupied in a range of work places. Two laboured all their lives as ‘working class’ men involved with gardening, and factory work. There were others whose work also required quite a degree of physical labour, such as the storekeepers and carriers, and working long hours was part of their job. Certainly, the retailers worked far beyond the normal opening hours for their store, and this was particularly so in the times prior to pre-packaged foodstuffs. Although, one retailer (#04), said that working long hours was unnecessary but then his store involved a number of family members to share the workload. While the private business owners varied from retail to wholesale trade pursuits, the fact remained that if you had your own business, the tendency was to work longer hours than those, for example, employed in commercial offices and Government departments. Surprisingly, a number of the participants worked as engineers within Public Service Departments. This was unusual as certainly pre and during the times of World War II, it was openly stated by those seeking work, that the Public Service departments did not employ Australian-Chinese, with the presumption that this was because of race.

This question touched on a long-held Australian belief that Chinese worked very long hours. It was a carry-over from the nineteenth century gold-rush days when Chinese miners were accused of establishing cultural enclaves, networks, and working longer hours than their ‘white’ contemporaries. The Chinese worked as a group as their personal identity was in effect secondary to that of their family identity, ancestry and clan. The Chinese clans were strong and supportive of their members, and in some cases had paid member’s costs to come to Australia. The Chinese did not work individually, whereas, the white Anglo-Celtic men saw hard work for them as individual, and associated with the Christian work ethic. In the early twentieth century, Worker’s Unions became firmly established, and restrictions

were placed on work conditions and practices. The participants in this study did not reinforce the stereotype of the nineteenth century Chinese worker. These twentieth century men saw more to life than work, particularly as, in their retirement, they were enjoying the fruits of their lifetime labour.

### **Summary of Work Responses**

The five questions about Work had an outcome that showed a large majority of participants enjoyed their working life in Australia. They agreed that working conditions in Australia were good, and that it was easy to get work but there was a proportion who had found it more difficult. As to work being the most important factor in their lives, this was not agreed. Most felt that work was an important factor but other factors may have been more important to them. When the participants were questioned as to whether it was good to change jobs, their opinion was divided, with 42% recording a 'No opinion'. This was the highest percentage for a 'No opinion' noted in any of the entire twenty questions, and the figure was five points ahead of the 'Yes' answers.

The division of opinion was quite marked as to the importance of working long hours, with 60% voting 'No', though many of them, in actual fact, had worked very long hours. A good example was when #20 recollected, that he helped his father at weekends, and after school, with buying goods at the warehouses for his father to hawk to householders during the week. The Australian labour movement had succeeded in achieving an eight-hour working day but for the workers in New South Wales it took until a time in the twentieth century for this to come into effect. So despite working longer hours the participants did not agree with the statement that it was always necessary.

Their living and working years spanned the twentieth century, and in the time of their younger years, it was generally acceded that the man of the household was the breadwinner, and his work was the pivot of the family. Overall, these participants showed stability in their employment, and appeared to gain satisfaction from their work.

### **Summary of Questionnaire Findings**

The results from this Questionnaire gave five scores to each segment of the questionnaire - *learning, culture, identity* and *work*. The ultimate rating of 100% was supportive of the fact that Australia is a good place to live. The highest scores and lowest scores were questions that related to *Culture* but it was the *Identity* segment that produced the most unexpected results.

It was important to note that as regards learning, educational practices were always in a state of change. The New South Wales education system of the twentieth century prepared

the majority of the participants, when students, for a life of work. The basic subjects of 'reading, writing and arithmetic' supplemented by some science and historical studies led to the Intermediate Certificate, a level for those moving to Trades and other Courses at a Technical College. It was noted that prior to the 1950s and onward that studies, for example, of accounting, nursing, architecture and for Public Service employment were able to be undertaken at a Technical College, after passing the Intermediate Certificate. This was a pathway followed by many Chinese at that time (#06). For those wishing further studies at a higher level there followed two years until Fifth year at a High School, that culminated with the Leaving Certificate and/or a Matriculation Certificate. This grading determined whether an individual succeeded in obtaining a place in a University for Degree courses, or perhaps a Teachers College. The higher the standard of education, at that time, was an indicator that the employment finally acquired would not only secure the student, on completion of the Course, a better income but kudos for himself and family. In conversation, one participant (#26) mentioned that his wife was the first Australian-Chinese to be granted entry to Teachers College in 1954, and that his brother-in-law was the first Australian-Chinese to be accepted into the Public Service in the late 1940s. Another of the educated men (#20) saw his achievement, at the end of his working life, as that "*I spent thirty-five years work in the one job. Younger people these days, find that amazing*". Whereas the ninety year old (#05) had to seek work, any work with no given timespan.

The responses were governed by each person's experiences, and his subsequently formed opinions, and the scores produced indicators. The statement in the culture section, "*Australia is a good place to live*" (Q: 16) was not a controversial matter but gave the respondents an opportunity to note their agreement or otherwise. The most negative answers were to the question "*Different clans should not inter-marry*" (Q: 20). That 91% did not agree with adherence to earlier Chinese marriage practices showed the strength of the changed views. As to the statement that Chinese language was an essential component of being Chinese, the division was 44% saying 'Yes' and 44% saying "No". In each of these groups of Yes and No, there was a combination of Australian-born and overseas-born, and no indicators as to why they chose to answer as they did. Overall, they did not display any prejudiced loyalty about their Chineseness nor their language, and they felt that their identity was a meld of both cultures.

The men's attitude to work displayed some vacillation, only about half thought that work was the most important aspect of their life. There was not full agreement on changing jobs with a large 'No opinion', and a definite 'No' for working long hours. They would have seen the long hours worked by their parents in the family store, and absorbed some of their



work ethic. Nonetheless, they had studied, risen in status, and no doubt they had confidence in their own ability to choose wisely, problem solve, work hard and succeed. There was a possibility that their motivation was effected by the values that they had absorbed during their lifetime.

Taken as a whole, there were some divisive answers and surprising percentages to parts of the questionnaire that gauged its productiveness. It provided additional useful information, and support to the elucidations of the interview. Some of the questions might have been better or differently phrased to clarify different nuances in the discussion of attitudes, morés and expectations. However, an earlier trial had not shown a need for change.

It was a difficult task to design a study with three instruments to cover a period of thirty years because social changes over time affect the language used, and interpretations of it. For example, words like discrimination, assimilation and racism have altered in their emphasis, and are now perceived differently. The degree of the word used, such as when something was essential or was just necessary would have changed the nuance of the response. This study also wanted the holistic portrait of the person over a lifetime to dip into many of the changes that had been effected in their lives.

Since the sample was a group of senior Australian-Chinese men, the focus areas of identity and culture were important. Since they were men only, then work was an important component of their lives. Continuous learning over a lifetime, including opportunities for adult education, and this was intrinsic to the study. The questionnaire highlighted the four focus areas, so it was a valuable source of detail that could either substantiate, contradict or extend the attitudinal viewpoints discussed by the participants in their interviews. The quality of the cross-correlation depended on the careful preparation of a related set of questions that were asked in the interview. The triangulated methodology used in this study, proved useful in this research process.

### **Applying the Levinson & La Fromboise Studies**

Two existing theories were used to inform this study, one from Levinson et al. and the other from La Fromboise et al..

Similar to this study, Levinson's study interviewed a large sample, and was concerned solely with men. Comparisons were made with Levinson's American study, that focused on themes such as work satisfaction, marriage, mentor relationship, decisions, culture and familial ties, and epiphanies or life-changing decisions. The La Fromboise team concentrated on second-culture acquisition models and bicultural adaptation.

These models were applied to this bicultural group of men to explore notions about the

degree to which the models of second-culture acquisition facilitate acquisition of skills related to bicultural competence.

The assessment of their individual levels of learning was a composite of their formal and informal education/learning. The interviews provided the bulk of information about their school years, tertiary studies, and any further training the men had done. In addition, questions were asked about informal learning at work, or any other on-the-job training they might have acquired.

So in order to ascertain each person's patterns of learning over a lifetime, a scale of numbers was assigned but it was not value laden so that three was not better than one. For example, Primary and Secondary schooling in Australia was labelled One, for those schooled in China it was Two, and a Three if schooled in another Asian or nearby country, such as Malaysia, Fiji and Hong Kong. The latter group was separated from China because of its different, and more westernized schooling system. The schooling was looked at in this way, as some of the migrant participants had entered as children, and most of their schooling was in Australia. Here, the primary or foundational educational and socialising experiences were the focus.

The overseas-born arrived at different ages and stages of education. The adult category spanned their years from eighteen to forty years. It covered the training they engaged in after Secondary school, and any other informal learning they acquired in their early adult years. The Later Adult category spanned their years from forty years to their current retired status. This included what formal training had been offered throughout their career (assigned value 2) to formal training for other careers or promotions that had given them more management level skills (assigned value 3) or where they had become involved in another absorbing life study such as retraining for another career, new language or recreational learning (assigned value 4) or postgraduate studies at university (assigned value 5).

To reiterate, numbers were assigned for such factors as where they were schooled, whether they changed careers or pursued more formal training. So, in order to tabulate these results, much of the data was analysed in two distinguishable groups – those who were known as ABCs and assumed to have been born in Australia, while in actual fact some weren't, plus those who had come at a young age as migrants, and subsequently had been schooled in Australia. This category focused on the primary socialisation period of formal Primary schooling as a distinguishing characteristic. Those schooled in Australia consequently included those born overseas who came as children, and thus

had been schooled in Australia. The points or numbers assigned, as seen in Table 30 below, were used to portray their learning that included schooling from Primary to Postgraduate, learning-on-the-job, extra learning acquired, further formal education and at which levels (e.g. TAFE or University), type of work, positions held or promotions, whether in private firms or Public Service positions.

**Table 30: PATTERNS OF LEARNING - AUSTRALIA SCHOOLED (n=26)**

Participant #	Primary	Secondary	Adult	Later Adult
3	1	1	1	1
• 5 •	1	0	2	3
6	1	1	2	4
8	1	2	2	3
9	1	1	3	2
• 10 •	1	0	1	3
12	1	1	3	4
14	1	1	3	3
16	1	1	3	3
19	1	1	4	2
20	1	1	4	4
22	1	1	4	4
• 23 •	1	1	3	2
25	1	1	4	2
26	1	1	4	1
27	1	1	4	5
29	1	1	3	3
32	1	1	4	1
33	1	1	3	3
34	1	1	4	2
36	1	1	4	2
• 38 •	1	1	4	3
39	1	1	3	4
40	1	1	4	5
41	1	1	4	3
47	1	1	4	3

•\_• indicates specifically mentioned in the text

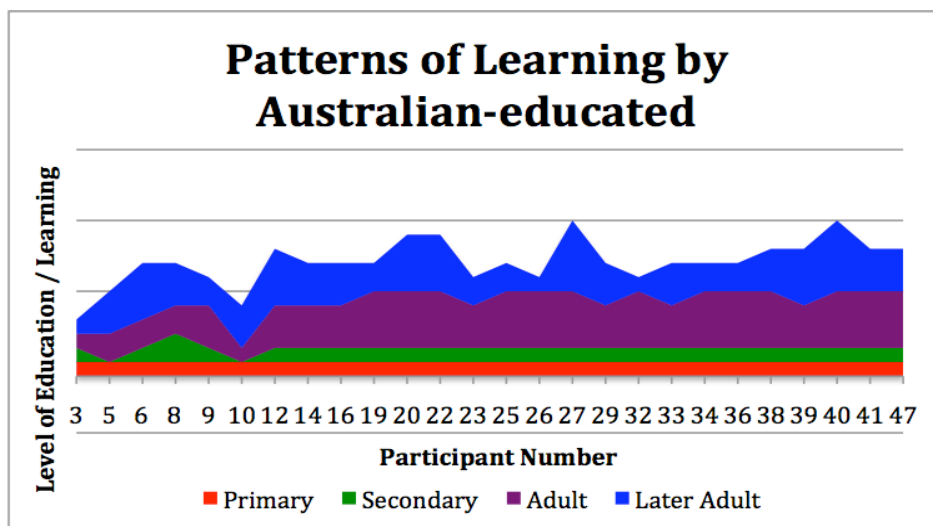
Table 30 shows the patterns of learning of each of the participants schooled in Australia, although they were not necessarily born in Australia, as discussed above.

The following are two examples to illustrate the background to the scoring. #38 was four years old on his arrival in Australia from China. His parents were Australian-born Chinese on an extended holiday in China, where #38 was born. He is western educated, and lost his ability to speak Chinese when he started his Australian schooling, and is unable to read or write Chinese. It was not just the schooling that contributed to his lack of Chinese but also because his parents spoke English in the home to help their children's adjustment to a new culture #38 was an excellent student to postgraduate level, who stayed in the one Government

Department for his working life, and attained a top position. The numbers in the Table 30 show that that #38 attended Primary and Secondary schooling in Australia, that he reached Postgraduate level in his studies and continues to engage in further education/learning in his retirement.

The second example, #23 was Australian-born and schooled from about six years old but when he was ten years old, he was sent to China for two or three years. On the journey and later in China, he was in the care of an uncle, and #23 there attended an Intermediate school. He learnt Cantonese, Chinese history and cultural ways, until at thirteen years of age, he returned to Australia where he resumed his schooling. He has an advanced ability with languages, and was a wartime translator. However, his fulltime work was as an Accountant, and he stayed for his whole working time with one company, rising in promotional status within its structure.

**Chart 34: PATTERNS OF LEARNING - AUSTRALIAN SCHOOLED (n=26)**

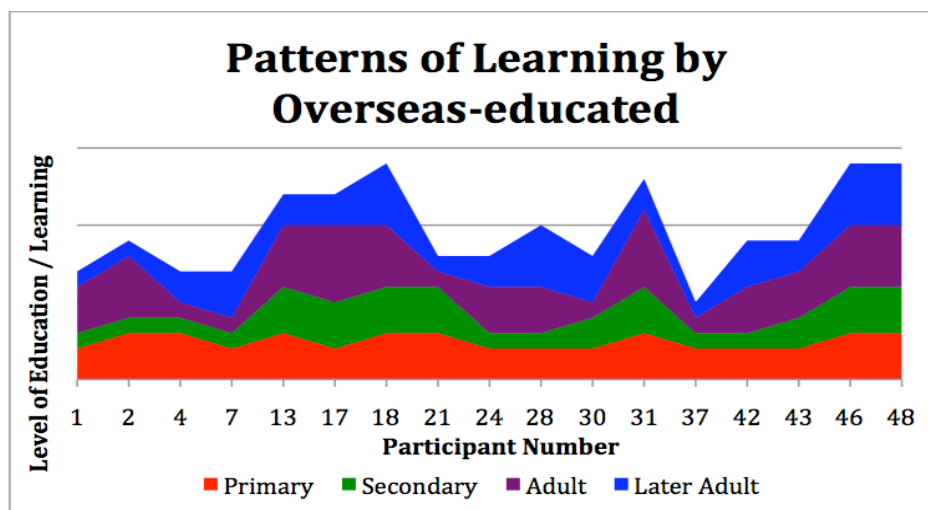


*It showed the Australian Primary school level that indicated all the participants were educated at that standard. Two ABCs (#05, #10) did not receive extra schooling after Primary school, as shown by the dip (at #05, #10) in the chart at the Secondary school level.*

The Adult, and more prominently later Adult peaks show the continued education/ learning of participants (e.g. #06, #20, #22, #40). There were reasons, beyond the control of the participants #05 and #10, that curtailed their education beyond Primary school level. #05 was born in the Northern Territory and was sent to Townsville, Queensland for a High School education but family changed their minds, and decided that he go to Hong Kong for his Chinese education. This he did, though he felt disadvantaged as his Chinese language was not good. He had only been there for three months, when a tragedy at home meant that he had to return to Australia to take care of the family business. Although #05 had a limited formal education, he was nonetheless fluent in English, Cantonese and three dialects plus had the

confidence and ability to assist with the family businesses. #10's story was also from the far North of Australia, in a town that had no High School. He finished his schooling at fourteen and a half years, in 6th class at a one-teacher school with fifty in the class. He took turns with his siblings in helping in the family 'mixed business' that included a grocery, fruit & vegetables, a bakery and café. He stayed until he was eighteen years of age then as an itinerant took any work that was available in the outback regions. He saved his money and went south to Adelaide, Melbourne and Tasmania and finally Sydney where he worked on the wharves for twenty-one years. He recovered his Chinese heritage as a volunteer in various Australian-Chinese groups in Sydney. As a keen reader, he was self-motivated to use the Public Libraries in Melbourne and Sydney to learn of China's history and current affairs. He attempted to reclaim his Chinese heritage, and eager to learn despite his lack of formal education.

**Chart 35: PATTERNS OF LEARNING - OVERSEAS EDUCATED (n=17)**



*As explained above, in the details of the participants who were schooled in Australia, a similar format was applied to those who were schooled at various locations overseas.*

Similarly, as with the patterns of learning of those educated in Australia, this chart has assigned numbers but they are not intended to represent a scale of values but rather as explained above, the Number 1 represented Primary school education overseas. So, in this chart, all those participants who received a Number 2 in their Primary or Secondary column of Table 31 (below), it meant that they were educated overseas for Primary school ages (red band), and the chart showed that they stayed overseas for Secondary study (green band) or even further tertiary studies (purple band). However, their work and learning (see blue band) was greater during their later adult years in Australia. The coloured bands visually show the patterns of learning over their lifetimes. After formal school education, all the participants engaged in more learning in their adult and later adult lives. However, it may have been or

through being updated at work in the same job, as well as more formal studies in converting to new careers, in upgrading qualifications for promotion, or actually engaging in postgraduate study, as well as informal learning through engaging in social activities in their new country.

**Table 31: CCAI SCORES OF OVERSEAS-SCHOOLED (n=17)**

Participant #	Primary	Secondary	Adult	Later Adult
1	2	1	3	1
<b>• 2 •</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>
4	3	1	1	2
7	2	1	1	3
<b>• 13 •</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>
17	2	3	5	2
<b>• 18 •</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>
21	3	3	1	1
<b>• 24 •</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>
28	2	1	3	4
30	2	2	1	3
<b>• 31 •</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>
37	2	1	1	1
<b>• 42 •</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>
43	2	2	3	2
<b>• 46 •</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>
48	3	3	4	4

• • indicates specifically mentioned in the text

In contrast to Table 30 of the Australian-born participants, the patterns for those born overseas are more noticeable, marked in the Chart 35 with peaks and troughs. The first student who peaked was #02, who arrived when sixteen years old. He achieved University standard but was unsettled, and did not complete his courses. Though he had some regrets, he nonetheless found work in his chosen field, and was able to comfortably support his family. Next, a thirty eight year old adult (#13), with an established family, did not continue with his proposed extra studies in Australia, though education was very important to him and his family of origin. However, his learning was ongoing, as his ability with languages gave him extra opportunities in the area of translation, which he continued to pursue. A continuing student, who came when eighteen years old was #18, who by extra University studies widened the scope of his expertise in teaching, and ensured that he too was productive, now teaching Chinese in his retirement. Others who extended their education and learning were #24 who arrived as a seventeen year old, but it was because of his wife's encouragement that he enrolled to become an Accountant, and found it a very satisfying vocation. At five years old #28 didn't expect to become an electronics teacher, but later at a friend's suggestion he enrolled to become a wireless operator, then secured work with a shipping line. It was on an overseas trip that he met his wife-to-be in New Guinea, and after settling in

Sydney he found satisfying work at TAFE and with further study achieved his Teacher's Certificate and a University Degree. Events for #31, who came to Australia at seventeen years of age, progressed in a usual pattern with High School, University for a degree in Engineering, marriage to another student while both completed their Doctorates. His learning continued as he set up his own consultancy, and had to acquire a new set of business skills.

A quite usual age for incoming migrant children was fourteen but many came labelled as twelve year old students. #42 at fourteen had completed High School in Hong Kong but when he arrived in Australia, he needed tuition in English. This he did with a tutor, then enrolled in local High Schools. He studied mechanics and secured work on aircraft maintenance. He loved this job as it gave him variety and constant re-training to increase his skills. This work on mechanical maintenance was for many years then he moved to another big company who dealt with roads where he also had steady employment. He valued both workplaces as they gave him opportunities to continue his learning, and increase the breadth of his expertise.

The next peak on the chart was at #46, a man who at thirty-eight, as a Civil Engineer, came not for himself but for his children's education. #46 came as a mature educated much-travelled man who had lived, studied and worked in other countries where English was a common language. He saw Australia as a good place for his family, and quickly became absorbed into and active in his community. He continued to study languages in his retirement years, and enjoyed training in Chinese martial arts.

The interest in further education/learning was greater among those born overseas than for those born in Australia. Actually, some of those born overseas, who were included in the listing of those schooled in Australia had little or no real Primary education in their Chinese village, but they had assimilated through socialisation the Chinese language and customs of their family household

Finally in graphically trying to express the patterns of learning (Chart 34 and Chart 35) of those schooled in Australia and overseas respectively, it showed that both groups had learning as an ongoing activity over their lifetimes. There was a strong showing in the Australian-educated while the overseas-educated group pointed to an even heavier emphasis on formal learning at postgraduate level. Opportunities, access and/or motivation for further education/learning involved more of the overseas schooled group than those based for their education/learning in Australia.

## Comparison with Levinson's Model

Levinson's large social-psychological study of American men provided a basis for comparison with this study group of forty-three retired Australian-Chinese men, and concentrated on the later phases of life. Both studies investigated a similar series of variables related to the life course of men. Specific variables here were itemised in the participant's interview results including their age distribution; cultural background with details of their family of origin and time in Australia; range of language ability; education and learning acquired; scope of occupations during their working years, and any effects of the wartime years; attitudes to class; religious/values indicated; any racism experienced, and factors relating to their family of choice including own family, children and their education, followed by the retirement interests of the participants.

**Table 32: COMPARISON WITH LEVINSON MODEL**

Topic	Levinson Model	Hoy Model
Participants	40 men	43 men
Interviewer/s	05	01
Methodology	In-depth interviews	Interview/questionnaire & CCAI.
Age range	35 to 45 years	60 to 90+ years
Occupation	10 men in 4 work areas	43 men in various occupations
Culture	All American-born	All Australian-Chinese
Social class background	Parents, participants were more diverse	Most parents were 'workers' Participants middle to upper
Racial-ethnic-religious	Diverse origins	Similar origins for the 43 men
Educational levels	Varied	Varied - primary to tertiary
Marital status	Majority married	40/43 married to own racial group, with 38/40 wives alive.
Mentors	Very important	Not important. Men are their own decision makers.
Cultural/family ties	Tenuous	Valued ongoing connection e.g. Number One sons
Insights linked to	Mortality	Extended range understanding / new places & situations.

Levinson's classic study, his topics and concepts (see Table 32) of the development and stages that men experience in their life structure were applied to a similar but not identical content of men, to seek points of reference, similarity and divergence. The number of participants in each study was almost the same but Levinson used more interviewers to gather the material. This allowed them to conduct frequent in-depth interviews with each participant. The wealth of Levinson's data was acquired by visits of his team to workplaces and homes, the reading of the writings produced by some of his participants, and their lengthy and often biographical interviews. This single researcher's study used mixed



methodology, both qualitative and quantitative tools, to elicit a breadth of data about each participant's life story and structure, so as to make an objective assessment, and provide a fuller portrait each man. The following table compares and contrasts the variables and results of these two studies.

Their age span (60 to 90+years) was double that of Levinson's men (35 to 45 years). Levinson's premise was that late adulthood was a time for reflection and enjoyment, and for this reason, many variables were gathered to give a detailed portrait of each participant over his lifetime. These variables, most importantly the men's work, family, education, religion, class and status, matched those that Levinson considered significant. The men he chose to study were grouped into four areas while the work undertaken by the Australian-Chinese men was, by circumstance, largely in the three areas of accountancy, business and engineering. The participants, as retirees, had already chosen a change of their self and structure, and moved into their 'new world'. They were all confident in telling of their life stages and beliefs. They were proud of what they had achieved. Their children were all tertiary educated, while the participants were involved in pursuits that gave them satisfaction, such as voluntary work for others, golf or tennis with friends, tracing their family history, writing a book, and renewing friendships with those from their younger times. Their personal lives had stability. The majority still had their partner with them to enjoy this new experience of retirement. Mentors for them had not been important, they had achieved by themselves, and at this stage of life, their educational attainments were not important to them except to help others.

The main aspects dealt with here were in relation to Levinson's interest in work satisfaction, marriage, mentoring people and incidents of epiphanies or dramatic moments and life structure.

### **Work via Levinson**

Work was a particular interest of Levinson, who saw it as part of a man's identity and status that added meaning to his life. Our participants were aligned with eight particular types of occupations (see Table 9) that were largely made up of professionals and businessmen, plus two tradesmen. The larger groups were composed of engineers (21%) and 26% were either in accountancy/clerical or 26% in retail/wholesale business. Two of participant's responses, noted here, gave insights into their general approval of work as a source of satisfaction in their lives. #47 when queried about the long hours he worked in the business world, answered, "*all jobs were such, that there was no such*

*thing as an eight-hour day. Because in business, there's no such thing as a nine to five job, you just work as you need to, to support and help the company".*

One of the engineers (#27), when asked did he enjoy going to work, replied, *"Oh, I've loved it! I loved every minute of my work. The only times when I have not enjoyed my work [was] when there's disputes over my contracts, which I had to supervise. Either delays due to inclement weather or the actual unexpected encounter of rock where there shouldn't been rock, or the other way around and ah, one of the things there was, the inadequate allowance for contingency"*. These on-site difficulties did not deter #27 from his overall job satisfaction, and examples of other participant's experiences follow.

As a further example of work satisfaction, #06 stated that he enjoyed his work in the Public Service and its in-house study. *"Yes", he said, "we always used to have training sessions all the time. We didn't get any certificates for doing it, no. We did management courses, stress courses, everything"*.

Another participant #18 loved studying, and found that one course led to another. He was interested in multicultural education and after securing his teaching qualifications, he remarked, *"I thought that learning about teaching a second language, it would be helpful."* He passed the required Diploma, and it gave him further options. *"Since I've been teaching Chinese, that might be the most enjoyable, the Chinese. Yes"*, and he has continued to do so in his retirement.

Conversely, #30 had a unique reply, as he had a limited education as a child in China, and on his return to Australia, he did no further study. When asked, *"you didn't bother to do anymore?"* He responded, *"Not because I didn't want to bother but because I had to earn a living! People who are well-to-do have got more opportunity to study"*. One such man was #40, who during his working life used every spare moment to study, and even to work at a second or a third job. In retirement, he noted, *"Well now, I still hold my own, as I said, I still haven't given up studying. I've studied to go across to China to teach English speaking. In other words, I've done teach international courses, I've done business English"*. He had hoped to go to southern China, if possible. However, he said, *"the only trouble is, that in China, they still have discrimination in the way of age, whereas in Australia, or non-China organisations, they don't have that discrimination for age, and that type of thing. Or if they do, they don't spell it out, type of thing. Whereas when you apply for jobs in China they've got an age limit"*. To #40, this preclusion was a disappointment.

### **Marriage via Levinson**

Another key decision in a man's adult life was his bond with a partner. Marriage was a social expectation for most men, and the results of the interviews (see Table 14) showed the marriage choices of the participants. Forty married and three remained as bachelors, although one of their number had a long-term Anglo-Celtic partner. Two wives married to two of the most senior men were deceased but the wives of thirty-eight married men were still alive. This was quite a high percentage of intact senior households. Levinson remarked, "*the stability of marriage as an institution has traditionally been sustained by the binding forces of culture, religion, extended family and law*" (p.108). Forty-five percent of Levinson's men "*married women of other religions or ethnicities*" (p.77), whereas ninety-four per cent of the Australian-Chinese participants married a woman of Asian heritage who understood the importance of family values and shared religious views.

### **Mentor Relationship via Levinson**

Levinson also saw that for males, the mentor relationship was "*most complex and developmentally important*" (p.97). Nonetheless, in this study, it was not of significant value. However, #20 attributed his father's value system as his main influence. Others indicated that an aunt, a family friend, their sister or their father gave helpful advice but largely, their answer was a definite that they made their own decisions. For example, #38, answered, "*I don't think I could pick anyone in particular*". Likewise, #25, who in his twenties, told his father that he was returning to school, and while he was still respectful to his father, from that point onward he made his own decisions. Most participants relied on themselves, even for those whose parents were with them, as they realised that their parent's command of English was limited. #46 remarked, "*unfortunately, we make all the decisions because my father does not know English. We had to make our own decisions in those days*". An exceptional case was #04, who explained how he was mentor to his father. He told how every week he and his father would watch the Newsreels at the local theatre. On arrival home, because his father did not understand English, #04 would explain to him the items of news that they had watched at the cinema. The participants did not mention mentors at work, while mentoring on the job has since become a business strategy. Then there were participants such as #09 who answered, "*No, you just learn on the job, you try and observe*". For example, as he moved through the various departments that dealt with Accounts, he was alert to any procedures that were different, and saw no need for a mentor. Unlike

Levinson, who gave weight to mentors, this role was not apparent for the sample of Australian Chinese men.

### **Decisions via Levinson**

Most of these forty-three men emphasised, in their interview, that they enjoyed making their own decisions in their life, not always having conformed to their family's original plan. It was not possible to say decisively that fathers were a greater influence on their offspring, but certainly they were the dominant in the household decision-making. The participants could be said to match Levinson's forty men who "*formed a life in early adulthood quite different from that of their parents*", and "*advanced beyond the class-income level of their parents*" (Levinson 1978, p.76). For further detail, see Table 10 and Table 11 in the results of the interview, with reference to the participants level of class in the Australian society, and as applied to their family of origin. The men in the study had advanced in their social levels.

### **Culture and Family via Levinson**

Another view expressed by Levinson, of culture and familial ties as being tenuous, was not found in this study. Levinson, in surveying the differences between the parents and their sons stated, "*the big difference is in values and life style, and in most cases the discontinuity is enormous*" (p.77). He continued, and said that few rejected their origins but the majority only had tenuous ties now to the familial ethnic and religious traditions (p.77). In contrast most of the participants in this study valued their family ties, and many enjoyed the Chinese cultural elements as part of their lifestyle. The life style, of both generations resident in Australia had certainly improved for both children and parents, with increased wealth and improved living conditions. The ambience of their homes was an outward sign, as displayed was a combination of western and western styles to varying degrees.

### **Life-Changing Decisions via Levinson**

The life-changing decisions of these men were affected by their cultural and familial ties. Their Chinese heritage meant this was so, particularly in relation to their birth order responsibilities. There were twenty-seven men (63%) who were the first-born son, with the cultural and familial obligation to be the main support to their parents and extended family, both physically and as a decision-maker. Levinson pointed to a change in gender distinctions (p.229) as being more fluid in modern society. However, these participants largely adhered to their cultural concept. As #30 stated, "*as soon as we got*

*married, after the first year, the first son born, and that's it, she stayed home and look after the kids. Which was - that's how she wanted it and that's how I wanted it".* This pattern of the male being the head of the household or 'breadwinner' was evident in the lives of other participants.

Human destructiveness was another aspect of self that was raised by Levinson (p.222-228). It was common to experience polarities in the various transitional periods of life, and the phrase 'mid-life crisis' was well-known and used. Levinson considered that the period of mid-life to be the most dramatic time of crisis in a man's life. While in this study, the men experienced times of dramatic change at different periods, for example starting work, career change, school, marriage and retirement. Few of the participants were affected by the trauma of divorce (Table 14), and of the five divorced men, three of them remarried.

#24 told of a dramatic event that changed his life when the sudden unexpected death of his relatively young father left the family in a state of shock and incredulity. They lived in a happy extended family arrangement but after the death of his father, for three subsequent years, each morning his mother would go to the toolshed in the backyard, extremely distressed, and later 'getting cranky with the children'. This was a family who was already dealing with an extended family member who had a serious illness, and they had experienced another unexpected sudden death, and had fostered two young children along with their own family. As #24 said, "*Still we didn't feel all that bad. We struggled through it, brought all the kids up*", and continued, "*in Chinese situations it's one step at a time*" [laughs]. However, his mother's behaviour was intolerable, so as the Number One son he 'put his foot down', and firmly told his mother 'to pull herself together'. His direct action solved the problem, she did change, and started to live her life again. #24 had experienced an epiphany or a moment of sudden revelation or insight, that caused him to act to create a changed situation.

#34 recounted two moments of change he experienced, both of which were related to his school years. He had moved from a small country Primary school to a very large High School in a neighbouring town. He can still recall in detail that day. "*I caught a bus to High school, and there wasn't enough room in the bus for everyone to be seated. I was standing in the aisle, and I looked up in the mirror in the bus, and I saw this small poor lonely little kid in a grey suit. And it was me!*" [laughs]. His second revelation came in Senior High school when he became School Captain, and the first

Sergeant Major, and later a Lieutenant in the School Cadet Unit. These places of honour had never before or since been held by a Chinese. The effects of these achievements changed him, and gave his life more meaning, and even in his later life he recalls the importance of respect for each other, and the strength it gave to his life.

Another life changing event was a change of place. It was made by #40 a country boy with a competitive nature, whose education, sometimes by correspondence, was ongoing, and whose wife was equally engrossed in business. At his wife's instigation they returned to her hometown in the Northern Territory, and #40 joined the Commonwealth Public Service. It was a move that changed their lives, and presented them both with greater opportunities, such as working with the Northern Land Council. They were both avid workers, often working at several different jobs. #40 said, "*Well, I maintain, that the job is what you make it to be. I've enjoyed wherever I worked. I wouldn't apply for a job if I didn't like it. Even if it becomes difficult, you find out why is it difficult. Try to make it easier*". Maybe this change of place was not an epiphany in the true sense of the word, but it was certainly a life-changing decision that extended his experiences and understanding of Aboriginal Australians, while it allowed him to retain his Chinese ways and beliefs.

A change of place affected a considerable number of the men (67%), though some, at the time, were young children whose memories of their birthplace had faded. There were twenty-one who immigrated to Australia, and eight men who came to New South Wales from other States of Australia. For the migrants it was a distinct cultural change of dress, procedures and language, and even for those already in Australia, they had to adapt to the conditions of Australia's largest city in contrast to their rural ways from country areas.

### **Life Structure via Levinson**

In summary, the 'life structure' of each man was examined, which included his many identities developed from his day-to-day levels of interaction with others in the various roles he performed in his adult years. It was an in-depth study of each participant's lifetime, and as expected, the results produced many variables common with those found by Levinson. These variables were discussed in the results of the interview. Nonetheless, most of the points raised by Levinson were not relevant to the findings of this study (see results of interview 4.1). In the interview glimpses were seen of each man's social context, how he felt and his participation in personal and public circumstances. Levinson appeared to have a rather dispirited view of old age, and wrote

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much of bodily decline, impairment, and imminent death (p.38). The vitality and joie de vivre exhibited by the forty-three Australian-Chinese participants did not equate with Levinson's view of the 65-plus age group.

These participants bridged cultures, spanned occupations and workplaces, and provided a thirty-year age range. Included were details of their family of origin and procreation, education, work history, epiphanies, friends, recreational pursuits and interests, and affiliation to community groups. Their retirement was a most noteworthy change to their life pattern. The choices they faced were largely determined by them, as to their degree of involvement with family, friends, community, and further learning for themselves. Only a few experienced 'epiphanies' or moments of sudden revelation but it was their work that was the prime factor in their lives and identity. In contrast to Levinson's theory, their retirement was just an adjustment to a new pattern of living without work. Although these findings were not consistent with Levinson's theory, his work provided a theoretical basis for selecting the criteria for this study. As in examining the lives of these Australian-Chinese men, and their learning over a lifetime of work, they did not have mentors or epiphanies but continued to value their family and culture as they improved their status, and provided a stable future for their families secured in Australia.

### **Comparison with La Fromboise's Model**

The North American set of second-culture acquisition models by La Fromboise et al. (1993) were used in this study to search for a measure of the each participant's biculturalism. It was first trialled with five participants. Each individual's triangulated data was matched within the La Fromboise framework in order to make a judgment as to where each participant would fit within the categories of second-culture acquisition. The trial provided a measure to assess their individual biculturalism and its consequences. Then all forty-three participants were assessed according to this set of models.

The La Fromboise set of different models of second culture acquisition required a resolution as to the extent of attention related to select process variables, such as contact, loyalty, involvement and acceptance with the culture of origin, and contact, affiliation and acceptance with the second culture. It is shown below with a modified layout in Table 33.

**Table 33: SCA MODEL BY LA FROMBOISE**

<b>MODEL</b>	<b>Extent of attention to process variables</b>	<b>Assimilation</b>	<b>Acculturation</b>	<b>Alternation</b>	<b>Multicultural</b>	<b>Fusion</b>
<b>Culture of Origin</b>	Contact	Low	Low	High	High	Low
	Loyalty	Low	Low	High	High	Low
	Involvement	Low	Low	High	High	Low
	Acceptance	Low	High	High	High	Low
<b>2nd Culture Acquisition</b>	Contact	High	Low	High	Moderate	High
	Affiliation	High	Low	High	Low	High
	Acceptance	High	Low	High	Low	High

This table from La Fromboise et al. (p. 402, 1993) was used to make the subjective assessment of the qualities of contact with the culture of origin, loyalty to it, involvement with it, and acceptance of it as a low, moderate, or high rating, based on the data-set for each participant.

Specific questions were asked in the interview that directly related as to how they felt about their Chinese culture, the values they wished to transmit, their work, their retirement and affiliations, and how happy and successful they felt their lives had been in Australia. Their contact with, affiliation with and acceptance of the second culture, which they acquired over a period of time, was the mainstream Australian culture. Their Australian qualities were shown in their comfort with their new language, for some their bilingual capabilities, and for others in their work histories, where they were the only, or one of few, Chinese in their workplace.

Diligent analysis was carried out on the data set for each participant, drawing upon their interview, questionnaire, and the extent of attention on select process variables that each of the forty-three participants paid to both their Chinese culture of origin and their Australian culture. There were no participants who fitted the Assimilation or Fusion models of second culture acquisition. This would have required a rejection of their Chineseness. In the final analysis, all the men fitted the Alternation model, in which all the categories in the first and second cultures registered as a High, and required that they didn't reject their culture of origin.



Although, all the participants fitted the Alternation model, it did not mean that they were all the same mix of biculturalism. Each man had his own variations of contact, loyalty, involvement, and acceptance with his first culture, and similarly his contact, affiliation and acceptance with the second culture. There were some participants whose understanding of their Chinese culture was in the moderate to low range. They all had loyalty and acceptance aligned with both cultures but the affiliation and contact had differences. They functioned biculturally, and each had found his personal solutions to operating across cultures. No stereotypical inferences could be made as the individuality of their experiences was strong and distinct. Their unique identity had changed over time as they adjusted to, and absorbed the second culture.

Some reflected the bicultural nature of their identity in their homes, the setting each family made for themselves. Many were interviewed in their homes where this was easy to see, while others visited the researcher's home, it was their preference. Home ambience was an interesting sidelight to see the mix of bicultural elements in the furnishings and settings that they had chosen with their partners and families.

Their learning environments were explored, their adjustment to the new language and their social adaptation. Questions were asked about companions at work, and as mentioned above, there were those who were the only Chinese in their workplace.

Also, as to how suitable marriage partners were found, in both rural and city situations, it was interesting to note that the majority of the men were married to Asian wives in an Anglo-Celtic country. Further, how their retirement experiences were often more bicultural as they had more time to explore their roots, or engage in cultural activities. Previously, in their working lives, in assimilated workplaces and/or places of learning, they may have been the only Chinese in these social situations, and there was, of course, less time then to pursue extra-cultural interests.

### **Second-Culture Acquisition (SCA) via La Fromboise**

La Fromboise and her team attempted to ascertain the degree to which these models of second-culture acquisition facilitated the acquisition of the skills related to bicultural competence. So, in this study, when it was found that all participants fitted the Alternation model generally, their data was checked for any discernable differences, especially as regard to their contact with Chinese culture. So, using the variables in La Fromboise's second Table, each participant's profile was examined again to determine their skills associated with bicultural competency.

**Table 34: APPLYING SCA MODELS to BICULTURAL COMPETENCE**

MODEL	Assimilation	Acculturation	Alternation	Multicultural	Fusion
Knowledge / cultural beliefs & values	Low	Low	High	Moderate	Moderate
Positive attitude toward both groups	Low	Low	High	Moderate	Moderate
Bicultural efficacy	Low	Moderate	High	Moderate	Moderate
Communication competency	Low	Moderate	High	Moderate	Low
Role repertoire	Low	Low	High	Moderate	Low
Groundedness	Low	Low	High	Moderate	Moderate

This meant that the researcher cross-checked ratings for contact, loyalty and acceptance, with examples from the participant’s life stories, facts they mentioned of groups they associated with, affiliated clubs they had joined, and even the amount of family contacts maintained. Then a reassessment was done of their bundle of skills, such as their knowledge of Chinese cultural beliefs and values, and/or statements that showed their positive attitude to both cultures, all to gauge how they functioned generally with bicultural efficacy. It also revealed their communication competency linked to their languages used, and the extent of their role repertoire. Ascertaining their degree of groundedness was aided by the first-hand observations by the researcher. Each participant was personally interviewed, often in their own home setting, and the availability of the video, to enable a visual assessment, added to the transcripts of the interviews.

There was concern by the researcher that the multicultural model of La Fromboise did not fit the Australian concept, and so she devised an Australian-version of a multicultural model. It included a moderate to low contact and involvement with their culture of origin but was high in loyalty and acceptance of it. This provided a closer model of the experiences of Australian-Chinese than that of La Fromboise, which was of American-Indian experiences in mainstream American culture. This postulate is included in the modified table below.

**Table 35: COMPARISON OF MODELS – LA FROMBOISE vs AUSTRALIAN**

<b>MODEL</b>	<b>Extent of attention to process variables</b>	<b>La Fromboise Multicultural</b>	<b>Australian Multicultural</b>
Culture of Origin	Contact	High	Moderate to Low
	Loyalty	High	High
	Involvement	High	Moderate - Low
	Acceptance	High	High
2 <sup>nd</sup> Culture Acquisition	Contact	Moderate	High
	Affiliation	Low	High
	Acceptance	Low	High

Nonetheless, this postulate was not used in this study so as to be consistent in the application of the La Fromboise model. In applying the La Fromboise model, it highlighted the differences between studying a Chinese sub-group in Australia compared to Native American Indians. The Americans had a sense of dislocation within their own country, and such a social dislocation that was more akin to Aboriginal Australians. The Australian model of second-culture acquisition was inserted above for those interested in a compare/contrast of the two ratings. The La Fromboise model was used to assess how the Australian-Chinese sample may have fitted it but the Australian multicultural milieu was such a different context. It might be better applied to indigenous groups rather than to multicultural groups, as the reactions experienced by the Australian-Chinese were not the same type of culture shock involved in their adaptive transitions as would be by indigenous groups.

It is worth noting again, that the considered judgment of the rating of each man according to the La Fromboise models was the result of much deliberation and careful analysis of the interview. The participants spoke freely, and throughout the results of this thesis there are numerous revealing statements by the participants, as they without hesitation voiced their opinions. Although all of these men were considered examples of the Alternation model, in that they live a bicultural identity at the junction of two cultures, they were all very forthright about being happy to be Australian.

#46 is a good example of this when interviewed, he stated, *“I always tell my children, You’re lucky to be here.”* When asked, what does it feel like to be Chinese in Australia? His reply was, *I don’t feel any different. I feel very, just like - in fact I think that the Chinese are quite well treated in Australia.* Also, the question has your Chineseness

been a plus or minus, elicited the answer, *“I think the upbringing give us a fantastic past. We understand a lot more and appreciate life a lot more. I don’t know what other people - I feel we all have to work for it.”* Was there ever a time when you ever wished you weren’t Chinese? *“I don’t know whether I don’t wish. I can’t say that I never wish, but I’m feel quite happy that I’m Chinese, a lot of things they don’t understand what we have. I feel that we work for it, we’re just a normal person, nothing else.”* As a migrant, #46 worked worldwide, and came to Australia for his children’s education. He quickly established himself within his new community and is proud to be an Australian. His bicultural identity allowed him to appreciate both cultures.

### **Birth Order via La Fromboise**

The inclusion as to whether the participant was a Number One son, and his place of birth was to determine if these potent factors had influenced the men’s degree of cultural acquisition. Birth order is of paramount importance in families of Chinese cultural extraction, as the Number One son has special privileges and responsibilities within the extended family structure. The place of birth also reflected such factors as language, customs, clothing, food and such that might contribute, or might not contribute, to the degree of absorption into a new culture. The forty-three participants were assessed, and then tabulated with the two pre-existing data sets of birthplace and birth order. The details of place of birth (twenty-one overseas and twenty-two Australian-born) of the men were used to check that these subgroups were not factors in their bicultural competence.

Also birth order has cultural imperatives influencing the behaviour of first-born sons. There were twenty-eight participants (65%) who were first-born sons, and fifteen (35%) participants who were not. A check of the numbers showed that there was little difference in the results between the overseas and Australian-born. This indicated that place of birth was not a determining factor. Also, though the number of participants who were first-born was almost double that of other family positions, it did not cause a resultant spread as to the level of second-culture acquisition, so it too did not provide leverage related to their bicultural competency.

### **Chineseness as Bicultural Identity via La Fromboise**

The La Fromboise team was interested in the psychological impacts of biculturalism, and in this study the CCAI was used as a quantitative measure of bicultural adaptability and competence. One participant, #42 felt his personal qualities aided his adaptation to a

second culture. During his early times in Australia, he managed to cope with several difficult situations. He adapted over time, respects both Australian and Chinese cultures, and contended that his ‘doesn’t give up easily’ stubbornness assisted him with this process of change – to becoming an Australian.

It was expected that the participants would be proud of the life choices that they had made, but importantly the value of their Chineseness was explicitly asked in interview. For example, #22 found his Chineseness a plus, and he demonstrated this pride in his Australian identity by acknowledging that the Chinese are contributing their unique mix as well. Questioned, what does it mean to be a Chinese in Australia now? His response was, now, in the current political and social milieu, *“I think I’m very proud to be an Australian, non-Ocker. I think I contribute to Australian society as an Aussie but as an Aussie with a difference, you know, not the stereotypical person or someone who’s beer-drinking or who loves sport. I think I’m an Aussie with a different cultural background, with a difference, just making Australia what it is, a multicultural, non-White society”*. He was then asked, ‘--is your Chineseness a plus or a minus?--’ His answer was, *“oh, a plus”*. #22 was typical of others, in that he expressed in his story his consciousness of being Chinese.

There were many examples of men who felt very Australian, and three examples were cited here (#27, #26, #22) from their interviews. A great example was the succinct answer given by #27 when he was queried, ‘--what does it mean to be Chinese in Australia now?--’ He replied briefly, *“Oh, I would say that to be Chinese Australian, you’re really Australian. I think that’s the simplest, shortest answer”*. #26 was also a good example of the men who felt very Australian. He had come to Australia as an infant and when asked, ‘--so what does it mean to be Chinese in Australia now?--’ He confided, *“Well, I really consider myself now as Australian of Chinese heritage. The only difference to a Caucasian Australian is um, we probably eat more Chinese food”*. His answer to the next question, ‘--would you say your Chinese values have been a plus or a minus throughout your life?--’, echoed the answer of #22, *“Oh... Oh yes, it’s a plus, yeah”*. He stayed integrated in the family business, and made it his life.

There were many who valued their Chineseness (e.g. #48, #04) while enjoying being Australian as well. For example, when participant #48 was asked, ‘--if his Chineseness had been a handicap?--’ He answered, *“well, not in terms of possessing the culture and*

*the background. But at work for instance, there has been some difficulty in gaining recognition and so on, in the work place.”*

His attention was drawn to one of the questions asked in the questionnaire, ‘was it easy to get work in Australia?’ *“Getting work was easy”*, he replied, *“but I think, getting promotion was virtually in my time, and my situation, it was difficult”*. #48 in doing voluntary work assisting other migrants with their English language difficulties, was offered full-time work in this area, so he moved to a much more conducive workplace. He was able to keep his Chineseness, his strong Chinese values, and assist other Chinese migrants in their adaptation to the English speaking Australian community.

#04 revealed his strong cultural identity when asked, ‘--with which culture do you have the greatest affinity?--’, *“I'd say, through and through I'm still Chinese. Probably 60% and 40%, I'm relaxed with the western part”*. What do you think makes you Chinese? *“I think, being Chinese, you've got to maintain a bit of your heritage, a bit of your roots, by speaking the language, and also carrying out some of your old culture. Then you gain a bit of respect”*. This migrant participant #04 expressed more of his personal opinions, detailing his perceptions of the variety he'd found within the Australian-Chinese community. It is interesting, his weighting of his bicultural identity in which he described himself as being relaxed with his ‘western part’.

### **Two Participants Cross-Correlated via La Fromboise and CCAI**

The value of using triangulation as part of the methodology, was the cross-relationship between the instruments. It extended the inner view of each participant when, for example, the replies of #08 and #01 were detailed, in order to show the nuances of triangulation. The questionnaire answers, the CCAI results, and interview details were linked together to show the psychological impact of biculturalism.

#### **Example - Participant #08**

Cross-correlating the information gathered from participant #08, his CCAI answers showed his ability to behave in a bicultural way. He chose to give ‘no opinion’ to the identity question. Following, is some responses from #08 in questionnaire and his CCAI:-

- \* dual modes of social behaviour: “I feel confident in my ability to cope with life, no matter where I am”.
- \* less anxious: “I can laugh at myself when I make cultural faux pas” (mistakes)

From his interview:-

- \* he can alter his behaviour to fit the context. “I’ve got friends at the Club [RSL - Returned Services League] and friends I made in the Air Force. I mean I go to the Hakka meeting every year, when they invite us in Hong Kong”.

From his questionnaire:-

- \* he chose ‘no opinion’ for the identity question, “caught between two cultures you can adopt only one”.

Participant #08 knows and understands both cultures, and doesn’t have to choose. That he chose to give ‘no opinion’ to the identity question supported that he is definitely a bicultural identity.

### **Example - Participant #01**

The second example of this triangulation was participant #01, who believed that you could enjoy both cultures equally, as from his CCAI and interview answers:-

- \* he stated that it was definitely true that:- *“I try to understand people’s thoughts and feelings when I talk to them, and I believe that all people, of whatever race, are equally valuable”*.
- \* he is joyful at being Australian, *“and then it was the 25th March, 1942. I got a letter, that was my liberation day. Liberation from bondage”*. His understanding of changing cultures and his bilingualism are assets in his work with Chinese in Australia.
- \* #01 says, *“I was born with perception and also compassion,”* and he believes that sharing between cultures is important, *“we have to tell people not to be sour because of the White Australia policy but actually I think we have to tell them the positives.”*

From his questionnaire:-

- he didn’t agree with the proposition that a single culture must to be chosen.

He is a union of two cultures. His CCAI answer reflected his empathy to others, and feelings of equality. It matched his interview, where he showed his joy at being Australian while working to represent other Chinese. He was very capable of politically engaging. He has bilingual skills, and his bicultural identity was used to negotiate and mediate between the groups. These two examples illustrated the nuances of crossing cultural boundaries, and the achievement of linking the western to the western culture.

### **Findings from the Interviews**

The three instruments used in this study produced a huge amount of data relevant to answer the question regarding the cross-cultural context of the lives and learning of

senior Australian–Chinese men.

The qualitative instrument, the interview, provided the best and richest data set to compare the responses to different questions. Some were asked the negative questions for comparison with other responses, such as ‘Have you ever wished you were not Chinese?’

### **Interviews – Excerpts about Chinese Heritage**

All participants, despite some having had negative initial experiences, adapted and formed bicultural identities so they could function competently in different cultural settings. Below is a selection of ten participant’s remarks (#02, #03, #04, #07, #08, #09, #17, #18, #19, #25) about and / or comments made in relation to their cultural heritage.

- His parents upheld the old Chinese beliefs brought by grandfather from China to Malaysia. He felt that he had adapted well, and could fit comfortably in both cultures. He was interested in the fact that his daughter felt very Australian while his son felt a bit more Chinese (#2).
- He was born in Australia, and said, *“I think myself, I wasn't influenced too much by the Chinese custom too much. I realised when I grew up that I'm Chinese but otherwise from that, I'm just like anybody that's grown up anywhere, you know”* (#3)
- An overseas-born man remarked, *“I have been able to integrate in both cultures quite comfortably and quite confidently too, because I enjoy being an Australian, I enjoy the living standard here, and ah, it is of benefit also, if you have a touch of other culture to integrate”* (#4).
- Born at home in China, he was very family oriented with a great respect and love for his parents, especially his father. His uncle was keen on Chinese rituals but his father only lukewarm but he became involved in Chinese ways from a community spirit. (#07).
- Australian-born, he appreciated his parent’s decision to send him to Hong Kong, as a teenager, to learn the language. He found it an advantage to be proficient in Cantonese and his clan dialect, as well as English. He noted, *“What do I value most? Oh - my parents, what they taught me ... all about Chinese customs and history”* (#08).
- A second-generation Australian-Chinese, now in his late eighties, recalled his younger days, you used to know everybody in Chinatown. There used to be only one Chinese restaurant (#09).
- One participant came to Australia as a mature-age student, and was keenly interested in education. He responded to questions, ‘--so you haven't experienced any racism? You fitted in quite well?--’ *“Oh yes, yes, yes.”* ‘--Because you came as an adult ? Some often experienced things--’? *“So people ah ha talk, not like school kids, they cannot say anything. Even so, if they have some racist habits, they aren't expressed to me”* (#17).



- Do you, now in your retirement, spend more time with Asian people or Australian people? *“More Australian than, oh, equal part. I have to say equal part.”*
- He is proficient in a number of Asian languages, and as an engineer worked for one local company until retirement. He mixes across cultures, and is active in community. (#17).
- Yet another of the men came as a mature-age student. He considered these points – ‘how do you handle differences, when people, you feel that they have classed you as a Chinese and not as an Australian? Do you ever find that people think of you as Chinese rather than Australian?’ *“Mmm, I still talk to them - if they want to talk to me, to be friendly but if they are very stubborn, and they just won’t change their attitude towards, then I just say, in my heart I say to them, ‘Last time I talk to you’. I’m not going to fight them, or hit them or anything like that I’m just not going to talk to them anymore that’s all”* (#18).
- Do you think that parts of you, such as your Chineseness, have been a plus or a minus? *“I think they have been a plus, yeah”* Have you ever wished not to be Chinese? *“Not really. Strangely enough, when I think about it, not really, no.”* (#19).
- Have you ever wished you were not Chinese, have there been difficulties? *“I don’t think so. Well maybe occurred once or twice. Like I was never allowed to go and play sports with my friends. I can’t even swim. I wanted to learn to swim, but I had no one to teach me. Those were the times perhaps, when I wish I was an Aussie, you know, a white Aussie. [laughs] Apart from that, no, because, my father and mother were good cooks, we had the best of foods. You know country food, it’s the best”* (#25).

What these ten excerpts above revealed was the personal strength, both singularly and collectively of the participants. They had not lost their Chinese identity per se, as their interviews display a cultural awareness and knowledge of both cultures. They had confidence in their own opinions and good attitudes toward others. The participants of this study have blended harmoniously into the Australian culture, and they had not just concentrated on their own cultural interests but had established links supporting general Australian concerns. The interviewed men are all seniors, and had the time to gain competency in both cultures, and to establish these effective connections. One of the ninety year olds has died, but the remaining forty-two participants in this study are still very much part of, and contributing in a variety of ways to their local communities. Recently, two of the men (#07 and #48) launched their self-published books detailing their lives in Australia.

This study group demonstrated consistency with La Fromboise’s Alternation model, using both process variables and descriptors relating to the skills facilitating bicultural competence. These bicultural men functioned competently, and have integrated both their original Chinese culture and values with their Australian identity. Psychologically resilient, biculturally competent, this final quote illustrated that these men prefer to be not prejudged.

As #48 noted on his book cover, *“I have encountered prejudice, yes, but Australia is better than any other country I know. As time passes, I can confidently say my children will be judged on their performance and their character, and not on their facial features. For this I am grateful”*.

The examples above provided transparent material that showed how individual participants thought and felt about their position as Chinese residents in Australia. They were given a window of opportunity to convey their feelings, opinions, and any possible negative thoughts, but they chose to express themselves generously. #48 summed up his desire for his children but his remark is equally applicable to all who look different from the ‘majority’ inhabitants, that they be *“judged on their performance and their character, and not on their facial features”*.

### **Interviews – Interpersonal Context**

In this study, the analysis of the interview was from the transcription, and indubitably the video was the crucial aid to accuracy. It enabled not just an interpretation of sounds but revealed the manner of speech and accompanying body language. If there was any doubt, reference to the video was made to check for accuracy. The transcriber was particular to preserve the naturalness of the participant’s usual mode of speaking, so that there were no misconceptions or re-interpretation of the oral history being gathered. The transcripts contain verbal hesitations, ungrammatical phrases in the natural actual speech of the participant at a ‘lexical’ level. The meaning of the dialogue was also affected by the feelings of the participants at the time. For example, they wished to tell of their life, to give the facts, and to tell of how they felt about incidents, to give their opinions and stances they have taken in dealing with situations in their lifetime, and connections they recalled to events and written texts. However, the context of the research was not just oral history gathering. It meant that the researcher led, within the bounds of the time available and the participants’ comfort levels, the discussion to cover the range of aspects being examined. Specific questions were directed to them, some slipped in and unexpected, but they answered within the context of the semi-structured discourse. Meaning was acquired through the blend of the textual and contextual information. The context of the situation was important but more so was the context of the culture, which was indexed in the text. The researcher was part of their community, and understood the required patterns of behaviour, as well as being of a similar age group. Through the conversation of the interview, the participant was able to freely express his point of view. That the researcher was not male, nor Chinese, as were all the participants, it did not inhibit any of their answers. For example, to the question, ‘have you ever wished that you weren’t Chinese?’ #22 replied, *“Ah, no, I don’t think that’s ever*

*crossed my mind. It's amazing to hear that, the first time, at the age of sixty-five, to hear that question being asked, never thought about it but my immediate response is no, I don't think I've ever regretted being of Chinese background."* #22 then went on to say how proud he was to be a non-Ocker Australian. This is just one example of the candidness of the replies.

### **Interviews – Four Case Studies in Focus**

Four case studies were selected to indicate different participant's views from amid the wealth of the research data.

The first case study, #12 was selected because he represented a problematic. He gave conflicting answers regarding racism, as revealed by the use of the three tools.

**Table 36: RESPONSE FROM #12, ABC**

<b>#12</b>	<b>Australian-born - replies to Questions</b>
<b>Learning</b>	* to extra study * education was valued * spend extra money on children's education
	* to learning on the job is best * public schools are better
<b>Identity</b>	* comfort first * private schools are better * White Australia policy affected my family
	* to only one culture * all Chinese suffered discrimination
<b>Culture</b>	* to Chinese language as essential * children should support their parents * Australia is a good place to live
	* to different clans should not marry * Chinese food is better
<b>Work</b>	* Australian working conditions are good * work is the most important part of my life * easy to get work in Australia * to change jobs
	* to working long hours

#12 had definite opinions, all answers were either *yes* or *no*, there was no *maybe*. It was his answer that the White Australia policy had affected his family that has triggered this example to be explored. However, the above template of answers was compiled for all participants. The following shows how the interviews corroborated opinions with their actions over their lifetime.

## **Learning**

He valued education generally, saw extra study as beneficial, and he would be happy to pay for it for his children. However, he did not consider that learning on the job nor that public schools were better. In line with these opinions, #12 sent his two children to expensive private schools though he himself had attended public schools. He encouraged his children to study, and did extra study himself, even after retirement from work. His life decisions corroborated the high value he placed on education.

## **Identity**

#12 preferred to be comfortable rather than rich, and he has provided a satisfying lifestyle for his family, and given his children a private school education. He noted in his questionnaire that the White Australia policy affected his family but in the interview, when asked if the White Australia policy had impinged on his life, he answered, “*Not really, no*”. However, the effects of racism played a damaging part in the lives of his son, himself, and his wife. There was no mention of their daughter being concerned about racial issues, however it is possible that her studies in Social Science and Law provided her with information and understanding of issues related to racism. #12 considered that all Chinese suffered discrimination in Australia but conceded that it was possible to be part of both the Australian and Chinese cultures. His identity had encompassed his adaptation to Australian ways despite issues in that period.

## **Culture**

While conceding that Australia was a good place to live, he affirmed two Chinese precepts that it was essential to know the Chinese language, and to provide support for your parents when they need help, as in their aged years. He did give care to his parents but as a young person he suppressed his Chinese culture and language, and of a consequence in retirement he is reclaiming it. #12 agreed that it was acceptable to marry someone from a different clan. He met his Chinese wife when she was visiting Australia, nonetheless he doesn't agree that Chinese food is better. Although broad in his opinions about culture he nonetheless married within culture, and showed filial respect. His reclaiming of his language and philosophy is a crucial part to his retirement welfare.

## **Work**

His attitudes toward work are largely positive, and he stated that work was the most important part of his life. He changed workplaces several times, and found it easy to get another job. Though he believed that Australian working conditions were good, he didn't

agree with working long hours but his various workplaces were ones that would have allowed some flexibility.

If he had proved that he was a good adaptor, having changed workplaces and shown self-autonomy, then was this reflected in his CCAI answers?

The CCAI range overall of #12 was very low with his personal autonomy just a little ahead of his emotional resilience, flexibility/openness and personal acuity. The cross-cultural context of his early life was not markedly eastern, as his parents were Australian-born Chinese who followed western ways. At school #12 had suppressed his Chineseness, and adhered to the Anglo-Australian norms, and later his work in different workplaces was still in the Australian context. That racism was such a concern to himself, wife and son is in contrast to several other participants who chose to successfully deal with such incidents in their own way (e.g. by ignoring it or by physical action), and to others who said that if you don't look for it, you don't see it. He made his own context, which shaped his identity but caused him much personal angst, though it did not appear to affect his learning that continued to be ongoing. Now in answer to his case of inconsistent answers about the issue of racism, as noted above in remarks about his identity, it could be conjectured that racism for #12 was a deep emotional issue not yet fully resolved.

**Table 37: RESPONSE FROM #17, O/S**

<b>Learning</b>	* to extra study
	* education was valued
	* would spend extra money on children's education
	* to learning on the job
<b>Identity</b>	* public schools better
	* happy to be comfortable not rich
	* one culture (can be part of two)
	* private schools are better
<b>Culture</b>	* was affected by White Australia policy
	* was discriminated against
	* Chinese language important
	* Australia is a good place to live
<b>Work</b>	* different clans should not marry
	* Chinese food is better
	* children should support their parents
	* good working conditions
<b>Work</b>	* easy to get work
	* good to change jobs
	* to long hours

The second case study collated the responses of participant #17, who migrated as a young adult from Northern China, and who quickly adapted to, melded into, and became a leader within his Anglo-Australian community.

**Learning:**

#17 also agreed with the importance of extra study, that education was valued, and it was worthwhile to spend extra money on children's education. His children are well educated, his daughters each have a double tertiary degree, and he has certainly spent extra money on his children's education. He considered that education was more than learning on the job, although he was happy that his son, whose formal education was to the end of High School, was now working in a Company that provided in-house training in information technology. He was unsure if public schools were better but gave no indication as to whether his children attended a public or a private school. The early teaching he received was pedantic, and students had to do all subjects, there was no choice. He has kept contact with his High school friends in Hong Kong, and though he went alone to Taiwan for his University studies, he adapted well as there were friends there from his High school days. He came to Australia to do a further University degree but did not do so but instead chose an Australian-Chinese wife.

## **Identity**

Discrimination was of no concern to him, he was an assured and confident person who enjoyed his life in Australia, and was not concerned with the White Australia policy. His wife was from a well-established Australian-Chinese family, and #17 was quite involved in Australian pastimes. He was a keen bridge player, taught it, and was the leader of an Australian Bridge club. He liked to watch sport on TV, had joined Associations, Alumni & photographic groups in which he had been President and a competition judge.

## **Culture**

He felt that he could be part of two cultures, and that there was no problem stepping back and forth between the two. He did not hold to the old Chinese precepts, as for example he believed that you can marry outside your clan, as he did. Linguistically, he was accomplished, and had encouraged his family to increase their skills. His family of origin were scattered worldwide but meet regularly in Hong Kong.

## **Work**

He was naturalised as was necessary for a position in a Government facility. He found his work fulfilling, and #17 remained in the one workplace for his entire working life in Australia. He believed that the work he was engaged in was a valuable contribution to the Australian Government.

His CCAI total score was 220, #17 had two segments in the high range. His Personal Autonomy was his strongest score, which fits with his image of a decision-maker with a strong sense of self. Next his Emotional Resilience at almost the same level as his PA rating echoed his sense of self-confidence, and his courage to take risks. His markedly lower scores in Perceptual Acuity, and Flexibility/Openness indicated a low objectivity and flexibility.

#17's low objectivity and flexibility may be an inward feeling, as outwardly #17 presented as one who was tolerant of others, and is enjoying a fulfilling life in a second culture, a position that did not equate with the lower scores in PA and FO. He is certainly culturally aware, and as mentioned earlier, his wife's large extended family, with whom he has considerable contact, are very much attuned to Australian ways.

What was the effect of the changing cultural context, that was experienced by #12 and #17, and did it facilitate or deter their learning or affect their identity? These two cases were chosen for the contrast they exhibit and to search for the answer to the question above. In

the case of Australian-born #12, his home-life was basically western. He knew the differences between the cultures but did not want to make them obvious or public so he suppressed his eastern cultural heritage, though he was unable to or he did not want to, change his appearance. He felt that education was an important factor in life, and himself set the example for his children by his continued study even after ceasing to work. He gave his son the benefits of a private school education but to no avail, as racism intruded and negated any advantages. #12 considered that all Chinese suffered discrimination in Australia, and felt that racism has caused problems for himself, wife, and particularly his son. The context of #12's life was affected by his attitude toward racist issues, and his belief that all Chinese suffered discrimination in Australia. This latter belief was not substantiated by all the participants in this study. He separated the issue of the White Australia Policy's effects on his family from his racist concerns, saying the Policy had little effect on his life but in another instance said it did. This indecisiveness was also noticeable in regard to language as in one instance he suppressed it but in another said that the Chinese language was essential, and he was now reclaiming it. What he was definite about was that work was the most important part of his life notwithstanding that he disagreed with working long hours. Overall, however the cross-cultural context of his life was not detrimental to #12's learning patterns but did affect his identity with his deep issues with racism.

The triangulated results for #17, an overseas-born participant who came for further study but married and stayed, showed that as with all the other men, for him education was important. He emphasised formal learning rather than on-the-job training. He was comfortable and confident in both the eastern and western cultures, and quickly became part of, and contributed to his local Australian community in practical ways. That his CCAI ratings indicated low objectivity and flexibility was not visibly apparent, as he appeared to be a confident man who considered matters carefully, and was objective in his answers to questions.

The above two case study examples showed the strength and benefit of the use of triangulation to give a better informed picture of each man. Australian-born #12 changed his life's context by subjection of his Chinese culture in an endeavour to appear a westerner, and consequently this affected his identity. However, it did not deter his learning as it was ongoing as he continued to study. He had persisted with study in retirement, and with age has come understanding, and he is now retrieving his Chinese heritage. In contrast, overseas-born #17 came to Australia with many attributes. He was already working but intended to study further, and was proficient in a number of languages and skills. He



quickly merged into not just the ABC community but into Anglo-Australian Associations, such as photography and bridge, where he contributed by teaching bridge, and by becoming the President and judge of the photographic interest group. The adaption to a new culture by #17 was a quick process brought about by his readiness to take the step into activities with Anglo-Australians, in a participatory and a contributing role. He learnt from them, and they learnt from him and the experience certainly expanded his identity, and facilitated his cultural pursuits and understandings.

Two further examples were chosen, again a participant born overseas, and one born in Australia to ascertain the benefits of triangulation and again answer the question regarding cultural contexts and the effect on learning and identity. The first was a man (#07) who had little education, and another (#09) who had been educated to the third level of technical training - usual at the time for a child from a working-class family.

In the third Case Study, little or no formal education beyond primary school, did not deter participant #07. He took opportunities presented to him, and continued to enhance his learning incidentally as it was an empowering survival skill. He faced problems, solved them, and learnt from them without organised institutional learning. #07 was particularly alert to change, and when he saw opportunities, he grasped them and benefitted. Nonetheless, he was very aware of the value of education and made sure that his children had educational opportunities to tertiary level.

Below is a triangulation of data for #07 that resulted from the use of the three instruments (interview, questionnaire and Cross Cultural Adaptability Inventory). The linkage of #07 to his learning, identity, culture and work was tabulated from the questionnaire.

### **Learning**

His Australian school was a bit of a culture shock for #07 as he had been born overseas. Public schools were not for aliens, so he attended a non-Government school in rural New South Wales. At first, he was tormented by other pupils but it settled down when he became known. After three years, he had no more schooling. He learnt then from mixing with people, and his own reading and study. He agreed with all the questions on learning, and advocated extra study, he valued education, and said Chinese spend more money on their children's education. He noted that public schools were best, and that learning on the job was the best way. From his sister, who was the third child through to the ninth child, all siblings went to Sydney suburban public schools. Although #07 has had three years at a rural convent school. Later, #07 studied a little in Accountancy but gave it up. As he said,

*“When I arrived in this country, Dad gave me a book, called the Red Business Journal. I read it from front to back, that really helped.”*

### **Identity**

He was born at home in China after his father had returned to the village for ten months, his father then went back to Australia, at the time when #07 was three months old. #07 came to Australia during the War years, when he was twelve years old, accompanied by his mother and some siblings. As their mother only spoke Chinese, all the children in the family spoke Chinese but they now all use English. There was no initial culture shock as he was with his parents. They went to a New South Wales country town where his father had started a store in the early 1930s. Then another bigger store, linked to others in adjoining towns, opened in competition. It took away custom from their family business, so they moved to Sydney.

#07 said being comfortable was more important than being rich. Although he is now rich, he is philanthropic but he can recall his earlier days of not being affluent. He also believed that private schools provided better business contacts. His time at school was minimal, so he could have arrived at this opinion from either observation or hearsay. He was unsure that all Chinese were discriminated against in Australia as the White Australia Policy didn't affect his family. His family adjusted, his mother learnt English, and #07 felt that he fitted comfortably within both cultures. He married at twenty-one years to a third generation Australian-born Chinese girl. The family were all declared Australian citizens, without the need for a naturalisation ceremony in 1951. He recounted this family story. *After I was married I was still working for Dad on salary. I might add, it had taken me about three months to convince him to pay us the wages. The old Chinese ideas, 'All belong to the father'. Mum said, “Why do you argue with your father?” I said, “I'm not arguing with him, I'm trying to convince him”. See, so finally I got four pound a week, and strange thing .... I said, “I love it. I like the way Australians live”*. He emulated the Australian way, treated his customers with fairness, and when he saw business opportunities, he took them and developed them.

A dramatic devastating event, occurred when #07 was forty years old. It was the death of their sixteen and a half year old second son with leukaemia, and his loss is still felt by all the family. In his own upbringing, #07 had parents who were very protective of him as their Number One son, and he was forbidden to do any body sports. Of a consequence, his recreation for the past forty years has been bowls, and as a member of the Rotary Club.

## **Culture**

He agreed with the cultural questions that Chinese language was essential to being Chinese, that it was all right to marry outside the family clan, that Chinese food was better, that children should support their parents and that Australia was a good place to live. The family of #07 has a very long history in Australia, as his grandparents were merchants in Sydney, at the time when his father was born in 1902. He had great respect and love for his parents, especially his father, and he was very family oriented. His uncle and his mother followed the Chinese rituals but his father and he were involved more from the spirit of community. The traditional family rites, in particular at funerals, are changing to modern-day cremations. #07 said, *future generations won't be able to keep the graves tidy, and follow some of the traditional Chinese rites ... and although I'm an Anglican, Chinese are quite flexible.* Over the years, he had several opportunities to revisit the family home in China, and be part of his original cultural background. He also had links to his clan, and other Chinese community groups in Sydney, as a highly respected member.

## **Work**

#07 agreed with all the work questions, that Australian working conditions are good, though in his case he was responsible for the conditions, as too was his working of long hours. His job changes were within the family businesses, and work was always available. It would appear that work was the most important part of his life as shown by his continued work after retirement. Earlier, when his father bought a market garden on the edge of Sydney, it proved to be a very hard life growing vegetables, and the business could not support the family, so as a teenager #07, with his mother, convinced his father to sell, and buy a mixed business in a Sydney suburb. It was then 1945, and the business flourished. His father was popular with their customers, and #07 learnt to buy, sell and make money. He stayed with his father all his life. When a chain store affected their trade, they diversified their business interests into a motel, restaurant and gift shop. #07 retired at aged fifty years but he needed a project to occupy him. So he, and the extended family, invested in and developed motels, until he chose to retire for a second time in 2003. Still not idle, he has since authored the story of his life.

#07's CCAI total was 220. His profile displays a high PA (Personal Autonomy), moderate ER (Emotional Resilience) and PAC (Perceptual Acuity), and a low FO (Flexibility/Openness). There is a contrast in this personality. He has a strong self-knowledge, but was moderate in interpreting information objectively, and coping with ambiguity and stress. Whereas his openness to ideas that are different from his own,

registered low. Comparison of the CCAI results with those from #07's interview responses indicated that as the first child and son, he was very respectful and loving of his parents. Even as a young adult, he was their stalwart, and already a decision-maker. He was quick to perceive opportunities for the family businesses to prosper, so he was not only his father's assistant, but influenced his direction of the family's business.

The questionnaire answers of #07 supported this profile, and clearly showed his adherence to the basic Chinese concepts of his responsibility to his parents and the extended family. This reflects a strong Chinese identity and affiliation. It was the Chinese context of his life that was the most powerful influence while not negating that he fitted comfortably within the Australian scene. He had little formal education but responded well in the family businesses by initiating projects and making wise choices. His informal learning was acquired through two cultures, and his identity was strengthened and expanded by the variety of his life experiences.

The participant #09, selected as the fourth Case Study, was from a very large Australian-born family. As with #07, the information resulted from the three instruments (interview, questionnaire and Cross Cultural Adaptability Inventory) triangulated here to present aspects of #09 linked to his learning, identity, culture, discrimination and work.

### **Learning**

The answers of #09 to the learning questions indicated that he believed in extra study, and that learning on the job is the best way. In fact, these are two avenues he followed. He valued education and would have spent extra money on children's education, if they had had a child but he didn't agree that public schools provide a better education. #09's early primary school education was at several country schools. He was the youngest of ten children, and was often moved around the family. His standard of education was to the Intermediate Certificate, which he completed in a Sydney Junior High School, having come from rural New South Wales. The family rented in the inner city, and he remembered his older brother's Chinese friends rather than any of his own. He had no dream that he wanted to follow, his aspiration was to make a living. It was the time of World War II, so he enlisted, and was not queried about his race. He didn't feel that he learnt anything in the Army. He said, "*you just carry out the regular work*". Nonetheless, his training in the Army was as a radio operator within a small specialist group.

After the War, he did a Technical College course in Bookkeeping but was not given Government funding as he had a job. There was Government finance for those studying

full-time but for workers studying part-time there was no assistance and he didn't have the finances to study full-time. *"I did accountancy by part-time, see. It took a long time, one or two subjects at a time, because, without a car, it was hard to get to the Tech"*. Later, when after twenty years with one Company, he moved to another, and was then pleased to receive further on-the-job training as it gave him wider experience. In retirement, he enjoyed learning about the Chinese culture from television, *"I have been taking notice of the culture, since the ah, since you know since they dropped the White Australian policy, and more Asians came in. I sort of, when I'm watching TV, I take note. You learn a bit that way"*.

### **Identity**

#09 would prefer to be rich, he believed that he can be part of two cultures, and considered that the White Australia policy didn't affect his family, and that not all Chinese experienced discrimination in Australia. He was not sure that private schools provide better business contacts. He had no children, and he and his siblings attended public schools.

As the youngest child in a large family, he bonded with his sisters, who often cared for him. His father was by then quite old, and #09 has no real recollection of him, although, he did know that he was a herbalist in a small New South Wales mining town. His parents conversed in Cantonese, even though his father had been in Australia since the 1850s. #09 moved mostly in the Chinese networks of large extended families until adulthood but his Cantonese is not fluent. All the children in the family were christened at the local Anglican church, and on moving to Sydney, they attended a Salvation Army chapel. In the early days, the churches played an important role in the community, and the local church was often the central point of activities for young people.

He still played tennis and golf, liked ABC radio and television, and some reading but he preferred gardening. He met his Australian-born Chinese wife in northern New South Wales as they both had family connections there. They have not visited China, for as the youngest child, he did not hear family stories of links to China, and the family did not celebrate any special Chinese days. His living style was comfortable but he apparently would have preferred to be richer.

### **Culture**

#09 considered Australia was a good place to live and that children should support their parents – though he had no children. He didn't believe that Chinese food was better, and that the Chinese language was essential to being Chinese but it was all right for different

clans to marry. He particularly watched Chinese cultural shows on television but he doesn't uphold the old Chinese customs or special days, and hasn't established links with the family village. He recalled, *"you used to know everybody in Chinatown. There used to be only one Chinese restaurant"*. Sydney's Chinatown groceries and cafes have spread wider and a number are in suburban centres negating the need to travel to Campbell and Dixon Streets in Sydney city for Chinese meats and foodstuffs.

### **Racism**

The War came and he joined the Army without any racial difficulty. He said, *"Although I have heard of cases where they wouldn't accept Chinese"* but in the country, he thought that the recruitment officer was probably not aware of the rules or regulations at the time. Later he recounted, *"When the war ended we had to just sit around, and wait ah for the boat to bring us back. Yeah, and um ... came back to Sydney, and that's when I encountered this discrimination"*.

#09's interview was full of great stories, he described vividly his completion of Wartime service. He was discharged in Sydney as a young single man. *"As soon as I got off the ship, went to the camp, I think the next day or day after you were out on the street. Yeah! At that time I didn't have anywhere to go. So I went to the Salvation Army, used to be in Pitt Street, a Hostel, and then I was looking for a Boarding House. Every Wednesday or Saturday I'd get the paper. I'd go to these Boarding Houses, where I was restricted because I didn't have a car. You'd have to go to the Boarding House by the transport. I read the Herald, by the time I'd have breakfast. By the time I'd go, they'd say, "Sorry, it's taken" Oh well, I accepted that, as it was ten or eleven o'clock by the time I got there, but this happened quite often. Some were genuine, I believe. One time, I thought this can't be right. One day I got there real early and I knocked on the door and they say, "Sorry, taken"*.

Asked if he had used the Chinese networks, #09 said relatives in Sydney had no extra room, and that was why he was looking for accommodation. In the country there was accommodation and free board. *"So down in Sydney you don't know anybody, you're on your own. Eventually, I found a boarding house, so then I didn't have any more trouble"*. He spoke then of how he dealt with the earlier boarding house situation in a humorous way. Laconic humour is sometimes thought to be an Australian habit for overcoming difficulties. #09 used humour in his life, and perhaps it was a way that his personality dealt with adversity, and was now a measure of his resilience.

## Work

He was undecided as to whether working long hours was necessary but agreed that Australian working conditions were good, that it was good to change jobs that work was the most important part of his life, and that it was easy to get work in Australia. His first job was as a shop assistant in a relative's shop as he didn't know what he wanted to do, but needed money rather than study. So after gaining his Intermediate Certificate, he returned to work in the shop. Then he joined the Army as a Private, where it was very strict discipline that was hard to take, but an aptitude test gave him alternatives. He chose to train as a radio operator learning communications and Morse Code. He was sent to the Dutch East Indies, then the Philippines. The work was to do with, *"Communication, Morse code and all that stuff"*. The conditions however, *"Not bad really, I was in headquarters, and of course in headquarters you got the best. You've got the Generals all there, and high ranking officers and all that thing so, the working conditions were good but living conditions wasn't so hot. You know, you were living in tents under the camouflage, I think it was a coconut plantation that were commandeered"* but he has no recollection of working with any other Chinese in the Army. *"Work then? Well, I thought then, now what will I do ... somewhere, I was involved with a few people, and they'd say I'm going back to my father's shop. Some would say they'd go do accountancy, so I said that I'd give that a go. So I did a crash course at the Tech, for the Bookkeeping certificate - front up to the Company in the city. In those days, you could get a job easy, you could just walk in. Yes, oh well, in 1946, I think, there were lots of jobs around. People used to come in one afternoon in the office or one morning I should say, and then they don't come back. They'd go to another job, that's how easy it was then"*. His first pay was three to four pounds a week. The job he chose was at a firm where he stayed for twenty years. *"They moved from the city out to the suburbs, and they eventually got taken over, and I left the company. Then I looked for another job, which ah wasn't that hard. It was, accountancy was a job that there is a lot of call for"*, he said.

#09 didn't specialize in a particular area but did internal auditing but there was no-one who was a mentor to him. *"No, you just learn on the job. You try and observe. You go to one department to the next, Some of these big companies have different departments like, you know, - accounts payable, accounts received"*. #09 was not expected to do further Tech studies, and though there were occasions when he could have changed jobs, he chose to remain. He only ever had three jobs, that of shop assistant, Army radio operator, and as an

accountant. Progression was when people left, you moved up a grade with the resultant pay increase.

#09 completed the third tool used in this study, the Cross Cultural Adaptability Inventory (CCAI), with the following results. His total score was 210, with his highest rating in FO (Flexibility/Openness), which was just clear of the low range with ER (Emotional Resilience) following closely behind. There was a marked drop to PAC (Perceptual Acuity), and an even lower low for PA (Personal Autonomy). The analysis, of #09's results showed that he could deal with differences (FO), and reacted positively to new experiences (ER). However, he has some communication difficulties (Perceptual Acuity) and lacked a certain surety in himself (PA). So the interpretation of his scores was at odds with his presentation at interview. The interpretation of the CCAI scores of #09 doesn't quite fully represent him. He presented as an active happy personality, considerate, obliging, and an able conversationalist, who was willing to add his considered opinion to any discussion, if required. He did not appear to lack in confidence or the ability to communicate well.

A late marriage for #09 precluded children but he, now in his late eighties, and his wife are constantly active visiting their extensive families and friends, and still being involved with other events. He is representative of many other Australian-Chinese whose families came to Australia in the late nineteenth century. They may have first settled in Queensland, the Northern Territory, Victoria and/or rural New South Wales but later gravitated to Sydney. As mentioned above, #09 remembered Sydney when the Chinese population was much smaller, most families were known to others, and fewer Chinese food stores or cafes were in operation. Though there was only a remnant of these families remaining, they still have a strong bond of shared experiences. #09 was racially Chinese but his skills and knowledge, acquired over a lifetime of learning, were of an Australian content, and his identity was moulded by his Australian encounters within his workplaces and the communities that were part of his overall lifetime.

The use of case studies illustrated the depth of each man's portrait that had been attained by detailing the responses to the three different instruments. Earlier, the changing cultural context of their lives enriched and broadened their understanding.

### **Concluding Results and Analysis**

The triangulation of the information from forty-three personalities involved their history as a social construct. Some of their historical stories were but segments of their lives but sufficient to reveal how they felt, and for some how they dealt with everyday problems of



adjustment. It showed their long-term commitment to work, and in total that there was little movement of workplace. The precise details were assessed in the earlier results, as for example, class and status. Certainly, each of the participants were much more comfortably situated than in their childhood years. Their homes were in middle to upper class suburbs, pleasantly furnished with an intermingling of eastern and western cultural influences. Their children had attended local schools, and all were tertiary educated with some who had completed double degrees.

Each participant's life in its cross-cultural context, together with his patterns of lifelong learning was unique. The Cross-cultural Adaptability Inventory provided quantifiable information but a considerable portion of this data did not transfer well to the broad aspects of the study. Those aspects which could be compared such as personality revealed by inventory, and in interview were not always consonant, however this meant that the value in having the quantitative instrument did allow comparative probing in the case of anachronisms and contrasting with interview and questionnaire responses.

The separation of the participant's information into overseas-born and Australian-born categories did not provide any marked differences between the two groups. It seemed advantageous to undertake the analyses, since each group had opportunely numbered about half the total number. The only effect was that those born overseas were doubly more proficient in the Chinese language, an expected result. The Australian-born men had largely let their Chinese language ability lapse, feeling no further need to retain it, and it removed a point of difference between themselves and other Australians. #17 and his wife spoke Cantonese within their home, but overall English was the common language used in the households of the participants. Some other details reflected the general immigrant experience. They strove to increase the social and educational status of the family, the need to bring out family siblings and/or parents, and the ambivalence in identity, which was often the result. However, what was important was that few stereotypes were reinforced.

The conclusions reached by the La Fromboise team on American Indian adaptations were not transferable to this Australian-Chinese scenario. Those participants, who had lived through different policy climates in Australia, were appreciative of the changes from assimilation to multicultural practices. Each man found his own solution in adjusting his characteristics to a bicultural identity.

The second focus was that the level of education of the twenty-one overseas-born men (100%) surpassed that of the twenty-two Australian-born participants (82%) see Table 8. Of

the men with minimal education, they were satisfied in their avenue of work, and the astuteness of two (#07 & #30) helped them become wealthy. This study supported the belief that Chinese parents valued education. Thirty nine participants were educated at Secondary level, and thirty two had continued with Tertiary training. As to the parents of the participants, their educational standard was not fully available. However, the participants themselves, and their children, benefitted from the formal education they received in Australia. The whole age cohort had improved the educational attainments of the next generation, they had increased the social status of the family which was not necessarily linked to education. They had experienced a time when it would have been expected to change jobs or vocation, involving further education or retraining, however a high proportion had stayed safely in the one occupation or even job placement. This stability of employment they enjoyed will be less likely for their progeny in the transfer from an industrial/rural to an information-based society.

Identity, a much researched area, was investigated here to see if the cross-cultural context of the participant's lives was significant factor to their identity. Certainly for those born in Australia their lives followed the pattern of most Anglo-Australians, whose father was a shopkeeper. The participants, as young people, certainly helped in the background work entailed with the shop. There was the usual sweeping, cleaning and sorting but as the goods at that time came in bulk, there was much packaging & labelling of items such as biscuits and sugar, and deliveries of orders to customers' homes, all such were to be done as part of their daily routine. This was quite apart from their responsibilities as students where they were expected to perform brilliantly. Identity for these bicultural entities was to retain some qualities of Chineseness, while largely feeling totally adapted to Australian mainstream culture, and enjoying the life choices they had made.

Chinese culture with its attitudes and characteristic behaviours are often inculcated in household conversation such as the remark, 'Chinese do it this way'. These instructions might be part of kitchen procedures on how to wash rice, use the chopper, marinade the meat, and keep the teapot full and hot. Most importantly though was obedience to the father, and respect for elders. As mentioned, there were participants who were specially sent to China to learn the culture and language, and they all retained this extra learning. Cultural competence is difficult to develop, and is part of the development of social skills and personality but once competency has been acquired then adaptation is an easier process. That the Australian-Chinese men did not experience epiphanies to the degree that the American men interviewed by Levinson did, may have been because of cultural differences.

Also, in applying the La Fromboise theory to the findings from these forty-three participants it appeared that the 'birth order', so important in Chinese culture, may have had no operational effect. The Number One sons may have simply been confident in themselves as adaptable outspoken first-born men. One final point was the importance of your name, each of which has a meaning. In Chinese culture there is the given name, the generational name and the family name, and a few of the men did not know their Chinese names. This was not unusual as many Australian-Chinese are known by a family name other than their true Chinese one. Some acquired their now known names from Anglo clerks not realising that the Chinese surname came first, and also that the sounds of the Chinese language were hard to translate into written English. Significant emphasis was placed on place of birth, though differences were not marked, it was a factor that did affect their language of origin, which in turn affected their degree of Chineseness and their adaption to new cultural mores and subsequent new culture.

It was work that proved to be the most important part of the participant's daily life. This concurred with Levinson's theory that lifetime work is central to the male role. The men made their own decisions, and mentors were not used. There were a few men who changed occupations such as #33 who though qualified in a trade, successfully explored other business ventures. The first work for #09 was as a shop assistant, then a Serviceman during the War, and finally as an accountant. This last occupation gave him full satisfaction and stability of work. Though working wives are the norm in this century, in the twentieth century there were only eight known wives of the participants who worked (#05, #06, #12, #18, #36, #40, #47, #48). There were two others who assisted their husbands with their businesses (#31, #32). Also, there were gaps in some of the men's knowledge such as what was their father's work, particularly when the family was split between China and Australia. The work undertaken by the men in this study was shown in Table 9. It indicated that the majority were involved in business related pursuits, including accountancy, and that eight of the overseas-born men were engineers.

The examples provided above give a window into the processes of the triangulation methodology used to determine if the cross-cultural context did indeed effect changes to the patterns of learning these senior men experienced over their lifetime, and to their subsequent changed or expanded identities. Work was their constant, and their determinant that satisfied their needs and their aspirations. These forty-three bicultural identities experienced continued learning over their lifetimes. They adjusted their cultural identities to the circumstances where they were situated. Yes, their patterns of learning were effected by

being Chinese in Australia but not in any stereotypical way. Rather as distinct individuals, they each incorporated their Chineseness within their Australian personae.

They were proud to be Chinese, and proud to be Australians.

## 5 CONCLUSION

The goals posited for this research were achieved by the use of a multi-methodology. This was a large study for a single researcher who administered three instruments with forty-three Australian-Chinese senior men. Their information created for analysis, hundreds of individual variables and was drawn from a long historical timeframe. The cross-correlation of their learning, identity, culture and work experiences, assisted by two theories, ascertained that the cross-cultural context of these men's lives effected change to their learning and identity patterns.

Each man was studied personally and his details checked collectively in the search for detail. This sample of retired English-speaking Chinese Australian men, was acquired by word of mouth, so some clans had a greater number of participants. The clans provided a valuable support to the men. They provided them with knowledge of their new society, strength with their decision-making, and were paramount in facilitating their adjustment.

The participants varied in age from sixty to ninety years plus and their details were sorted into four decades, with the largest number in the seventy to eighty year age range. The term overseas group was used for those in the sample who had migrated as children or students. The numbers for the place of birth were an almost even division of those born overseas (21) and in Australia (22). It was expected that there might be a marked division between these two groups. However, these loosely linked groups did not supply any data to show distinct differences between them. Although, the overseas men, as they were called, did have the advantage of greater proficiency with languages.

That the participants overall fell into natural groups of date of birth and place of birth was helpful for general comparison. For those students who came alone, their movement from an western to a western living pattern required a dramatic adjustment, as there were tensions between the two cultures. While the participants who were of a second or third generation in Australia had already absorbed Australian ways. Nonetheless, the newcomers eased their sense of difference by sharing accommodation with other Asian students and/or families. With time, their patterns of living changed, and through their work they became more in tune with western cultural morés, and saw little need, other than by family, for mentor guidance.

Twenty-one participants arrived in Sydney, in the spread of years from 1926 to 1981, aged from less than a year to thirty-eight years old, and at that stage, only the two adults, aged thirty-eight years, were married. The remainder of the immigrants stayed and later married

in Australia, to mainly Chinese women, some of whom were originally from a variety of places, such as New Guinea and Fiji. The old established ways within the extended family structure were still there but had loosened. These men were not into self-contemplation, they took action, and they controlled their own destiny. It was most certainly a notable fact that they had predominantly married Chinese women. Then their family followed a similar lifestyle to the already settled Australian-Chinese, and fitted seamlessly within their suburban communities. In some cases, they were able to facilitate the migration of their parents and extended family to Australia, and this negated any need for them to return to China.

They prevailed in varying degrees of a bicultural context that was determined by the length of time since their arrival in Australia. The participants all, at some time, faced similar problems, and their solutions lay in their learning, and the changes within their identity. They watched white Australians, they listened and imitated the behavior and manners they had observed.

The Australian-born Chinese families had bonded, they knew each other, had shared experiences, interests and feelings, all of which facilitated their cross-cultural transition. Some of the newer immigrants established links with the Australian-born groups, and socialized with them through schooling and work. Their Chineseness was retained within the family but their bonds to some traditional practices was not as strong. This was particularly noted in their religious allegiance to the Christian churches that had grown in strength, bolstered by the increased numbers of Chinese parishioners. The participants learning patterns were similar to other Australians but their identity remained bicultural.

They survived the one-way assimilation process and did not support the presumption that the White Australia Policy had negatively affected them, though some recalled its challenges, and effects on the earlier generations of their family and friends. War was another factor that, in general, did not markedly affect them, except for the Japanese invasion of China. There were comments however, that the abolishment of the White Australia Policy, and the subsequent evolution of an Australian multicultural society gave them a personal sense of freedom, and spurred a renewed interest in their family histories. What did show through in their conversation was the deep, sincere love and respect that each man felt for his parents and their parent's sound basis of teaching them moral principles. There was no doubt that all the participants would agree with a remark, made by one of their number, that it was these morally correct home-based behaviours and attitudes,

coupled with a largely Australian formal education that led to the attainment of their successfully stable lives.

Their patterns of living determined their patterns of learning. For each of the ABC participants their life was generally as the son of a local shopkeeper or a wholesale merchant, that followed much the same lines as those of other similarly placed Australians. They attended the local school, and participated in its extended activities when possible, but they did not always have parental involvement because of their mother's lack of English, and their father's commitment to his business. It was an expectation of their parents that they would be good students, and bring honour to the family, while fulfilling their obligation to the multiplicity of behind-the-scene tasks associated largely with the family business.

None the less for the twenty one immigrant participants, their father's occupation, did not overshadow the age at arrival that appeared to be the major factor in their learning patterns. There were five pre-schoolers, ten aged seven to seventeen, and six aged older than eighteen years. The younger children, and those of school age, quickly adapted to the Australian education system but more adjustment was needed by those who had arrived as adults. There were those who were lacking in culture-general knowledge and skills relevant to Australia, and others who had a low competency in the English language, and an inadequate understanding of Australian culture. Nonetheless, their intent to learn was strong, they achieved much by shared experiences with others, such as by the use of a dictionary kept close by or by newspapers read together, discussed and explained. They were motivated to self-study and they learnt to speak the new language by imitation, just as they watched and learnt other new ways, such as Australian mannerisms, idiosyncrasies and procedures for accomplishing everyday jobs.

Overall, few were English-only speakers, with others able to converse in either their clan dialect, Cantonese, Mandarin and/or other various languages. Often the use of the Chinese language at home was in order to speak with their mother and/or other family who had not learnt sufficient English. Also, some parents were of different clans, so to overcome the use of two clan dialects, a common language was chosen, usually Cantonese. The retention of their early language/s was an advantage, and it did not hinder their capacity to become able speakers of Australian-English. It allowed them a wider community choice of activities, added another facet to their identity, and assisted in their adaptation. One man was able to use his language proficiency in translation duties during wartime, but few

participants were members of the Armed Services during this period, as not all had gained citizenship.

Education was important to all but for some of the adult-aged migrants, it was a pivotal factor in their choice to come to Australia. Across all the age groups, the indication was that the overall patterns of education/learning of those schooled in Australia showed a similar development. However, the growth of learning, and higher academic achievements of the immigrants who had been schooled overseas was of a superior standard.

The identity of each of these twentieth century males, living in a patriarchal system, was one with some standing in their community power structure. They each knew tacitly that their circumstance of 'a skin of a different colour' might place them initially in a particular social class minority sub-culture rather than the mainstream social culture but they did not let this marginalize them. The development of their identities was shaped by influences, such as their determination to succeed, their willingness to be adaptive, and the degree of contact they had with cultural groups other than their family. The factor that they considered underpinned their success was their work. The Australian-born and schooled felt quite assimilated, comfortable in their homes in various widespread Sydney suburbs, and by the latter part of the twentieth century, they could buy most Chinese foodstuffs in their local areas. Chinese food was very important to all, but in general, their diet had become multicultural. The usual Chinese rice meal at night, might at times be substituted by Italian pasta. Their Chinese cultural ways may have underpinned their life but their everyday pursuits led them into being part of where they chose to live and work. Many aligned with local churches, although religious indicators were stronger among the men from overseas. The familial Chinese values and some traditions were maintained, and indeed were very strong. What changed, as this research has shown, were some of the practices accepted earlier as the norm in the Chinese community. Now, there were fewer participants who shared their homes with other generations, divorces were generally growing more prevalent but only five of these participants divorced, and three of them remarried. Towards the end of the twentieth century in Australia, there was more acceptance of working wives, of 'partners' not wives, and of same-sex couples. Among the participants there was no mention of 'partners', except for one who was happy in his long-term same-sex relationship. However, for the participants overall, they were largely unaffected by these societal changes, and for many, the belief was held that the place of the wife was in the home. Notwithstanding this, eight of the wives (ABC = #s 05, 06, 12, 36, 40, overseas born = #s 18, 47, 48) were known to be engaged in outside work for their

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own self-esteem, and as supplementary providers, while still attending to home duties. Most wives were still active and sharing with their participant husbands their common interests and recreational pursuits. It was surprising, given the length of time the men had lived in Australia, that only two men married Anglo-Australian women, one of which was a second marriage. It was likely a gauge of the strength of the inculcation of the Chinese value system during their formative years, but further verification is required on these assumptions.

Also, birth order was given considerable examination, as it still played a pivotal role in Chinese family politics, and twenty-seven participants were a Number One son. This birth position, no doubt, was a contributory factor to their added confidence and assurance, and would have aided their adaption, no matter what their personality. They were open, forthright, confident, gave independent answers to questions, enjoyed the repartee, and often laughed.

Work was the critical part of each man's life. To each participant, work gave a definition of self, status, rewards, and a meaningful place in the community. The centrality of work was balanced with other commitments to home and family, as well as other acquired obligations to the extended family and community, though at times this latter was a contentious matter, as too was the length of time spent at work. Work was definitely of prime importance but for some it did not entirely govern their life. Each man tried to achieve a balance between work and other interests, and to provide a home for his family, that was in his chosen locality, and one with increased status.

Their general work patterns markedly changed over the lifetime of many of the participants, especially those from the largest group of the seventy to eighty year olds whose lives were affected by the 'Great' Depression, Wartime years, and the increased migrant population. In the times of post World War II, jobs were available, and there were opportunities for professional retraining. The participants largely remained in their chosen occupation and stayed with the one employer for the duration of their working lives, but continued learning through retraining and moves within the firm or Department to gain promotion. They enjoyed their work, were not disruptive, and believed that their efforts were a worthwhile contribution to the workplace. Those participants who were born in Australia were employed in accountancy, office work and business pursuits, while the overseas-born chose engineering, and other business areas. The advantage of this whole

life study was its examination of each man's working life, and their reflection upon their learning over a lifetime.

This data was contrasted with Levinson's theory about the stages of a man's life in which he drew the threads together to show the importance of work to men, and to their home background. In this search for meaning, it was obvious that there was some commonality but that each man's story was unique, so care was taken to not over-interpret or create unnecessary links between the diverse subjects. Levinson concentrated on origins, education and marital status, and though an earlier study (Hoy 2000) found that the single participant matched Levinson's Life Task Developmental Model, this larger study did not. What this research of forty-three Australian-Chinese did was to gather in-depth data of older men, an understudied area that needed more investigation but it was not conclusive in matching the participants to Levinson's model.

The cross-cultural context did effect change to the lives of each of the studied individuals. Adjustment to the culture of Australia presented some difficulties for those who came as adult students, whereas the Australian-born and younger migrants found their integration a relatively simple process. There were no complaints about their lives in Australia, or with their comfortable homes in a variety of middle to upper class suburbs in Sydney, and the Northern Tablelands of New South Wales. Their connections to local community Associations as well as clan and history groups, cemented their sense of belonging. Their education and learning within the Australian context brought a number some acclaim as they strove to prove that they were the best. Though a few were linked to a family business, the majority secured employment in Government Departments and business with accountancy and engineering areas.

Their identities were all bicultural with their Chineseness engrained, and they fitted the Alternation model as described by La Fromboise and others. They respected their Chinese value system, and revered their parents as the source of this attribute. The high proportion of participants who were a Number One son was by chance and not design, and the confidence and assurance that they displayed could be attributed to this circumstance. Their Chinese culture was represented by their attitudes, and behavioural characteristics they had acquired within their family, and earlier details listed the number who had retained the language/s of their childhood. These participants found the retention of an original language to be beneficial, as it gave them greater assurance and mobility in groups, such as their clan Association. It was an overall judgment by the men that work was the

pivot of their lives. It gave them a sense of worth and accomplishment, provided them with a salary, which provided a comfortable living and increased status for their family.

The use of La Fromboise's framework aided further analysis, because of its relevance to crossing cultural boundaries. The study asked how did these experiences reflect a particular model. These participants had been instilled with their Chinese cultural beliefs and values by their parents and extended family. In their lives in Australia, their attitudes were positive, they watched, listened, and were eager to learn how to communicate and act in an Australian culture. Those who migrated, successfully adapted to a complete change of language and customs. They faced different challenges than those of previous generations of migrant Chinese, but they maintained a bicultural identity, and melded into the egalitarian Australian society. They all fitted the La Fromboise Alternation model of bicultural adaptation.

The use of a mixed methodology, with three instruments triangulated in the research, was important. The interview, collected from an objective stance, provided the greater access to understanding the hindsight, knowledge and skills of the men. It was an informal conversation eliciting facts of their lifetime events and connections. For example, and importantly, the participants spoke of their opinions on education, their Chineseness, adherence to older Chinese customs, their standing within the family and their work and pastimes. This recall brought to the surface their historical memories, and created a visible map of their past attachments. Nevertheless, it was the video that was of benefit with its transcription of the interview. To view the conversation on film, see the full body language and facial expression of each participant, was a crucial factor for the interpretation of details from these individual sources. The content of the video was important for family to see, and hear facts about, and opinions of their father's life that had not been known to them before, and so extended the value of the research to the community and its history. In the process of the interview there was no right or wrong answer to the questions, which were not bound to a particular culture but they did promote thinking and recollection of lifetime fact and opinion. These participants were not usually into self-contemplation. They took action, and no doubt there were times when their lives were in a context of crisis, and perhaps even a low level of confidence but none of these men expressed ever having had a sense of powerlessness, as might have been expected of newcomers to a country foreign to them. Rather, they set the agenda by providing translations when needed for the parents, by being proactive in suggesting solutions to any family problems and/or decision-making. If there were psychological implications or any feelings of inadequacy or of being disgruntled

at any time, they did not speak of it with resentment. Those who were concerned that they may have missed the opportunity for promotion at work, remarked upon it but moved forward in a positive way.

The answers to the Questionnaire were direct, and provided a foil to the details from the interview. The Questionnaire provided new information if not unexpected images of Chinese modes of behaviour and practices in the twentieth century in New South Wales. There was no doubt whatever that the participants were happy Australian citizens but the questions about culture indicated a definite change from the 'old' behavioural ways. The responsibility of care of old parents, the retention of the Chinese language, the designation of the evening as a rice meal, and the selection of a wife were now considered to be one of a personal choice and not a required obligation to past practices. There was still a sense of pride and belonging to their clan of origin, and although some participants had lost their original language they were not concerned. They were proud of their Chineseness, and their cultural identity, while considering themselves as very Australian. Similarly racism, and the old White Australia Policy were not major issues, with any of the participants. They did not complain about the past, and there were few complaints of discrimination. The majority were sure that they could be part of two cultures, and some had received public acclaim for their contribution to community groups.

The questionnaire found that religion was of more interest to those born overseas, than the Australian-born men. For Chinese have always considered wisdom to be significant, and some participants knew of the old Confucian examination system that was of importance in raising the status of a previous generation of their family (e.g. # 06). So it was not unexpected that overall the participants (98%) valued education, and also enjoyed the practicalities of 'learning on the job'. Private schools had not caught their attention, and this was not surprising as so many of the men had attended public schools. This too was a surprise as some coming from overseas had been denied entry to State schools. Notwithstanding this fact, the answers to the questions about schools and extra study were positive responses.

The CCAI was the third instrument, the quantitative tool in this study, in juxtaposition with the interview, the information from the questionnaire and to balance triangulation. It revealed interesting findings, related to each participant but produced results that were difficult to equate with other factors known about these individuals. The CCAI findings did not indicate that place of birth, ancestral clan, educational level, language/s fluency, career

or religion were of significance. The results of each participant's four quadrants did not always equate with their expectations or those of the researcher but they did indicate aspects of each man's inner self, that would otherwise not have been collected so readily, as for example in the numerous interviews conducted for Levinson's study. It gave quantifiable data with which to compare and contrast their interview and questionnaire replies, all of which enabled a fuller portrait of each man. The CCAI did not provide a match with other data to confirm the cross-cultural adaptability of the participants but it did provide an avenue for the respondents to collect data about, and by themselves without the influence or input from others. A number of other studies used the CCAI outside its original intended application, so the results of this research may be of specific interest to designers of future inventories related to cross-cultural adaptation, as the CCAI generated considerable quantifiable data. The normative and statistically significant results were analysed for the group but there was no real generalization of the figures, just a search for common factors. The results showed that there were no correlations of statistical significance.

In summation, it was in the results that the finer or specific detail of each participant was enumerated. However, in general, the antecedents of these men were all Chinese, mostly of working-class background, except for a few of the later incoming migrants whose parents were professionals. A discriminator, their place of birth, was checked but where they were schooled was the pivotal context that effected changes to their individual identities and learning. A comprehensive image of each participant was acquired by triangulating the data from the three instruments. These senior men had seen Australia change from an assimilationist country to a multicultural milieu, from exclusivity to inclusiveness, and certainly a place where there was less constraint on enjoying other cultures. Australia's present population has now so intermingled across what were formerly cultural boundaries, that it has an exponentially growing number of bicultural, and or multicultural households. Nonetheless, this fact was not reflected in the sample, as forty men found wives of Chinese heritage, it is however reflected in their children's culturally diverse families. The situation of *family* is the very core of Chinese society. For all the participants, their Chinese family customs, beliefs and importantly their value systems represented their Chinese cultural inheritance, and determined many of their life choices.

One shared belief was that education was a major influence in empowerment. All those with children had ensured that their family had opportunities for an advanced education, and this was obvious by the preponderance of their children's tertiary degrees. In two

generations, these families dealt with the challenges, and raised their class and status from shopkeepers to professionals. This was achieved with many stating that they offered more choice for their children than they had been given. They had successfully adapted, and all things considered they had achieved upward mobility and security for their families.

The final image of this group of Australian Chinese men was that they loved being Australian. They had overcome changes, and were ambivalent to disrespectful attitudes, language, clothing, food, and their Anglicized names. They wanted to fit in and assimilate, but not necessarily by marrying Anglo-Celtic women. They did not want to upset their new society, and in their assimilation period some had even suppressed their Chineseness. All the participants fitted the La Fromboise Alternation model whereby they maintained their Chinese identity as part of their personal and historical map. They all kept a pride in their Chineseness, and discounted contentious issues such as racism. Highly individual, resilient and adaptive even in their old age, and without rancour for the past, they were indeed an admirable group of survivors, who had been generous with their personal insights.

As Professor Wang Gungwu of Singapore (1999) suggested there was a need for the Chinese overseas communities to be studied comparatively “*both among themselves and together with other migrant communities*”. This research was but one of such studies but more investigations are needed as there has been an increase in the number of Chinese choosing to become Australian citizens. It was also important that the individual stories of these senior Australian Chinese men were recorded both in word and film for their family and community.

The Chinese culture pervades, often unknowingly and unrecognized, within Australian Chinese. Their memories are carried on and reformed to fit the changed context of another culture. As a writer, I bring my own history and understanding to their interpretations of events but I also bring a contemporary insight of one who also lived through similar times and experiences within my family and community. In this process of change I interpret and reform the narrative. This research has focused very deliberately and specifically on these Australian Chinese men. Future research could broaden the focus to explore the effect on their partners and family or to compare with population statistics of other groups of Australian Chinese men. In addition, it has been noted that Asian visitors take delight in collecting photographs and video in various contexts. Later studies could further examine the psychology of these mediums.

Investigations such as this need others to continue to inquire, discover and expound further on each segment of Australia's multicultural peoples so as to foster understanding of cultural idiosyncrasies. So, then to encourage an harmonious combination of ways of individual thinking, and modes of behavior to blend toward a state of compatibility.

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**Appendix 3 PARTICIPANT DETAILS**

<b>PARTICIPANT DETAILS</b>	<b>CODE</b>
No:.....	

-- --[ONLY ANSWER THOSE YOU WISH]

FAMILY NAME:.....

GIVEN NAMES.....

GENERATIONAL.....

ADDRESS:.....

.....

TELEPHONE:.....email:.....

PLACE OF BIRTH ( City / Country)

In hospital OR at home

DATE OF BIRTH:

Chinese:.....Western:.....

TIME OF DAY:

DO YOU HAVE A COPY OF YOUR BIRTH  
CERTIFICATE.....

DOES IT MENTION THE OCCUPATION OF

Your father .....

Your mother.....

If yes, then add above

## Appendix 4 CONSENT FORM FOR STUDENT RESEARCH

[UTS-HREC Ref No: 2005-056A]

I,.....agree to participate in  
the (PRINT YOUR NAME)

research project *DOUBLE HAPPINESS: BICULTURAL MEN - identity and learning*  
being conducted by -

Dorathy Hoy, Education Faculty, University of Technology, Sydney, PO Box 123  
Broadway 2007.

Tel: 02-9514-3863 email:[Dorathy.m.Hoy@student.uts.edu.au](mailto:Dorathy.m.Hoy@student.uts.edu.au) for her PhD (Education)  
degree.

I understand that the purpose of this study is **to investigate the identity, adaptation and learning of  
senior living Australian Chinese men, throughout their life-time.**

I am aware that to provide a balanced perspective of my life course will:

- entail a short 5 minute questionnaire, a 30 minute non-threatening self-administered psychological survey  
and a video taped life history interview
- involve an estimated time of approximately 2 hours for the whole process
- not include the need to travel, as the researcher will visit me

I will inform the researcher of my choice as to how I wish my data to be ultimately disposed of, whether I be given a  
copy of my interview & survey results or the data archived in e.g. National Archives or destroyed in c.2014. I will  
also discuss my wishes as to future publication of data, apart from the doctoral thesis..

I also realise that I can contact Dorathy Hoy or her supervisor Dr Roger K Morris, if I have any concerns about the  
research. I understand that I am free to withdraw my participation from this research project at any time if I wish  
and without giving a reason.

I agree that Dorathy Hoy has answered all my questions fully and clearly.

I agree that the research data gathered from this project may be published in a form that

1.0 does NOT identify me in any way, or

2.0 allows me to be identified 2.1. allows photographs to be taken

(STRIKE OUT WHICHEVER LINE DOES NOT APPLY)

Signature:------(SIGN YOUR NAME & DATE) Date:-----/-----/-----

Signature:\_\_\_\_\_ (RESEARCHER) Date:\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_

This study has been approved by the University of Technology, Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any  
complaints or reservations about any aspect of your participation in this research which you cannot resolve with the researcher, you  
may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (ph: 02 9514 9615, [Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au](mailto:Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au)) and quote  
the UTS HREC reference number. Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be  
informed of the outcome.

QUESTIONNAIRE [ Put a X on the question line under your answer]	CODE NO:	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree
<b>I BELIEVE THAT :-</b>				
1) Chinese language is essential to being Chinese				
2) Working long hours is necessary				
3) Being comfortable is more important than being rich				
4) Different clans should not inter-marry				
5) After leaving school everyone should do extra study				
6) Chinese food is better				
7) Caught between 2 cultures you can only adopt one				
8) Australian working conditions are good				
9) Learning on the job is the best way				
10) Education was valued in my family				
11) Chinese spend extra money on their children's education				
12) Private schools provide better business contacts				
13) Children should support their parents				
14) Work is the most important part of my life				
15) The White Australia Policy affected my family				
16) Australia is a good place to live				
17) It is good to change jobs				
18) All Chinese have experienced discrimination in Australia				
19) It is easy to get work in Australia				
20) Public schools provide better education				

**Explanation =  
LOOKING AT ATTITUDES**

**There are 20 questions  
Each area of interest has 5 questions**

- (1) Learning
- (2) Identity
- (3) Culture
- (4) Work

**Unknown to participants**

## Appendix 6 EXAMPLES of INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

(Number indicates the participant who was asked the question in this particular way)

What **school** did you come to in Australia? (31) And did you go to school then? (01)  
And what school did you attend? (14) And when you came out here where did you go to study? (43)

And when you finished study, where did you go then? (31) Tell me a bit about your **work** (07) Let's talk about your working life. What was your first job? (09) Did you find it hard to get work? (05)

Well, tell me about your **family** now. How many children you have? (31) And who were you closest to in your family? (09) How many children in your family? (43) Have all your family married Chinese? (37)

And tell me then, what **languages** you understood at that time? (18) Have you followed on with language with any of your children? (04) What languages did you hear spoken at home? (19 & 22)

Do you have a **Kitchen God** yourself, as they would have had in China? (23) At home did your mother uphold any of the observances, like having the Kitchen God and so on? (07) What about the culture in the family, have you a household where there is a Kitchen God? (17) Do you have a Kitchen god? (02)

Do you have a **Chinese rice meal** at night? (23) What would your main meal be? Do you have a Chinese main meal at night? (02) And do you cook for yourself? Do you cook Chinese? (05) Do you still keep the Chinese tradition of the Chinese meal at night? (22)

Are you of a particular **clan**? (07) Where were you born and what clan? (17) And do you attend your clan group? (04) And was the clan grouping the same for your mother and father? (19)

Do you have any particular interests in your **retirement**? (23) And in your retirement what are your interests now? (07) Do you have a sense of achievement now in your retirement? (02) What are your interests now in retirement? (27)

Some participants anticipated the trend of the question and expounded further without the need for further prompting questions. For example, No. 14 when questioned about a Tech Course explained at length the various courses he had completed and his thoughts and progress with his work.

## **Appendix 7 INFORMATION LETTER FOR STUDENT RESEARCH TITLE OF RESEARCH**

### ***Double Happiness: Bicultural men – identity and learning***

#### ***WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?***

My name is Dorathy Hoy and I am a PhD (Education) student at University of Technology, Sydney supervised by Dr Roger.K.Morris

***WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?*** It will explore the identity formation of senior living Australian Chinese men as to what factors impinged on their learning and adaptation within the Australian society and the importance of work in their lives.

#### ***IF I SAY YES, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?***

To provide a balanced perspective of your life course will

entail a short 5 minute questionnaire, a 30 minute non-threatening self-administered psychological survey that you complete at home. The expected time for the video taped life history interview is approximately half an hour. You will receive a DVD copy. I will visit so that you will not need to travel.

***WHAT HAPPENS TO MY DATA?*** It will be (i) incorporated in the thesis (ii) retained in safe custody for the number of years required by UTS (iii) disposed of as you wish, such as archived in e.g. National Archives or National or State Library or your data on video tape, the results of your survey, photographs if allowed by you, may be retained by you.

***ARE THERE ANY RISKS?*** There are few or any risks because the research has been carefully designed. You may decline to answer any question and you may request a half-time break.

***WHY HAVE I BEEN ASKED?*** You are able to give the information I need to find out about the experiences and perceptions of a special group of men who contributed so much to the Australian society

***DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?*** You don't have to say yes

***WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?*** Nothing, I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

***IF I SAY YES CAN I CHANGE MY MIND LATER?*** You can change your mind at any time and you don't have to say why. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

***WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?*** If you have any concerns about the research that you think I or my supervisor can help you with please feel free to contact me (us) on Tel: (02) 9514. 3863

If you would like to talk to someone who is not connected with research, you may contact the Research Ethics Officer on (02) 9514 9615 , and quote this number ( UTS- HREC Ref No: 2005-056A