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A qualitative exploration of stress, coping, support-seeking, and help-seeking among Chinese migrant youth in New Zealand

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Abstract

This research uses qualitative methodology to explore how Chinese migrant youth in New Zealand experience and manage stress. Data was collected through focus groups and interviews with 13 young people, aged between 16 and 18 years, who had migrated from China to New Zealand with their families. A thematic analysis addressed the four areas of focus in this research: stress, coping, support-seeking, and help-seeking from psychological services. In the area of stress, participants described tensions associated with differences between their experiences and those of their European peers, and with immersing themselves in dominant culture while also holding on to their migration stories and ethnic culture. Although they developed hybrid identities and tried to fit in to dominant society, discrimination constrained their fitting in and the identities they were able to construct. In relation to coping, participants spoke about hybridisation of their migration stories, ethnic culture, and dominant culture in their negotiations of coping. Although they valued dealing directly with stress, they also valued closing off emotion and finding acceptance and gratitude, as well as actively rejecting 'bad' ways of coping used by their European peers. In relation to support-seeking, participants described how they preferred to rely on their own resources. This related to autonomy and concerns that talking with others does not help, but was also overlaid with Chinese values regarding emotions and relationships. In the area of help-seeking, participants spoke about their reluctance to use psychological services. They related this to lack of knowledge about services, concerns about trusting professionals, minimisation of their problems, and fear of the erosion of their autonomy, but also highlighted lack of familiarity with services, poor cultural fit, and wanting to be resilient like their parents. Therefore, they emphasised the need for both general and culturally-specific solutions to mitigate these barriers. Overall, the young people were active agents who negotiated their migration stories, ethnic culture and minority status, and dominant culture and discourses in how they experienced and managed stress. Harnessing their resourcefulness and understanding their social and cultural contexts is critical for working meaningfully with these young people.

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CONTENTS

THESIS OVERVIEW AND RESEARCHER REFLEXIVITY

Growing up in a Western country can be challenging for Chinese migrant youth. Researchers have asserted that these young people are engaged with developing their identity and transitioning into adulthood, while also negotiating culturally diverse expectations and ethnic minority status (Arnett, 2007; Yeh, Kim, Pituc, & Atkins, 2008). It is important for researchers and health professionals to understand how these young people deal with challenges in order to assist them in developing resilience (Chiu, 2006).

To date, little research has focussed on understanding the experiences of Chinese migrant youth in New Zealand. The research described in this thesis is one of many steps that need to be taken to help fill this knowledge gap. The aim of this research is to explore how Chinese migrant youth in New Zealand experience stress, coping, support-seeking, and help-seeking from psychological services. This is done using a qualitative approach which analyses focus groups and interviews conducted with 13 Chinese migrant youth aged 16 to 18 years.

An integral implication of the theoretical and methodological approaches of this research is the subjectivity of the researcher. It is believed that researchers have values, beliefs, and practices, arising from their own personal history and social and cultural contexts, which shape their experience of the world. As such, researchers are seen to impact on all aspects of the research process, including topic choice and data collection, analysis, and interpretation (Claveirole, 2004). In particular, participant accounts are not seen as produced solely by participants. Rather, they are seen as a collaborative and interactional process between the researcher and participant who both bring their own lived experiences and meaning-making to the process, and together ultimately shape the accounts that are produced (Watt, 2007). Furthermore, participant accounts are believed to be interpreted and analysed through the researcher's perspectives (Watt, 2007).

In light of this, researchers have argued that commitment to reflexivity is critical (Claveirole, 2004). Reflexivity is described as the process of exposing one's subjectivity to analysis and openly reflecting (disclosing) on the impact of such factors on what one brings to the research process (Watt, 2007; Yardley, 2000). It is argued that this opens up space for new or different ways of thinking and acting, which, in turn, increases the robustness and validity of the research (Yardley, 2000). In this research, I acknowledge my constructive role in the whole process, from its creation to the result. I therefore make my own values, beliefs, and practices

visible and consider how they have shaped my motivations and approaches in attempt to paradoxically increase the rigour of this research.

It is no surprise that my subjectivity as a researcher is influenced by my own experience of migration and growing up as a Chinese person in New Zealand. Due to economic under-development in China, many generations of my family wanted to leave China in order to pursue better opportunities overseas. My parents were the first in the family to leave China and sojourn to New Zealand, sacrificing their family, friends, and careers behind. On arrival to New Zealand, I grew up in a low socioeconomic and multicultural suburb in South Auckland, an enriching but isolating experience as there were few Chinese faces around. Growing up I staggered across numerous struggles stemming from living across what I perceived to be two conflicting cultural worlds. At home, my parents spoke Chinese, worked long hours to provide for the family, and instilled in me values of hard work and familial responsibilities. At school, I interacted with non-Chinese peers, spoke English, and was exposed to new ways of being, including being independent from the family. This left me feeling isolated as I did not seem to fit in with my family nor my peers. Further, I did not know where to get the support I needed, as I did not want to burden my parents, I felt that my peers would not understand my Chinese world, and I did not know what psychological services were as they were foreign within my Chinese culture. These experiences led me to identify as neither fully Chinese nor completely Western. I developed a hybrid identity, comprising of both/and or neither/nor. This sparked in me a motivation to understand and work with others who also feel that they do not fit a certain box. It is from this hybrid point of view that I came to conduct and write this research. My intention is to voice alternative identities and experiences, such as those of Chinese minorities. In particular, my passion lies with young people given that they are negotiating a potentially challenging period of the lifespan, and their young age impacts on their ability and power to voice their own identities and experiences.

My theoretical motivations have also been shaped by my psychology education and experience. During my undergraduate psychology courses and training as a clinical psychologist, psychology enriched me with knowledge and expertise in relation to supporting people's personal development and psychological wellbeing. However, the understandings of psychology have been derived from Western knowledge (Hoshmand, 2006; Shi-xu, 2005). This raises questions, for me as a future psychologist, about how well Western psychotherapeutic understandings and approaches work for people of other cultural backgrounds. Therefore, one of the motivations driving this research is to challenge some of the 'taken for granted'

frameworks that I had absorbed during my psychology education. My research reflects an investment to creating space for alternative views and approaches in psychological intervention in order to find ways to work with Chinese young people in a meaningful and positive way.

This thesis is made up of four chapters. Chapter one reviews the literature relevant to my research focussing on how young people experience and manage stress, and also considers research relevant to understanding the particular experiences of Chinese migrant youth. Chapter two discusses the theoretical and methodological approaches taken to the research. Chapter three provides an overview of the findings of the study. Finally, chapter four discusses the main findings of this research, its potential implications, strengths and limitations, and ideas for future research.

CHAPTER ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I examine the dominant psychological literature on youth stress, coping, and support-seeking, and then challenge the Western perspective of this literature. This then leads to a discussion on acculturation and culture. I then turn to focus on Chinese migrant youth in Western society, painting the social and cultural background for these young people, as well as reviewing the research on their experiences of stress, coping, support-seeking, and help-seeking from psychological services.

Youth stress and coping in dominant psychological literature

According to researchers, 'the West' is a historically produced category originating in an Eurocentric system of geographical classification, commonly referring to white Anglo-American and European peoples, communities, and regions of the world (Ang, 2005; Shi-xu, 2005). It has been said that the category has been used in inter-cultural relations to associate those peoples, communities, and regions of the world as politically and economically superior to other peoples, communities, and regions of world. As such, this asymmetrical, hegemonic relationship between the West and 'the Rest' privileges Western discourses, ideas, and values as dominative, whereas non-Western discourses, ideas, and values are often excluded or marginalised (Shi-xu, 2005). Accordingly, researchers have argued that the majority of the youth stress and coping literature has been conducted with white, middle-class young people residing in North America and Western Europe, which perpetuates a Western perspective (Hobfoll, 2001; Kuo, 2011; Lonner, Wong, & Wong, 2006; Wong, Wong, & Scott, 2006). In this section, I review the dominant psychological literature on youth stress and coping. I then challenge the Western perspective of this literature in relation to its generalisability and applicability to other cultures. I argue that young people's experiences of stress and coping are shaped by social and cultural factors, and as such, more research exploring how young people of minority or migrant cultures experience and manage stress is needed.

Traditional youth stress and coping models

Stress was first defined by Hans Selye as "the non-specific response of the body to any demand made upon it" (Selye, 1974, p. 27). Since his seminal work, research on stress has grown into a multi-faceted field of study, with understandings varying across disciplines and researchers (Aldwin, 2007). In dominant psychological literature, Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) understanding has been the most widely adopted. They described stress as "a particular

relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding his or her resources and endangering his or her wellbeing" (Lazarus & Folkman, p. 19). According to this understanding, the experience of stress depends on the individual's appraisal of the harm or benefit posed by the stressor, and the individual's appraisal of his or her resources to deal with the stressor. Stress results when there is an imbalance between an individual's perceived demands and perceived resources available to cope with the demands. As such, the experience of stress is not a linear stimulus-and-response process, but instead, a transactional, dynamic, and continually changing process (Frydenberg, 2008; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

In dominant psychological literature, stress has been regarded as an aspect of everyone's lives, to a greater or lesser degree (Aldwin, 2007). The difference between individuals lies in their vulnerability to stress. In particular, Western researchers have regarded young people, typically between the ages of 15 and 24 years, as especially vulnerable to stress (Patel, Fisher, Hetrick, & McGorry, 2007). Dominant psychological theories have emphasised what have been considered universal and inevitable changes and demands for young people (Arnett, 2007). Biologically, the body undergoes a range of physical changes, such as increase in height and weight and development of sexual maturity (Carr, 2006). Cognitively, the brain undergoes changes in structure and connectivity leading to the development of advanced, adult-like thinking (Carr, 2006; Piaget, 1961). Socially, young people may develop more egalitarian relationships with their parents and extend their social networks to include friends and romantic partners. As they do so, they must learn new social skills to manage these relationships (Lerner & Steinberg, 2009). Finally, psychologically, young people may begin the process of developing their autonomy and identity in domains such as gender, sexual orientation, occupational aspirations, values, and strengths (Carr, 2006; Erikson, 1968). Supporting these theories, empirical research with Western samples has indicated that the majority of stresses reported by young people relate to worries about academic performance, conflict with parents, physical appearance, friendships, romantic relationships, and future aspirations (Persike & Seiffge-Krenke, 2012; Seiffge-Krenke, 1995).

Due to the many stresses thought to face young people, Western researchers have invested in examining youth mental health problems (Patel et al., 2007). International studies in Western countries reported that at least 30% of young people meet diagnostic criteria for at least one mental health disorder, and 16 to 18% of young people engage in deliberate self-harm (Merikangas et al., 2010; Slade, Johnston, Oakley-Browne, Andrews, & Whiteford, 2009). In

New Zealand, the Youth'12 survey (Clark et al., 2012) found that 16% of girls and 9% of boys describe depressive symptoms which impact on their daily lives, and 38% of girls and 23% of boys describe feeling down most of the day for at least two weeks in the last 12 months. Further, 29% of girls and 18% of boys report deliberate self-harm. Thus, these statistics indicate that mental health problems are a significant issue among young people.

However, some researchers have argued that mental health statistics pathologise young people as at-risk victims (White & Wyn, 2008). In particular, defining young people's health in terms of these statistics does not tell us anything about how young people define, manage, and achieve wellbeing, nor does it tell us anything about why and how young people experience problems. As such, it obscures the idea that wellbeing is produced through social processes, which become trivialised and marginalised by approaches that focus exclusively on the outcomes of the processes. Rather than a linear, casual relationship between life events and mental health problems, White and Wyn (2008) see young people as social actors who have resources and actively negotiate how they manage everyday demands. Thus, they advocate for understanding young people as actively coping with the demands in their lives.

Indeed, with the turn of the 20th century, researchers started to explore coping in young people, and attested that coping is an important mediating and moderating factor between stress and wellbeing (Aldwin, 2007; Auerbach, Abela, Zhu, & Yao, 2010). Once again, much of the dominant youth coping literature has been predicated on Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) understanding. As part of their transactional understanding of stress, they described coping as a process involving constantly changing cognitive, emotional, and behavioural responses to manage internal and external events appraised by the individual as stressful. As such, they emphasised the ongoing dynamic coping process that occurs in response to changing demands of the stressful experience (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

In dominant psychological literature, hundreds of coping strategies have been identified (Skinner, Edge, Altman, & Sherwood, 2003). To organise these coping strategies, researchers have grouped them into coping styles, patterns that characterise individuals' reactions to stress either over time or across contexts (Frydenberg, 2008). Although numerous models of coping styles have been proposed by researchers (e.g., Ebata & Moos, 1991; Frydenberg, 1997; Rothbaum, Weisz, & Synder, 1982), once again, Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) model has been the most widely adopted. They described two coping styles: a problem-focussed coping style including any response that involves directly dealing with the stressful event, such as planning, strategising, taking instrumental action, and negotiating issues with the concerned individual;

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and an emotion-focussed coping style including any response directed at adjusting one's feelings and thoughts in relation to the stressful event, such as distraction, emotional regulation, positive reappraisal, acceptance, and escape/avoidance. Other behaviours such as support-seeking (e.g., talking to others) could be categorised as problem-focussed or emotion-focussed depending on its nature, for example seeking information (problem-focussed) versus seeking emotional support (emotion-focussed) (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

Zimmer-Gembeck and Skinner (2011) conducted a review of the dominant coping literature and found several themes pertaining to youth. First, young people were seen to have an increasing preference to deal with stress on their own as they get older, which is consistent with the task of developing autonomy during the period of youth according to dominant psychological theories. Second, although young people describe a range of coping strategies, they were found to predominantly rely on only a few coping styles. Problem-solving was the most commonly used coping style, followed by support-seeking from informal sources (e.g., family, friends) and distraction. In contrast, escape/avoidance was the least adopted coping style. Third, young people were described as actively experimenting with coping strategies, trying out various strategies and enacting various combinations across different stressors and over time. For instance, young people commonly used problem-solving and support-seeking for controllable stressors, most commonly in academic and peer domains. They were also seen to shift their source of support from adults to peers as they grow older, although they may rely on adults for support in relation to more serious stressors. Further, young people were found to commonly use distraction for uncontrollable stressors, most commonly in the family domain. From these findings, Zimmer-Gembeck and Skinner (2011) concluded that young people demonstrate agency in coping, actively drawing on resources and negotiating how they manage everyday demands.

Similarly, Barker (2007) conducted a review of the dominant coping literature and found several themes pertaining to youth support-seeking. Referring to support-seeking in a general sense (e.g., from informal and formal sources), he reported that young people's support-seeking is shaped by individual and exogenous factors. Individual factors included young people's perceptions about their ability to resolve problems autonomously with their coping skills, beliefs about what constitutes a need for help (e.g., usually more serious psychological difficulties), internalised gender norms in relation to support-seeking, perceptions of whether others may be helpful (e.g., whether they can listen and provide useful advice) or trustworthy (e.g., whether they will judge, criticise, or share their problems with other people), and

perceived stigma associated with support-seeking (e.g., whether it constitutes a sign of personal weakness). Finally, exogenous factors included cultural and community norms relating to support-seeking, distance to sources of support, and the availability and nature of formal support services. Barker (2007) concluded that young people actively negotiate their previous experiences and ideas about support-seeking as well as exogenous factors in their decisions of whether to seek support.

In summary, dominant psychological research has traditionally focussed on universal, developmental sources of stress and its link with mental health problems in young people. Due to increasing arguments against this pathological perspective of young people, research has turned to focus on strength-based perspectives which recognise that young people are social actors who actively negotiate how they deal with everyday demands.

Youth stress and coping models in contemporary context

Researchers have increasingly proposed that how young people experience and manage stress is shaped by their social and cultural context and may be more complex and changing than previous literature had suggested (White & Wyn, 2008). These perspectives were implicated as early as Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) seminal thesis on stress and coping, which recognised that an individual's appraisal of stress and the perceived appropriateness of coping responses are shaped by social and cultural factors, conceptually. However, these perspectives have only gained momentum in recent years due to an awareness of the impacts of globalisation (Kuo, 2011; White & Wyn, 2008). Globalisation has existed for centuries as a process by which cultures influence one another through trade, immigration, and the exchange of information and ideas (Arnett, 2002). Furthermore, the degree and intensity of globalisation has been accelerated through technological advances (Arnett, 2002). Consequently, there have been significant societal changes across a range of sectors in industrialised countries. In education and labour sectors, there has been an increase in educational opportunities, greater importance of higher education, increase in demand for educated workers, and development of a highly differentiated labour market based on specific skills (Furlong & Cartmel, 2007). In patterns of lifestyle, there has been increased diversity in leisure activities, upsurge in telecommunications, accelerated spread of networks and knowledge, and greater importance of consumption and lifestyle while traditional expectations weaken (Furlong & Cartmel, 2007). Further, with regards to value systems, there has been greater advocacy for the rights of children and young people, and increased acceptance or tolerance towards diverse identities (e.g., sexual and gender identities) and behaviours (e.g., sex, alcohol and drug use) among young people (Arnett, 2002; White &

Wyn, 2008).

Researchers have suggested that these aforementioned societal changes have impacted on what young people in contemporary time find stressful and how they manage it (White & Wyn, 2008). For instance, young people may experience increasing stress in relation to academic achievement and future career prospects (Persike & Seiffge-Krenke, 2012). Although they are now provided with more economic opportunities, this comes at the cost of increased competition and uncertainty with regards to securing those opportunities. On the one hand, young people have taken on the idea that they are accountable for their own futures; and on the other hand, they are also confronted with a sense of vulnerability as they face increasing uncertainty and competition, and the negotiation of risks which were largely absent in their parents' generation (Furlong & Cartmel, 2007). Further, the focus on economic development has impacted on young people's social functioning, prolonging the tasks of pursuing education and developing a career, and delaying subsequent tasks of exploring intimate relationships and developing a family (Arnett, 2002). However, researchers have emphasised that young people appear to have actively negotiated these stressors and developed new youth subjectivities, reflected in the rise of participation in higher education and development of the 'can-do' attitudes among young women (White & Wyn, 2008).

Researchers have also proposed that young people may also experience increasing stress in relation to constructing their identities (Persike & Seiffge-Krenke, 2012). Western (particularly American-centric) mass media (e.g., television, film, music) and new media (e.g., internet) are believed to have increasingly infused through the everyday lives of young people around the globe, thereby propagating a Western global youth culture (Arnett, 2002). This global youth culture may create a push-and-pull effect for young people between conforming to the dominant youth image to obtain peer acceptance versus establishing their own individuality (Arnett, 2002). In particular, social media has become an important arena where young people negotiate and assert their identities (Wood, Bukowski, & Lis, 2016). Although these mediums may provide young people with an avenue for establishing and maintaining social connection, they may also place pressure on young people to present a specific online image of themselves (Wood et al., 2016). Therefore, globalisation has transformed how young people think about themselves and in relation to the broader social environment. However, again, researchers have emphasised that young people appear to have actively negotiated these pressures, and developed new and diverse youth subcultures and identities as a way to display their uniqueness and assert their identities (White & Wyn, 2008).

Furthermore, researchers have suggested that the surge of digitisation has impacted on how young people manage stress (O'Keeffe, Clarke-Pearson, & Council on Communications and Media, 2011). Young people are now living in a digitally connected world which offers them greater access to information and opportunities for communication and socialisation (Wood et al., 2016). As such, they are increasingly resorting to new coping strategies, such as seeking knowledge on the internet and support through text, phone, or social media; while the use of traditional coping strategies decreases, such as reading, playing sports, and seeking face-to-face support (Astellas, 2015). Thus, it appears that young people have adjusted how they manage everyday demands by drawing on old and new forms of coping strategies.

Overall, globalisation has contributed to an increasing recognition that how young people experience and manage stress is shaped by the social and cultural context. Young people have been seen to demonstrate agency in the process of globalisation, actively making sense of their experiences and negotiating new strategies to cope with changing contexts.

Challenging the Western perspective

In spite of the increasing recognition of the influence of social and cultural factors on how young people experience and manage stress, cultural researchers have argued that the majority of the empirical youth stress and coping research has continued to be carried out with white, middle-class young people residing in Western countries (Hobfoll, 2001; Kuo, 2011; Lonner, et al., 2006; Wong et al., 2006). This is seen to perpetuate a Western perspective about growing up which is assumed to apply cross-culturally to all young people, thereby conveying an acontextual nature of stress and coping which fails to capture the experiences of young people of other cultures (Chun et al., 2006; Kuo, 2011).

However, there has been emerging empirical research indicating differences in experiences of stress and coping across young people of different cultures. In relation to stress, cultural researchers have remarked that although there may be universal biological changes experienced by all young people, cultures vary widely in the conception of youth (Chun et al., 2006). Supporting this, Arnett's (2003) study found that young people of various ethnic backgrounds in the United States have different criteria for emerging adulthood. In particular, although African, Latino, and Asian American young people shared with white American young people the view that independence from the family is a strong criteria for adult status, they placed greater emphasis on family capacities (e.g., keeping a family safe, supporting a family financially), norm compliance (e.g., avoiding drunk driving, driving safely and close to

the speed limit), and role transitions (e.g., finish education and get employed, get married) compared to white American young people. Similar findings were reported by Nelson, Badger, and Wu (2004) in their study with Chinese young people in China. This kind of research has helped to show how culture likely shapes the demands and stressors associated with the period of youth.

In relation to coping, researchers have highlighted that various cultures have different cultural coping scripts, or ideas about what coping strategies are adaptive, as a result of different cultural values (Chun et al., 2006). As such, what is favoured and considered adaptive in dominant psychological literature may be less favoured and seen as maladaptive in other cultures. For instance, Western coping scripts regard coping strategies oriented towards autonomy, direct action, and mastery of the environment, such as problem-solving and resolving interpersonal conflict, as positive. In contrast, coping responses that are passive, such as distraction, emotional regulation, accommodation, and avoidance of interpersonal conflict, are regarded as negative (Chun et al., 2006; Wong et al., 2006). Supporting this, empirical research using Western samples has indicated that problem-approach coping is associated with positive psychological outcomes, whereas passive-avoidant coping is linked to maladaptive outcomes (Compas et al., 2001; Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2010). The exception to this is in relation to uncontrollable stressful situations, in which case expressing emotions and finding acceptance are regarded as helpful (Compas et al., 2001; Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2010). However, cultural researchers have argued that problem-approach coping may be less adaptive for people of Asian cultures, where cultural coping scripts favour coping strategies oriented towards collectivism and social harmony (Cheng, Lo, & Chio, 2010; Chun et al., 2006). For instance, research with Asian samples has indicated that emotion-focussed and avoidant coping strategies are more prevalent and associated with positive outcomes in managing stressors such as everyday life stress, family conflict, and racial discrimination (Kuo, 2011). However, this is not to say that problem-approach coping is not effective for Asian people, as there is some research which indicates that problem-approach coping is effective for stressors such as racial discrimination and cross-cultural adjustment (Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Wester, Kuo, & Vogel, 2006; Yoo & Lee, 2005). This kind of research has helped highlight how culture may shape what is regarded as appropriate ways of coping.

As discussed, there has been growing evidence to suggest that culture shapes how young people experience and manage stress. This has raised questions as to how applicable dominant, Western stress and coping perspectives are for young people of minority or migrant cultures,

both within and outside of Western society. More research with young people of minority and migrant cultures is essential to provide critical cultural and multicultural perspectives on stress and coping (Kuo, 2011).

Acculturation and culture

The concept of acculturation has been extensively used to describe and research the experiences of migrants in a new cultural context. In this section, I introduce how acculturation has been presented in the literature. I then offer a critical view of acculturation to explore the experiences of migrants. In order to understand the complexities of the experiences of migrant youth, I argue that we need to move beyond traditional linear understandings of acculturation towards contemporary understandings that recognise that culture is fluid, and that acculturation involves an ongoing process of negotiation in context.

The most widely adopted understanding of acculturation has been that of Berry (1995), who described it as the processes and outcomes of adjusting to two or more cultures. His acculturation model has dominated much of psychological research examining the cultural change that occurs in ethnic minorities when they migrate to a Western country (Berry, 1995). Accordingly, acculturation involves two tasks: (a) developing an awareness of one's own ethnic culture and the mainstream Western culture; and (b) establishing an acculturation strategy to manage what has been described as stress-inducing intercultural encounters. There are four acculturation strategies: (a) integration - maintaining one's ethnic culture while also identifying with the mainstream culture; (b) assimilation - renouncing one's ethnic heritage to adopt the mainstream culture; (c) separation - maintaining one's cultural heritage and segregating from mainstream culture; and (d) marginalisation - weak affiliation to both one's ethnic culture and mainstream culture (Berry, 1995). Of these acculturation strategies, integration has been shown to be associated with better psychological functioning (Berry, 2005; Yoon et al., 2013).

Berry's (1995) acculturation model has generated a sizeable body of research providing us with understandings of the issues related to migration and acculturation. However, researchers have increasingly criticised the acculturation model on several grounds. First, assumptions about culture in the acculturation model have been challenged. The notion of culture has traditionally been defined as the body of shared values, attitudes, beliefs, customs, and actions of a racial, ethnic, religious, or social group (Kluckholn, 1962; Sewell, 2005). In most research, the notion of cultural differences has been used to explain observed differences between people of various societies. Typically, these cultural differences have been

conceptualised in terms of a dichotomy. In particular, the dichotomy between ethnic versus mainstream culture in the acculturation model draws from the most widely used cultural dichotomy which formulates contrasts between Western/individualistic versus non-Western/ collectivistic cultures (Triandis, 1989). According to this dichotomy, Western/individualistic cultures, such as in North America and Western European, value personal goals, assertiveness, and achievement; in contrast, non-Western/collectivistic cultures, such as in Asian, Latin American, and African cultures, value an interdependent social structure in which individuals subordinate their personal goals to their belonged group(s) and orient their behaviour towards carrying out obligations to this group(s) (Chun et al., 2006; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). However, researchers have expressed concerns as to whether such dichotomy over-simplifies complex cultural systems (Oyserman et al., 2002). In particular, there is substantial heterogeneity within cultures and extensive differences between cultures, and when an entire culture is pigeonholed along a dichotomous dimension, subtle and critical differences that may be more characteristic of the culture are overlooked.

Second, researchers have argued that the acculturation model perpetuates an essentialist notion of culture (Bhatia & Ram, 2009). Specifically, the acculturation model posits the existence of two objective cultures and attempts to place individuals on a continuum between them, thereby simplifying the process of acculturation into a linear relationship between attitudes, acculturation strategies, and psychological wellbeing. However, it may be problematic to present culture as objective and stable entities (Hermans & Kempen, 1998). Hunt et al. (2004) provided the case of Mexicans in the United States as a compelling example. They emphasised that Mexico and the United States have always had profound historical and geographical links. People of Mexican heritage have been living side-by-side with people of Anglo origins throughout the entire period of Anglo habitation, with people freely crossing the border, mixing influences from both countries, and even inter-marrying. Further, people of Mexican heritage have long participated in global or metropolitan culture, suggesting that it is difficult to separate the influences of Western European cultures from other cultural influences. Thus, it may be arbitrary and fallacious to treat cultures as separate, objective entities untouched by social practice (Hunt et al., 2004).

Third, researchers have contended that treating cultures as objective and stable entities disregards the ongoing social processes of hybridisation. Hybridisation has been defined as the processes in which existing cultural practices are recombined and transformed with other cultural practices, creating new, hybrid cultural practices (Hermans & Kempen, 1998). The

negotiation and recombination of existing cultural practices for the development of cultural identities has been thought to involve transformation of selves, leading to the occupation of a 'third space' or 'in-between space' where cultural boundaries meet and blur and the self encompasses partial, multiple, or hybrid identities (Smith, 2008). Hermans and Kempen (1998) provided the example of "Mexican school girls dressed in Greek togas dancing in the style of Isadora Duncan" (p. 1113) to demonstrate the hybrid phenomenon. Researchers have suggested that the greater the social connection across cultures, the greater the opportunities for hybridisation; as such, hybridisation may be more common in our globalised world where social interactions across geographical and cultural areas are becoming more prominent (Smith, 2008).

Despite the increasing salience of hybridisation, some researchers have asserted that psychological researchers' attempts to understand this process in migrants have fallen back into traditional approaches of cultural dichotomy (Bhatia & Ram, 2009). For instance, although integration in the acculturation model attempts to capture when individuals adopt both cultures, as already mentioned, it simplifies the process of cultural negotiations into a linear relationship between attitudes, acculturative strategies, and psychological wellbeing. Researchers have argued that migrants' experiences are more complex than a linear process (Smith, 2008). Instead, it has been proposed that most migrants actively engage with multiple cultural sites in a fluid and dynamic manner, where here and there, past and present, home country and host country, and self and other are constantly being negotiated with each other (Bhatia & Ram, 2009). However, there has been little empirical research which has moved beyond essentialist views of acculturation and explored hybridisation in migrant youth.

Internationally, few studies have been conducted. Gorman, Brough, and Ramirez's (2003) study with culturally diverse young people in Australia demonstrated how the process of acculturation and identity may be fluid and shifting between cultures. The young people in the study reported that they enjoyed practicing their traditional lifestyle at certain times, and practicing their Australian way of life at other times. They described their ability to shift between their two cultures as an adaptive process required by their context, such as when their parents disapproved of Western practices or when they wanted to fit in with their Australian peers. Similarly, Pyke and Johnson's (2003) study with young Korean and Vietnamese women in the United States demonstrated how the women constructed their identities as hybrid, not consistently 'traditional' or 'Westernised' but somewhere between the two, and how they managed to change their behaviour depending on who they were interacting with based on their

knowledge of what was appropriate in different contexts. For instance, at home the young women aligned more with being traditional (e.g., submissive, quiet, participating in household chores such as cooking and cleaning), whereas at school they preferred to act like their Western peers (e.g., independent, self-assured, outspoken). In addition, Asher's (2008) study with Indian-American young people in the United States showed how the young people often found themselves in in-between spaces; at home they asserted their American identity to their parents who imposed traditional views on them, whereas at school they defended their Indian identity to their European peers.

Few studies have also been conducted in the New Zealand context. Bartley's (2010) study with school-aged young people in Auckland who originated from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Korea indicated how the young people constructed hybrid identities; for instance, they configured their ethnic identities significantly around 'Asianness', but also included New Zealand factors such as Kiwi friends and New Zealand citizenship. Bartley (2010) argued that, with such hybrid identities, the young people often found themselves in in-between spaces. For instance, they found themselves in between the host community and their communities of origin, manifested in their work as cultural brokers for their parents, while also trying to integrate with their peers. They also found themselves in between childhood and adulthood, negotiating the significant upheaval and responsibilities that come with crossing national and cultural borders, while also navigating the tasks associated with the period of youth within their cultures. Similarly, Hyunok's (2011) study found that Korean young women negotiated a third position of hybrid identity, between Korean culture and Western culture, and between women and men. This negotiation process was not consistent with either traditional Korean images of 'good' women or Western ones, but was constantly shifting between the two in order to enable the young women to navigate flexibly across contexts (Hyunok, 2011). In relation to Chinese people in New Zealand, some researchers have highlighted that they may negotiate hybrid 'New Zealand Chinese' or 'Kiwi Asian' identities (Ip & Pang, 2005; Liu, 2013). However, more empirical research exploring the process of hybridisation in context may further understandings of these hybrid identities among Chinese people in New Zealand, particularly Chinese young people.

The aforementioned empirical international and local research has helped to show how migration involves an ongoing process of hybridising traditional and new cultures. Migrant youth constantly negotiate their acculturation strategies and identities, drawing on ethnic and Western images interchangeably, depending on who they are interacting with, context, and

time. In this sense, what appears to be a bicultural status or an integration strategy is actually a temporary state within a wider process of negotiating their identities in context.

And last but not least, researchers have expressed concern regarding the universal notion of acculturation, reflected in Berry and Sam's (1997) statement that although there are variations in the life circumstances of migrants, "the psychological processes that operate during acculturation are essentially the same for all the groups" (p. 296). In other words, Berry and Sam implied that all migrants are governed by a universal law and manifest the same psychological processes during acculturation, regardless of cultural variables such as history, politics, race or ethnicity, and gender (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). However, Bhatia and Ram (2001) contended that this universal view of acculturation may ignore people's complex negotiations with their social and cultural contexts. In particular, this view especially does not capture the experiences of non-Western migrants to Western countries who may experience asymmetrical power relations with the dominant group as a result of their race or ethnicity. As Shi-xu (2005) stated:

> Through the entire modern world history, the West has never seen, spoken of, or dealt with the non-Western other as equal, or as merely simply 'different'. Rather, it has often treated the other as deviant, inferior, and so to be controlled and controllable (p. 111).

Shi-xu (2005) argued that many non-Western migrants encounter experiences of being 'othered' or racialised. These experiences, in turn, may be tightly knitted with their processes of acculturation and evolving conceptions of selfhood. Supporting this, Qin's (2000) study with Chinese women students in the United States demonstrated how their processes of self-transformation were closely tied to experiences of changes in power as a result of being part of the majority in their home country and then becoming part of a minority cultural group in the United States. The women in the study described experiences of being othered by the dominant group as a result of their race, ethnicity, language, and class. In particular, being perceived by the dominant group as 'rare', 'alien', 'and 'poor' challenged these women to develop a critical and shifted understanding of self within the context of power relations (Qin, 2000). Therefore, the processes of acculturation and construction of identity in multiple cultural contexts may be seen as involving a constant process of negotiation, impacted by experiences of otherness and issues of race or ethnicity and power (Bhatia & Ram, 2001).

To summarise, much criticism of the acculturation model has pointed to the essentialist and universalist views of culture and acculturation. Researchers have argued against singular

understandings of a linear acculturation process with an achievable and finite state (Bhatia & Ram, 2009). Rather, to adequately capture and understand the complexity of the lives of migrants, researchers have advocated for process-orientated approaches such as hybridisation, which recognise that culture is negotiable and fluid, and that acculturation and migrant identities involve an ongoing process of negotiation within context (Smith, 2008). With these ideas of culture and acculturation in mind, next I introduce the social and cultural context for Chinese migrant youth to New Zealand.

The social and cultural context for Chinese migrant youth in New Zealand

As migrants' experiences are situated in both home and host country, understanding the experiences of Chinese migrant youth in Western society requires consideration of the historical, social, and cultural context of both China and the Western country. In this section, I review the immigration history of Chinese people to New Zealand and compare writings of Chinese culture and dominant culture in New Zealand in order to provide a context for understanding the experiences of Chinese migrant youth in New Zealand.

The migration of Chinese people to New Zealand

Historians have reported that the migration of Chinese people to Western countries dates back to the 19th century (Ma, 2003). Prior to the 19th century, Chinese people were believed to be living harsh lives due to long-standing suffering resulting from various wars and political turmoil (Callahan, 2004, Eberhard, 2005). Although some Chinese people wished to go to Western countries during this time for better political, economic, and lifestyle opportunities, there were few opportunities to do so (Callahan, 2004; Zhao, 2004). Historians contended that it was not until the implementation of the Reform and Opening Policy in 1978 (a plan to contemporise China and fully open its doors to the world market) and recent economic growth that China emerged as a rising political and economic power (Callahan, 2004; Zhao, 2004). These factors enabled China to develop strong ties with Western countries for economic benefit, which, in turn, opened opportunities for Chinese people to migrate to Western countries (Zhao, 2004).

Local writers have reported that New Zealand has a long history of immigration (Bedford, Ho & Lidgard, 2003). Māori are considered the indigenous people of New Zealand who occupied the country for several centuries before European settlers arrived in the early 1800s and signed a treaty with them in 1840 to permit immigration (Bartley, 2010). In

particular, the European settlers pushed for an immigration policy which favoured migrants primarily from the United Kingdom and Ireland in order to build the colonial ideal of a 'white' homogeneous society (Bartley, 2010; Bedford et al., 2003). Authors indicated that this preferential 'white policy' was practiced until 1945, when labour shortages encouraged the invitation of Pacific Island migrants (Bartley, 2010; Bedford et al., 2003). However, immigration from Asia was strictly regulated by legislation and subjected to poll taxes. This continued until the 1980s, when shortages in skilled labour prompted the government to introduce an immigration act which removed the traditional source-country prejudice and offered migrants admission on the basis of their skills (Bartley, 2010; Bedford et al., 2003). This stimulated a steady flow of migrants from Asia, particularly from China, to arrive and settle in New Zealand (Ip & Pang, 2005). However, authors contended that Chinese migrants were still subjected to racialising and othering. For instance, there were requirements imposed on them to assimilate to the British way of life (Ip & Pang, 2005; Ward & Lin, 2005). They were also portrayed as a threat to New Zealand society, labelled 'The Asian Invasion' (Gordon & Reynolds, 1988).

Since this time, New Zealand has become an increasingly multicultural society (DeSouza, 2006). Currently, Statistics New Zealand uses a hierarchical structure to capture the ethnic diversities of people in New Zealand (Ministry of Health, 2004). At the broadest level, there are five ethnic groups, namely New Zealand European, Māori, Pacific, Asian, and Other. According to this system, the New Zealand European group comprise the majority of the population, while other groups are considered ethnic minorities due to their lower numbers (Ministry of Health, 2004).

While these ethnic groupings have influenced much of the research conducted in New Zealand, researchers have debated that these umbrella terms disguise disparities within ethnic groups (Rasanathan et al., 2004). For instance, the Asian construct includes all people from Asia and the Indian sub-continent, who vary in political, economic, social, and cultural backgrounds (Ministry of Health, 2004). Chinese people make up the largest group of this Asian construct (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Even within this group, there is substantial diversity and heterogeneity. Authors indicate that the Chinese community in New Zealand varies from New Zealand-born Chinese to overseas-born Chinese (Ho & Bedford, 2006). Overseas-born Chinese originate mostly from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Malaysia, which all differ in political experience, economic development, dialects of language, and level of influence from Western countries (Ip & Pang, 2005, Ho & Bedford, 2006). Further, immigrants may have

varying reasons and intentions associated with their journeys to New Zealand. Authors contend that migrants immigrate to New Zealand with the intention of long-term resettlement, often prompted by political, social, economic, educational, and personal reasons; sojourners migrate to New Zealand temporarily, often promoted by employment or education purposes, and expect to return to their home country following a period of time; and refugees seek sanctuary in New Zealand after fleeing from war, terror campaigns, and/or political fear associated with upheaval in their home country, with little opportunity to return to their home country (Ho, Au, Bedford & Cooper, 2003). Therefore, it is clear that the Chinese community in New Zealand is diverse.

The current study focusses on school-aged Chinese young people who have migrated from China to New Zealand with their families with the intention of long-term resettlement. This Chinese group has commonly been described as the '1.5 generation', and their experiences have been relatively less researched compared to those of other Chinese groups (Bartley, 2010). Although there are contentions regarding ethnic classifications, keeping with the language used in most local research, and with the language used by participants as will be seen in chapter three, I use the terms Chinese (and Asian interchangeably), European, Māori, and Pacific to describe the groups of ethnic peoples referred to in this research. Having painted the social context for Chinese migrants in New Zealand, next I discuss the cultural context that has been said to shape the experiences of Chinese migrants.

Understanding Chinese culture

Although the simple categorisation of culture has been challenged, some researchers have argued that there are key differences in values between cultures and it is therefore critical to unpack such differences in order to contribute to our understanding of the various ways of knowing, being, and shaping identity, while also holding in mind the limitations of categorising culture (Hofstede, 2011; Oyserman et al., 2002). One seminal unpackaging of culture has been provided by Hofstede (2011). Using data from countries around the world, Hofstede derived six dimensions which have been widely adopted to understand cultural differences in research and international consulting. These dimensions are:

1) Power distance: The extent to which organisations and systems accept and expect power to be unevenly distributed.
2) Individualism versus collectivism: The degree of interdependence a society maintains among its members.

3) Masculinity: The extent to which society values assertiveness, competitiveness, and achievement/success versus modesty, tenderness, and caring for others.

4) Uncertainty avoidance: The extent to which members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations and have created beliefs and institutions that attempt to avoid these.

5) Long-term orientation: How society maintains links with its own past while dealing with the challenges of the present and future.

6) Indulgence: The extent to which people attempt to control their desires and impulses.

According to Hofstede's six dimensions, Western cultures such as that in New Zealand, emphasise: (1) an egalitarian society where hierarchy may be established for convenience (e.g., males occupying superior positions in families and employment sectors), but managers also rely on employees for their expertise, both managers and employees share information frequently, and communication is informal, direct, and participative; (2) an individualistic focus where individuals are expected to look after themselves and their immediate families, be self-reliant, and display initiative; (3) a driven and success oriented attitude where behaviour in school, work, and play are based on shared values such that people should strive to be the best that they can be and 'the winner takes all'; (4) no preference in relation to tolerating uncertainty; (5) a short-term orientation focussed on achieving quick results with relatively small propensity to save for the future; and (6) a sense of indulgence where acting as one pleases, spending money as one wishes, and engaging in leisure activities are valued with regard to enjoying life (Hofstede, 2011; Itim International, 2001).

In contrast, Chinese culture is described as emphasising: (1) a hierarchical society where inequalities in power and formal authority and sanctions are acceptable and to be expected (e.g., males occupying superior positions in families and employment sectors); (2) a collectivistic focus where individuals are expected to act in the interests of the group rather than themselves; (3) a driven and success oriented attitude where individuals are expected to be practical, work hard, and achieve highly in school and work; (4) an ability to tolerate uncertainty and value that truth may be relative to the situation, time, and context; (5) a long-term orientation in which traits such thrift, investing for the future, and perseverance in achieving results are considered valuable; and (6) a sense of self-restraint and control of one's desires (Hofstede, 2011; Itim International, 2001). Authors who write about Chinese culture have suggested that these cultural values are underpinned by Daoism and Confucianism, ancient philosophical teachings which have influenced Chinese culture for centuries and, many argue, continue to do so (Au,

2002; Cheng et al., 2010). As such, many have written about the principles and values inherent in these philosophical teachings (e.g., Au, 2002; Cheng et al., 2010).

Daoism has been described as an ancient Chinese philosophy of the universe (Cheng et al., 2010). The Daoist thought of change is considered to be embodied in the conception of a self-generating force or energy, called *qi,* which is the basic material of all that exists and pervades through all things in the universe. *Qi* manifests as two polar, interdependent aspects, *yin* and *yang*. *Yin* is the negative, passive, or female aspect, whereas *yang* is the positive, active, or male aspect. These two opposites are ever-present in nature and are constantly shifting in balance (Chen & Swartzman, 2001; Cheng et al., 2010).

Chinese researchers have suggested that such Daoist thinking influences how some Chinese people deal with change and stress in life (Chen, 2006; Cheng et al., 2010). Given that life is regarded as constantly cycling between *yin* and *yang*, or between 'bad' and 'good', Daoist thought emphasises that the ideal way to deal with change in life is to follow the nature of the universe, to be aware of and accept the two sides that bring about change, to find the middle way between the extremes, and assume reversion rather than advance and control (Cheng et al., 2010). In doing so, personal growth and a sense of control may be obtained from gaining insight through the process of tolerating and reappraising why and how change emerges, rather than mastering the environment (Chen, 2006; Cheng et al., 2010; Young, Tseng, & Zhou, 2005). Indeed, in Dao de jing (Young et al., 2005), the book on the teaching of Daoism, many analogies are used to exemplify this dialectical way of thinking of and dealing with life:

> Water has the best virtue. It nurtures everything in the universe. Water is the most soft and gentle thing in the world, but it can penetrate hard stone. The rule is to deal with hardness by softness. Water always places itself in the lowest position. The water in the ocean is the most humble thing in the world as it always places itself in the lowest position. Because of this all rivers and branches converge and flow into the ocean. As a result, the ocean becomes the most powerful thing in the world. (p. 148).

Researchers have argued that Daoist thoughts of change and control contrast with Western views of change and control, which they believe regard life as continuously moving in a linear direction (e.g., from bad to good, or good to bad), and place importance on personal control over the environment in creating this change (Nisbett, 2003).

Chinese researchers have also suggested that Daoist thinking influences traditional Chinese understandings of health and wellbeing, which focus on notions of balance and

harmony (Ho & Johnson, 2013). Daoist perspectives of health are considered to emphasise a holistic view of the body and mind. The body and mind are perceived as distinctly different but interdependent aspects of the same life force *qi*. Health is typically considered to be based upon harmony between the two natural forces of *yin* and *yang*. This is achieved by establishing a harmonious relationship between the individual and the external environment (Ho & Johnson, 2013; Jiang, 2005). In particular, Daoist perspectives of emotional wellbeing emphasise that expressing emotions such as delight, joy, sorrow, and anger in extreme, without proper control, causes disturbance to an individual's mental condition and harmonious relationships. As such, expression of extreme emotions and emotional distress is discouraged, and internal emotional regulation is valued (Au, 2002; Chen & Swartzman, 2001).

Once again, researchers have argued that these aforementioned views of health contrast with Western biomedical views of health, which they believe are largely concerned with anatomical and biological constructs, where human bodies are viewed as comparable to working machines (Ho & Johnson, 2013). In particular, pain and illness is conceived as indicating defective body parts, and medical practitioners are expected to relieve pain by mending or replacing the broken machine. Psychological dysfunction is only raised when pain and illness occurs in the absence of identifiable pathophysiology (Ho & Johnson, 2013; Mulatu & Berry, 2001).

Another important philosophy in Chinese culture is Confucianism. Confucianism has been described as an ancient Chinese philosophy of social relations, imparting rules to govern the social lives of Chinese people (Cheng et al., 2010). The twin concepts of *jen* and *li* are considered to be the most fundamental principles of Confucian thought. *Jen,* translated as love, benevolence, and humaneness towards others, signifies the ideal relationship between people and serves at the heart and soul of *li. Li* refers to propriety, rituals, and ideal standards of conduct. Together, the virtues of *jen and li* are said to create *junzi*, a highly cultivated and disciplined person who can control their emotions and actions, behave properly in every situation, and is motivated by deep care and empathy for people (Yan, 2005; Yao, 2000).

Wu-lun is also considered to be a fundamental principle of Confucian thought (Yan, 2005; Yao, 2000). *Wu-lun* is regarded as an interdependent society structured by five reciprocal dyads extending from the national level to the familial level. These include ruler-minister, father-son, elder-younger brother, husband-wife, and friend-friend. The first four dyads refer to hierarchical relationships, requiring the party with less social status to obey and respect the party with more social status and, in return, the party with less social status receives support

and benevolence from the party with more social status. The fifth dyad (friend-friend) refers to an egalitarian relationship, allowing for mutual respect and support (Yao, 2000). Although these various relationships exist, Chinese authors suggest that family relationships are the most important as they are considered to be the building blocks for an interdependent society (Au, 2002; Yao, 2000). Accordingly, Chinese individuals are influenced by responsibility and obligation to the family system, and, in turn, the family system is the source of strength for individuals (Au, 2002). In particular, filial piety is strongly emphasised. Filial piety is regarded as the idea that parents occupy authority and are highly respected by their children because they are the source of their life and have sacrificed much for them (Au, 2002). As such, it is considered that children should then do whatever is necessary to provide for the physical and psychological needs of their parents in a spirit of respectful obeisance. For instance, as Confucian thought regards education to be of powerful value which brings respect and status to an individual and his or her family, it is expected that children should do well to achieve and succeed in order to support and bring honour to their family name (Au, 2002).

Chinese researchers have suggested that these aforementioned Confucian views also influence traditional Chinese understandings of health and wellbeing (Cheng et al., 2010). Confucian perspectives of health are considered to emphasise maintaining harmonious interpersonal relationships, both within the family and general social arena (Au, 2002; Tse, 2004). As such, it encourages Chinese people to conform to social customs and avoid interpersonal conflict in order to maintain social harmony. In particular, similar to Daoist thinking, extreme emotional expression is regarded as likely to create interpersonal conflict and disharmony (Au, 2002; Cheng et al., 2010). Therefore, cultivating a well-disciplined manner with emotional control and restraint is considered to be important for maintaining social harmony.

On the basis of these writings, in principle, there appear to be clear differences between Chinese and Western cultures in terms of how they make sense of changes in life, social relations, and health and wellbeing.

Stress and coping among Chinese migrant youth in Western countries

In this section, I focus on the literature relevant to understanding the particular experiences of Chinese migrant youth living in Western countries. First I review the literature on the stressors that these young people experience. I then examine research on the psychological wellbeing of Chinese migrant youth and contend that dominant psychological

research perpetuates a negative view of the migrant experience with limited empirical basis. Following this I review the literature on how these young people manage stress. My main argument is that migration and acculturation involves tensions between and hybridisation of ethnic and Western cultures, which shape how these young people experience and manage stress.

Common stressors identified among Chinese migrant youth

Researchers have argued that Chinese migrant youth may experience additional and unique challenges not shared by young people of Western backgrounds, as the period of youth is embedded within the context of migration, negotiating diverse cultural worlds, being part of an ethnic minority group, and navigating interactions with the dominant group (Arnett, 2007; Jose & Huntsinger, 2005; Kumar, Tse, Fernando, & Wong, 2006). In this section, I review research looking at the potential demands of migration and acculturation for Chinese migrant youth. Such demands include switching languages, managing changes to family, negotiating cultural differences, finding social support, and dealing with discrimination.

Researchers have proposed that 'fitting in' within Western countries has always carried implicit meanings of developing English proficiency, which is associated with assimilating to dominant culture (Ip & Pang, 2005; Ward & Lin, 2005). Indeed, international quantitative (Lueck & Wilson, 2010; Yeh & Inose, 2002) and qualitative (Gorman et al., 2003; Yeh et al., 2008) studies as well as local quantitative (Abbott, Wong, Williams, Au, & Young, 1999; Watts, White & Trlin, 2002) and qualitative (Christchurch City Council, 1999) research indicates that low English proficiency is a major source of stress for Chinese migrant youth upon arrival to Western countries, particularly amongst those who have had little exposure to English prior to migration. Limited English proficiency is argued to make daily communication and living harder, decrease academic achievement, hinder social interactions, trigger stereotyping, and engender feelings of difference and inferiority (Christchurch City Council, 1999; Gorman et al., 2003; Yeh et al., 2008).

However, researchers have suggested that Chinese migrant youth usually make rapid progress in acquiring English as they become more immersed in mainstream society through schooling (Chu, 2002; Watts et al., 2002). This, in turn, is argued to mitigate communication difficulties, increase academic achievement, improve interpersonal interactions, buffer against racial tension and interethnic conflict, promote adjustment to the dominant culture, and foster

positive self-esteem (Christchurch City Council, 1999; Chu, 2002; Gorman et al., 2003; Lueck & Wilson, 2010; Watts et al., 2002).

On the other hand, researchers have also suggested that increasing English use may have inverse ramifications on ethnic language proficiency (Leuck & Wilson, 2010; Watts et al., 2002). Low ethnic language proficiency is argued to contribute to difficulties in Chinese migrant youth discussing sensitive issues with family members who may have limited English language, engender feelings of separation from their ethnic culture, and stimulate questions around cultural identity (Lueck & Wilson, 2010). However, there has been little qualitative research exploring ethnic language proficiency and its impacts from the perspectives of the young people themselves. Gorman et al.'s (2003) study with culturally diverse young people (19.5% of whom were Chinese) aged 16 to 24 years in Australia indicated that the young people found it difficult to maintain their ethnic language with limited extended family available to provide opportunities for practice. However, many managed to retain their ethnic language through practice with immediate family and ethnic communities, which they considered to have positive effects on their identities. More qualitative research with Chinese migrant youth would be beneficial to explore these issues further from their own perspectives.

Researchers have also contended that migration impacts on the family dynamics of many Chinese families (Ho et al., 2003). One way in which family dynamics may be impacted is through change in socioeconomic status. In particular, many parents who enjoyed a satisfactory job and comfortable financial situation in their home country may find themselves unable to find jobs that meet their education level in the host country due to lack of recognition of their qualifications, lack of English proficiency, and discrimination. Consequently, they may be forced to change from professional careers to service and manual labour, which may require long hours and lead to loss of pride, job status, income, and time for family (De Jong & Madamba, 2001; Ho et al., 2003). International (Chao, 2006; Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008) and national (Ward, 2008) quantitative research indicates that many Chinese migrant youth may have to take on extra responsibilities in the home to accommodate for these changes in socioeconomic status, such as caring for siblings, doing extra chores, and supporting their parents to acculturate to the dominant culture by translating, intervening, mediating, and/or advocating for their family through financial, legal, and other difficult matters. These responsibilities are seen to instil conflicted feelings in many of these young people; on the one hand, they may experience feelings of embarrassment, resentment, and loss of childhood, while

on the hand other, they may experience a sense of identity and purpose in the process of acculturation (Chao, 2006; Hardway & Fuligni, 2006).

Of the little qualitative research that has been conducted, Yeh et al. (2008), in a study with recent Chinese migrant youth aged 16 to 20 years in the United States, found that many of these young people unexpectedly took on responsibilities to accommodate for socioeconomic changes in the family, such as working, taking care of siblings, and translating for their parents. They described these tasks as 'adult responsibilities', which increased conflict within the family system, as they felt that their parents continued to act like the 'leader' and treat them like children despite them adopting adult roles (Yeh et al., 2008). Similarly, Lee et al. (2009), in a study with long-term and local-born Asian young adults (including Chinese participants) aged 18 to 30 years in the United States, found that many of these young adults took on responsibilities for their parents, such as translating or driving for their parents when they had difficulties navigating through American systems. However, they made sense of these responsibilities through Asian cultural values of filial piety, which made it easier for them to embrace the responsibilities and support their parents. These qualitative studies have highlighted that socioeconomic changes may have complex and profound effects on young people's responsibilities and family dynamics; however, how young people make sense of this is important. Local qualitative research is required in order to examine how these issues might play out for migrant youth in the New Zealand context.

Another way in which family dynamics may be impacted by migration is through parental academic expectations. According to a review of international literature, Costigan, Hua and Su (2010) reported that many Chinese young people experience pressure from their parents to achieve academically and pursue an undergraduate degree through tertiary education at a minimum, with the preferred achievement being professional degrees. This is argued to be related to Chinese parents having had to sacrifice their families, friends, and careers behind in their home country in order to pursue better educational, occupational, and lifestyle opportunities for their children in the country of migration. As such, they may place high expectations on their children to ensure that their intentions of migration are worthwhile (Costigan et al., 2010).

Of the little qualitative research that has been conducted, Lee et al. (2009) found that many young adults in their study experienced expectations from their parents to achieve academically and strive for career paths such as medicine. The young adults made sense of this through Asian cultural values of filial piety, which they considered to engender excessive

worries about achieving so as to make their parents proud. Similarly, Li's (2009) study with Chinese migrant youth aged 13 to 19 years in Canada found that the majority experienced high parental expectations. The young people explained that their parents expected them to achieve 'A's' in school and invested a lot of time, effort, and supervision over their academic behaviours. Their parents were also seen to influence their behaviour in non-academic areas, including encouraging socialisation with high-achieving students as well as limiting pursuit of social activities and hobbies in order to maximise time available for study and minimise distractions. The young people described tensions in relation to their parents' expectations; on the one hand, they found it overwhelming to maintain good academic behaviour and live up to their parents' expectations, while on the other hand, they understood that their parents had sacrificed a lot for them to migrate to Canada, which helped them to understand their parents' situation (Li, 2009). These qualitative studies have highlighted the tensions experienced by many Chinese migrant youth in relation to parental academic expectations and trying to make sense of it through their migration stories and Chinese values. Some researchers assert that this meaning-making process may help the young people to embrace their situations, and even internalise parental expectations and set academic aspirations that are more ambitious than those of their parents in order to make their parents proud (Costigan et al., 2010). Local research is needed to see how these issues might apply among Chinese migrant youth in the New Zealand context.

Furthermore, another way in which family dynamics may be impacted by migration is through managing perceived differences in parenting. Researchers have argued that acculturation gaps between Chinese young people and their parents may lead to misunderstanding and conflict in relation to what is regarded as socially appropriate behaviour, such as engagement in friendships, romantic relationships, and leisure activities (Qin, 2006; Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lau, & McCabe, 2009). Researchers have also contended that Chinese young people may experience conflict in relation to different parenting styles (Lim et al., 2009; Wu & Chao, 2005). Accordingly, Chinese parents are usually considered to be less physically and emotionally warm toward their children than European parents due to Chinese values of emotional control and restraint. Instead, Chinese parents tend to demonstrate their affection through instrumental support in looking after their children's daily needs and education, sometimes at the expense of their own interests; the decision to migrate to a Western country is a compelling example (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Wu & Chao, 2005). Further, Chinese parents are usually regarded to communicate in an authoritarian manner, involving explanations of parental expectations for the purposes of teaching rather than for discussion due to Chinese values of

parental authority (Au, 2002; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Wu & Chao, 2005). These parenting patterns are seen as in direct contrast to parenting in Western culture, which encourages parental warmth, open parent-child communication, and children's exploration and separation from the family system in order to foster children's emotional expression and autonomy (Au, 2002; Sillars, Koerner, & Fitzpatrick, 2005). Indeed, international quantitative studies indicate that Chinese migrant youth are aware of these cross-cultural parenting differences and describe feelings of alienation from their parents (Chiu, Feldman & Rosenthal, 1992; Qin, 2006; Lim et al., 2009).

However, there has been a lack of qualitative research exploring how the young people experience these issues of parenting from their own perspectives. Li's (2009) study indicated that the young people were constantly emotionally torn about their parents. They described feeling frustrated at their parents for telling them what to do with little emotional support. They felt that this hindered their development of self-confidence, and they yearned for more freedom and consideration of their opinions and feelings from their parents. However, they balanced their feelings of frustration against Chinese values of parental authority and expression of love in practical ways, which enabled them to recognise that their parents did everything out of care for them (Li, 2009). Thus, it appeared that these young people were experiencing continuous tensions with this. More qualitative research with Chinese migrant youth will help to explore these issues further.

As a result of cultural differences such as those that have been described above, researchers have argued that Chinese migrant youth may experience competing cultural expectations on a daily basis (Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Qin, 2006). This is because the young people's ethnic culture, which is represented in the home, may emphasise responsibility to the family, respect for authority, and achievement to bring glory to the family name. Seeking self-definition outside of the family is not encouraged and may be constrained by rigid rules (Au, 2002; Chun & Akutsu, 2003). In contrast, Western culture, which is represented in interactions with mainstream society, particularly school, may teach them to be autonomous, expressive of their unique characteristics, and physically and psychologically separated from the family (Au, 2002; Sillars et al., 2005. However, international quantitative (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006) and qualitative (Gorman et al., 2003; Lee et al., 2009) studies as well as national quantitative (Ward, 2008) research suggests that while some Chinese migrant youth struggle with balancing different cultures and experience conflict in identity, most find a way to integrate both cultures. However, these studies have drawn their theoretical base from the acculturation

model, and research which examines how Chinese migrant youth might hybridise different cultures may extend this understanding.

Moreover, researchers have proposed that migration may challenge the social support systems for many Chinese migrant youth (Ho et al., 2003). For instance, departure from their country of origin may entail loss of support from family, friends, ethnic associations, and social services. Meanwhile, there may also be a difficult and lengthy process to establish new support networks in the country of migration. Indeed, international quantitative (Qin, 2006; Qin et al., 2008) and qualitative (Lee et al., 2009; Yeh et al., 2008) studies indicate that many Chinese young people experience growing alienation and low levels of support from their parents because of language barriers, parents working elsewhere or long hours, parental expectations, and intercultural conflict. In addition, international (Qin et al., 2008; Yeh & Inose, 2002) and local (Watts et al., 2002) quantitative studies also indicate that many Chinese migrant youth have difficulty making friends at school, particularly friends of the dominant group, due to language and cultural differences, limited time for friends due to academic pressures and family responsibilities, and discrimination.

Qualitative research has supported these findings from quantitative research, while also providing a deeper understanding into the complexities of forming friendships for these young people. The Christchurch City Council's (1999) study reported that many Chinese migrant youth found it hard to establish friendships with European young people due to differences in interests. For instance, European young people were found to typically participate in sports, with preferences for rugby or cricket. In contrast, Chinese migrant youth tended to play basketball, badminton, or tennis, and had other interests such as playing computer games and learning musical instruments. Further, the young people described a felt sense that the European young people did not like them. Similarly, in Li's (2009) study, the Chinese young people reported that friendship circles in school operated along racial/ethnic lines, such as the 'White group', 'Chinese group', 'South Asian group', and so on. In particular, the young people in the Chinese group expressed a felt distance from the White group due to differences in lifestyles. For instance, the White group were interested in partying, dating, and sex, whereas the Chinese group were interested in homework, which made it hard for them to find a common topic to connect on. Despite being excluded from participating in popular mainstream peer culture, the young people nevertheless cherished their ethnic social life because they felt safe and comfortable socialising with Chinese friends (Li, 2009). Interestingly, the Chinese young people in Li's (2009) study also elaborated that the Chinese student crowds were further divided

into subgroups, including the 'Banana group' (a label for Westernised Chinese), 'Canadian-born Chinese group', and 'Fresh-off-the-boat group' (a label for new migrants). These qualitative studies have helped to show how peer relationships are complex and may operate along both intercultural and intraethnic lines.

Finally, researchers have argued that discrimination may be a source of stress for many Chinese migrant youth (Sobrun-Maharaj, Tse, Hoque, & Rossen, 2008). At one end of the spectrum, Chinese minorities in Western countries have often been portrayed as a 'model minority', a thriving ethnic minority group who excel at mathematics and science and pursue demanding careers such as medicine, law, and engineering (Louie, 2004; Maxwell, 2007). Although the stereotype is a positive one, international quantitative studies suggest that it can create stress and vulnerability for these young people, as others often assume that they are excelling in school, which may generate fear of failing to live up to expectations (Costigan et al., 2010; Louie, 2004). Further, the stereotype may overlook the needs of those whom are not high achievers and render them as poor representatives of their culture, which, in turn, may detriment their self-esteem (Costigan et al., 2010; Xu, Connelly, He, & Phillion, 2007).

However, there has been little qualitative research exploring how the young people experience and manage stereotypes from their own perspectives. Lee et al. (2009) reported that the young people in their study felt that the model minority stereotype, held by predominantly European people, doubled the pressure on them to achieve academically; not only did their parents pressure them to achieve, but the expectations of people 'outside of their ethnicity' also pressured them to achieve. Further, Qin's (2009) study in the United States found that Chinese migrant youth actively negotiated how they responded to stereotypes while negotiating their positions in the host society. Boys were aware of stereotypes of Chinese boys as 'nerdy', 'bookish', and 'non-masculine', and resisted these stereotypes by engaging in sports and trying to be 'macho' (Qin, 2009). Girls were also aware of stereotypes of Chinese girls as 'old-fashioned' and 'passive', and reacted by studying hard academically to contest feelings of inferiority and gain support from family (Qin, 2009). Thus, rather than being defined by cultural stereotypes, the young people reacted to them in their negotiations of identity. However, Asher (2008) argued that stereotypes function as a hegemonic device that operates to ensure Asian migrants participate in reifying stereotypic images of themselves, even as they resist or critique it. This was reflected in his study in the United States which showed that Indian migrant youth used stereotypic images to talk about their own identities and behaviours and those of their

ethnic group (Asher, 2008). This indicates the powerful nature of stereotypes produced by the dominant group on the lives of migrants.

At the other end of the spectrum, international (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006; Qin et al., 2008) and national (Lueck & Wilson, 2010; Ward, 2008; Watts et al., 2002) quantitative studies also indicate that many Chinese young people experience peer discrimination, more so than any other ethnic minority groups. Such discrimination is described to occur in the form of neglect, verbal taunting, and physical harassment predominantly by European peers, and is perceived to be closely linked to stereotypes, visible physical appearance, and, for newer migrants, immigrant status and language barriers. Researchers argue that such peer discrimination challenges young people's sense of acceptance and effectiveness in the social world during a time when negotiating peer relationships is a primary determinant of social experience, self-esteem, and psychological wellbeing (Grossman & Liang, 2006). As such, it may lead to depressive symptoms, alienation, poor school engagement, and lower academic achievement (Benner & Kim, 2009; Crengle, Robinson, Ameratunga, Clark, & Rapheal, 2012). Further to personal discrimination, Sobrun-Maharaj et al. (2008) also noted that general non-acceptance and social exclusion attitudes as well as institutional discrimination reflected in employment opportunities and provision of services may also impact on the lives of migrant youth.

The available international (Lee et al., 2009; Li, 2009; Yeh et al., 2008) and local (Bartley, 2010) qualitative studies have provided a deeper understanding of the discrimination impacting on Chinese migrant youth from their own perspectives. They suggest that the discrimination experienced by these young people is oftentimes subtle and hard to notice, including others rolling their eyes at them, or a felt sense that others see and treat them as different. These general non-acceptance and exclusion attitudes seemed to place boundaries on the young people's ability to construct identities as citizens of the host country, and therefore dampened their feelings of belonging to the host country (Bartley, 2010). Further, the young people in Li's (2009) study also reported that their experiences of discrimination were not only received from European peers but also Chinese peers. For instance, local-born and long-term Chinese migrant youth who were more acculturated to Western culture were described as reluctant to associate with recent migrants who were less acculturated to Western culture due to fear of discrimination through association.

To summarise, there is a large body of international quantitative research which contributes to our current understandings of the breadth of stressors facing Chinese migrant

youth. In particular, research findings indicate that the types of stressors confronting these young people relate to tensions between ethnic and dominant culture, and with difficulties with managing their ethnic minority status and interacting with the dominant group. However, there are few New Zealand studies on this, and little qualitative research either internationally or locally. Therefore, there is a considerable need for deeper understanding of these issues from the perspectives of Chinese migrant youth themselves and particularly within the New Zealand context. Further, as most research has adopted a generalist approach in their samples (e.g., grouping young people with adults, Chinese young people with other Asian young people, and Chinese young people of various backgrounds), it is important to focus specifically on Chinese migrant youth so as to not mask the different and unique needs and experiences of this group.

The psychological well-being of Chinese migrant youth

With increasing awareness of the stressors that migrants may experience in the process of migration and acculturation, researchers have argued that there has been a focus on examining migrants' mental health problems (Chiu, 2006; Chirkov, 2009). Internationally, while there are some studies supporting the idea that Chinese migrant youth are more vulnerable to psychological problems than their European counterparts (Crystal et al., 1994; Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Jose & Huntsinger, 2005; Willgerodt & Thompson, 2006), there are also studies which suggest that the prevalence of psychological problems in Chinese migrant youth does not significantly differ to their European counterparts (Chiu et al., 1992; Saluja et al., 2004). New Zealand research suggests that Chinese young people have similar rates of psychological problems, including deliberate self-harm, compared to their European peers (Abbott et al., 1999; Fortune et al., 2010; Parakal, Ameratunga, Tin Tin, Wong, & Denny, 2011). Therefore, there is limited empirical basis to support the notion that migration is associated with negative psychological impacts.

In spite of the limited empirical basis, however, researchers have continued to focus on the negative aspects of the migrant experience, which has been argued to perpetuate negative views of migration (Chiu, 2006). Consequently, there has been a lack of research on the positive aspects of migration and migrant resilience (Chiu, 2006). Of what has been conducted in this area, some studies suggest that Chinese migrant youth fare better than their European peers on measures of emotional and behavioural problems (Abu-Rayya, 2013; Ward, 2008), and excel academically over their peers (Costigan et al., 2010). Further, studies on hybridisation indicate that migrant youth can grow in flexibility, deploying resources to manage challenges created by migration and move between cultures (Asher, 2008; Bartley, 2010; Gorman et al., 2003;

Hyunok, 2011; Pyke & Johnson, 2003). Chiu (2006) argued that understanding coping in migrants is important in order to assist this group to develop effective coping abilities and resilience, a key consideration for mental health practitioners when working with them. Thus, more studies on the positive characteristics of migration and migrant resilience are needed to obtain balance in the research exploring migrants' psychological wellbeing. Following on from this, I turn to review the literature on how Chinese migrant youth manage stress.

Coping and support-seeking in Chinese migrant youth

The literature on how Chinese migrant youth manage stress is relatively limited. Of the available research, some preliminary themes may be drawn. However, findings should be interpreted with caution due to variations in the sample studied (e.g., ethnicity, area of birth, length of stay in the Western country), the stressors examined, and the way that coping was defined, categorised, and measured. Here, I summarise the quantitative literature first and then move on to summarise the qualitative literature.

Consistent with Western literature, international quantitative studies have indicated that Chinese migrant youth use a range of coping strategies. These include problem-solving (e.g., seeking information, connecting to their ethnic culture, engaging in the dominant culture), distraction (e.g., socialisation, exercise, entertainment), accommodation (e.g., thinking positively, keeping a diary, reinforcing determination to cope) avoidance (e.g., trying to forget, pretending that nothing is wrong, withdrawing from mainstream society), and support-seeking (Barker, Child, Gallois, Jones, & Callan, 1991; Chang, 2001; Gorman et al., 2003; Jose & Huntsinger, 2005; Jose & Schurer, 2010; Jung, 1995; Kim, Sherman, Ko, & Taylor, 2006; Liu, Tein, & Zhao, 2004; Neill & Proeve, 2000; Sheu & Sadlacek, 2004; Yeh & Wang, 2000).

Studies have also indicated that Chinese migrant youth adopt specific patterns of coping. While some research suggests that these young people use problem-solving coping just as often or more than their European counterparts (Jose & Huntsinger, 2005; Jose & Schurer, 2010; Neill & Proeve, 2000), the majority suggest that they frequently use, and in some cases more so than their European counterparts, what has been described in dominant psychological literature as passive-avoidant coping, such as emotional regulation and avoidance (Chang, 2001; Jung, 1995; Lam & Zane, 2004; Sheu & Sedlacek, 2004; Yeh & Inose, 2002). Researchers have contended that such passive-avoidant coping may be framed by Chinese values (Cheng et al., 2010). In particular, values regarding the importance of persisting through the cyclical nature of life, emotional control and restraint, as well as social harmony may

encourage Chinese people to adjust their attitudes and emotions when stressful events occur, rather than taking action to change the environment and eliminate the source of stress, especially in relation to social stressors (Au, 2002; Cheng et al., 2010). Accordingly, in contrast with Western literature, some studies suggest that passive-avoidant coping is associated with positive adjustment among Chinese migrant youth (Cheng et al., 2010; Jose & Huntsinger, 2005; Kuo, 2011).

Although passive-avoidant coping may be prominently used amongst Chinese migrant youth, researchers have argued that certain avoidant coping strategies, such as alcohol and drug use, may be less prominent (Arnett, 2003; Nelson et al., 2004). Indeed, international (Willgerodt & Thompson, 2006) and local (Fortune et al., 2010; Parackal et al., 2011) studies have indicated that rates of alcohol and drug use are lower among Chinese young people compared to their European peers. Researchers have pointed to the influence of Chinese values to help explain this, whereby values in relation to controlling the self may conflict with the loss of control that accompanies alcohol and drug use (Arnett, 2003; Nelson et al., 2004; Wu & Chao, 2005). This loss of control may not only lead to shame to the individual but also to the individual's family (Yan, 2005). Therefore, these values may serve as behavioural controls for some Chinese young people, hindering them from participating in these types of coping strategies. This is seen to be in contrast with Western culture, where alcohol and drug use may be perceived in a somewhat more positive light of typical experimentation during the period of youth (Kuntsche, Knibbe, Gmel, & Engels, 2005).

Research findings in relation to support-seeking have been more contradictory. Some studies have indicated that Chinese migrant youth prefer to cope with stress on their own and are less inclined to seek support compared to their European peers (Chang, 2001; Kim et al., 2006; Lam & Zane, 2004). Researchers suggest that this relates to Chinese values of social harmony, which regard support-seeking as inappropriate if it may disrupt harmonious interpersonal relationships, or reveal one's weaknesses to others and therefore reduce one's social status (Cheng et al., 2010; Yan, 2005; Yao, 2000). Supporting this, Taylor et al. (2004) found that, compared to European peers, Asian young people were less likely to seek support and more likely to manage on their own due to concerns about the potential ramifications of support-seeking on interpersonal relationships. In particular, the Asian young people were found to hold ideas such that sharing would disrupt group harmony and make their problems worse, others would not understand, sharing problems would elicit criticism and/or cause them to lose face in the eyes of others, and they have responsibility to solve their own problems

(Taylor et al., 2004). Similarly, Lam and Zane (2004) found that Asian young people's preferred coping method was to adjust their thoughts and feelings to accommodate stressors rather than change environmental factors to fit with individual needs, which was mediated by Asian values of social dependence and communalism.

In contrast, some studies have indicated that Chinese migrant youth do seek support, particularly from family, friends, significant others, and spiritual connections for purposes such as instrumental support, emotional support, and distraction, sometimes more often than their European peers (Barker et al., 1991; Jose & Schurer, 2010; Neill & Proeve, 2000). Researchers also suggest that this relates to Chinese values of collectivism, which deem interpersonal relationships, particularly familial ones, as important sources of strength and support, especially during times of adversity (Au, 2002; Yan, 2005; Yao, 2000). Thus, Chinese values of collectivism and interpersonal harmony may both encourage and discourage support-seeking (Kim et al., 2008).

In making sense of the conflicting results in relation to support-seeking among Chinese migrant youth, researchers have pointed to several factors. Some have noted that the severity of stress may influence support-seeking, with Chinese young people relying on their own resources in relation to less serious stressors, but mobilising support in relation to more serious stressors (Boey, 1999). For instance, Lee, Su, and Yoshida's (2005) study on coping with intergenerational conflict among Asian American youth found that they only mobilised social support when the conflict was perceived to be high. Some researchers have also suggested that support-seeking among Chinese migrant youth may be influenced by the degree of acculturation and social resources available to them in the host country (Kuo, 2014). Further, some researchers have proposed that Chinese young people may utilise support for coping with stress in culturally appropriate ways that are different from Western models of social support transaction which focus more on explicit seeking and receipt (Kim et al., 2008). Instead, Chinese young people may use social support without disclosing and discussing problems, by, for example, reminding themselves of close others or being in the company of close others without discussing one's problems. This may be seen as more appropriate from a Chinese perspective as it does not risk disturbing relationships, although it may not be considered support-seeking in Western models (Kim et al., 2008).

By and large, quantitative studies have provided understandings into how Chinese migrant youth manage stress. However, the majority of the research has been conducted with self-report questionnaires developed from Western literature, which require young people to

check off coping responses that they prefer or use when confronted with certain stressors (Garcia, 2010). Researchers have argued that these questionnaires are limited as they pre-determine coping responses and constrict the range of options to those represented in the measure, thereby constraining an understanding of coping from the young people's own perspectives (Garcia, 2010). They also disregard the context in which coping occurs, and therefore limits a deeper understanding of the processes and nuances of coping, including how young people negotiate coping across various stressors, contexts, and time (Compas et al., 2001; Garcia, 2010). Researchers contend that if we want to understand young people's experiences, we need to provide them with opportunities to voice their experiences from their own perspectives (Wyn & Harris, 2004). Therefore, qualitative methods may offer a way of approaching coping research with young people in way that enables them to describe their experiences from their own words and social and cultural contexts as well as in more depth (Patton, 2002; Willig, 2008).

However, few qualitative studies exploring how Chinese migrant youth manage stress have been carried out. In New Zealand, the Christchurch City Council's (1999) study with Chinese migrant youth found that they demonstrated versatile coping strategies across various stressors. For instance, when they felt the stressor was minor, they attempted to cope on their own, using strategies such as drawing on Chinese proverbs (e.g., 'Failure is the mother of success'), keeping a diary, and trying to forget; whereas when they felt the stressor was more serious, they confided in parents and friends (Christchurch City Council, 1999). Similarly, Yeh et al. (2008) found that Chinese migrant youth demonstrated versatile coping strategies across different ecological contexts, represented in interdependent social resources used for coping. For instance, they turned to family and friends for help with basic tasks of living (e.g., getting a driver's license, mailing something at the post office), to teachers for academic support and cultural adjustment challenges, and to people at church for support with emotional distress. However, the young people kept their stresses from their parents in order to protect them from worrying about them. Moreover, in their study with culturally diverse young people in Australia, Gorman et al. (2003) found that the young people described a variety of coping strategies (e.g., problem-solving, distraction, internal resources, spirituality, avoidance, substance use, talking with others) to manage their social and emotional wellbeing. More importantly, they demonstrated versatile coping across various stressors. For instance, when they felt alienated from the dominant society, they tried to adapt through learning English, reading about Australian culture, and socialising with Australian peers. However, when they felt disconnected from their traditional culture, they sought support from family or friends of

their own culture and engaged in social gatherings with their cultural community. Further, when they experienced intercultural conflict with their parents, they went out with friends to gain temporary escape, emotional support, and a sense of belonging. In contrast, when they felt stressed with school or experienced more overwhelming stressors, they sought support from family (Gorman et al., 2003). These qualitative studies have helped to show Chinese young people's agency in negotiating various social and cultural resources in dealing with everyday demands.

In summary, quantitative studies suggest that Chinese migrant youth use a range of coping strategies, but may rely on certain styles of coping more frequently, such as passive-avoidant coping. More importantly, some quantitative and particularly qualitative studies suggest that Chinese migrant youth hybridise traditional and new cultures, and negotiate traditional and new coping strategies depending on the stressor, context, and time. However, there is room for more qualitative research, particularly within the New Zealand context and specifically with Chinese migrant youth (as opposed to a generalist approach), to explore how these young people negotiate coping from their own perspectives in order to further understandings of the complexities coping. Further, new research is important to keep up to date with changes in coping strategies available and utilised in contemporary society.

Help-seeking from psychological services

Another aspect of coping and/or support-seeking that has been explored in the literature is help-seeking. There are few agreed upon definitions of help-seeking. However, in most cases when used in dominant youth coping literature, help-seeking refers to the use of formal psychological services (Barker, 2007; Srebnik, Cauce, & Baydar, 1996). Psychological services commonly refer to services which provide support for people's personal development and emotional wellbeing (Rickwood, Deane, & Wilson, 2007). Common examples include school counselling services and community mental health services (Barker, 2007; Rickwood et al., 2007). In this section, I review young people's use of psychological services and the barriers to help-seeking as reported in dominant psychological literature. I then focus on the use of services and the barriers to help-seeking among Chinese migrant youth. I argue that while these young people face barriers relevant to all young people, they also experience culturally-specific barriers.

Researchers have asserted that psychological services are underutilised by young people, even when they have significant psychological concerns. International studies reported

that 66 to 82% of young people with severe symptoms of depression or anxiety do not seek help from services (Essau, 2005; Zachrisson, Rodje, & Mykletun, 2006). Similarly, a New Zealand-based study found that 82% of secondary school students with significant mental health concerns do not seek help from services (Mariu, Merry, Robinson and Watson, 2012). Dominant psychological literature has pointed to many factors which may contribute to young people's underutilisation of services. These include: physical barriers such as transport and cost; personal barriers such as difficulties recognising distress and low mental health literacy, reluctance to acknowledge difficulties, preference for autonomy and self-reliance, and reluctance or mistrust in relation to talking to a stranger; service barriers such as lack of knowledge about services, concerns around confidentiality, concerns around the characteristics of mental health providers, and doubts around the utility of help; and stigma around help-seeking as a sign of weakness (Gulliver, Griffifths, & Christensen, 2010; Rickwood et al., 2007; Rothi & Leavey, 2006).

In particular, international (Cummings & Druss, 2011; Garland et al., 2005) and national (Fortune et al., 2010; Parackal et al. 2011) research has indicated that young people of ethnic minority groups are more reluctant to seek help from psychological services compared to their European counterparts. International (Blignault, Ponzio, Rong, & Eisenbruch, 2008; Kung, 2004; Li & Browne, 2009; Lee et al., 2009; Li, Logan, Yee, & Ng, 1999; Lung & Sue, 1997) and local (Christchurch City Council, 1999; Hauraki, 2006; Ho et al., 2003) studies examining the barriers to help-seeking among Chinese young people suggest that they experience similar physical, personal, service, and stigma barriers as Western young people. However, language and Chinese cultural factors may exacerbate these barriers and/or introduce additional barriers to help-seeking.

Accordingly, researchers have argued that Chinese people are influenced by Chinese views around the aetiology and treatment of mental health problems, which conflict with Western views (Ho et al., 2003; Lee et al., 2009; Li & Browne, 2009; Wynaden et al., 2005). From a Chinese perspective, mental health problems arise from religious violations leading to punishments from ancestors or gods, moral transgressions of socially appropriate behaviours, inability to control oneself, and imbalances in biological factors. As such, these aetiological understandings are considered to portray mental health problems as a fault of the individual, which often motivates individuals to resolve problems on their own and conceal it from others, even from family, so as to avoid bringing shame to themselves and their family (Ho et al., 2003;

Kung, 2004; Li et al., 1999; Wynaden et al., 2005). However, some individuals may disclose mental health problems to their family for support (Ho et al., 2003; Wynaden et al., 2005).

In accordance with aetiological understandings, researchers have suggested that Chinese people often seek treatment for mental health problems which involve restoring honour for ancestors and gods, putting right moral and social infringements, increasing individual willpower, and/or seeking traditional forms of treatment to re-balance the body (Ho et al., 2003; Wynaden et al., 2005). Chinese people may lack knowledge about Western conceptualisations of mental health problems, and therefore regard psychological services as inappropriate or hold mistrustful attitudes about them (Christchurch City Council, 1999; Ho et al., 2003; Kung, 2004; Li et al., 1999; Lung & Sue, 1997). However, Hauraki (2006) reported that barriers stemming from lack of Western knowledge regarding mental health problems and services may be less pertinent among long-term Chinese migrant youth who have had greater exposure to Western mental health ideologies. Despite this, however, even if these young people are open to psychological services, their help-seeking may be hindered if a family member, particularly one of high status such as a parent, does not appreciate the child's stress or perceive a mental health problem, and/or disapproves of seeking help from services (Hauraki, 2006; Lee et al., 2009). In these cases, the young people may not seek services in order to respect parental decisions and hierarchical rules (Au, 2002; Hauraki, 2006).

Researchers have contended that Chinese people usually resort to psychological services only if their traditional treatment options have been unsuccessful (Ho et al., 2003; Wynaden et al., 2005). However, the cultural appropriateness of psychological services may act as barriers in the later stages of the help-seeking process. It has been suggested that the orientation of Western mental health systems often esteems values and characteristics, such as a client-centred focus and emotional openness, which conflict with Chinese values that encourage reliance on the expertise of the service provider and restraint of feelings (Blignault et al., 2008; Li & Browne, 2009). Further, mental health providers may lack culturally-specific knowledge, language, and communication skills to respond in a culturally appropriate way in their interactions with Chinese clients (Blignault et al., 2008; Ho et al., 2003; Kung, 2004; Li & Browne, 2000). However, Hauraki (2006) argued that it is important to balance how much culturally-specific knowledge is applied to young people versus recognising the unique characteristics of the individual. The Chinese young adults in Hauraki's (2006) study described experiences in which they felt mental health providers generalised Chinese cultural knowledge and stereotypes to them, which were unrepresentative of their identities and experiences. Thus,

many cultural variables may lead to misunderstanding and alienation for Chinese people in their experiences with psychological services.

Various international (Chen, Kramer, & Chen, 2003; Li et al., 1999; Lung & Sue, 1997) and local (Hauraki, 2006; Ho et al., 2003; Wong, 2015) studies have detailed strategies to help address cultural barriers to psychological services among Chinese migrant youth. For instance, there have been calls to increase awareness of mental health problems and services to mitigate knowledge, attitude, and stigma issues. In particular, the Chinese young adults in Hauraki's (2006) study emphasised the importance of education not only for Chinese young people but also their parents in order to lessen obstacles arising from family members. There have also been suggestions for such psychoeducation to be placed in locations frequented by Chinese young people and their families (e.g., school, community organisations), and emphasised through various mediums (e.g., radio, educational seminars). Further, there has also been advocacy for more culturally sensitive and appropriate services, including more community support (e.g., support groups, peer-lead programmes) and development of culturally appropriate professionals (e.g., interpreters, Chinese speaking professionals, cultural training for professionals regarding Chinese culture and communities). With this said, however, as the Chinese young adults in Hauraki's (2006) study reported, it is also important to incorporate individualised approaches, considering not only the impact of Chinese culture on that individual's presentation but also individual differences in acculturation and identity.

To summarise, research suggests that Chinese migrant youth may experience general and culturally-specific barriers to using psychological services. As such, culturally-specific solutions have been suggested as ways to help improve their utilisation of services. However, it is also important to be mindful that the hybridisation of traditional and new cultures may influence the process of help-seeking, particularly among long-term Chinese migrant youth who may have had more exposure to Western mental health ideologies. As there is limited research exploring how these factors might play out in the New Zealand context, particularly from the perspectives of young people themselves, there is room for more local qualitative research.

Conclusion and overview of the current study

Overall, the literature and frameworks of understanding that I have drawn from suggest three key ideas which contribute to this research. First, young people are active participants in negotiating their social world. Second, both what young people consider stressful and how they

manage it is likely to be influenced by social and cultural factors. Third, migration creates possibilities for the hybridisation of traditional and new cultures, which may shape how Chinese migrant youth experience and manage stress. However, as most of the literature is based on international and quantitative studies, there is room for further understanding of these issues within the New Zealand context and specifically from the perspectives of Chinese migrant youth themselves.

This research uses a qualitative approach to understanding how Chinese migrant youth experience stress, coping, support-seeking, and help-seeking from psychological services within the New Zealand context. It focusses on five inter-related questions:

1. What experiences do Chinese migrant youth find stressful in New Zealand?
2. How do they cope with these stresses?
3. How do they represent their views and experiences of support-seeking?
4. What do they think of help-seeking from psychological services, including what can be done to increase their use of these services?
5. How does culture frame their experiences of stress, coping, support-seeking, and help-seeking?

In the next chapter, I outline the research approaches and processes that I used to conduct this research.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides information on the theoretical perspectives, methodological approaches, methods (participants, data gathering procedures, ethical considerations, data analysis procedures), and reflections on how I have ensured the quality of this research.

Theoretical approaches

In this research, I use a critical realist epistemology and draw on cultural perspectives together with contemporary views of youth in order to prioritise the voices of participants.

Critical realism

This research adopts a critical realist approach to participant accounts of their experiences. Researchers have explicated that on the one hand, critical realism affirms that there is a material reality to our lives that is independent of human understandings, while on the other hand, it also affirms that the material reality that individuals negotiate provides a context in which certain constructions of reality are more easily enabled than others (Danermark, 2002; Sims-Schouten, Riley, & Willing, 2007). That is, individuals engage in a process of meaning-making of reality and construct stories of their experiences. In particular, this process is thought to be mediated by the lenses of culture, language, and politics (Sims-Schouten et al., 2007).

From this perspective, I treat knowledge as articulated in two dimensions, as a socially produced understanding of the real world. This makes me refrain from making claims about truthfulness and take a critical stance towards 'taken for granted' ways of understanding the world (Danermark, 2002; Sims-Schouten et al., 2007). Also, it makes me mindful of the ethical consequences of research, particularly whose interests it serves. In this research, I attempt to provide a voice for Chinese migrant youth, making their stories more visible within the landscape of dominant, Western stories constituting knowledge about young people in general and Chinese migrant youth in particular (Shi-xu, 2005).

Culture-centred research

Consistent with critical realism, this research also adopts a culture-centred view to participant accounts of their experiences (Shi-xu, 2005). There have been competing views on the conception of culture across disciplines and time (Sewell, 2005). However, several ways of understanding culture are relevant to this study. First, I regard culture as a system of meaning-

making and as a practice (Hoshmand, 2006). As such, culture saturates people's lives and influences every aspect of what it means to be human, including how individuals perceive, make sense of, and respond intellectually, emotionally, and behaviourally to the world (Hoshmand, 2006; Shi-xu, 2005). From this perspective, culture provides a critical framework from which to understand participants' experiences.

Second, I emphasise the relationship between culture and social practice. Culture does not exist in a fixed and essential structure. Rather, it is a fluid, dynamic, and changing phenomenon (Hoshmand, 2006). Although individuals may be culture bearing, actively using cultural meanings and carrying out cultural practices, they are also capable of mixing and hybridising culture, thereby creating, changing, and transforming culture (Shi-xu, 2005). In particular, migrants may be especially engaged in the processes of hybridisation in order to develop multicultural identities and navigate flexibly across cultural contexts (Smith, 2008).

Third, my approach highlights the diversity of culture and associated issues of power. As Shi-xu (2005) asserted, cultural diversity is a site of power struggle as each culture conveys a different meaning and way of life. These meanings and ways of life are not merely different from each other, but in competition, often along dimensions of gender, race or ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. At a societal level, power struggles may be evident in a dominant culture generated by the ruling class, which helps to reproduce the power of the dominant class by defining reality in ways that serve their interests (Shi-xu, 2005). In New Zealand, for instance, the dominant culture is that associated with middle-class people of Western origins, whereas cultures associated with minority people, such as Māori, Pacific, and Asian, are relatively marginalised (Liu, McCreanor, McIntosh, & Teaiwa; 2005). At an individual level, power struggles may be evident in the use of one's own cultural perspective as the norm, whereby cultural differences are understood from one's own cultural perspective and therefore as abnormalities or deviations, rather than from the cultural perspective of others (Hoshmand, 2006). According to Shi-xu (2005), one of the ways to confront cultural power is to reflect on one culture's view and discourse about other cultures, people, and places. This may help to create conditions for bringing to light other, often marginalised, cultural views.

The implication of this culture-centred view to the way that I approach this research is that I see culture as an underlying aspect of living. I see meanings of life and everyday social practices as culturally-specific, and recognise how people draw on these culturally-specific meanings to make sense of their experiences. In this sense, I see the importance of understanding the experiences of participants from their own perspectives rather than that of

another. In doing so, it may contribute to breaking down dominant discourses on their experiences, and therefore de-pathologise their experiences (Shi-xu, 2005).

Contemporary conceptions of youth

Dominant psychological theories and research have perpetuated universal, normative, and at-risk ideas about youth (White & Wyn, 2008). In line with critical researchers, I challenge these assumptions (White & Wyn, 2008). I contend that youth is not a biologically driven, linear progression towards adulthood, but a more complex and diverse process shaped by social and cultural factors. I see young people as social actors, actively negotiating social and cultural changes in unique ways, and developing new and diverse youth identities and pathways to adulthood (Arnett, 2002; White & Wyn, 2008).

From this perspective, I value youth research which balances power differentials between young participants versus adult researchers, between respect for youth voices versus adult ideas about young people and responsibility for their best interests (Claveirole, 2004; Wyn & Harris, 2004). Thus, I provide my young participants with the opportunity to share their perspectives, as a reliable source of knowledge about their lives (Wyn & Harris, 2004).

Methodology

This research uses a qualitative methodological approach. Qualitative researchers have explained that qualitative research focusses on understanding a specific issue in depth, such as people's experiences and how they make sense of the world, on which to build further knowledge or, in psychological research, to develop client-focussed practice that is sensitive to research participants (Longhofer, Floersch, & Hoy, 2013; Thomas & Magilvy, 2011). It does so through gathering, analysing, and interpreting text, image, or sound data from a limited number of participants of a particular population in a specific context (Longhofer et al., 2013).

I consider qualitative methodology appropriate for this study for several reasons. First, it is explorative in nature, which makes it appropriate for understanding issues which are not well researched (Patton, 2002). Second, it allows participants to voice their personal experiences, which provides rich data grounded in their own words (Willig, 2008). Third, it focusses on a specific context and allows things to be considered in context, which is central to my research approach (Willig, 2008). Fourth, it has the social justice benefit of empowering participants. This is particularly important for individuals of marginalised groups as it provides them opportunities to give their opinions and contribute to decision-making in matters that

concern them, which conveys their views as valuable (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). In this research, I have prioritised the voices of Chinese migrant youth describing their own experiences so as to keep their perspectives at the heart of this research.

Method

Participants

The recruitment criteria for this study was Chinese young people, aged 16 to 18 years, who were born in China and had migrated to New Zealand with their family at least five years ago (in attempt to select migrants who had moved to New Zealand with the intention of long-term rather than temporary settlement). For confidentiality reasons, specific details of each participant are not included. Instead, I provide demographic information about the participants as a group. Of 15 young people who contacted me expressing their interest in the study, 13 met criteria and were followed up through to data gathering. The final sample consisted of 11 young people who participated in a focus group and an individual interview, and two young people who participated in an interview only. See Table 1 for a summary of the participants.

Recruitment

Ethics approval for the study was granted by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee in May 2013, reference 010515. The context for recruitment was secondary schools within Auckland with a high number of enrolled Chinese students based on their most recent Ministry of Education Review Report (Education Review Office, 2014) at the time of recruitment. I made initial contact with schools through head counsellors, which involved email contact to introduce and request support for the study within their school. Of seven schools contacted, four consented to support the study. Of these four schools, three successfully generated participants. These three schools were public schools, two co-educational and one all boys, with at least 9% of enrolled Chinese students.

Recruitment was completed by head counsellors. I provided them with an advertisement specifying information about the study and my contact details (see Appendix A). They circulated the advertisement within their school (e.g., in school grounds, school notices and newsletters, and student emails) and spoke to it in various forums (e.g., in class and assembly announcements). All interested students were required to contact me directly via email, text, or phone. On contact, I asked them brief questions to assess whether they matched criteria for the study. If they matched criteria, I emailed them a Participant Information Sheet (see Appendix

Table 1

Demographic information and study participation of the participants

Demographic variable and study participation		Number of participants
Gender	Young women	3
	Young men	10
Age	16 years	8
	17 years	4
	18 years	1
New Zealand Citizen or Permanent Resident	Yes	13
Age of migration to New Zealand	0 to 5 years old	9
	6 to 10 years old	2
	Older than 10 years old	2
Year at school	Year 11	1
	Year 12	7
	Year 13	5
Living in household with	Parent(s)	13
	Sibling(s)	7
	Others	0
Ability to speak a Chinese language	Yes or somewhat fluently	11
	A little bit but not fluent	2
Language spoken at home	Chinese	5
	Chinese and English	8
Parental ability to speak English	Yes, fluently	5
	A little bit but not fluent	6
	Not at all	2
Aspects of data gathering participated in	Focus group and interview	11
	Interview only	2

B) to provide more information about the study. Once recruitment was finalised for each school, indicated by a period of two weeks in which no new students had contacted me about the study, I contacted the students to organise data gathering.

Data gathering

As the research questions and theoretical approaches chosen in this research emphasise the importance of hearing the voices of participants, I selected data gathering methods that would enable me to elicit their own representations of their experiences. I selected two complementary qualitative methods, namely focus groups and individual interviews, to provide both breadth and depth to the data (Liamputtong, 2011). I decided to talk with the young people in focus groups first because this format is understood to reduce power dynamics between young people and adult researchers. This is because it provides young people with the opportunity to meet the researcher and talk about the research topics within the supportive company of peers (Punch, 2002). Further, as focus groups are understood to allow participants to generate a range of ideas through discussion and interaction between group members, I anticipated that the focus groups would reflect some of the shared social ideas and knowledge of Chinese youth culture in relation to stress and coping (Patton, 2002; Willig, 2008). I believed that this would provide a context for understanding personal experiences in interviews to follow.

I decided to follow focus groups with interviews because I thought the individual format would provide the opportunity to follow-up on any issues that were raised in focus groups. The individual format is also understood to provide privacy and time to talk about more personal or sensitive issues that participants might not be able to raise in a group, which may generate a deeper level of understanding to the data (Patton, 2002; Willig, 2008).

Three focus groups were completed. The focus groups consisted of three to five young people who attended the same school. Two focus groups were conducted on school grounds during school hours, and one was conducted at the University of Auckland during school holidays. The focus groups lasted approximately one and a half hours and were audio-taped in their entirety. However, some un-recorded conversation took place prior to the focus groups to establish rapport and allow participants to ask questions, and in some instances after the focus groups when participants spontaneously asked questions or shared their thoughts after the digital-recorder had been turned off. This un-recorded conversation was not included in the analysis.

Before the focus groups, participants were given a consent form (see Appendix C) to read and sign as well as a demographic questionnaire (Appendix D) to complete. They were also reminded of ethical issues relevant to participation in focus groups, which I discuss in detail below, and their questions, if any, were answered. During the focus groups, discussion was guided by a semi-structured interview schedule which explored participants' views on what Chinese migrant youth find stressful growing up in New Zealand, how they manage these stresses (including support-seeking), what they think of psychological services and what could be done to support them to use these services, as well as whether and how culture might shape these issues (see Appendix E). The questions were not considered to be prescriptive; rather, they were intended to prompt discussion. I followed the direction of the discussion and encouraged elaboration of accounts or provision of examples when it was unclear what participants meant or when more information was regarded useful. I only redirected the focus of the discussion by repeating or asking a similar open-ended question if it strayed away from the focus of the study. Although the focus groups were conducted in English, the Chinese dialects of Cantonese and Mandarin were used occasionally by both participants and myself to enrich discussions.

A few days following the completion of each focus group, I contacted all participants who had taken part in a focus group to ask them if they would take part in an individual interview. All participants who had completed a focus group consented to an interview, and were set up with a time and place that was suitable for them. Two participants, however, did not take part in a focus group and only completed an interview. This was because one contacted me following the completion of the focus group carried out in his school, and the other one was the only one who expressed interest in participating in the study from his school, and it was not practical to include these participants in a focus group made up of participants from another school. All interviews were completed at participants' schools during school hours. The interviews lasted approximately one hour and were audio-taped in their entirety. However, some un-recorded conversation took place prior to the interviews to establish rapport and allow participants to ask questions, and in some instances after the interview when participants spontaneously asked questions or shared their thoughts after the digital-recorder had been turned off. This un-recorded conversation was not included in the analysis.

Before the interviews, the young people were asked how they had been since the focus group and whether they had any thoughts to add. They were also reminded of ethical issues relevant to participation in interviews, which I discuss in detail below. During the interviews,

discussion was guided by a semi-structured interview schedule which explored the participants' experiences of migration and growing up in New Zealand, how they made sense of their cultural identity, the issues they found stressful, how they managed these stresses (including support-seeking), their experiences and/or perceptions of psychological services and how they could be improved to support their use of these services, as well as whether and how they thought culture might shape some of these issues (see Appendix F). Again, the questions were intended to prompt discussion, and I followed the direction of the discussion taken by the participant, only redirecting the discussion by repeating or asking a similar open-ended question if it strayed away from the focus of the study. Although the interviews were conducted in English, the Chinese dialects of Cantonese and Mandarin were used occasionally by both participants and myself to enrich discussions.

Ethical considerations

Confidentiality. I was mindful that participants may not want school counsellors to know about their participation in the study as it involves exploring perceptions of psychological services, including school counselling services. This was mitigated by requiring participants to contact me to express their interest in the study, rather than through the counsellors who promoted the study. Where focus groups and interviews were conducted on school grounds during school hours, I also organised permission slips to excuse and allow participants out of and back to class respectively, in order to avoid the need for them to obtain permissions slips from counsellors. Further, the focus groups and interviews were conducted in private rooms with reasonable distance away from counselling departments to avoid identification of participants by visibility.

Furthermore, I was also mindful of confidentiality in focus groups. As the Chinese community in Auckland is relatively small and participants in focus groups attend the same school, I was aware that they could easily identify each other through social networks. I was also mindful that disclosing personal difficulties to outsiders, such as a researcher and other participants, may be perceived as inappropriate in Chinese culture. To mitigate these concerns, I asked participants to be respectful of the privacy of each other's identity and the information shared. I also told them that their ideas about the experiences of Chinese migrant youth in general were preferred rather than accounts of their personal experiences, and that they did not have to disclose anything they were uncomfortable sharing. Further, I assured them that their identity would be kept confidential in any written information through the removal of identifying material and, if necessary, use of disguise.

Distress. I was aware that there was a small risk that talking about stressful experiences could evoke distress for some young people. To manage this, I closely monitored any adverse emotional reactions during discussions. It was anticipated that if a situation of serious distress was disclosed, I would provide support and direct change in the discussion. If I had further concerns at end of the discussion, I would encourage support to be sought and make referrals for appropriate psychological services if necessary. In the case of focus groups in particular, my primary supervisor (a qualified clinical psychologist with extended experience in working with young people) would be available to provide support with managing distress among a group of young people.

Power dynamics. Researchers have argued that any research involving young people has an inherent power balance between young participants versus adult researchers (Claveirole, 2004). I attempted to manage this power differential in various ways. I was careful in respecting participants' ability to act autonomously. This involved providing them with adequate information about the study, emphasising their voluntary participation, seeking their informed written consent, and taking measures to ensure their privacy. In particular, I did not obtain parental consent as it was not legally required. Further, I felt that requiring parental consent could undermine the autonomy of participants, and have adverse ramifications on the student help-seeking culture and school counselling services. Researchers have suggested that there is a spoken and unspoken rule within schools that psychological issues experienced by students may be dealt with confidentially with school counsellors and without parental knowledge (Trice-Black, Reichel, & Shillingford, 2013). Due to the psychological nature of this study and the involvement of school counsellors, requiring parental consent could have been interpreted by students that they cannot deal with psychological issues on their own and without their parents finding out, which could deter them from help-seeking from school counsellors. Thus, I felt that allowing participants to take part in the study without parental consent was critical in respecting the rule within school contexts, the nature of school counselling services, and student autonomy.

Second, I used reflexivity with participants, which is seen as helpful in mitigating power differentials between adult researchers and young participants by breaking down the fictitious objectivity of the researcher (Claveirole, 2004). Specifically, I made it clear that I was aware that my perspective as an adult may be very different from their perspectives as young people, that there were no right or wrong answers, and that my motivation was to be a naïve inquirer interested in hearing from young people themselves. Further, drawing on the interview

technique described by Gavey and McPhiliips (1999), I sometimes shared my observations, reflections, and experiences in the process of seeking participants' responses to these observations or attempting to support them to feel better in relation to difficult topics. I found this technique productive in encouraging participants to reflect in more depth on their experiences.

Third, I initially met with the young people in focus groups. As discussed, this format is seen to reduce the power differential between adult researchers and young participants by providing the supportive company of peers to one adult researcher. Further, this format may allow young people the opportunity to get to know the researcher, thereby laying the seeds for establishing relationships of trust for individual interviews (Claveirole, 2004).

Fourth, I used my knowledge of young people's language and experiences, attained from my previous work with young people and clinical placement and internship in child and adolescent mental health services, to find empathetic, non-patronising ways of communicating with participants.

Cultural issues. In recent years, there have been increasing efforts to match the ethnicity of interviewers and participants, as this is seen to be important in removing status barriers and increasing understanding and access to the perspectives and experiences of minority research participants (Dein, 2006; Gunaratnam, 2003). I was aware that my similar ethnic and cultural background with participants could support shared understandings; however, I was also mindful that our cultural realms could differ due our different personal histories, migration backgrounds, and social and political contexts in which we grew up and live in. Accordingly, I adopted an overtly reflexive stance at the outset of the focus groups and interviews by disclosing my personal background, particularly my cultural heritage and migration story, to participants.

Furthermore, during the focus groups and interviews, I occasionally encountered answers from the young people like "You know what I mean" when they were talking about Chinese families and culture. In a similar experience reported by Ochieng (2010), he wrote that these interactions were indications of negotiations of meaning through the multifaceted relationships with participants and with himself. In my research too, the participants were playing active roles in the meaning-making process and negotiating the relationship with myself as a researcher of a similar ethnic and cultural background. I responded to this as a naïve and curious researcher, reiterating that I was interested in what they meant rather than my own meanings, and asking for elaboration to gain a deeper understanding of their views.

Data analysis

All focus group and interview recordings were transcribed verbatim in their entirety - one focus group and three interviews by myself, and the rest by a transcriber who was employed for this purpose. All the transcripts were later checked by myself for accuracy.

Initially, I anticipated that the focus group and interview methods would generate different types of data, and therefore I planned to analyse the two data sets separately. However, as data gathering and transcription progressed, it became evident that the two data sets were similar in the broad areas they covered although different in the personal depth of information provided. Therefore, I decided to combine the data sets and analyse them together.

The transcripts were analysed with thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is described as a method of analysis which involves "identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). It is appropriate for this study as it is a theoretically-flexible approach that seeks to understand any issue more widely. Whilst it is said to be deductive in nature as themes are identified and informed by the researcher's theoretical perspectives, there is also an inductive element when the researcher is open to being informed by the data and seeing unexpected insights (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Sapsford & Jupp, 2006). Thus, this method of analysis allowed me to identify themes relevant to the research questions, but also notice how the young participants may experience the world differently to the way that I do as an adult researcher and to the way that I think young people experience the world.

The thematic analysis used followed procedures suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006). Data transcripts were read repeatedly to identify initial codes in the data that appeared interesting and may form the basis for repeated patterns across the data set. This was followed by a process of sorting out and identifying preliminary themes, both those which related to the research questions and those which were encompassed in the data but did not directly relate to a research question. These themes were then discussed with my primary supervisor and further refined and named. Finally, quotes from a range of participants were identified to exemplify the themes. These quotes were cleaned by removing identifiers, redundant discourse markers, and repetitions; where words were omitted this was represented by an ellipsis (…). Words in quotes presented in square brackets were also used to represent my attempt to provide context to statements made by participants where the context was otherwise unclear. Qualitative labels such as 'most', 'some', and 'few' were used to describe the extent to which different ideas were

reflected through the data without implying the possibility of statistical generalisations which are not appropriate in this kind of research.

Quality in qualitative research

As qualitative research involves the interpretation of information, which is tied to subjectivity, its quality has often been questioned (Leung, 2015). Nevertheless, several qualitative researchers have posed criteria and strategies to ensure rigour in qualitative research. The criteria which has been most commonly adopted is that proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985), which addresses four components of rigour, namely credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility refers to how congruent the findings are with participants' experiences and interpretations (Morrow, 2005). Several provisions that have been suggested by various researchers were adopted to increase credibility in this research (Morrow, 2005; Shenton, 2004; Thomas & Magilvy, 2011). Prior to data gathering, I reviewed the literature and consulted with key stakeholders (e.g., clinicians with first-hand experience in working with Chinese migrant youth) to familiarise myself with the area under study. During data gathering, I used different methods to gather different sorts of data, and provide participants with the time to reflect on their experiences and provide clarification or feedback on their understandings of the issues discussed. I also followed ethical procedures and used a naïve inquirer style of interviewing to promote openness in participants. Further, I also occasionally checked the accuracy of data and my interpretations 'on the spot' with participants to ensure that I had captured their experiences. Over the course of the analysis and writing process, I repeatedly reviewed the data transcripts several times, attempted to keep participants' words at the heart of the findings, engaged in frequent meetings with my primary supervisor and discussions with my colleagues in order to widen my interpretations, and welcomed any questions or feedback provided at presentations of my research at research forums and conferences.

Transferability refers to the extent to which the findings are generalisable (Morrow, 2005). As qualitative research is focussed on studying a specific issue of a particular population in a specific context, it is concerned with theoretical generalisability as opposed to conventional statistical generalisability. Theoretical generalisability refers to the extent to which theory developed within one study may be used to provide theoretical understanding for a similar class of phenomenon (e.g., the experiences of other individuals who are in comparable situations), whereas statistical generalisability refers to probabilistic generalisations to other populations or

settings (Leung, 2015). Therefore, I make clear that this study has small scope and is only concerned with Chinese young people who have migrated from China to New Zealand with their families with the intention of long-term settlement. The theoretical understandings are not intended to be generalised to other Chinese and ethnically diverse migrants in New Zealand who come from diverse backgrounds, although it may be of some use for understanding their experiences. Further, to increase transferability in this research, I provided detailed information on the contextual factors impinging on the inquiry, including my background information, the theoretical perspectives, the research context, the participants, and the research process, in order to allow comparisons to be made (Morrow, 2005; Shenton, 2004).

Dependability occurs when another researcher can follow the decision and research trail used by the researcher (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011). To increase dependability in this research, I kept a verbal audit trail of the research process with my primary supervisor and provided detailed methodological descriptions to allow the study to be repeated (Shenton, 2004).

Finally, confirmability is the recognition and acknowledgement that the research is grounded in subjectivity and steps are taken to ensure that the findings represent, as far as (humanly) possible, the phenomenon being researched rather simply reproduce the views of the researcher (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011). In addition to the aforementioned strategies, I adopted the most common method for ensuring confirmability, which is argued to be reflexivity (Morrow, 2005). To that end, I have included a discussion of how my subjectivity impacted this research (at the beginning of this thesis), and regularly challenged my own views through discussions with my primary supervisor and colleagues throughout the research process.

Conclusion

Overall, this research aims to explore the stress, coping, support-seeking, and help-seeking experiences of Chinese migrant youth in New Zealand. It uses a qualitative approach informed by a critical realist epistemology, culture-centred perspectives, and contemporary views of youth in order to prioritise the voices of the young people and make their experiences more visible within the landscape of dominant, Western stories. The following chapter describes the findings from the analysis of the data.

CHAPTER THREE: FINDINGS

In this chapter, I present the themes from the focus groups and individual interviews under four main headings: stress, coping, support-seeking, and help-seeking from psychological services. Table 2 provides an overview of the themes.

Table 2

Key themes identified

Stress	Living up to parents' academic expectations
	Dealing with a different style of parenting
	Switching languages
	Making sense of cultural identity
	Dealing with discrimination
Coping	Solving the problem
	Closing off emotion
	Finding acceptance and gratitude
	Rejecting 'bad' non-Chinese ways of coping
Support-seeking	Managing alone
	Talking does not help and could be risky
	Cautiously confiding with friends
	Parents do not understand
Help-seeking from psychological services	Not knowing about services
	Feeling unsafe with services
	Seeing problems as not big enough for services
	Feeling stigmatised by others and self
	How services could be better

As participants spoke during focus groups and interviews, they often compared their experiences to that of other ethnic groups. In particular, they predominantly compared themselves to and constructed themselves as different from "European", "white", or "Kiwi" people and their "Western" culture. Although Māori are considered the indigenous people of New Zealand, participants did not seem to recognise Māori as a distinct group within New Zealand. On occasion, however, they also compared themselves to and constructed themselves as different from both "Māori" and "Polynesian" peoples. In contrast, they often compared

themselves to and constructed themselves as similar to other "Asian" people, who they saw as sharing similar sociopolitical positions in New Zealand as well as similar social and cultural contexts and experiences as themselves. As discussed in chapter one, these terms are consistent with those used in most of the local research. Therefore, in this thesis, I use these terms to represent the different groups of ethnic people referred to in this research in order to prioritise the participants' voices and keep consistent with New Zealand research.

What causes stress?

This section analyses the experiences that participants found stressful growing up in New Zealand. Their accounts suggested five themes: living up to parents' academic expectations; dealing with a different style of parenting; switching languages; making sense of their cultural identity; and dealing with discrimination

Living up to parents' academic expectations: "You have to get a high paying job"

Participants spoke about school work as a source of stress for all teenagers. However, they felt that they had greater academic stress compared to their European peers, as they believed their parents had higher academic expectations of them. This theme describes how they represented and made sense of their parents' expectations.

The majority of participants spoke about how they felt they had more academic stress compared to their European peers. In explaining this, they described how their parents had expectations of them to achieve highly in school, which they understood as part of their parents' expectation for them to pursue high-paying and respectable careers in future. They thought this differed from Europeans parents who they perceived to allow their children to engage in any career they wanted:

> With non-Chinese people, mostly white people, I guess their parents are a lot nicer to them. They're just like 'Oh, you can do whatever you want with your life, you can be an artist or a doctor or whatever'. Whereas Chinese parents are more like 'You have to get a high paying job, like a doctor, engineering, or something'. [Focus group 1]

Most participants described how their parents' academic expectations were expressed directly through parental monitoring and influence over how much time they spent studying and the grades they achieved. In addition, some participants also described how their parents expressed their expectations indirectly by comparing them to high-achieving peers:

They [parents] always compared me to one of my dad's friend's son who was incredibly smart. He always gets 90% in all his sciences and stuff. He plays piano and in year seven he was already like grade six or something. He played a bit of violin. And he did chess and was pretty good at that. [Focus group 2]

Moreover, most participants also spoke about how their parents tried to influence their behaviour in non-academic domains in order to prioritise academic achievement. Some participants, for example, said their parents tried to limit their involvement in extra-curricular and leisure activities:

When I went to high school, they [parents] said 'You can't go to boy scouts'. And I was really sad, 'Why not, I love boy scouts'. And my mum just said 'You have no time for that, you have to study, you have to get an A' … So my freedom was sacrificed for what she wanted me to do instead of what I wanted. [Interview participant 9]

Some participants also said their parents tried to limit their social interaction or influence their friendships. As one participant put it:

Some of my friends, they are not that concerned about academics, they just want to have fun. And my parents, they are quite bitter to them when they go to my house. And my parents want to stop me from being friends with them because they think they will get me into trouble … They just tell me not to hang out with them and try to prevent me from talking to them. [Interview participant 13]

Some participants articulated that they thought this differed to Europeans parents who they perceived to care more about their children's friendships:

They [parents] don't really mind if I do or do not have friends because that doesn't really affect me academically … And then we see generally white parents, I think they would be more concerned about whether their children are having a good social life at school or if they are having good friends. They would look more towards that than whether you are doing well at school. [Focus group 3]

Further, some participants also explained that their parents' restrictions on social activities extended to romantic relationships. Once again, they thought this differed from European parents who they perceived to be more open in relation to their children getting involved in romantic relationships:

In Western media, the ideas such as having relationships in high school, like having a girlfriend, I think white parents are okay with that and don't really mind if their children have a relationship. And the children are quite open to parents about it. But in Asian culture it's not that way, so the ideas that kids are exposed to their parents won't accept it. If an Asian kid gets in a relationship they usually wouldn't tell their parents and they would be less open about it because parents think it is a distraction from study. [Interview participant 13]

Contrary to what they thought their parents had intended, most participants spoke about how their parent's expectations in academic and non-academic domains had negative impacts on them. At a personal level, for example, some participants explained how it reduced their motivation to achieve, heightened their fears in relation to failing, and made them feel like they were a disappointment to their parents:

> It [parents' expectations] pushes you down, you stop wanting to try, like you're never going to surpass them … Most of the time it makes us just feel really bad on the inside, like we're not good enough. [Focus group 2]

At a social level, some participants explained that while they felt their parents were wrong to prioritise academic achievement above friendships, it impacted on their perspectives and investment in friendships:

> We don't really invest that much into friendship. We don't feel that it's necessary to make friends. [Focus group 3]

They believed that this, in turn, impacted on their personality and how others responded to and interacted with them:

> Your personality changes, you don't really get to go out with friends and you become less talked to. [Interview participant 9]

While participants largely felt that their parents' expectations of academic achievement were unhelpful, most were surprisingly empathetic about their parents' views. Most participants spoke about how their parents' expectations were related to the sacrifices that they had made for them to come to New Zealand and obtain better education, employment, and lifestyle opportunities:

> My parents, back in China, they had these very good jobs and were very successful. But once they come here [New Zealand], I think they made a huge sacrifice for me to have the better life, and you get this pressure, like they always want you to do better. [Focus group 3]

Most participants described how this understanding of their parents' situation enabled them to embrace an obligation to reciprocate their parents' sacrifices and make their parents proud. As one participant described:

> You think about how much they've [parents] sacrificed for you to be here [New Zealand] and how hard they had to work … So you would always have to give 100% at everything you did at school otherwise you feel like you would be letting your parents down. [Interview participant 9]

A few participants also described how they had internalised their parents' expectations and developed their own sense of wanting to do well for themselves:

Even though my parents do have expectations of me, it's more my own expectations for myself and wanting to do well. [Focus group 1]

These participants explained that when they had high expectations of themselves, their parents became less demanding:

My parents don't give me any stress anymore because they trust that I give myself enough stress. [Interview participant 6]

Although discussion about parents' academic expectations was dominant in all focus groups and most interviews, this pressure was not experienced by all participants or at all times. A small number of participants talked about how their parents were less controlling in comparison to what they perceived of other Chinese parents. A few participants, for example, said their parents let them have independence in the academic domain:

Asians have that thing where they study, like their parents pressure them to study a lot. I guess that is a stereotype, yeah for some cases it is true … I have never had the pressure to do that. [Interview participant 5]

A few participants also described how their parents encouraged them to have balance between academic and non-academic activities:

I am really different from my friends, whenever I want to go out I just tell mum 'I am going out'. So I just wear my clothes and go out the door. Whereas my friend has to ask his mum, and his mum actually doesn't let him go out. [Interview participant 4]

Overall, most participants spoke about how their parents had high academic expectations of them and influenced various domains of their lives in order to prioritise their academic achievement. They understood this source of pressure as different to their European counterparts, as they perceived European parents to be more relaxed in relation to their children's academic achievement and more caring in relation to their children's socialisation. However, most participants also explained how they empathised with the reasons that their parents had these expectations, elaborating on the sacrifices their parents had made for them in the process of migration. They described how this understanding of their parents' situation created an obligation to reciprocate their parents' sacrifices and make them proud. Thus, this theme demonstrated the tensions in the way that participants tried to balance their comparisons between their own situation and those of their European peers against their understandings of their parents' situations.

Dealing with a different style of parenting: "I wasn't as close to my parents as maybe other people were"

Participants spoke about how dealing with a different style of parenting compared to their European peers was a source of stress. This theme describes how they represented and made sense of this difference.

Many participants compared their parents' style of parenting with their perceptions of European parents' style of parenting, and came up with numerous differences. Some participants talked about what they saw as different parental perspectives in relation to socially appropriate behaviour. They provided previously discussed examples (e.g., going out with friends, getting involved in romantic relationships) as well as further examples. For instance, a few participants raised the idea of "sleepovers" in Western culture and explained how their parents were not understanding of it:

> They [parents] say 'Why do you need to sleep over there, you have a perfectly good house at home' … They think sleepovers is such a foreign idea because they didn't do it when they were younger, so they probably don't really understand the point of it. [Focus group 1]

As another example, one participant raised the idea of "pocket money" in Western culture and explained how it was foreign in his family:

> I don't get pocket money! All my white friends, they're like 'Oh, I do chores at home and then my mum gives me money'. And then I'll be like 'I get money if I were to go watch a movie, I just go mum can I have $20?'. [Focus group 2]

Some participants also spoke about what they saw as differences in the way their parents exercised authority. They explained how they felt their parents were stricter compared to European parents. Some participants, for example, talked about how their parents tended to use dictation and instructions, whereas European parents used mutual negotiation:

> She [mother] always nags me to learn how to cook and says 'You need to be a girl, you need to tidy your wardrobe, what kind of girl is so messy and everything' … Whereas white parents probably ask their kids more what they want to do. [Focus group 1]

As another example, a few participants talked about how their parents used punishment to parent them, whereas European parents used rewards to motivate and support their children:

> Europeans give their children something to work towards. Whereas Asian parents don't really give them something to work towards, but more force them from below, like kick them in the arse if they didn't keep up. [Interview participant 10]

Furthermore, many participants also spoke about what they saw as differences in the nature of their relationship with their parents. They explained how they felt their relationship with their parents was less emotionally close compared to those of their European peers:

> Growing up I kind of realised that I didn't really have as much, as I wasn't as close to my parents as maybe other people were, white families … I had one friend, like I went to his house and a lot of the things that they did were different from what we did ... They tended to interact a lot more with their parents, like talk to their parents about anything really, whereas I didn't. If I had anything on my mind my parents wasn't the first person I would go to. [Interview participant 4]

However, many participants seemed to actively make sense of the emotionally distant relationship that they had with their parents. A few participants talked about how their parents had to work significantly long hours in order to earn enough money for their family to flourish in New Zealand. This meant they did not have much time to spend at home with their children:

> We were never too great financially off, we managed, but not great. But as they [parents] got new jobs, they bought a takeaway shop, they worked there endlessly, long hours. So from about the end of primary or intermediate, I became more independent. And my parents were never, they weren't never at home, but just felt like they were never there. [Interview participant 6]

A few participants also talked about language barriers. They explained that they preferred to speak in English while their parents preferred to speak in Chinese. This created a barrier in communicating with their parents, making it especially difficult to have meaningful conversations with their parents in their family's Chinese dialect:

> It's literally a language thing, like my Chinese is actually poor and I can't express myself the same way I can express myself in English. So I might say the wrong word or sometimes my sentences don't make sense. [Interview participant 3]

Further, a few participants also talked about how they understood their parents' approach to be a function of Chinese culture. They elaborated on how they saw a cultural expectation for Chinese people to be reserved about their inner world, particularly their emotions. This played out in their interactions with their parents, and therefore made it difficult for them to connect with their parents on an emotional level:

> Chinese parents have educated their children and brought them up in the way where they kind of reserve their emotions, so they don't talk that much with their parents … Like don't talk about it things, keep it inside. [Interview participant 13]

With such processes of meaning-making, some participants reflected on how they believed their parents expressed their care for them in different ways to European parents, particularly in practical ways rather than in verbal statements of love:

I think Chinese parents communicate on an emotional level less than white parents. But I think they have a pretty strong I would say love and care for their children, because they want to send them to good schools and they are really concerned about their future. [Interview participant 13]

Although discussions about being emotionally distant with parents were dominant in all focus groups and most interviews, this parent-child relationship was not experienced by all participants, as a couple described that they had an open relationship with their parents.

Overall, most participants spoke about their parents' style of parenting, elaborating on their views around boundaries, how they exercised authority, and how they interacted with their children on an emotional level. Once again, an important part of the source of stress for many participants was what they saw as a difference compared to their European counterparts, as they perceived European parents to have different views on socially appropriate behaviour, and to be more relaxed and emotionally open with their children. However, many participants also explained how their parents' style of parenting could be related to migration, acculturation differences, and Chinese culture. A few participants reflected on how this understanding of their parents' approach enabled them to see that their parents expressed their care for them in practical ways. Therefore, once again, this theme demonstrated the tensions in the way that participants tried to balance their comparisons between their own situation and those of their European peers against their understandings of their parents' situations.

Switching languages: "What I do think in is English now, I don't think in Chinese now"

Participants spoke about how they initially struggled with the English language but then managed to develop their English proficiency over time, although this was coupled with a loss of their Chinese dialect. This theme describes their experiences with the English language, and the tensions they felt in relation to the loss of their Chinese language.

The majority of participants talked about how they had limited English proficiency upon their arrival to New Zealand. They explained that this impacted on their communication and interactions with mainstream society, particularly when they started schooling:

When people talk to me I wouldn't understand what they were talking about. They would look at me differently, as if they wouldn't try anymore because I wouldn't understand. [Interview participant 11]

Most participants explained that not only did their low English proficiency cause communication difficulties in their daily lives, it was also used as grounds for differential

treatment. Some participants described experiences in which they were treated differently and sometimes shamed for their low English proficiency by their New Zealand teachers:

> I had this teacher, she was really racist. She started calling me yellow boy and stuff. And I was really bad at English back then so she had this spelling list especially for me, and she wrote my full name on it and told me to memorise my full name. I didn't really like that. [Interview participant 9]

Some participants also described experiences in which they were shamed for their low English proficiency by their European peers:

> I would make a lot of grammar mistakes … There used to be this other kid at school who was European and he always pointed it out to me. And I got quite frustrated because he always made fun of me when making these simple mistakes … Sometimes I just didn't want to talk to anyone because I was afraid I might screw up again. [Interview participant 10]

In particular, one participant recalled how he was not only bullied by European peers, but also Chinese peers, which made him feel even more of an outcast as he tried to settle in New Zealand:

> I always got tongue tied … And not only foreigners bullied me, there was also this other Chinese guy that bullied me. It made me feel like there was something wrong with me. [Focus group 2]

Due to their low English proficiency, most participants elaborated on how they found it difficult to integrate with their social environment and make friends. They associated this difficulty with a felt sense of isolation:

> It felt like I couldn't make friends with people. I felt lonely, like no one else to speak to me or understand my problems, thinking, and stuff. [Interview participant 10]

Most participants said they managed during this time by gravitating towards their Chinese peers in order to find a sense of belonging:

> I played with the Chinese persons a lot more, they spoke Chinese and English. And it was a great, fun time with them because we had the same language and it was very easy to communicate. [Interview participant 7]

However, most participants said they learned to understand and speak English fairly quickly as they progressed through school. In explaining this, some participants attributed it to absorbing and learning English from being around people who spoke English. In particular, a few participants found that learning from bilingual Chinese peers was an important bridge:

> I actually made a friend with this guy, he could speak a bit of Chinese but not really well, so I started learning English off him … As the years passed on he introduced me to another friend each year and I spoke English with them. [Interview participant 6]

Some participants also attributed it to their active efforts to learn English in the hopes of fitting in with the social environment around them:

> After school I would have to wait in the library I think until five for my parents to pick me up. And at that time, I would always read the books there … I think that really helped me with my progress with English. [Interview participant 7]

With the development of their English proficiency, most participants described how they felt an increasing confidence to interact more broadly with the social environment around them, and were able to make friends. As the below quote suggests, many participants described this process taking several years:

> It was maybe year three when my English got a lot better, and I could actually make friends and have good conversations and understand what other people were saying. [Interview participant 4]

Most participants also described that with the development of their English proficiency, they noticed that English became their preferred language:

> I consider English as my first language actually, even though I know that Chinese was. But I just grew up speaking that language, I speak it more than any other language, and I'm more comfortable using that language. [Interview participant 3]

Some participants even described how English became the language in which they thought in as well as spoke aloud:

> What I do think in is English now, I don't think in Chinese now … I think there was one stage where your mind just changes languages. [Interview participant 5]

However, the majority of participants spoke about how the development of their English proficiency involved a reciprocal loss of their Chinese dialect. Although most participants described how they had retained some fluency in their ability to understand and speak Chinese, they felt it was far less fluent compared to their English abilities as they had to live in an English-speaking world. This was the case even when they tried hard to maintain their Chinese language through tuition classes. As one participant explained:

> It [Chinese language tuition] was a few sessions a week. But when you go to school just speaking English, and then you try learning something different, that's quite difficult. [Interview participant 1]

Many participants spoke about the impact of the loss of their Chinese language. A few participants explained that it made it difficult for them to fulfil responsibilities at home, such as translating for their parents:

This is just an example but when letters come and so you have to translate. And then knowing you're young, you don't know much and how things work. And you don't really know how to explain it in Chinese. [Interview participant 1]

Many participants also explained that they believed Chinese proficiency was crucial for identifying with a Chinese identity. Consequently, the loss of their Chinese language was felt to make them less Chinese. In some cases, it was their own ideas that made them feel this way:

I think if you're a Chinese person who can't speak or write Chinese, it's not bad, but it's like why don't you know how to? [Focus group 1]

In other cases, it was their perceptions of other's expectations that made them feel this way. As one participant described:

I asked my mum about this the other day … I was like 'So why did you ask me to learn Chinese?', and she was like 'You're Chinese, that's just what you do'. [Interview participant 1]

Although discussion about the loss of Chinese language was dominant in all focus groups and most interviews, it was not experienced by all participants. One participant reported that he had managed to retain his Chinese dialect fluently. In explaining this, he attributed it to speaking Chinese with his family and, more importantly, with his friends who could speak Chinese. He associated his ability to maintain his Chinese language with a sense of pride, and talked about how being fluent in Chinese provided him with numerous benefits, particularly access to Chinese culture:

I believe the language is really, you can understand it as a symbol of the culture. So for example, in Chinese when we address everybody we say 'dajia', the big family. Whereas in English you say 'everybody' … 'Dajia' is the big family when you are addressing, whereas in English you tend to focus on each individual like everybody. Do you get what I mean? Like your understanding is slightly different. [Interview participant 12]

In general, it seemed that most participants had low English proficiency upon their arrival to New Zealand. This made it difficult for them to fit in with their social environment, and served as a marker of difference which was experienced as a source of discrimination. Over time, however, they described how they managed to develop English, to the point where it became their dominant language, which they experienced as critical for facilitating positive interactions with their social environment. However, this process was coupled with a decline in their Chinese dialect, even if they tried to maintain their Chinese language through tuition classes. They described this as a source of tension, as they felt that Chinese language was crucial for fulfilling responsibilities at home and identifying with a Chinese identity, and could be a

source of pride. Therefore, participants experienced a tension between the gains and losses that accompanied increased English proficiency.

Making sense of cultural identity: "I am Chinese New Zealander"

Participants seemed to actively negotiate their cultural identities. This theme describes how they made sense of their cultural identity as well as what they regarded as their more specific Chinese identity.

The majority of participants spoke about how they considered their "race" as definitively Chinese, even if they had lived in New Zealand for most of their lives, due to their physical appearance. However, they felt their 'cultural identity' was more complex. Most participants described their cultural identity as the country and/or culture that they felt they belonged to. As they negotiated their cultural identity, they talked mainly about Chinese culture and dominant, Western culture in New Zealand. Some participants spoke about what they saw as differences in values between the two cultures. As an example, some participants talked about having fun and enjoying the present moment versus studying hard and investing for the future:

> Europeans are just about the now, just like 'Just have fun, might as well', kind of the 'You only live once' lifestyle … But in Chinese culture, Chinese tradition, they don't want you to waste your youth. They want you to study hard so then you get a good job, and that's when you can start relaxing. [Focus group 2]

Some participants also spoke about what they saw as differences in interests and hobbies between people of the two cultures:

> In primary school we usually talked about trading card games and computer games. But white people were more into wrestling, WWE, rugby, cricket, things like that. [Interview participant 13]

Furthermore, a few participants also spoke about what they saw as differences in basic activities of daily life between the two cultures. As an example, a few participants talked about what they saw as differences in food. As one participant put it, the differences in the food made her feel very different and ashamed at times:

> Like bringing rice to school … I know I shouldn't be ashamed of my food … But it just feels really awkward having to bring out like a bowl of rice and chopsticks … You just feel so different from others who have sandwiches and stuff … Just so Asian, that's the only way you can put it. [Focus group 1]

In the process of negotiating these cultural differences, the majority of participants described their cultural identity as a "Chinese New Zealander". They explained that this identity involved being both Chinese and New Zealander, or embracing elements of both what they perceived to be Chinese culture and Western culture:

> I am Chinese New Zealander, because we still speak Chinese Mandarin, we eat rice every day, we celebrate Chinese New Year celebrations. But I don't know, I have been living here for 11 years of my life, most of my life, so I quite belong here too … Throughout the years I like eating European foods like burgers, pasta, pizza, although my parents don't like those foods. And also I have learned to play football. [Interview participant 9]

Further, most participants explained that this identity was not static. They saw themselves as continuously fluctuating on a continuum between the two cultures, identifying more or less with one culture across contexts and time. For example, some participants talked about how they fluctuated between Western ideas of having fun and enjoying the present versus Chinese ideas of studying hard and investing for the future:

> I have a sort of middle ground. Sometimes I take this whole fun idea to not stress myself out, and then sometimes I come over to this side and everyone is all mainly talking about the future, always 'Oh I've got to get into this uni, I've got to study so hard for that next test'. [Focus group 3]

As another example, one participant who migrated to New Zealand in her teenage years talked about the shock she felt when she first arrived to New Zealand, particularly the stark difference between Chinese values of considering others' expectations versus Western values of focusing on one's own needs. She explained how she would continuously fluctuate between the conflicting values at different times, and the fluctuation was expressed in the way she spoke:

> I really care about how other people look at me as a person … Even though I don't like myself being so studying, studying, studying, but for others, for all of their expectations, I will … But sometimes if I hate it that much then I probably won't do it anymore, even though other people would like me to do it. I won't take that responsibility because I want to have my happiness as well … But their opinions are very important, but if it's out of my limit I won't take it. [Interview participant 2]

Most participants asserted that they valued being exposed to both cultures and thought it provided benefits. For example, a couple of participants explained that it provided them with diverse perspectives on life and gave them a point of difference that set them apart from others in New Zealand:

> It's good, best of both worlds … And being in New Zealand I think it's quite different, like you have an extra something and not just being the same as everyone else. [Interview participant 1]

A few participants also acknowledged that it would offer them benefits in future endeavours. As one participant described, it would open up more economic opportunities:

A lot of New Zealand companies, for example Fonterra, they are all right now opening branches in Asian cities, definitely most of them are in China. And a lot of Chinese enterprises are also coming onshore to New Zealand. And the kind of people they want to employ are definitely people that do speak two languages and also have an understanding of the two cultures. [Interview participant 12]

Although discussion about embracing cultural differences and developing a "Chinese New Zealander" identity was dominant in all focus groups and most interviews, this was not the case for all participants. A couple of participants explained how they struggled with the cultural differences and felt a sense of alienation. In the words of one participant:

Sometimes on family trips with my parents, like when we went to the beach or something, if there are no other Asian families around I kind of feel uncomfortable … I just feel like we've got nothing to relate to with the white families, like they've all got sunglasses, eating a barbecue, and playing beach volleyball … We have barbecues as well sometimes but we just bring our own food like rice, eggs, chicken, things like that … And we're speaking a different language and we all look different … I just feel different, I just feel like I'm in the land I don't really belong in. [Interview participant 13]

In addition, all participants also spoke about how they negotiated a more specific Chinese identity. All but one participant seemed to identify themselves with what they called a "normal" or "typical" Chinese identity. They elaborated that this identity referred to Chinese young people who had migrated to New Zealand a long time ago, predominately spoke English, and tended to associate with other Chinese or Asian peers who embodied stereotypical Chinese characteristics:

I mainly hang with other typical Asian guys who have the same position as me, where they're in between the international students and the white group … Like the group of friends we hang out with, we're all quite similar in that we fit the smart Asian stereotype. [Focus group 2]

They elaborated that they tended to associate with Chinese and Asian peers as they felt more similar and comfortable with them, whereas they tended not to associate with European peers as they felt so different from them:

You could say it's harder to relate to white kids because everything they do is different, like their way of life, their mind-set … Whereas with the other Asian kids you already have their mind-set, you don't really have to change or anything, and you automatically feel comfortable being around them. [Interview participant 11]

In contrast, one participant identified himself with a "white washed" Chinese identity. He explained that this identity referred to Chinese young people who had migrated to New

Zealand a long time ago or were born in New Zealand, predominantly spoke English, and defied stereotypical views of Chinese young people by associating with European peers and Western culture:

> It's ["white-washed"] kind of like you're Asian but you act really white. So you're really good at sports but you're really not that great at academics … A lot of the time they hang out with other Europeans … They would go to a lot of parties and do all the white people things. [Focus group 3]

Some participants also elaborated that there was a third Chinese identity named "international students", although none identified with this. They explained that this identity referred to Chinese young people who had recently migrated to New Zealand, associated with other recent Chinese migrants, and predominantly spoke Chinese.

This theme illustrated participants' negotiations of their cultural identities. Most participants spoke about how they had to actively negotiate differences between their ethnic culture and the dominant, Western culture. From these negotiations, they developed a "Chinese New Zealander" identity. They seemed to experience this identity as fluid, as it involved constant fluctuation between the two cultures. They also seemed to experience this identity as demanding at times, as it involved effortful negotiations of tensions between the two cultures and where they fit in in relation to these. In addition to this, all participants also spoke about their negotiations of their specific Chinese identity. Once again, this seemed to involve active and sometimes effortful negotiations of differences along the lines of length of residence in New Zealand, language abilities, interests/hobbies, and peer associations. Thus, this theme demonstrated the continuous, active, and sometimes demanding process that participants had to engage in in order to make sense of who they were and where they fitted in, both in relation to the dominant society and to their peers.

Dealing with discrimination: "Sometimes they act differently towards you just because you are Chinese"

Participants spoke about dealing with discrimination, particularly from European people, as a source of stress growing up in New Zealand. This theme describes how they represented and made sense of their experiences of discrimination.

All participants spoke about experiences in which they felt they were discriminated by others, predominantly by European people, because of their ethnicity at some point in their lives. Most participants talked about discrimination in the form of stereotyping. They explained

that European people tended to hold stereotypes about Chinese people, which influenced others' expectations of them when they interacted with them:

> It is always slightly different, you can kind of feel that they [other people] have got expectations of what you are into and what not into. [Interview participant 8]

Most participants, for example, explained how others expected them to be taking the "Asian five subjects" (chemistry, physics, biology, mathematics, and English), studying endlessly, achieving "straight A's", and poor at sports:

> Asians are like stereotypically really, really into academics and stuff. They don't have time to put into sports and stuff, like they don't get into the top sports teams. [Focus group 3]

Many participants spoke about the consequences of not fitting with stereotypical views. Some participants explained that if they did not fit stereotypical views, they themselves would question their own adequacy, and others would respond with shock and question their Chinese identity:

> If you are not smart enough, you feel so dumb. I mean they've [other people] got too many expectations on you, like if you are not that smart and don't get good grades they will be like 'Oh you're not smart, why are you Asian?'. [Focus group 1]

A small number of participants also described how they tried to manage stereotypes by actively resisting them and not letting them define who they were:

> I really dislike stereotypes and I like to stay away from them as far as I can … I like to study, I like to do math. But that's not because I am Asian, but because I like to. [Focus group 1]

On the other hand, however, some participants said the stereotypes were accurate in describing who they were and what they were interested in:

> I guess I am not that good at sports and prefer video games. And I am good at sciences and maths … I guess what makes me Chinese is the stuff I enjoy doing. [Interview participant 10]

In addition to stereotypes, some participants spoke about how they felt they were treated differently by others, most commonly in interactions with European people. In most cases, the differential treatment was described to be very subtle:

> It is very well hidden … You just feel it when you meet someone, sometimes they act differently towards you just because you are Chinese. [Interview participant 8]

One participant, for example, described how he felt European peers often excluded him and other Chinese peers from their social circles:

In our school there's this group, like it's pretty much all white people, and well they are nice people, don't misunderstand me. But it's just that you don't feel the same mingling with them compared to other people … All these things are very subtle because we came to the age where we don't point at someone else and shout racist comments at them anymore, so that's already gone. But now it's a different kind of exclusion, like right now we don't explicitly say things, but sometimes you still act in the way … Sometimes they don't invite you to stuff, and when they have problems they don't tend to share with you, they talk to other white people about it. [Interview participant 12]

As another example, a few participants talked about how they felt they were not accepted by European people as a New Zealander:

Sometimes what white people will do is ask 'Where are you from?'. You say 'New Zealand'. Then sometimes they ask a further question, 'Where are you really from?' or 'What country were you born in?', kind of like a teasing question … When people keep asking that can you really call yourself a New Zealander? [Focus group 3]

In other cases, the experiences were described to be more overt, involving insulting remarks. As one participant explained:

It is mostly when you have done something wrong, someone is angry at you and they're like 'Get back to your own country'. [Interview participant 5]

Moreover, beyond personal experiences, a few participants also voiced concerns in relation to institutional discrimination. They explained that they felt Chinese people were often not provided equal opportunities compared to other ethnic groups:

It goes without saying that the Head Prefect and the Deputy Prefect have never ever been anything apart from white, Polynesian or Māori … Asian people on the prefect lists are underrepresented generally, considering how many Asian people come to this school ... So what I'm saying is although you might not be insulted on a daily basis, it kind of comes through, for example, on the prefects list. [Focus group 3]

For most participants, they described how these experiences of discrimination made them feel like they could not fit in with the dominant society or call themselves New Zealanders:

If I were to call myself a New Zealander, it would be quite difficult. And I think I would come across a lot of problems from other people. [Interview participant 8]

In general, it seemed that all participants had experienced ethnic discrimination by others, predominantly by European people, at some point in their lives. Most participants talked about stereotyping around the values and behaviours of Chinese people. They explained that these stereotypes impacted their interactions with others, but also influenced how they saw themselves. In addition to stereotypes, some participants also talked about experiences of being treated differently, both at the individual and institutional levels. Most participants explained

that these experiences of discrimination made them feel like they could not fit in with the dominant society or identify themselves as New Zealanders.

Conclusion

Participant accounts suggested a range of experiences which they found stressful growing up in New Zealand. In the first instance, participants spoke about how they struggled to make sense of differences between their experiences with their parents and those of their European peers. For instance, they described a tension between their frustration at their parents for being more academically demanding and restrictive than those of their European peers versus a recognition of the sacrifices that their parents had made for them in the journey of migration. They also described a tension between their discontent of their parents being more authoritarian and emotionally reserved than those of their European peers versus an understanding of how their parents' approach might be related to migration, acculturation differences, and Chinese values.

In light of the differences between their experiences and that of their European peers, participants spoke about how they struggled to immerse themselves in the dominant, Western culture while also holding on to their ethnic culture. In particular, language appeared to be a tangible example of this tension. Participants talked about how they had to actively adopt English and give up their Chinese dialect in order to integrate to the dominant society. Even though they tried hard to maintain their Chinese language through tuition classes, they found it hard to do so while living in an English-speaking world. They described the loss of their Chinese language as akin to a loss of their Chinese identity. Making sense of their cultural identities was another site of tension. On one level, participants explained how they negotiated differences between their ethnic culture and Western culture. As they did so, they developed a hybrid "Chinese New Zealander" identity which enabled them to navigate flexibly across the different cultures. However, hybridisation appeared to be hard work, as participants seemed to have to engage in a continuous, active, and often demanding process of negotiating cultural tensions and where they fit in in order to make sense of who they were. On another level, participants also described how they negotiated a more specific Chinese identity of three possible Chinese identities: "normal" or "typical' Chinese, "white washed" Chinese, and "international student". Once again, developing this identity seemed to involve continuous and active negotiations of differences in relation to length of residence in New Zealand, language abilities, interests/hobbies, and peer associations.

Whilst participants tried to fit in to the dominant society, they faced obstacles to their fitting in. They spoke about how they continually faced stereotyping, differential treatment, and institutional discrimination, which led them to see themselves as different and unable to fit in to the dominant society. Thus, many of the sources of stress confronting participants seemed to revolve around tensions between their ethnic culture and Western culture, and difficulties associated with dealing with an ethnic minority status and interacting with the dominant group in New Zealand.

Coping

This section analyses the way that participants coped with stresses such as those described in the previous section. Participants' accounts suggested four themes: solving the problem; closing off emotion; finding acceptance and gratitude; and rejecting 'bad' non-Chinese ways of coping.

Solving the problem: "The problem solving thing is just instinctive"

Participants spoke about solving the problem as their primary way of coping. This theme describes how they used and made sense of this way of coping.

All participants explained that when they encountered stressful situations, in the first instance, they usually tried to solve the problem. Most participants regarded this approach as effective in most cases:

> The problem solving thing is just instinctive … I like to plan out in my head, basically just figure out what the clearest solution is and what the clearest way to get to the solution is … And most of the time that works. [Interview participant 9]

As an example of problem-solving, many participants talked about dealing with the stress of exams. They explained how they dealt with their exam anxiety by preparing study timetables and putting in the time and effort to study, which helped them to feel prepared and effective:

> With exam stress, at least when you are studying, if you put in the work, at the end of the day you can always sleep happy because you feel really relieved … I guess it's kind of a sense of fulfilment. [Interview participant 8]

As another example of problem-solving, one participant discussed the issue of finding a date to his school ball. He elaborated on how he tried to meet as many new people as possible

in the hopes of meeting someone who he could ask to take to the ball. He did so by taking on new extra-curricular activities and networking through his friendship circles:

> I tried signing up for a Chinese cultural drama backstage, but it was pretty shit because I didn't get in because I am not good at acting… Then I signed up for lion dancing because my friend was the leader so I got into that … And then I signed up for photo shop because I wasn't sure, but I thought I could ask someone there [to go to the ball] because it is from lots of different schools and you go for a five day course. I guess that could be like my chance. [Interview participant 10]

In explaining where problem-solving might come from, some participants talked about an emphasis on coping in practical (rather than emotional) ways as well as a focus on achievement in Chinese culture:

> Chinese culture is just more straight-forward, it's not about your emotions. It's just doing it, like studying and getting the good jobs. [Focus group 2]

In turn, some participants explained that this practical approach was modelled by their parents who managed the struggles associated with migration with a practical mind-set:

> Our parents had to go through so much to get here [New Zealand] … And they did it by doing it, their mind-set was just like 'What do I need to do?'. [Focus group 2]

However, as they elaborated further, some participants noticed some tensions in how they used problem-solving. Some participants talked about how they tended to avoid rather than solve situations involving interpersonal conflict. They explained that this was because they saw interpersonal stressors as unnecessary:

> I had a fight with a friend the other day, with that situation I just tried to avoid it and that's the opposite of what I do at school … I feel like you have to distinguish the type of problem. So social stuff like fighting with friends is unnecessary problems, and school is necessary and you have to do it. [Interview participant 1]

A few participants also explained that this was also because they worried about making the issue worse if they were to confront the concerned person:

> I worry, what if I talk to her [a friend] about it and she gets upset and we have another fight … So I pretend there is nothing wrong. [Interview participant 2]

Furthermore, a few participants also talked about how some stressful situations, even those that were solvable, left them feeling too overwhelmed to deal with it directly in the first instance. At these times, they explained how they might avoid the situation initially, and then solve it at a later time. Many participants, for example, described how sometimes they initially

managed exam stress by procrastinating with distraction activities before they finally felt ready or guilty enough to prepare for exams.

As another example, one participant discussed how she was bullied towards the end of intermediate school for her Chinese name as others found it hard to pronounce. She described how she got upset and initially tried to avoid the problem, even though she realised there were ways in which she could solve it. However, it was not until she transitioned to high school that she decided to solve the issue by reinventing her name so that it would be both appropriate for her and easier for others to pronounce:

> When I was 12, my full Chinese name is really difficult to pronounce, so people made fun of it … That did hurt me a little bit, it was kind of embarrassing and annoying … I just kind of ignored them and put up with it ... Even though I guess I could've stood up for myself … Then when I started high school, to me it was a fresh start …. That's why I took the first syllable of my first name as my full name, so it's easier for everyone … And it's just become me, I've had the name for four years now. [Interview participant 3]

This theme suggested that, in the first instance, all participants would always like to try to solve stressful situations. An important part of this process as reflected by some participants was to do with an emphasis on coping in practical ways and a focus on achievement in Chinese culture. This, in turn, was described to be modelled by their parents who managed the process of migration with a sturdy practical mind-set. However, there seemed to be some tensions in how participants applied this pragmatic approach to coping. Some participants described how they tended to avoid rather than solve interpersonal conflicts. They related this to ideas such that social issues are unnecessary (in relation to more pressing issues such as academic work) and that directly confronting these issues could provoke further difficulty when they would rather maintain the peace, suggesting that they incorporate Chinese values of social harmony in their pragmatic approach to coping. Further, a few participants described how sometimes they felt too overwhelmed to solve stressful situations initially. At these times, they avoided the situation before trying to solve it at a later time. These tensions suggested that although participants would like to have a pragmatic approach to coping, this was balanced with avoidance at times depending on the stressor.

Closing off emotion: "Just take time out"

Participants spoke about closing off emotion as another way of coping with stress. This theme describes how they closed off emotion, how they came to see the value of it, and how they made sense of it.

All participants talked about closing off emotions as another way of coping when they felt that solving the problem was not possible, when they felt that they did not want to solve the problem at the time, and/or when they wanted to use other strategies in combination with solving the problem. In some cases, closing off feelings was described to involve taking time out to do an activity that would take their mind off the stressful situation and reduce feelings of stress temporarily. The type of activities described were many and varied, such as playing sports, listening to music, watching television, going on the internet, reading books, spending time with friends, and going for a walk, amongst many other activities:

> I use computer games as a way to relax, to actually leave this world momentarily. You just go into this virtual reality where you can have fun, and then come back and feel really good. [Interview participant 9]

Some participants explained how taking time out and reducing feelings of stress helped them to come back to the stressful situation and look at it in a different way. Most often, they felt that the situation was not as stressful as they had initially thought:

> If you just take time out and stop thinking, you'll be like 'Oh, to be honest it's not actually a big deal', and realise that you are putting way too much effort into worrying about it [the stressor]. [Focus group 2]

In other cases, closing off feelings was described to involve completely escaping from the stressful situation. A few participants explained that this was different from taking time out as it involved a process of avoiding thinking about and dealing with the stressful situation over a longer period of time, to the point where it might not bother them anymore:

> How do I numb out? You just choose to ignore it [the stressor], just like 'Oh just leave it' … To the point where I am not that bothered by it anymore. [Interview participant 3]

A small number of participants acknowledged that taking time out and/or escaping may not be effective as it could mean running away from the problem:

> I was thinking about that [taking time out], like about how successful it actually is, because you end up avoiding the problem and so that can be just as bad. [Interview participant 1]

In explaining where closing off emotion might come from, some participants alluded back to previously discussed Chinese values of emotional control and restraint and coping in practical ways, which they felt instilled in them ideas that they should not let emotions overwhelm them and withhold their emotions from others. In turn, they felt that these values about how to deal with emotions were learned and perpetuated through their interactions with

their parents. In some cases, it was described as coming through in seeing how their parents coped with stress themselves:

> Even though I know that my parents are going through tough times they don't really share it … It's like you are expected not to talk about your personal type of things with your parents because it's never brought up, it's never talked about ... If something is wrong they just leave it, and a few days after, 'Oh, everything is fine'. [Focus group 1]

In other cases, it was described as coming through in how their parents dealt with their problems. They explained that their parents never seemed to take the initiative to ask them about their personal issues and feelings, and at times belittled their emotions:

> I know a lot of Europeans parents, they kind of care about their child's attitude or feelings a lot more than maybe Chinese or other cultures' parents. Like they really want, if they see their child really unhappy or something, they go 'Oh, what is wrong?'. Whereas if someone like Chinese was sad, their parents would just go 'Oh, he is sad'. And they wouldn't really like, they would say 'Why are you sad?', in kind of a sarcastic way, like kind of telling you you should be happy … And they won't have the initiative, like go up and ask you 'What is wrong, do you want to talk about it?'. [Interview participant 4]

Although discussions about closing off emotions were dominant in focus groups and interviews, some participants also talked about getting out their feelings as opposed to closing off feelings at times. They explained that they did so by venting their feelings out in physical means. Examples included screaming, punching objects, crying, and fiercely playing a musical instrument, amongst other things:

> I play tennis. I guess that helps me sometimes because when you feel really frustrated you just vent your anger on the ball and smash it as hard as you can. [Focus group 2]

Overall, all participants talked about closing off emotion, either by taking time out or trying to escape from thinking about the stressful situation, as something they did when they were not able to solve the problem. An important part of this process as reflected by some participants was to do with what they regarded as Chinese values around not letting emotions overwhelm you and withholding emotions from others. These ideas, in turn, were described to be perpetuated through their interactions with their parents, who dealt with stress themselves by concealing their personal problems and not letting their emotions overwhelm them, and who seemed to make little room to talk about their children's problems and feelings with them sensitively. Although discussions about closing off emotions were dominant in focus groups and interviews, some participants also talked about getting out their feelings through physical means as opposed to closing off feelings at times. This suggested a culturally hybrid pattern of closing off emotions versus getting out emotions.

Finding acceptance and gratitude: "Take it in your stride"

Participants spoke about finding acceptance and gratitude as another way of coping with stress. This theme describes how they represented and made sense of this way of coping.

Some participants spoke about coping by finding acceptance and gratitude as another alternative coping response to solving the problem. In most cases, finding acceptance and gratitude was described to involve looking at the good things about the situation or about themselves. As an example, some participants talked about the stress of exams. They explained that sometimes it helped them to feel less stressed and more motivated when preparing for exams if they focussed on what their life would look like after the exams, when it would all be over and they can finally relax:

> I think 'Just get through it [exams] and when it's all done then you'll be able to relax'. And I think just seeing the end point, seeing when it'll be over, really helped. [Interview participant 1]

As another example, one participant talked about the stress that she felt when she first arrived to New Zealand. She explained that she struggled with the English language, which made her feel inept. However, when her peers admired her drawings, she was reminded that there were other things that she was good at. This helped her to feel better about her poor English skills:

> I remember how I first coped [with low English proficiency], like the non-Chinese people, how they admired, how they had been surprised by my drawing skills … They came up to me and said 'Wow did you draw this?!'. And I felt so, I didn't feel so useless anymore because of my English. [Interview participant 2]

In some cases, finding acceptance and gratitude was also described to involve trying to let things go and move on. Once again, a few participants explained that learning to let go and move on was supported by trying to look at the positives. As an example, one participant talked about how he was having a tough time in high school, however, he found reassurance by telling himself that things could better for him in the future:

> If you can't deal with it [the stressor] then you just have to move on … Take it in your stride, accept it … It is reassuring to know that after a few years you will get over almost anything, and things could get better. [Interview participant 8]

However, a few participants noted that finding acceptance and gratitude was not always easy, and sometimes involved battling with overwhelming feelings. As an example, one participant talked about times when his father yelled at him. At these times, he described feeling

torn between feelings of frustration and trying to understand his father's situation. As reflected in his quote below, he often fluctuated between feelings of frustration and acceptance in these moments:

> When my father screams and shouts at me, I just feel so angry at him … But then I try to accept it, like it is probably like how much stress he has at work … But it still doesn't make me that happy or proud of him, it just decreases his image in my eyes … But I just don't do anything about it. [Interview participant 7]

As another example, one participant talked about how a part of her had accepted that she was not close with her parents, while another part of her wished that she had a closer relationship with them. As reflected in her quote below, she often fluctuated between feelings of sadness and acceptance:

> It's so weird because my friends are like best friends with their parents, it's like cool. But I don't think I'll ever be able to experience that. It doesn't really bother me, but part of me wishes that I actually had that relationship with my parents … But it's too late, I don't think it's going to happen, and I think I've just kind of accepted it. [Interview participant 3]

In explaining where they learned to find acceptance and gratitude, many participants spoke about the influences of migration. They talked about how they often compared the lives that they thought they would have had if they had remained in China versus the lives they have in New Zealand. They explained that they felt New Zealand offered them a better lifestyle, which instilled them with a sense of gratefulness that influenced their outlook on life. As one participant put it:

> I'm glad I grew up in New Zealand because you get a lot more sense of freedom, not just because school work is easier and stuff like that, but you are exposed to much more cultures and you get to pick up more things … The environment just allows you to be a bit more of a kid … So I always try to be grateful for things. [Interview participant 3]

A few participants also explained that finding acceptance and gratitude came from what they saw as Chinese ideas around the cyclical nature of life, and the importance of accepting and persisting through life's struggles:

> Compared to other cultures, stress or anything isn't probably as big of a deal for Chinese people ... Like life is always up and down, and you just take it as it comes. [Focus group 3]

In particular, one participant elaborated on how he used Daoist metaphors to help him persist and get through tough times. As demonstrated in his quote below, he highlighted that these metaphors helped him to see that persistence is the key to developing personal strength:

The idea of learning the wisdom from water, wisdom is a main idea of Daosim. So you see, water is very soft, and you can splash it with your bare hands. But also it's very strong, it can move mountains … It teaches me that in order to succeed in the future you need to have perseverance, you need to have that tenacity, you need to be persistent with what you are doing, to have faith, to know that even though I may be a drop of water, I can dent a rock if I keep on trying. [Interview participant 12]

Overall, some participants also talked about finding acceptance and gratitude, predominantly by focussing on the positive aspects of a situation, as something they did when they were not able to solve the problem. However, a few participants explained that this process sometimes involved a struggle between giving in to overwhelming feelings versus actively trying to find acceptance and gratitude. In explaining where they learned this way of coping, many participants talked about the influences of migration. They described how migrating to New Zealand had provided them a better lifestyle, which they felt instilled them with a sense of gratefulness that influenced their perspective on life. Another important part of this process as reflected by a few participants was to do with embracing Daoist ideas of developing resilience by persisting through the cyclical nature of life.

Rejecting 'bad' non-Chinese ways of coping: "There's things we don't do"

While participants spoke about the various ways they dealt with stress, they also talked about coping strategies which they believed their European peers used but they felt they themselves could not use. This theme describes how participants represented and distanced themselves from what they saw as 'bad' European ways of coping.

As an example of a coping strategy which participants believed that their European peers used but they felt they could not use themselves, some participants raised the idea of alcohol and drugs. They acknowledged that some teenagers, predominantly non-Chinese teenagers according to them, use alcohol and drugs as a way to relieve stress or escape from their problems. However, these participants emphasised that they would not use alcohol and drugs themselves. They explained that if they wanted to distract themselves and escape from their problems, they would usually use the aforementioned coping strategies:

There's things we don't do … I'd say some Chinese kids usually don't drink or do drugs. To distract themselves in general they play computer games or exercise … Whereas I know a lot of non-Chinese people doing alcohol and drugs. [Interview participant 12]

In explaining why they thought using alcohol and drugs was an unacceptable way of coping, some participants talked about the influence of their families. They described how they had grown up with their parents warning them not to use those substances:

Chinese people just know not to do that stuff, because ever since they're small their parents would just warn them, telling them to don't even touch that. [Focus group 3]

They also described how they believed that using alcohol and drugs could damage their future, and therefore disappoint their parents. As one participant said:

If you cope with stress with alcohol or drugs, I think that's really bad … I don't see that as coping because that's more negative for my future … I guess it's also fear as well, like you don't really want to get into that situation, your parents have expectations, and you don't want to end up like a school dropout on the streets without a job. [Focus group 3]

As another example of a coping strategy which participants believed that their European peers used but they felt that they themselves could not use, some participants raised the idea of deliberate self-harm. This was brought up as a way of coping in two focus groups and followed up in interviews with all participants who had taken part in these focus groups. In the focus groups, discussion around deliberate self-harm was very minimal, with participants seeming to rush through the topic and wanting to move on to something different. For example, in one focus group, participants described how they believed that deliberate self-harm was an indication of coping with very serious problems, and they all agreed to not talk about it further as it was bringing the mood of the focus group down:

Interviewer: Any other ways of coping?
Response: Going for a walk, getting in touch with nature, cutting yourself out from social media… *All talking and laughing*
Response: I thought you meant cutting. *Laughing*
Response: But that is a coping strategy for some people.
Interviewer: I see a lot of you are laughing. What's funny about cutting?
Response: It's not, I am just really surprised. I was like oh my god. But I know people that have done that.
Response: Same, it's pretty terrible.
Response: It's pretty extreme, that's like the next level...
Response: Yeah that's if they're really down kind of thing.
Response: That's right before the next step which is...
Response: Let's not go there.
Response: Yeah it's pretty dark.
Response: Let's keep it up a bit, moving on.
[Focus group 3 excerpt]

Similarly, in the other focus group, participants described how they saw deliberate self-harm as foreign within Chinese communities, and again, the conversation quickly came to a halt:

Focus group participant: I've heard people self-harm as a way of coping … I know it's not a good way to cope with stress, but I know they do it.

Response: But you can't in Chinese community.
Response: Not can't, but I don't know, I've never heard of an Asian cutting themselves before.
Response: Yeah because you can't do it in Chinese community.
Silence
[Focus group 1 excerpt]

It was only in individual interviews in which participants were more open to talking about deliberate self-harm in more depth. Some participants acknowledged that they saw deliberate self-harm as serving a purpose for some young people, such as cutting from emotional pain. With this reflection, they noted that they were more understanding of why people do it:

> When my friend told me she cuts, at first I was like 'Why do you feel the need to?' … Over time I realised that that was like that anger thing. Like if you are angry you do push ups to make yourself feel better, cause the pain of tiring yourself out hurts more, so you focus on how you are tired … [With cutting] I guess the pain of their emotional reality is so strong that they need to cut themselves to escape from that. [Interview participant 6]

Although they were understanding of why some young people might deliberately hurt themselves, they also acknowledged that they would still not do it themselves. In explaining this, they talked about how it was a foreign concept within Chinese culture, as they grew up largely not knowing about it until they heard about it through the dominant culture:

> I think it [deliberate self-harm] was never in our tradition or culture or anything. I really don't think Chinese people do that, well for me especially, I actually basically only heard about it a year ago at school. [Interview participant 5]

In general, it seemed that most participants actively distanced themselves from what they saw to be 'bad' European ways of coping, such as using alcohol and drugs and engaging in deliberate self-harm. However, their negotiations of these ways of coping appeared to involve tension between recognising the functions and benefits that these ways of coping offered versus aligning themselves with how these ways of coping were understood to be viewed by their parents and in Chinese culture. It seemed that they actively identified with and asserted the positive aspects of Chinese values in their negotiations of coping in order to show how Chinese culture offered them a different way of doing things compared to their European peers.

Conclusion

Participant accounts suggested a range of styles in relation to coping. In the first instance, participants spoke about how they would always like to solve stressful situations in the pragmatic way that their parents did in their journey of migration. However, this pragmatic approach to coping was balanced against avoiding overwhelming situations at times even if it

was considered solvable, particularly those relating to interpersonal conflict. When participants felt that they could not solve stressful situations, they talked about how they would close off their emotions, by taking time out or trying to avoid thinking about the stressful situation, which they saw as in line with how their parents coped. However, closing off emotion also seemed to be balanced with getting their feelings out at times, which they did so largely through physical means. When participants felt they could not ignore their emotions, they talked about how they would balance their emotions with trying to find acceptance and gratitude, largely by focussing on the positive aspects of the situation. In making sense of these ways of coping, participants spoke about the influences of their experiences of migration, family system, as well as Chinese values such as those relating to being practical, focussing on achievement, controlling and withholding emotions, and developing resilience by persisting through the cyclical nature of life. In addition, they also expressed some difference from their Chinese culture in their talk about coping strategies such as getting emotions out. However, in some cases, although they recognised the functions and benefits of certain coping strategies used by their European peers (e.g., alcohol and drugs, deliberate self-harm), they had to actively assert the positive aspects of Chinese culture and reject these 'bad' ways of coping used by their European peers. Therefore, participants seemed to engage in continuous, active, and often demanding negotiations and hybridisation of various cultural values and coping strategies. This seemed to offer them a different way of doing things in comparison to their European peers, and asserted the value of their Chinese identity.

Support-seeking

This section analyses the way that participants experienced support-seeking. Participants' accounts suggested four themes: managing alone; talking doesn't help and could be risky; parents do not understand; and cautiously confiding in friends.

Managing alone: "I would always choose to try to deal with things myself"

Participants seemed to be concerned with managing stress on their own, which they thought differed to their European peers. This section describes how they represented and made sense of relying on their own resources.

Most participants spoke about how they preferred to deal with stress on their own rather than talk to others for support:

I would always choose to try to deal with things myself … And most of the times it works. I don't think I've really ever been like 'Oh no, I really do seriously need help [from someone]'. [Interview participant 1]

Some participants thought that their tendency to rely on their own resources was greater than their European peers, who they saw as more open with talking to their friends, particularly about their emotional issues:

White people tell their friends more … They usually talk about their day, about how they are happy or sad about something. [Interview participant 13]

In making sense of where their tendency to rely on their own resources might come from, most participants related it to wanting a sense of autonomy and personal strength:

I think I've always liked being independent, always tried to be as strong as I could. If I could solve my problems on my own I would feel pretty good. [Interview participant 9]

In turn, most of the boys linked their desire for autonomy to perceived societal ideas of masculinity. As one participant put it:

The whole pride thing, I am taught to be a man, you know, get through your tough times, you can handle it. [Interview participant 6]

Some participants also linked their desire for autonomy to their relationships with their parents. They explained that they had grown up with their parents constantly telling them what to do, which they felt restricted the development of their autonomy. Therefore, they wanted to deal with problems independently, as this was one of the only areas in their lives which they felt they could control. As one participant explained:

I think Chinese kids want to like, they are repressed most of the time because of their parents, and so they want to deal with problems themselves without having to tell their parents, and then they tell you what to do. [Focus group 3]

A couple of participants went on to elaborate that because their parents constantly told them what to do, they had a strong desire to individuate from their parents in the future and pursue transitions that they saw of their European peers, such as leaving the family home and going flatting. They felt that developing their autonomy now while they were young would help them to individuate from their parents in the future. As one participant described:

I've talked to quite a lot of my Chinese friends about [moving out of home] … And most of the time they would just say 'Oh I don't know, it's pretty scary, that's what white people do, I think I would rather just stay at home' ... Only a few of my friends I've talked to like the idea of flatting out and stuff, and I think my sense of my individuality, like growing that now, would help me a lot in that case … … Once I get to uni I will probably stay away from home, so I can

actually experience living on my own and with my friends, so I don't have my mum on the side pushing me the whole time. [Interview participant 9]

Furthermore, a few participants related their tendency to rely on their own resources to previously discussed Chinese values around emotional control and restraint. They explained that these values impacted on their openness and way of relating in relationships, including friendships:

> I think Chinese friends, they are kind of more close to each other but not in an emotional way. For example, they would be quite loyal to each other and trust each other with things, but they would be quite reserved with their emotions. [Interview participant 13]

Consequently, these participants felt they did not have anyone that they could talk to about their inner world, which seemed to be a source of distress for them:

> What is really weird, like I guess my best friend, we are not that type of friends, kind of really good friends that can talk to each other about personal things … I guess I do feel like there is no one to really talk to about my problems. [Interview participant 4]

This theme suggested that most participants preferred and often had managed to cope with stress on their own without support from others. Most participants saw their reliance on their own resources as different to their European peers, who they thought were more open and confiding with their friends. In explaining where their tendency to manage alone comes from, most participants related it to wanting to find a sense of autonomy and personal strength, and boys attributed this to the influence of societal ideas around what it means to be a man. Some participants also attributed their desire for autonomy to the lack of independence that their parents allowed them. This was described to ignite a desire to find independence in other ways, including manging stress alone, which they believed would support them to develop a sense of autonomy that would facilitate them to go flatting and individuate from their parents in the future. Furthermore, a few participants related their tendency to rely on their own resources to not having anyone that they felt they could talk to, as they believed that Chinese values around how to deal with emotions impacted on their relationships, including friendships. Thus, in spite of Chinese culture valuing a collectivistic focus and using others as a source of strength in times of adversity, participants seemed to value their autonomy, although they incorporated Chinese values in how they made sense of this. This illustrated the hybridity involved and how certain Chinese values might contribute to a greater preference to manage alone.

Talking does not help and could be risky: "I just don't feel like it would be any help"

Participants spoke about how ideas such that talking does not help and could be risky hindered them from approaching others for support. This theme describes their elaboration of these ideas in more depth.

Most participants spoke about how they were reluctant to approach others for support as they had an idea that talking does not help. A few participants explained that this was because they felt talking to others meant dwelling on the stressor, which might make it harder to move on:

> I feel like the more you talk about it [the stressor] the more you fret over it, obviously the longer it is going to take you to get over it. [Interview participant 8]

A few participants also explained that this was because they did not believe others could offer any useful or insightful advice:

> I just don't feel like it [talking to someone] would be any help because how can they tell you something that you already haven't thought about yourself. [Focus group 1]

In addition, some participants spoke about how they were reluctant to approach others for support as they felt that it could be risky. In some cases, talking to others was described to be risky to the person that they sought support from, as it could cause burden to them:

> I don't want them to be concerned about me … I just feel really bad about putting my own stress onto them when they already have a tough time. [Focus group 1]

In other cases, talking to others was described to be risky to oneself. Some participants, for example, talked about how they worried about the risk of being judged or criticised by the person that they sought support from:

> I like to keep a lot of things to myself because I feel so embarrassed about those things. Maybe I'm just afraid of people judging me or something like that. [Interview participant 2]

A small number of participants also said they were concerned about how the person they shared their problems to could tell their problems to others. They feared that this would change other people's view of them. As one participant described:

> I feel so paranoid that they would tell someone ... If it goes out I don't know how to deal with stuff like that … It just goes out and people's opinions about you change … I would just feel so hurt and betrayed if a friend did do something like that to me. [Interview participant 3]

Although ideas about the unhelpful and risky nature of talking to others were dominant in focus groups and interviews, these were not held by all participants. A few participants

explained that they regularly sought support from others and described it to be a helpful process. One participant, for example, elaborated on how talking with her friends helped her to let her feelings out and move on from stressful situations:

> I talk out my unhappiness or sadness or something to my friends … And after I talk I feel so good and I can move on … It's like you let go of your emotions. [Focus group 1]

As another example, one participant explained how talking with his friends provided him with the sense that others care about him:

> Most of the time they would comfort me and I will feel better since I have that feeling that I am not isolated, so like I have friends that care about me. [Interview participant 12]

Further, one participant described how talking to his friends helped him to feel listened to and understood:

> It's the feeling that someone else understands or someone else knows what you are going through … And even if they can't help, you know they are there to listen and try to understand you. [Interview participant 5]

In general, most participants spoke about a belief that talking to others for support does not help. They attributed this to ideas that talking involves dwelling on problems and others cannot offer any insightful advice. In addition, some participants also spoke about a belief that talking could be risky. They considered it be risky to the person they talked to as it could be burdensome for them. They also considered it to be risky to themselves as they worried about how the person they talked to could judge them and/or break their trust by sharing their problems with others. The concerns that participants expressed in relation to the risk associated with talking to others seems to be consistent with Chinese ideas such that it is important not to burden others with your emotional issues, for it could involve risk of disrupting social harmony and losing face in the eyes of others. Thus, this suggested that certain Chinese values could discourage support-seeking.

Parents do not understand: "I just don't feel like I can talk about it with my parents"

Participants spoke about how they were especially reluctant to approach their parents for support, which they thought differed to their European peers. This theme describes how they made sense of this.

Most participants expressed how their reluctance about support-seeking was greater in relation to their parents:

I just don't feel like I can talk about it [problems] with my parents, so I just keep it to myself. [Interview participant 3]

They felt this differed to their European peers who they believed were more open and confiding with their parents:

Whereas the white people have more emotional support from their parents, Asians feel a bit more lonely ... My white friends have talks with their dads about their future and what not, I don't have that. [Focus group 2]

Participants outlined several reasons for why they found it particularly hard to approach their parents for support. Some participants linked it to previous discussions about the emotionally distant relationship they had with their parents growing up. They explained that because they never felt close to their parents, it would be out of their comfort zone if they did talk to their parents about their personal problems:

My parents and I, because they're always at work, we never really bonded or anything, so I don't really get too personal with them. And talking to them about my problems would be getting pretty personal … It just doesn't make me feel comfortable doing it. [Interview participant 11]

Some participants also linked their difficulty with approaching their parents for support to perceived ideas that their parents would not understand what they were going through as they grew up in a different generational context. A few participants, for example, talked about how their parents did not understand how things worked and what it meant to be a young person in contemporary time. This was reflected in one participant's discussion about how her parents were unfamiliar with aspects of technology and the internet:

If I told my parents about cyber bullying, they would be like 'Okay?'. They don't know how to use computers, they don't get it. They would probably say 'Oh just ignore it, whatever, it's not a big deal, block and delete, end of story'. But they don't understand how it works. [Interview participant 3]

This was also reflected in one participant's discussion about how had tried to talk to his mother about his academic problems. However, she did not understand how the school system worked, so he stopped trying to talk to her about these things thereafter:

I've talked to her about stuff I need at school or subjects I want to study, and it doesn't work. She doesn't really understand how everything kind of works at school … So yeah, I just don't really bother anymore. [Interview participant 3]

Furthermore, some participants linked their difficulty with approaching their parents for support to cultural differences between themselves and their parents. They elaborated on how their parents held on to traditional Chinese values, whereas they themselves had been influenced

by aspects of Western culture, which might lead to misunderstandings between themselves and their parents:

> There is a gap between us and our parents … I think the gap is the different opinions that Asian parents have. They often have very traditional values that they don't like to deviate from, and we growing up here, we are influenced by the media, the Western type of thing. [Focus group 1]

As an example of a cultural difference, girls expressed how their parents held on to traditional Chinese values of what it means to a woman, whereas they themselves were influenced by Western values of what a woman can be:

> For traditional [Asian] families, I think for girls especially, it's like girls must be feminine and gentle and nice and know how to cook and all that, your typical Asian wife type of thing. And now we just do what we want, we want to be tomboy and stuff like that. [Focus group 1]

As another example of a cultural difference between themselves and their parents, a couple of participants talked about how their parents held on to traditional Chinese values that children should obey and not argue with their parents, whereas they themselves were influenced by Western values of negotiation and assertiveness. In particular, as described by the quote below, one participant often found himself giving in to his parents' views to reduce tension in the home:

> Sometimes I try to get my point to him [father], but then he gets more angry and says stuff like how he never talked back to his parents … I just feel angry, but I just don't do anything about it anymore. [Interview participant 7]

A small number of participants expressed concerns that these generational and cultural differences between their parents and themselves could lead their parents to belittle their problems:

> I was always scared that they [parents] would be like 'No you shouldn't be thinking about that, you should be thinking about your future and your studies, rather than these little problems'. [Focus group 2]

As a result of feeling unable to approach their parents for support, a few participants felt they did not have anyone that they could talk to about their problems, which seemed to be a source of distress for them:

> It makes me feel quite alone and helpless sometimes because there is no one I can really turn to for help. [Interview participant 10]

Although discussion about reluctance to talk to parents was dominant in focus groups and interviews, this was not experienced by all participants or at all times. A few participants

acknowledged that they did talk to their parents at times. In most cases, it was in relation to academic issues:

> I was really bothered about it because I did really bad in my exams and let my parents down. And then they eventually found out. And then my parents talked to me about it, and it wasn't as bad as I thought it would be because they were really encouraging. They were like 'As long as you do better, as long as you know what you've done wrong you can always make it up next year'. [Interview participant 9]

In some cases, however, it was in relation to more serious problems. For example, one participant talked about how he had been going through a really rough time and felt depressed. During this time of distress, he approached his parents as a last resort:

> I was feeling depressed … I got to a stage where it was real bad and I told my parents. It was probably the best thing I had ever done because it just opened that gateway where you can talk to your parents about anything. [Focus group 3]

As the two previous quotes illustrate, much to their surprise, these participants described their experiences of talking with their parents as largely encouraging and positive.

This theme demonstrated that the majority of participants were reluctant to approach their parents for support. They felt this differed to their European peers who they believed were more open and confiding with their parents. This comparison they made with their European peers seemed to contribute to their disappointment and distress about not being able to talk with their parents about their problems. In making sense of this difference, they identified the influence of an emotional, generational, and cultural distance between their parents and themselves.

Cautiously confiding with friends

Although participants expressed that they were reluctant to confide in others, they described how they might seek support under certain circumstances. Similarly, the small number of participants who did seek support said that they were cautious and selective in whom they confided in. This theme describes participants' negotiations of support-seeking.

In negotiating what support-seeking might look like, most participants explained that they would talk to their friends over their parents. However, it must be a friend that they trust:

> Only the ones [friends] I trust … Because when you are telling someone stuff like that, you are putting all your trust in them. [Focus group 1]

In elaborating what trust meant to them, participants had different meanings. Some described that trust meant having someone who would not treat their opening up as a burden, and who would listen and care:

> Sometimes when you want to talk to someone about something, you kind of feel like a burden, like you're just venting to them, and you feel like they don't really care, and you're just putting burden on them. So you need to talk to someone you can trust that won't get annoyed and listens to you. [Focus group 2]

Some participants explained that trust meant having someone who would not criticise or judge what they were going through. A few participants explained that it would therefore be more comfortable to confide in a friend who had experienced what they were going through:

> If it's something my friends have also gone through its easier talking to them about it because they have first-hand experience. [Interview participant 1]

Further, a few participants talked about trust as meaning someone who would not share what they opened up about to other people:

> Someone who won't go tell everyone else about what you've told them … Because you don't want people you don't know knowing about your business [Focus group 2]

Moreover, some participants spoke about how they would be selective in the specific problems they talked to their trusting friend about. In particular, they explained that they would talk to their European friends about relationship issues, and to their Chinese and Asian friends about academic issues:

> It just depends on what the stress is … Like I would probably talk to my white friends about girls and relationships, but my Asian friends about school work and tests. [Focus group 3]

Some participants elaborated that this was because they felt that each type of friend had different interests, and therefore would have different skills in providing advice and support in the different areas. For instance, a few participants talked about how they saw their European peers to be more interested in their self-image and relationships, both friendships and romantic relationships. Therefore, it made sense that that they might be able to offer more help in this area. As one participant put it:

> I would say European people rarely stress about the academics, and are far more into relationships and their self-image … Like their hairstyle, the clothes they wear, who they hang out with, things like that … So maybe I'll talk to a European friend if I wanted to talk about girls. [Interview participant 13]

In contrast, a few participants talked about how they saw their Chinese and Asian peers to be more interested in school work and academic achievement. Therefore, it made sense to talk to them about issues in this area:

> Chinese kids are always studying … So I maybe talk to them about marks and stuff like that … And how to release stress when studying. [Interview participant 7]

Overall, most participants spoke about how they would be cautious and selective in whom they confided in if they were to seek support. Most participants explained that they would talk to their friends over their parents. However, it had to be a friend that they trusted, which was described to mean someone who truly cared and did not find it to be burdensome, who would not criticise or judge, and who would not spread what they had shared to other people. Furthermore, some participants spoke about how they would be selective in the specific problems they would talk to their friend about. In particular, participants positioned European friends as being more interested in emotional issues such as relationships, and their Asian friends as more interested in academic work. In this way, they seemed to be active in choosing between the cultural resources available to them in a way that suited their needs.

Conclusion

Participant accounts suggested a range of patterns in relation to support-seeking. In spite of Chinese culture valuing a collectivistic focus, participants clearly valued being able to manage stress on their own, and believed that their position on this was stronger than that of their European peers. They explained how their tendency to rely on their own resources was reinforced by ideas such that talking does not help, a reluctance to burden others with their emotional needs, and a fear of trusting others. They also felt particularly unable to turn to their parents who they saw as being emotionally distant and unable to understand their world due to separations in both age and culture, which again they saw as a difference to their European peers. In making sense of their support-seeking patterns, participants spoke about the influences of Chinese values such as those relating to withholding emotions, preserving social harmony, and maintaining face in the eyes of others. However, they also expressed difference from their Chinese culture as they spoke about resisting Chinese values of parental authority and valuing autonomy like their European peers, and their awareness of their parents' inability to understand them due to cultural differences. Although participants seemed reluctant to confide in others, they acknowledged that they might seek support under certain circumstances, and would be active in choosing between the emotional and cultural resources available to them in a way that

suited their needs. Thus, participants' experiences of support-seeking seemed to involve active negotiations and hybridisation of various cultural resources available to them.

Help-seeking from psychological services

This section analyses the way that participants perceived help-seeking from psychological services and what they thought could be done to improve their utilisation of these. The majority of participants talked about help-seeking with a sense of reluctance, explaining that they would be unlikely to make use of psychological services. Their accounts suggested four themes to explain their reluctance: not knowing about services; feeling unsafe with services; seeing problems as not big enough for services; and feeling stigmatised by others and oneself for using services. However, in the fifth theme, participants provided recommendations to mitigate the barriers to their help-seeking.

Not knowing about services: "People don't know about it"

One of the most dominant reasons participants spoke about in relation to their reluctance towards help-seeking was a lack of knowledge about psychological services. This theme describes their (lack of) knowledge and experiences in relation to these services.

The majority of participants spoke about how they had little knowledge of psychological services. Many participants explained that they did not know about the availability of services, how to access them, and/or what they were meant to provide. Some explained that they thought services were meant to provide emotional rather than practical support. However, they were unsure of what receiving emotional support entailed, and were not convinced as to how receiving emotional support was meant to help them:

> To be honest there is probably a bit of confusion over what counsellors are supposed to do …
> What is it supposed to solve? Is it just supposed to make you feel better? [Interview participant 8]

Further, many participants spoke about the mismatch between psychological services and Chinese culture. Some participants explained how mental health problems were not recognised within Chinese culture:

> I don't think they [mental health problems] are a really recognised thing in Chinese people, like it's some weird concept … I have a cousin who has depression and my mum talks about it like it's some bizarre disease. [Focus group 1]

As a consequence of the lack of recognition of mental health problems, some participants said that psychological services did not exist within Chinese culture and Chinese people did not understand the purpose of them:

I don't think we have really had these sorts of services because no one really believes in that or anything. [Interview participant 4]

A small number of participants admitted that they only found out about psychological services after migrating New Zealand and being exposed to the dominant culture:

I found out about them [psychological services] through like ads on the internet and school talks, only after coming to New Zealand. I didn't know about them when in I was China. [Interview participant 5]

Moreover, for the majority of participants, their lack of knowing about psychological services seemed to be related to a lack of experience with them. All but two participants said they had never used services before. Of the participants who had used services, one talked about how he had seen a psychologist a few years earlier and found the experience unhelpful. He attributed this to the psychologist providing a systemic formulation of the problem which did not resonate with him. Consequently, he felt that the psychologist did not do anything to help resolve the issue that he had sought help for. As he put in his own words:

Back then I had the facial tics and they [the psychologist] asked me to think about what had happened … They just thought that it was my family problems … I didn't find that useful because after I visited it didn't really do anything for me … They definitely asked you a lot of questions, but I don't think they actually solved the problem. [Interview participant 9]

In contrast, the other participant talked about how he had seen a school counsellor previously and found the experience helpful. Although he was mandated to see the counsellor after getting into some trouble at school, he described how he really valued the advice and caring that he experienced from the counsellor:

He offered me some really good advice. And I just realised there is actually people who care about you in the school. [Participant 13]

Overall, one reason why many participants were reluctant about help-seeking was because they did not know much about psychological services. For most participants, their lack of knowing about services was described to stem from a lack of experience with services as well as a lack of knowledge about the availability, accessibility, and purpose of services. In addition, many participants also talked about the influence of Chinese culture, explaining how mental health problems were not recognised within Chinese culture and therefore psychological

services were deemed inappropriate. Thus, this theme illustrated how the overlay of Chinese culture reinforced participants' lack of knowledge about psychological services.

Feeling unsafe with services: "There's no trust"

Another reason participants spoke about in relation to their reluctance about help-seeking was feeling unsafe with psychological services. In particular, they talked about how they had no trust in mental health professionals. This theme describes why participants felt they could not trust mental health professionals.

Some participants talked about how they felt they could not trust mental health professionals due to concerns in relation to not knowing anything about them. They explained that this created a sense of uncomfortableness for them:

> You don't know them so, that's why it's awkward. Well not awkward, there's no trust … You're just telling a stranger about what's happening. [Focus group 2]

On the other hand, however, a couple of participants noted that if they were to seek help from services in future, they felt it might be beneficial to talk to a stranger, as they believed that they could provide an outside view and influence:

> If I do face a problem to make me think I do need a service of any sort I think I might take it, just because that person's got nothing to do with my life. And I wouldn't have to worry about keeping anything that they shouldn't know. [Interview participant 11]

Some participants also talked about how they felt they could not trust mental health professionals as they were concerned about their ability to be understanding and caring of what they were going through:

> I just feel like if you are not involved in my business, how could you understand my business, I mean understand my situation even more than I do. [Focus group 1]

In particular, a few participants explained that their scepticism of whether mental health professionals genuinely cared about them was related to ideas that they were just doing their job or wanting some benefit out of what they were doing:

> We actually got handed forms from prefects, like if we wanted to help out with Kids Line. They even stated it will be something great on your CV … So they are just purely doing it to have something on their CV or testimonial. There may be a small handful of people who are doing it genuinely to actually help people. [Interview participant 4]

Some participants also expressed that they felt they could not trust mental health professionals as they believed they could not guarantee confidentiality. They explained how the

limitations on confidentiality made them worry about mental health professionals telling their information to other people:

> When I was going to the sick bay the other day, there was a sign, like 'Everything is confidential unless you are self-harming or suicidal'. I was like, 'Then how is that even confidential?'. [Focus group 1]

It seemed that these participants were especially concerned about the possibility of their parents finding out about them using services. They drew back to previous discussions about being emotionally distant with their parents, and explained how this made them even more resistant to letting their parents know about their help-seeking, as they worried about what their parents would think about it:

> You're going there [to psychological services] and you are letting them help you, why does everyone else have to be involved in it. That's why people don't go in the first place, knowing that there's a small chance that your parents might know … It's coming back to the point that we don't talk to our parents … I wouldn't want my parents to find out about it. [Focus group 1]

Furthermore, a few participants expressed that they felt they could not trust mental health professionals due to previously discussed Chinese ideas of not sharing emotions with others, but particularly with strangers:

> With Chinese culture, it's a lot about personal space, like keeping emotions to yourself … Like you don't go to someone else, especially not a stranger. [Interview participant 1]

In general, another reason why many participants were reluctant about help-seeking was because they felt unsafe with psychological services due to a lack of trust in mental health professionals. Important factors identified to contribute to this included not knowing anything about mental health professionals, concerns around their ability to be understanding and caring, and concerns about confidentiality. In addition, participants also talked about the influence of their family dynamics and Chinese culture. They explained how they were emotionally distant with their parents, and therefore they worried about them finding out about their help-seeking and what they would think of it. They also felt that Chinese ideas of emotional restraint had taught them to not share their emotions with others, particularly with strangers. Therefore, this theme illustrated how the overlay of Chinese culture reinforced participants' lack of trust in mental health professionals and services.

Seeing problems as not big enough for services: "I feel as if all the problems I have are small"

Another reason participants spoke about in relation to their reluctance about help-seeking was how they saw their problems as not big enough to seek help from psychological services. This theme describes where participants believed this idea comes from.

Many participants spoke about what they saw as a mismatch between the size of their problems and the need for help from psychological services. Some participants, for example, explained that they tended to dismiss their feelings of distress and label their problems as not concerning enough to seek help from services:

> It's really hard to recognise, like if you are feeling bad you can dismiss it as being 'Oh, it's just that one time thing' … You're like 'Oh it will pass eventually, just toughen up, you'll be fine'. [Interview participant 6]

Some participants also explained that they tended to see their problems as minor in comparison to the sorts of problems that other people experienced:

> I think something will always keep me back, like pull me back from getting help, because I feel as if all the problems I have are small compared to the vast amount of problems other people go through. [Interview participant 6]

Further, a few participants also described how they felt the act of seeking help from services somehow magnified the size of their problems:

> Taking counselling, it is kind of saying that it is a huge problem, I mean it makes it bigger than it is. [Interview participant 8]

In explaining their tendency to see their problems as not fitting with needing help from psychological services, many participants talked about the way that services had been advertised to them in school. They elaborated on how advertising generally covered serious teenage problems, which led to believe that services were only for young people with big problems:

> Whenever I get those attitude talks [of psychological services], I always feel like I'm really insignificant. Like the guy is up there and he's talking about how if you had a really big problem, like teenage pregnancy and stuff like that, then they could help. [Focus group 3]

In addition, some participants also talked about their parents' experiences. Drawing back to previous discussions, they explained how their parents had experienced significant hardships growing up in China, which they felt made their parents see their personal problems as less significant by comparison:

To my parents, I don't think what I am going through right now is stressful enough for them. Because back in China, you know how many people there are and there is only X amount of job spaces and there are 2000 people applying for one job. So they had to work extra hard just to get that job. So it was much more stressful for them than it is for me right now. [Interview participant 9]

Consequently, many participants talked about how if they were to seek help from psychological services in future, it must be because something significant happened and they had no one else to confide in. As one participant put it:

I would probably talk to someone for like a trauma or life changing experience, something that has damaged my mental side and emotional side … Probably something like the death of my parents. [Interview participant 5]

This theme suggested that another reason why many participants were reluctant about help-seeking was because of a perceived mismatch between the size of their problems and the need for help from psychological services. They described how they would usually dismiss their feelings of distress and/or label their problems as not concerning enough to go to services for help, and how they felt that other people had much bigger problems than them. In explaining this, most participants talked about the way that services were advertised in their school, with what they saw to be a focus on serious teenage problems. In addition, some participants also drew on their parents' experiences, explaining how their parents had endured through significant hardships growing up in China, which made them see their problems as less stressful by comparison. Thus, this illustrated the relevance of issues pertaining to all young people as well as specifically to Chinese young people in shaping participants' perceptions of the severity of their problems and the need for help.

Feeling stigmatised by others and self: "You feel like you are weak"

Another reason participants spoke about in relation to their reluctance towards help-seeking was feeling weak for succumbing to help from psychological services. This theme describes how participants saw stigma stemming from others and themselves, and how they made sense of it.

Many participants spoke about how they saw help-seeking from psychological services as meaning that they were somehow weak. In some cases, the stigma was described to stem from how they thought others would perceive them if they knew that they were seeking help from services:

People would think you are not as strong, like mentally, like 'Oh really? It is such a small thing and you are stressing over it and you need to find professional help for it?'. [Interview participant 4]

A few participants went on to say that they these ideas of other' perceptions came from experiences of having seen their peers bully and ostracise those who were seeking help from services. As one participant explained:

I know people who went to counselling, like school counselling, and there's people who talked behind that person's back. Like 'Oh did you hear him go to the student counsellor?'. And they'll just talk a lot of smack about them behind their back. [Focus group 2]

In other cases, the stigma was described to stem from personal perceptions. Many participants said that they saw help-seeking from psychological services as detracting from their sense of autonomy and personal strength. They explained that this was distressing for them as, drawing back to previous discussions, they really valued being autonomous:

People feel that they feel shy and embarrassed to go and find these people [mental health providers] because of that idea of I've got to the stage where I need to go and consult mental health … It just means that you have an idea of yourself that I've got some serious trouble, like I am in serious trouble that I can't deal with myself. This is an important idea because I am pretty sure a lot of teenagers want to be independent, they want to feel that they can manage things themselves ... Whereas going to consult with a mental health person you will lose that feeling. [Interview participant 12]

In particular, seeking help from services was described to be especially distressing for boys as it was perceived to also undermine their masculinity:

I don't know about girls, but especially with guys, if you go and see a counsellor it is kind of like saying that you have got a problem. It does sound really bad, but I guess it is almost your masculinity in a way. It is not necessarily that this guy has got a whole lot of problems, but it is that this guy cannot deal with his problems so he has to go and get someone else to deal with his problems. [Interview participant 8]

Furthermore, some participants also noted that the stigma that they put on themselves had been developed through comparing themselves to how their parents coped with difficulties. Drawing back to previous discussions, they explained how their parents had managed to endure through significant hardships in their upbringing in China and then migration to New Zealand without needing to access any help from psychological services. Consequently, they felt that they could not succumb to help from services, and needed to manage on their own and be strong just like their parents. As one participant explained:

I don't know if it's just my parents, but I guess Asian parents don't really believe in professional help for emotional support … They have gone through all this [e.g., migration] and they never

had stuff like Kids Line. They've just gone through it themselves … It makes us more reluctant to get help. We just learn to deal with it on our own … Otherwise you feel like you are weak. [Focus group 2]

Overall, another reason why many participants were reluctant towards help-seeking was because of ideas that seeking help from psychological services carried a stigma of weakness. In some cases, the stigma was described to stem from worries about how others would perceive them if they knew they were seeking help from services, as they had seen their peers ostracise others for using services. In other cases, the stigma was described to stem from their own personal perceptions that seeking help from services somehow meant that they were less autonomous and strong. In turn, this self-stigma was described to be reinforced by parents' experiences. Participants explained how their parents had managed to endure through significant hardships in their upbringing in China and then migration to New Zealand without needing to access any services for their mental wellbeing. Consequently, they felt they could not succumb to help from services, and needed to manage on their own and be strong like their parents.

How services could be better

In light of the described barriers to help-seeking, participants recommended several strategies which they thought could support them to seek help from psychological services. This theme describes the recommendations they provided.

Although most participants spoke reluctantly about help-seeking, they acknowledged that it might be useful to access and use services under certain circumstances. As one participant said:

> If I had no friends and the problem was pretty big and tearing me down a little bit, I think I would rather talk to someone than just let it completely screw me over. [Interview participant 5]

To mitigate the aforementioned barriers and improve their help-seeking, participants recommended several strategies. First, to break down knowledge barriers, many participants said more advertising was needed to let young people know that psychological services were available to them:

> I think it's about telling people that this [psychological services] is here. Like even our school counsellors, they're just in their little house thing and they're not really out there enough. [Interview participant 1]

In particular, they provided recommendations on how the advertising could be done. Some participants emphasised that they thought information of services should be advertised through spaces and mediums frequented by young people. For instance, they advocated for advertising in schools and through social media in order to reach more young people and bring services to the forefront of their minds:

> Try advertising the services in popular places for young people, like maybe what sites they normally go on or maybe areas where they hang out after school … Try to get the services in their view as much as possible, so when they have a big problem that comes up that they feel they can't talk to their parents about, their friends about, that would be the first thing that would come to their mind. [Interview participant 11]

A few participants also emphasised that they thought having talks from people in person, elaborating on their own personal experiences of services, would be more real and meaningful for young people:

> There is that trust barrier you just can't break with like TV ads or anything. You actually would have to talk to and listen to them [mental health providers]. I think maybe more of those school talks, I think that would be good. Those guys are really good, they do break down that barrier, you feel like you can finally talk to somebody who understands, cause they share their personal experiences with you as well. [Focus group 2]

Further, a few participants said they thought it would be especially important to clarify how services could help young people in order to make it seem more relevant for them. As one participant put it:

> Give more information about how they [psychological services] actually help you. Because when people first heard about the Kids Line thing, they didn't know what it actually does for them. [Focus group 2]

Second, to break down trust barriers between mental health professionals and young people, some participants emphasised the importance of mental health professionals actively reaching out to young people and establishing relationships with them. One idea included holding social events for young people so that they could get to know more about mental health professionals and the services they provided:

> One thing that you can do is organise events for young people to go to, like hold some seminars and stuff to talk about these issues [mental health problems and services]. Then it's something that everybody can go to, like a sociable kind of thing … It's just using it as a platform for more people to know about it, and also to make new friends, and to obviously build that trust over time of your organisation. [Interview participant 12]

Another idea included developing a system in which mental health professionals met with young people regularly to get to know each other, regardless of whether the young person needed support at the time or not:

> Maybe just calling some people up for a chat sometimes … Like you don't have to be the one to start talking to them [mental health providers], they can call you up and say 'Oh hi, what's going on?', and just having that kind of relationship beforehand. So it might not even be about a problem, just having a chat now and then. [Interview participant 1]

Some participants also explained that they thought trust could be built if mental health professionals used an open and supportive style of working with young people. For some participants, this meant having mental health professionals who were human and shared about their own lives:

> Tell us their own experiences, like 'I have been through this as well so I know what you are going through'. [Participant 4]

For a few participants, this also meant having mental health professionals who were non-judgemental and validating:

> Sometimes when you go to those places [psychological services] you just need confirmation, confirmation about your own thoughts. Like if you're feeling this way, you just want to have someone say 'Oh yeah, I think you're right'. [Interview participant 1]

Third, some participants emphasised the need to break down personal barriers such as minimisation. To do this, they explained that the construction of services needed to be made less serious. Some participants, for example, said this might involve adjusting the advertising of services so that it could explicitly state that they were open to supporting any issue, no matter how small it seemed:

> Maybe just reassure them [young people], like 'Whatever is bothering you, it is a problem to us', like 'No matter how small you think it is, it just helps to talk', reemphasising that on an ad. [Interview participant 6]

Some participants also explained how deformalising the style of services could be helpful. Common ideas included allowing young people to bring friends to sessions for moral support, developing peer support groups, and taking sessions outside of the therapy room. As one participant put it:

> What they should do is have a person who is like your friend and goes out with you, like to play sports with you for a couple of months, so you build this really good friendship. Then you can ask them what, tell them your problems, and they can tell you what to do and stuff… It would be more relaxed instead of just sitting there. [Interview participant 9]

And finally, to break cultural and stigma barriers, a couple of participants explained that they thought targeting parents might be helpful. In particular, they felt that Chinese parents could be educated on how to notice and talk about feelings and problems with their children, as well as on the importance and value of seeking help from psychological services for their children when appropriate:

> Parents should be taught to look for specific signs in their children … And if parents see that something is different, if something is making their children like sad or angry, they should probably learn to seek out these services, like these services should be made more known to parents. [Interview participant 7]

In summary, in spite of the barriers to help-seeking, participants acknowledged that using psychological services could be helpful under certain circumstances, and recommended several strategies that they thought would support them to access and use services. For instance, to break down knowledge barriers, they advocated for more advertising of services. In particular, they thought that advertising needed to be placed in spaces frequented by young people, that it should include information from real people who have experienced help from services, and that it should detail specifically how services could help young people. To break down trust barriers, they suggested for mental health professionals to actively reach out to and develop relationships with young people (e.g., organising social events or regular individual catch-up meetings), and to use an open and supportive style of working (e.g., self-disclosure, validation). To break down personal barriers such as minimisation, they suggested for deconstruction of the serious nature of services, by, for example, adjusting the advertising of services to focus less on serious teenage problems (e.g., teenage pregnancy), allowing young people to bring friends to sessions for moral support, organising peer support groups, and structuring sessions outside of the counselling room. And finally, to break cultural and stigma barriers, they suggested for provision of psychoeducation for parents, emphasising on how to talk about problems and emotions with their children, and on the relevance of seeking help from psychological services when appropriate. Thus, this theme illustrated the importance of recommendations for all young people and specifically for Chinese young people.

Conclusion

Participant accounts suggested a range of issues in relation to help-seeking from psychological services. In the first instance, participants spoke about how they had not and likely will not use services. They explained that their reluctance towards help-seeking was reinforced by a lack of knowledge of services, a lack of trust in mental health professionals, a

tendency to minimise their problems, as well as stigmatising views of weakness and lack of autonomy from both themselves and others. In addition, participants also spoke about specific influences from their Chinese culture and family stories. For instance, they talked about the lack recognition of mental health problems and psychological services within Chinese culture, the Chinese value of not sharing emotions with others and particularly with strangers, and the resilience that they saw in their parents who were able to endure through significant hardships growing up in China and then migrating to New Zealand without needing any professional help. Thus, their reluctance towards help-seeking also seemed to be justified by reference to the perceived experiences of their parents and their Chinese culture. Although participants were reluctant towards help-seeking, however, they acknowledged that using services might be useful under certain circumstances, suggesting a slight shift from Chinese values. To mitigate the barriers impacting their help-seeking, they emphasised the need to implement both general and Chinese-specific solutions.

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This thesis endeavoured to explore how Chinese migrant youth in New Zealand experience stress, coping, support-seeking, and help-seeking from psychological services. It is based on the assumption that further insight into these issues from the perspectives of the young people themselves will provide clinicians with understandings for tailoring intervention to be more meaningful and therefore effective for these young people. My interest in this area developed out of my own experiences of growing up as a Chinese migrant in New Zealand, and a sense that psychological research and intervention is dominated by Western knowledge (Hoshmand, 2006). However, there is a growing body of research which indicates that how young people experience and manage stress is shaped by culture (Arnett, 2003; Kuo, 2011). In particular, migration creates possibilities for the hybridisation of traditional and new cultures which may influence how migrant youth experience and manage stress (Kuo, 2014; Smith, 2008). In this final chapter, I begin with a discussion of the findings from the four areas of focus in this research – stress, coping, support-seeking, and help-seeking. I then discuss the implications based on the findings. Following on from this, I outline the strengths and limitations of this research. Finally, I consider potential directions for future research in the area.

Discussion of the findings

Stress

In dominant psychological literature, stress has commonly been defined as "a particular relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding his or her resources and endangering his or her wellbeing" (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 19). Western researchers have regarded young people to be particularly vulnerable to stress as they are considered to be in the midst of the developmental tasks of negotiating identity and transitioning into adulthood (Carr, 2006). However, there has been growing awareness that youth does not exist in a vacuum, but the demands associated with this developmental period are shaped by social and cultural factors (White & Wyn, 2008). In particular, it has been suggested that how migrant youth experience stress is shaped by migration, acculturation, and tensions between traditional and new cultures (Kuo, 2011, 2014; Smith, 2008).

The aforementioned ideas were evident in the findings of this research. The Chinese migrant youth in the current study spoke about what they saw as differences between their

experiences with their parents and that of their European peers, and the frustration they felt in relation to this. In this sense, the young people seemed to see themselves through the lens of the dominant discourse, always comparing themselves to their European peers, as though this was the gold standard that they must live up to. According to Shi-xu (2005), this is an illustration of the operation of power between majority and minority groups. Although the young people in this study saw themselves through the lens of the dominant culture, they also tried to balance their feelings of frustration by drawing on their stories of migration and Chinese values in order to understand their parents' situations. However, this seemed to be fraught with tension. For instance, the young people described feeling frustration toward their parents for being more academically demanding and restrictive than those of their European peers. However, they experienced tension as they weighted their parents' academic expectations against a recognition of the sacrifices that their parents had made for them in the journey of migration. These frustrations, tensions, and migratory factors in relation to parental academic expectations have also been found by other researchers (Costigan et al., 2010; Lee et al., 2009; Li, 2009). Furthermore, the young people in this study also described discontent about their parents being more authoritarian and emotionally withdrawn than those of their European peers. Once again, however, they experienced tension as they balanced their parents' approach against an understanding of migration (e.g., parents have to work long hours to provide for them in New Zealand), acculturation differences (e.g., language barriers between their parents and themselves), and Chinese values (e.g., emotional control and restraint, expressing care in practical ways). Such discontent, tension, and migratory and cultural factors in relation to Chinese parenting have also been acknowledged by other researchers (Chiu et al., 1992; Lee et al., 2009; Li, 2009; Lim et al., 2009; Qin, 2006; Wu & Chao, 2005). Therefore, the young people in this study seemed to be torn between seeing their experiences through the lens of the dominant culture versus trying to make sense of their experiences through their own social and cultural perspectives.

In light of cultural differences, the Chinese migrant youth in the current study spoke about how they tried to immerse themselves in Western culture while simultaneously holding on to their ethnic culture, as other researchers have also acknowledged (Berry et al., 2006; Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Gorman et al., 2003; Lee et al., 2009; Qin, 2006; Ward, 2008). Once again, however, this seemed to be fraught with tension. Language seemed to be a tangible example of this tension. Researchers have argued that language is a primary resource for negotiating social identity and group membership in the school context (Miller, 2000). As such, linguistic minority students must develop fluency in the dominant language if they are to participate in mainstream

social and academic contexts and renegotiate their identities within these contexts (McNamara, 1997; Miller, 2000). Indeed, the young people in this study talked about how they had to adopt English in order to fit in with their social environment, as other researchers have also found (Christchurch City Council, 1999; Lueck & Wilson, 2010; Yeh & Inose, 2002; Yeh et al., 2008). However, the young people found that adopting the English language to live an English-speaking world risked losing their Chinese dialect, even when they tried to maintain their Chinese language through tuition classes. The young people associated the loss of their Chinese language with psychological tension as they saw it as critical to their Chinese identity, as other researchers have also noted (Gorman et al., 2003; Ip & pang, 2005). According to Ang (2005), the psychological tension associated with losing one's ethnic language is greater in Chinese (and other Asian) migrants as they have Chinese physical characteristics which lead others to assume that they can speak Chinese. As such, they are often confronted with the task of justifying to others and potentially themselves as to why they cannot speak Chinese. Thus, although participants actively tried to develop hybridity by adopting English and maintaining their Chinese dialect, they experienced tensions while doing so, as living in an English-speaking world made it difficult for them to maintain their Chinese language and therefore their Chinese identity.

Making sense of their cultural identities was another example of the tension that the Chinese migrant youth in the current study experienced as they tried to immerse themselves in the dominant culture while also holding on to their ethnic culture. The young people attempted to negotiate differences between the dominant culture and their ethnic culture, and where they fit in in relation to these differences. In doing so, they developed successful hybrid "Chinese New Zealander" identities which enabled them to navigate fluidly across contexts, as other local researchers have also discussed (Ip & Pang, 2005; Liu, 2013). This also reflected international research on hybrid identities in other migrant youth (Asher, 2008; Gorman et al., 2003; Pyke & Johnson, 2003). However, the young people in this study indicated that cultural hybridity is hard work, rather than an easy incorporation of cultural elements as suggested by previous research. The young people seemed to be involved in continuous, active, and often demanding negotiations of cultural tensions, where they trade off aspects of their ethnic culture versus the dominant culture, and constantly consider what is appropriate in different contexts in order to make sense of who they are and where they fit in. In addition to this, the young people also spoke about how they negotiated their specific Chinese identity. Similar to initial findings by Li (2009), the young people in this study negotiated three Chinese identities: "normal" or "typical" Chinese, "white washed" Chinese, and "international student". Once again, these

negotiations of identity seemed to be difficult work, involving ongoing and active negotiations of their length of residence in New Zealand, English versus Chinese language abilities, interests/hobbies, and peer associations in order to make sense of who they are and where they fit in in relation to their peers.

Although the Chinese migrant youth in the current study tried hard to fit in to the dominant society, they faced obstacles in doing so. They spoke about being stereotyped in relation to their academic achievement and hobbies, as other researchers have also noted in their discussions of the model minority stereotype (Ip & Pang, 2005; Louie, 2004; Maxwell, 2007). More importantly, the stereotypes discussed by the young people in this study appeared to have immense impacts on their sense of self. Although they tried to resist stereotypes, they also used stereotypical characteristics to talk about their strengths, weaknesses, and identities. This was particularly reflected in the "normal" or "typical" Chinese identity held by all but one young person, which seemed to be akin to the Chinese stereotype described to be produced by the dominant group. Other researchers have also found this paradoxical resistance to and participation in stereotypes among other migrant youth (Asher, 2008). It is argued that this paradoxical effect is related to the operation of power between dominant and minority cultures; stereotypes produced by the dominant group act as a hegemonic device which influence minority groups to participate in reifying stereotypic images of themselves and objectifying themselves in accordance with white standards of them as ethnic (Asher, 2008; Shi-xu, 2005).

In addition to stereotypes, the young people in this study also spoke about differential treatment by European peers and institutional discrimination, as other researchers have also found (Alvarez et al., 2006; Grossman & Liang, 2008; Lee et al., 2009; Li, 2009; Lueck & Wilson, 2010; Qin et al., 2008; Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2008; Ward, 2008; Watts et al., 2002; Yeh et al., 2008). However, the young people's concerns in relation to institutional racism build upon what has been discussed in the current literature, suggesting that young people have awareness and insight of even these more subtle forms of discrimination. The young people in this study saw the discrimination as reinforcing their disadvantaged sociopolitical position in relation to the dominant group and other ethnic groups in New Zealand, and challenging their sense of belonging to New Zealand. This therefore illustrates the tension that the young people experienced in relation to fitting in in New Zealand; although they attempted to immerse themselves in Western culture and fit in to dominant society, sometimes at the expense of giving up aspects of their ethnic culture and identity, there were limitations to their fitting in posed by

the dominant group (e.g., stereotyping and discrimination) which constrained the identities that they were able to construct.

As discussed, the findings of the current study illustrate the influence of social and cultural factors on young people's experiences of stress. In particular, the findings indicate that many of the sources of stress confronting Chinese migrant youth appear to be related to tensions, namely tensions between their stories of migration and ethnic culture versus Western culture, and tensions associated with being part of an ethnic minority group interacting with a more powerful dominant group who pose limitations on their ability to fit in to dominant society and construction of identity. Although these young people manage to negotiate these tensions and develop hybrid identities which enable them to navigate fluidly across contexts, this requires continued effort and hard work. This might be a unique or different experience compared to young people of the dominant culture who retain the power of their ethnic group, and therefore may not be faced with ongoing tensions and barriers which require continual negotiation in order to make sense of who they are and where they fit in.

Coping

Dominant psychological theories have commonly defined coping as a process involving cognitive, emotional, and behavioural responses to manage perceived stressful events (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). In recent years, there has been growing recognition of young people's agency in negotiating how they manage stress, and the importance of social and cultural factors in shaping this process (Cheng et al., 2010; Kuo, 2011; White & Wyn, 2008). In particular, it has been suggested that migrant youth actively negotiate and hybridise traditional and new cultural coping scripts, and therefore use a hybrid of coping strategies depending on the stressor, context, and time (Kuo, 2011, 2014; Smith, 2008).

The aforementioned ideas emerged strongly in the findings of this research. In the first instance, the Chinese migrant youth in the current study spoke about how they would always like to solve stressful situations, which other researchers have also found with Western (Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2011) and Chinese (Jose & Huntsinger, 2005; Jose & Schurer, 2010; Neill & Proeve, 2000) young people. This challenges previous research which suggests that Chinese young people tend to avoid dealing directly with stressful situations (Chang, 2001; Cheng et al., 2010; Jung, 1995; Lam & Zane, 2004; Sheu & Sedlacek, 2004). In making sense of this, the young people in this study spoke about an emphasis on coping in practical ways in Chinese culture, which was modelled to them by their parents who dealt with migration in a

pragmatic way. This expands upon the literature by emphasising the relevance of not only cultural coping scripts but also stories of migration in shaping experiences of coping among migrant youth. Despite problem-solving being their preferred way of coping, the young people in this study also balanced it with avoiding stressful situations at times, even if it was considered solvable. In particular, their avoidance of stressful situations was especially salient in relation to interpersonal stressors, as they saw these stressors as unnecessary and feared that confronting these issues could lead to escalation of conflict. Such interpersonal concerns may be seen as consistent with Chinese values. For instance, as discussed by Chinese researchers, Confucian values discourage confronting interpersonal problems if it may disrupt social harmony (Au, 2002; Cheng et al., 2010). Therefore, although the young people in this study seemed to value solving the problem as a way coping as with their European counterparts, how they made sense of it and the situations in which they applied it to differed as a result of their experiences of migration and cultural perspectives.

When the Chinese migrant youth in the current study felt they could not solve stressful situations, they spoke about how they would try to close off their emotions, by taking time out or avoiding thinking about the issue, which other researchers have also found with Western (Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2011) and Chinese (Christchurch City Council, 1999; Gorman et al., 2003; Jose & Huntsinger, 2005; Lam & Zane, 2004) young people. The young people in this study actively made sense of closing off emotion through Chinese values of emotional control and restraint, factors which other researchers have also acknowledged (Au, 2002; Chen & Swartzman, 2001; Cheng et al., 2010; Wu & Chao, 2005). However, the young people in this study also seemed move between closing off emotion with releasing their emotions at times, largely through physical means. The latter may be seen as consistent with Western values of supporting children's emotional expression (Sillars et al., 2005), and dominant coping theories which suggest that it is helpful to express emotions when dealing with uncontrollable stressors (Compas et al., 2001; Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2011). Therefore, the young people in this study seemed to hybridise both Chinese and Western values in relation to their dealing with emotions.

When the Chinese migrant youth in the current study felt they could not ignore their emotions, they spoke about how they would try to balance their emotions by finding acceptance and gratitude, largely by focussing on the positive aspects of the situation, as other researchers have also found (Christchurch City Council, 1999; Gorman et al., 2003; Yeh & Inose, 2002). The young people in this study actively made sense of finding acceptance and gratitude from

their stories of migration. They described how migration had enabled them to develop a better life in New Zealand, and therefore they had learned to develop a grateful perspective on life. Once again, this extends current understandings in the literature by emphasising the relevance of stories of migration in shaping negotiations of coping among migrant youth. In addition to this, the young people in this study also actively made sense of finding acceptance and gratitude through Chinese values of developing personal strength by persisting through the cyclical nature of life, Daoist factors which other researchers have also acknowledged (Chen, 2006; Cheng et al., 2010; Young et al., 2005). Thus, while finding acceptance and gratitude may be considered a passive and maladaptive way of coping in dominant psychological literature (Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2011), it may be considered an autonomous and adaptive style of coping from Chinese perspectives (Cheng et al., 2010; Kuo, 2011). It seemed that the young people in this study resisted views held in the dominant culture, and instead, actively used their stories of migration and Chinese values to develop and value finding acceptance and gratitude as a way of coping and developing personal strength.

Although the Chinese migrant youth in the current study seemed to acknowledge the functions and benefits of certain coping strategies (e.g., alcohol and drugs, deliberate self-harm) used by their European peers, it appeared that their aforementioned ways of meaning-making and coping supported them to actively assert the positive aspects of Chinese culture and reject the 'bad' ways of coping used by their European peers, as other researchers have also found (Arnett, 2003; Nelson et al., 2004). In this sense, the young people appeared to demonstrate how Chinese culture offered them a different way of doing things in comparison to their European peers, thereby protecting their Chinese identity. However, it is important not to simply take this at face value. In particular, it has been argued that deliberate self-harm is more known and talked about in Western culture than Chinese culture (Hawton, Saunders, & O'Connor, 2012; Skegg, 2005). As such, when Chinese young people migrate to Western countries, they may learn about and engage in self-harm to alleviate distress (Bhugra, 2004). However, as indicated by the way that the young people in this study attempted to close down conversations of self-harm in focus groups, there may be reluctance to talk about it and/or secrecy around it due its lack of acceptability in Chinese culture (Hawton et al., 2012). Therefore, it may be important to explore these behaviours in Chinese migrant youth and find ways for them to talk about it, possibly in a one-to-one context as the young people in this study seemed to be more open to talking about self-harming behaviours when interviewed on their own.

To summarise, the findings of this study illustrate young people's agency in negotiating how they cope with stress. In particular, the findings indicate that while Chinese migrant youth may avoid confronting some stressful situations, they also appear to retain a sense of the importance of dealing directly with problems as the more helpful way of coping. In making sense of this, they not only actively draw on various cultural resources but also their stories of migration. The young people in this study demonstrated alignment with Western culture through problem-solving, releasing emotions, and acknowledgement of the functions and benefits of certain coping strategies used by their European peers. They also demonstrated alignment with their Chinese culture and stories of migration through problem-solving except in relation to social stressors, closing off emotion, finding acceptance and gratitude, and rejecting maladaptive non-Chinese ways of coping used by their European peers. Therefore, how these young people cope with stress is through a continuous and active, and often demanding, process of negotiating their own stories of migration and accepting, rejecting, and hybridising cultural coping scripts in order to adopt coping strategies that fit with their multicultural identities. This might be in contrast to young people of the dominant culture who retain the power of their ethnic group and may predominately refer to Western values in their negotiation of coping, without being confronted with conflicting cultural coping resources.

Support-seeking

Similar to coping literature, there has been growing recognition of young people's agency in negotiating and using social resources (e.g., family, friends) to help them to manage stress (Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2011), and of the influence of social and cultural factors in shaping this process (Cheng et al., 2010; Kuo, 2011). These ideas regarding support-seeking emerged strongly in the findings of this research. In the first instance, the Chinese migrant youth in the current study spoke about how they valued being able to rely on their own resources in managing stress, rather than seeking support. Although researchers have also found this with Western young people (Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2011), the young people in this study believed that their position on this was stronger than that of their European peers, which reflects other research with Chinese young people (Chang, 2001; Kim et al., 2006; Lam & Zane, 2004). In making sense of this, the young people in this study spoke about Western values of autonomy (Carr, 2006) as well as Chinese values. On the one hand, they expressed their reluctance of seeking support as an embracement of Chinese values of emotional control and restraint, factors that other researchers have also acknowledged (Cheng et al., 2010). On the other hand, the young people also expressed their autonomy as a resistance to Chinese values of parental

authority, and an attempt to forge a new identity that was consistent with that of their European peers. This builds upon the existing literature by highlighting how strict parental control can lead to resistance against Chinese culture and alignment with Western culture in negotiations of autonomy and support-seeking among Chinese migrant youth. Thus, it appeared that the young people in this study had a hybrid of cultural scripts in relation to autonomy and support-seeking which enabled them to actively draw on and resist different cultural resources when they needed and wanted to. In particular, it seemed that although Chinese culture is argued to value a collectivistic focus, certain Chinese values may reinforce reliance on one's own resources rather than seeking support (Au, 2002; Cheng et al., 2010; Kim et al., 2008).

In addition to valuing autonomy, the Chinese migrant youth in the current also spoke about how their reluctance towards support-seeking was reinforced by the idea that talking does not help, a reluctance to burden others with their emotional needs, and a fear of trusting others. Although these concerns have been found to be common among many young people, including those of Western culture (Barker, 2007), it appeared that these concerns for the young people in this study were exacerbated by an overlay of Chinese values. In particular, researchers have argued that Confucian perspectives discourage support-seeking when it is seen to disrupt social harmony, or reveal one's weaknesses to others and therefore reduce one's social status (Cheng et al., 2010; Yan, 2005; Yao, 2000). Thus, once again, this indicates that although Chinese culture is argued to value a collectivistic focus, certain Chinese values may discourage support-seeking (Au, 2002; Cheng et al., 2010; Kim et al., 2008).

Furthermore, the Chinese migrant youth in the current study felt particularly reluctant about seeking support from their parents who they saw as being unable to understand their world due to separations in both age and culture. Although researchers have also found this among Western young people (Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2011), it appeared that for the young people in this study, reluctance to talk to their parents was exacerbated by an overlay of cultural differences between their parents and themselves, making it more difficult for them to talk to their parents. These findings have also been found in previous research (Qin, et al., 2008; Lee et al., 2009; Li, 2009). In alluding that they were culturally different from their parents, the young people in this study seemed to be expressing difference from their Chinese culture and alignment with the dominant culture. However, their acculturation to the dominant culture and therefore distance from their parents created a source of distress, particularly as they compared their experiences to their European peers who they perceived to be more open and confiding with their parents, as other researchers have also found (Li, 2009; Qin, 2006; Qin et al., 2008).

Once again, this demonstrates the operation of power between majority and minority groups, as the young people saw their relationships with their parents through the lens of the dominant culture (Shi-xu, 2005).

Although the Chinese migrant youth in the current study were reluctant to confide in others, they also acknowledged that they might seek support under certain circumstances. Consistent with young people of Western culture (Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2011), they explained that they were more likely to seek support from their friends than their parents. They also explained that they would be selective in the specific problems they would talk to their friend about, actively choosing between the emotional and cultural resources available to them in a way that suited their needs, as other researchers have also found (Gorman et al., 2003; Yeh et al., 2008). Expanding on the current literature, however, the young people positioned European friends as being more interested in emotional issues such as relationships, and their Asian friends as being more interested in academic work. Whilst it may well be that these different types of friends have strengths in offering support in different areas of life, this could be seen as an operation of power between majority and minority groups to reproduce stereotypes produced by the dominant group (Shi-xu, 2005).

To summarise, the findings of the current research illustrate young people's agency in negotiating support-seeking. In particular, the findings indicate that, as with many Western young people, Chinese migrant youth prefer to rely on their own resources rather than seek support. In making sense of this, they draw on Western and Chinese cultural scripts in relation to autonomy and support-seeking. Although the young people in this study valued Western ideas of autonomy, their reluctance about support-seeking was also reinforced by an embracement and sometimes rejection of Chinese values, suggesting that they actively draw on and resist different cultural resources when they need and want to. This indicates that although Chinese culture is argued to value a collectivistic focus, certain Chinese values may reinforce autonomy. While the young people in this study were reluctant to confide in others, however, they also acknowledged that they might seek support under certain circumstances, and would actively choose between the emotional and cultural resources available to them in a way that suit their needs, reflecting cultural hybridity if support-seeking is to be used.

Help-seeking from psychological services

In Western culture, psychological services have been described to provide support for people's personal development and emotional wellbeing (Rickwood et al., 2007). As these

services are often derived from Western knowledge, there have been concerns as to how effective Western psychotherapeutic understandings and approaches are for people of other cultural backgrounds (Hoshmand, 2006).

In the first instance, the Chinese migrant youth in this study spoke about how they had not and likely will not use psychological services, which other researchers have found among Western (Essau, 2005; Mariu et al., 2012; Zachrisson et al., 2006) and Chinese (Fortune et al., 2010; Parackal et al. 2011) young people. In making sense of this, the young people in this study talked about a lack of knowledge about services and their utility, a lack of trust in mental health professionals, a tendency to minimise their problems, and concerns about being seen as weak, which researchers have reported are relevant to all young people, including those of Western culture (Gulliver, et al., 2010; Rickwood et al., 200). In addition, the young people in this study also raised the specific influence of Chinese culture on their reluctance towards help-seeking. They spoke about how there was a lack of recognition of mental health problems and services in Chinese culture, as well as how Chinese culture emphasised the value of not sharing emotions with others but particularly with strangers, factors which other researchers have also acknowledged (Blignault et al., 2008; Christchurch City Council, 1999; Cheng et al., 2010; Hauraki, 2005; Ho et al., 2003; Kung, 2004; Lee et al., 2009; Li & Browne, 2009; Li, Logan, Yee, & Ng, 1999; Lung & Sue, 1997). Extending on the current literature, however, the young people in this study also noted the influence of their parents' experiences. They spoke about how their parents had endured through significant hardships growing up in China and then migrating to New Zealand without needing any professional help, which made them want to be resilient like their parents. This suggests that it is not only parents directly disapproving of services that hinders these young people's help-seeking identified by previous research (Hauraki, 2005; Lee et al., 2009), but also indirect modelling of managing without the need for services. Therefore, the overlay of Chinese culture and parental experiences appeared to reinforce the young people's reluctance to use services in this study.

Whilst the Chinese migrant youth in the current study were reluctant to use services, they also acknowledged that help-seeking might be useful under certain circumstances. This suggests a slight shift from their Chinese values, which researchers have suggested may be to do with greater exposure to Western mental health ideologies and therefore greater hybridity with increasing length of residence in New Zealand (Hauraki, 2005). To mitigate the aforementioned barriers to their help-seeking, the young people in this study provided recommendations that were consistent with those in existing literature. For instance, they

advocated for more advertising of services, particularly in spaces and through mediums frequented by young people, such as school and social media (Chen, et al., 2003; Hauraki, 2006; Ho et al., 2003; Li et al., 1999; Lung & Sue, 1997). They also suggested psychoeducation for parents on how to talk to their children about their problems and emotions, and on the relevance of seeking help from psychological services when appropriate (Hauraki, 2006; Ho et al., 2003; Lung & Sue, 1997). However, the young people also provided some novel solutions, including adjusting advertising to focus less on serious teenage issues (e.g., teenage pregnancy), to provide information from real people elaborating on their personal experiences of services, and to include information on how services could specifically help young people. They also suggested for mental health professionals to actively reach out to young people (e.g., social events, regular catch up sessions), and use an open and supportive style of working (e.g., self-disclosure, validation). Further, they indicated for deformalising the seriousness of services by, for example, organising support groups and having sessions outside of the counselling room.

In general, the findings of the current research indicate that Chinese migrant youth experience reluctance in relation to help-seeking due to lack of knowledge about services, concerns about trusting professionals, minimisation of their problems, and fear of the erosion of their autonomy, as with many Western young people. This reluctance also appears to be reinforced by lack of familiarity with services in Chinese culture, poor cultural fit, and parental experiences of resilience without the need for professional help. However, these young people also seemed to have shifted slightly from Chinese values, expressing openness to using services, and the need for general and Chinese-specific solutions to increase their likelihood of help-seeking.

Conclusion

Overall, four key points may be identified across the findings of this research. First, the broader social and cultural context is critical in shaping experiences of stress and how it is dealt with. In particular, how the Chinese migrant youth in this study experienced and managed stress was shaped by their stories of migration and what that meant to them and their families, their ethnic culture, the dominant culture, and operations of power between majority and minority groups.

Second, young people are not passive recipients of their social and cultural contexts, but highly active agents in negotiating how they experience and manage stress. The Chinese migrant youth in this study constructed themselves as being able to assert their agency through

a continuous and active process of reflecting, embracing, rejecting, and hybridising various social and cultural resources in order to make sense of their experiences and who they are, and to deal with stress flexibly. In this sense, they presented themselves as being resourceful, flexible, and adaptive in the process of growing up in New Zealand as part of an ethnic minority group.

Third, although migrant youth may manage to develop hybrid identities and ways of coping, the process of cultural hybridisation can be hard work. The Chinese migrant youth in this study seemed to have to engage in continuous, active, and often demanding negotiations of conflicts between cultures, rejecting certain cultural resources while embracing others, and constantly considering what is appropriate in different contexts in order to make sense of who they are and to adapt to suit their needs. In particular, they seemed to experience tension when these negotiations involved giving up aspects of their Chinese culture and identity in order to adopt aspects of the dominant culture and to try to fit in to dominant society.

Fourth, although the young people in this study seemed to be active agents carving their own identities and ways of being, the operation of power between dominant and minority groups seemed to constrain their experiences and the identities they were able to construct. In particular, the dominant discourse seemed to be a kind of gold standard which they felt they had to live up to. Even as they tried eagerly to fit in to dominant society, they were constrained by stereotypes and reactions from the dominant group, which reinforced their difference and marked them as unable to fit in. Thus, their agency and identities seemed to be constrained in ways that might be less relevant for young people of the dominant culture who retain the power of the dominant group, and may not be forced to continually make sense of who they are and where they fit in.

Implications for psychological intervention

Based on the findings of this research, five key implications for working with Chinese migrant youth in psychological intervention may be identified. These are to increase their access to and utilisation of psychological services, respect their autonomy, understand their social and cultural contexts, open up ways for them to seek support, and support their identity exploration.

First, there is a need to increase access to and utilisation of psychological services among Chinese migrant youth. The young people in this study provided several general and

culturally-specific recommendations that they thought would be helpful, which have already been described in the discussion section of this chapter.

Second, as the young people in this study seemed to construct themselves as highly active and resourceful agents, it is important for clinicians to respect the autonomy of Chinese migrant youth as a prerequisite and foundation for counselling. In this sense, clinicians should avoid taking the expert role, and instead, relate to these young people from the position of a naïve inquirer. Clinicians should also harness their resourcefulness in the therapeutic process by encouraging collaboration, offering choice, and seeking to tailor counselling to the young person's needs. As part of this process, it might be helpful to encourage feedback on a regular basis in order to explore the young people's evaluations of the therapeutic process. In doing so, clinicians also need to be reflective of the unique power dynamics that may occur in working with Chinese migrant youth. These clients are both young and of an ethnic minority group, struggling to find their autonomy and make sense of their unique experiences within the context of a Western society. They are also attending counselling that might be based on Western knowledge and concepts, and with a clinician of the dominant group, which might conflict or contract with their ethnic cultural knowledge. It is therefore important for clinicians to emphasise that they are open to and will not become defensive to challenging feedback, and to engage these young people in discussions of issues of difference in a safe and collaborative manner.

Third, as the young people in this study indicated that how they experience and manage stress is shaped by social and cultural factors, it is important for clinicians to learn about and understand the complex contexts from which Chinese migrant youth come from and live in. Once again, is important for clinicians to position themselves as a naïve inquirer and let these young people tell their stories about their own lives, particularly where they came from and how they came to be. Throughout this process, it might be useful for clinicians to harness the young people's knowledge about their migration and Chinese culture, particularly how life is structured and how problems are dealt with from Chinese perspectives. Doing so may broaden the young people's perspectives from the influences of discourses of the dominant group, offer them access to different ways of making sense of their experiences, and therefore de-pathologise their experiences. There is always room for more and different meanings of experience, as long as the process of meaning-making supports exploration and negotiation of interpretations that are relevant and meaningful for the young person. Therefore, throughout this process, it is important for clinicians to let the young people take the lead on how they

could select, reject, and hybridise various social and cultural resources to make sense of their experiences and who they are, and negotiate adaptive ways of managing stress that fit with their complex cultural worlds and identities.

Fourth, while respecting the agency of the Chinese migrant youth, it is also important for clinicians to be mindful of how these young people's selection of certain social and cultural resources and construction of autonomy might disallow them access to helpful or necessary support in dealing with their difficulties. In this sense, it might be worthwhile for clinicians to discuss together with these young people how they could negotiate and hybridise support-seeking and/or help-seeking into their repertoires of coping. This might involve normalising support-seeking, harnessing the young people's social and cultural scripts which value seeking support from others, and opening up new ways of thinking about support-seeking. For instance, as Confucian thoughts around preserving social harmony and face discouraged many young people in this study from seeking support, discussing alternative perspectives of Confucianism, particularly those regarding the importance of relationships for support and strength in times of adversity, might open up new ways of thinking about support-seeking. Furthermore, given that many young people in this study described distress in regards to not being able to talk to their parents, it might be important for clinicians to negotiate together with Chinese migrant youth whether systemic work might be helpful, and if so, how best to include their parents in the intervention and work with them on how to support their children with their problems and emotions. Should clinicians get the young people to the stage where they will seek support, it is important to respect their agency and complex negotiations of support-seeking, particularly who they might seek support from, for what issues, and under what circumstances.

Fifth, although similar migratory and cultural factors meant that many of the young people in this study shared similar experiences, the data also showed some differences in views and experiences, suggesting that not all Chinese migrant youth are the same. Further, from what the young people in this study said in their accounts, making sense of their individual identities seemed to be an important task for them. Therefore, it is important for clinicians to not only consider contextual factors, but also individual differences in identities and experiences among Chinese migrant youth. In this sense, clinicians should create a safe space for these young people to make sense of, discover, explore, transform, and strengthen possible identities. As part of this process, it might be important to support the young people with negotiating and addressing stereotypical Chinese identities that arise out of dominant discourses and issues of power which impact on their construction of identity.

In particular, as many young people in this study appeared to desire connection to and maintenance of their ethnic language and culture, it might be valuable for clinicians to have discussions with Chinese migrant youth about their ethnic identity. If these young people would like to develop their ethnic identity, clinicians should harness their resourcefulness and support them to problem-solve ways to develop their ethnic language and culture. Examples might include enrolling into Chinese language tuition classes, making Chinese-speaking friends, and connecting with family members, Chinese cultural groups, and leaders within the Chinese community. At the same time, given that the young people in this study indicated that their identities were hybrid and constantly shifting across context and time, clinicians also need to recognise that identity cannot be achieved. Rather, it might be useful to normalise and support hybridity and fluidity in identity, for these factors may be beneficial when living across diverse cultural contexts.

Strengths and limitations

As with any research, there were several issues that could be seen as strengths and limitations within this research. This section will discuss these issues further.

In terms of strengths, using a critical realist epistemology together with cultural perspectives enabled me to both locate participants' accounts within their material realities and recognise the subjective nature of their experiences. As such, rather than focussing on finding objective 'truths', I acknowledged that young people's accounts are valuable in their own right and could offer important insights which have real implications for clinical practice (Sims-Schouten et al., 2007). Furthermore, using qualitative methodologies enabled me to prioritise the voices of the young people and view their experiences in context, making their stories more visible within the landscape of dominant, Western stories constituting knowledge about young people in general and Chinese migrant youth in particular (Sims-Schouten et al., 2007; Willig, 2008). Moreover, using two complementary data gathering methods provided both breadth and depth to the data (Liamputtong, 2011).

In terms of limitations, the number of participants in this study was relatively small (n=13). However, the small number of participants was not necessarily detrimental to the quality of this research given that it was not aiming for statistical generalisability, but rather for theoretical insights into the experiences of Chinese migrant youth in similar contexts. Indeed, it has been argued that approximately twelve participants are sufficient to reach saturation in qualitative research (Guest et al., 2006; Morrow, 2005).

Another issue with the sample was to do with the make-up of the participants. First, the sample consisted of predominantly boys, which was largely related to the inclusion of an all-boys school as a site of recruitment for this study. As most psychological research tends to have an overrepresentation of girls (Rao & Donaldson, 2015), this study may be seen as providing an opportunity for boys to voice their experiences. However, the views and experiences of Chinese migrant girls are less represented in this study, thereby minimising exploration of any gender differences in experiences and management of stress, which have been reported in the literature (Eschenbeck, Kohlmann, & Arnold, 2007; Kim, Han Trksak, & Lee, 2014). Second, the sample consisted predominantly of young people who have never used psychological services. Consequently, the identified barriers and solutions to service utilisation are likely to pertain to the earlier stages of help-seeking, particularly recruitment and access. In contrast, the voices of Chinese migrant youth who have utilised psychological services are largely unrepresented, thereby limiting exploration of their experiences of services, and what providers can do to support the later stages of help-seeking when they are already using services. Third, the sample comprised of Chinese migrant youth who attended schools with a high proportion of enrolled Chinese students. As talked about by many participants, an important part of their experiences was finding solace with other Chinese and Asian peers. Therefore, the potentially different views and experiences of Chinese migrant youth who attend schools with less Chinese and Asian peers are unrepresented. And fourth, the recruitment process meant that this study has captured the accounts of 13 Chinese migrant youth who wished to tell their stories, and cannot be reflective of those who did not volunteer to tell their stories. Thus, the findings cannot be taken as representing the views and experiences of all Chinese migrant youth in New Zealand. However, this was not the intention of this research. Rather, this research intended to provide a 'snapshot' of how Chinese migrant youth in New Zealand experience and manage stress from their own perspectives. As such, this study can be seen to represent the unique views and experiences of some Chinese migrant youth who did participate in this study, and is therefore valuable in its own right.

A further limitation of this study was related to how coping was examined. Although the individual interview schedule asked participants to talk about a specific recent stressful situation and how they managed it in order to explore context-specific nuances of coping, the interview largely concentrated on stress and coping experiences in general. As coping responses vary with the nature and intensity of the stressor, and are shaped by personal factors, resources, and the context in which they unfold (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011), a fuller exploration

of coping responses as they unfold in relation to specific stressors and contexts may help to deepen understanding of the complexities and fluidity of coping.

Finally, it is important to reiterate that my own role in this research has impacted upon the findings. The accounts provided by participants were influenced by myself as a Chinese adult researcher, and as such, these accounts must be seen as collaborative and interactional productions (Watt, 2007). The participant accounts were also interpreted through my own perspective, meaning that the analysis and findings have been shaped by my own background, age, gender, culture, and understanding of the participants' experiences (Watt, 2007). In particular, being a Chinese migrant to New Zealand myself, I brought with me my own preconceptions about how these young people might experience and deal with stress. Further, as an adult researcher, I have re-interpreted some of the young people's experiences through the lens of my own theoretical knowledge. These issues likely aided my interpretations by having the ability to see things from the young person's perspective, and concurrently limited my interpretations given that I may have attended to certain issues over others. Given my awareness of my own position, as previously discussed, I made ongoing attempts to engage in reflexivity, by challenging my own preconceptions through self-reflection and through discussion in research supervision. Indeed, in qualitative research it is impossible for data to be 'uncontaminated' by researcher subjectivity, and it is important to be mindful of this when reading and interpreting the findings and conclusions from this research (Claveirole, 2004; Watt, 2007).

Directions for future research

As with the process of developing and conducting any research, several avenues remain to be explored in terms of the stress, coping, support-seeking, and help-seeking experiences and needs of Chinese migrant youth in New Zealand.

The broad focus and the nature of the analysis on searching for themes meant that many ideas raised by the young people in this study were not able to be explored in greater depth. As an example, the issues raised in relation to the loss or maintenance of their Chinese language and culture, how it happened, and its associated impacts, are important to explore further. This will provide insight into how best to support Chinese migrant youth to maintain and strengthen their ethnic language and culture in their process of developing multicultural identities. As another example, the issues raised by the young people in this study in relation to the complexities of support-seeking, particularly who they will seek support from, for what issues,

and under what circumstances, could be explored further. This will provide insight into how Chinese migrant youth negotiate and use support, and therefore how they can be supported to talk to others when appropriate and needed.

In line with the collectivistic focus of Chinese culture, further research could also interview important people in the social networks of Chinese migrant youth, such as parents, teachers, and mental health providers with first-hand experience of working with these young people. This would provide a different perspective and more full understanding of the young people's experiences and contexts. In particular, interviews with parents could provide information on how parent-child relationships and support-seeking could be strengthened from the perspectives of parents.

Future research could also explore the experiences of young people from a greater range of backgrounds and contexts, including other Chinese young people (e.g., international students, New Zealand-born Chinese youth) and young people belonging to other ethnic minority groups. This would serve the purpose of voicing a range of experiences, which might put at risk and break down the power of dominant, Western stories constituting knowledge about the experiences of young people in general and migrant youth in particular. This would also provide insight into factors that are common to all young people, and factors that are specific to particular groups of migrant youth which need particular attention and resolutions.

Moreover, keeping up with contemporary time, it may be worthwhile to explore the impact of recent social and cultural changes associated with globalisation and technological advances on how young people experience and manage stress, particularly from their own perspectives. Such explorations would increase knowledge on how to support young people in contemporary time.

Final thoughts

In conclusion, Chinese migrant youth are reflective and active agents who negotiate their stories of migration, ethnic culture and minority status, and dominant discourses and culture in their experiences of stress, coping, support-seeking, and help-seeking from psychological services. There is continuing need for researchers and health professionals to explore the unique experiences of these young people and how to best support them to develop resilience within their complex social and cultural worlds. This is not only important for ensuring better psychological practice with these young people and improving their

psychological wellbeing, but is also fundamental to the practice of psychological intervention given obligations to professional standards and codes of ethics emphasising culturally safe and effective practice, and obligations to be compassionate individuals.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Research Advertisement

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
NEW ZEALAND
Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau

School of Psychology
Tamaki Campus
Cnr Morrin and Merton Road
St Johns
Auckland 1072

Research Participants Wanted

STRESS AND COPING

Did you migrate from China to New Zealand with your family at least 5 years ago?

Are you between the ages of 16 and 18 years?

If you answer 'yes' to both questions we invite you to take part in a study that explores stress and coping among Chinese young people

The study consists of two parts:

1. **A group conversation with up to 6 other Chinese young people lasting about 1.5 hours (refreshments provided)**
2. **An individual interview with the researcher lasting about 1 hour**

** YOU WILL BE COMPENSATED UP TO $40 **
To say thanks, you will be given a $20 Westfield voucher for each part you complete

Interested in participating or want more information?

Contact Yan Yan Lei
Phone or text her on 021 066 4383
Or email her at ylei008@aucklanduni.ac.nz

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 20 November 2013 for a period of three years, Reference Number 01051

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet

To: The young person

Project title: A qualitative exploration of stress, coping, support-seeking, and help-seeking among Chinese migrant youth in New Zealand

Names of Researchers: Dr Kerry Gibson and Yan Yan Lei

Dr Kerry Gibson is a registered clinical psychologist and senior lecturer in clinical psychology at the School of Psychology at the University of Auckland. Yan Yan Lei is a student in the Doctorate of Clinical Psychology programme at the School of Psychology at the University of Auckland.

What is this research about?

We are doing research to find out about what young Chinese migrants find stressful and how they deal with it. We are interested in hearing *your* stories from *your* perspective. We believe that having more information about how young Chinese migrants manage during times of stress will inform the work that helping professionals do with them.

Who can take part in the research and why have you been selected?

We are looking for participants who:
- Were born in China and migrated to New Zealand with their family at least 5 years ago
- Are between the ages of 16 and 18 years

You have been selected to take part in the study because you meet the above criteria and are one of the first 20 (the total number of participants we need) participants to express your interest in taking part in the study.

What will taking part in the research involve?

We would like you to participate in a focus group (group conversation) for about 1.5 hours with up to six other participants like yourself from your school and Yan Yan.

The focus group will take place at your school or the University of Auckland. We will email, text, and/or call you to let you know possible times and places for focus groups. When you arrive for the focus group, we will first ask you to complete a consent form so that we are sure you want to take part in the research. During the focus group, we will ask the group to discuss young Chinese migrants' experiences of stress and coping, and what they think psychological support services can do to support them through times of stress. There will be refreshments provided during the focus group.

After the focus group we would like you to participate further in an individual interview at another time with Yan Yan for about 1 hour. This will be conducted at a time and place that suits you. In the interview we will ask you about your experiences of growing up as a Chinese migrant in New Zealand, your experiences of stress and coping, and what you think psychological support services can do to support you through times of stress.

Both the focus groups and interviews will be audio recorded.

Will it be confidential?

There will be other participants like yourself taking part in the focus group, so we cannot guarantee confidentiality with respect to your identity and the information you share. However, we prefer your general ideas about how young Chinese migrants understand stress and coping, rather than your accounts of personal experiences. Furthermore, you do not have to disclose anything you are not comfortable sharing with the group. We will also try our best to encourage all participants in the group, including yourself, to be respectful of each other's identity and what was discussed.

In your interview, only the researchers will know what you have shared, and we will make sure that everything you talk about is confidential.

Another researcher will be involved in transcribing the data from both the focus groups and interviews, but we will make sure that this researcher also knows that your information must remain confidential.

Who gets to decide?

It's up to you to decide whether or not you want to participate in the study. Your principal has given permission for this research to be conducted and given his/her assurance that your decision to participate or not participate in this study will have no impact on your relationship with the school. Even if you agree to take part in the study, you can change your mind at any time and decide to stop. For example, you can choose to leave the focus group at any time and stop your interview at any time. However, once the focus group is completed you may not withdraw any information you have already shared within it because it will be part of the general group conversation. If you decide you do not want what you said in your interview to be used in the research, you have up to two weeks after the interview to let us know if you have decided to withdraw from the study.

What will happen to the research?

We would like to present the research at conferences and write up the findings for a doctoral thesis and potential future publications so that people can learn more about young Chinese migrants' experiences of stress and coping. When we present and write this up we will use quotes and examples from the focus groups and interviews, but we will make sure that nobody can identify you from the information.

What will happen to the interview material after the research is completed?

The audio recordings of the focus groups and interviews will be erased following transcription and analysis. All researchers are obliged to keep the transcribed data as well as the forms in which you have given your consent to take part in the research. We will keep the transcribed data and the consent forms in separate locked cabinets in the School of Psychology at the University of Auckland. These will kept for a period of six years. After this time, they will be securely destroyed.

What's in it for you?

You will have a chance to talk about your own experiences of stress and coping. We hope that this will be useful and interesting for you. You will also be contributing to helping professionals

gaining a better understanding of how to help other young Chinese migrants like yourself. We will send you a summary of the findings of the research once we are finished if you would like this.

We will also give you a $20 Westfield voucher for each part of the research you complete as our way of thanking you for your time and contribution.

What if talking about this upsets you?

Sometimes talking about personal things like coping during times of stress can make you feel upset as you think back to the difficult times. If this happens during the focus group, Kerry will be available to provide you with support. She can also help you to get some support or put you in touch with professionals/agencies that will be able to offer you support (e.g., the school counsellor(s), Youthline) if you need it. If this happens during your interview, Yan Yan will help you to get some support or put you in touch with professionals/agencies that will be able to offer you support if you need it.

So what do you need to do next?

If you think you would like to take part in this research or would like to hear more about it then please contact **Yan Yan Lei.**

Text or phone her on **021 066 4383** or email her at **ylei008@aucklanduni.ac.nz**

Yan Yan's supervisor is:	Dr Kerry Gibson Email: kl.gibson@auckland.ac.nz School of Psychology The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019 Ph: 373 7599 extn 88556
The Head of the School is:	Dr Douglas Elliffe Email: d.elliffe@auckland.ac.nz School of Psychology The University of Auckland Private Bag 92019 Ph: 373 7599 extn 8414

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 extn. 83711.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 20 November 2013 for a period of three years, Reference Number 010515.

Appendix C: Consent Form

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

Project title: A qualitative exploration of stress, coping, support-seeking and help-seeking among Chinese migrant youth in New Zealand

Names of Researchers: Dr Kerry Gibson and Yan Yan Lei

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and have understood the nature of the research and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I understand that the principal has given his/her assurance that my decision to participate or not participate in this study will not affect my relationship with the school.

- I agree to take part in this research.

- I understand that I will participate in a focus group for about 1.5 hours and an individual interview for about 1 hour.

- I understand that I am free to withdraw participation at any time before and during the focus group. However I cannot withdraw any information I have already shared once the focus group is completed.

- I understand that I am free to withdraw participation at any time before and during the interview, and to withdraw any data traceable to me up to two weeks after the interview.

- I agree to be audio recorded.

- I understand that a third party who has signed a confidentiality agreement will transcribe the audio recordings.

- I understand that transcripts will be kept for six years, after which they will be destroyed.

- I give permission for my data to be quoted anonymously in a doctoral thesis, conferences, and publications arising from the research.

- I wish / do not wish to receive a summary of the findings (please specify a physical or email address below if you wish to receive a summary of the findings).

Name _____ Signature _____ Date_____

Physical or email address _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on 20 November 2013 for a period of three years, Reference Number 010515.

Appendix D: Demographic Questionnaire

1. How old are you?

2. What year are you in at school?

3. What age did you migrate to New Zealand?

4. Do you have New Zealand Citizenship or Permanent Residence?

5. Who do you live with in New Zealand?

6. Can you speak Chinese?

7. If you can speak Chinese, what Chinese language do you speak?

8. What language is spoken at home?

9. Can your parents speak English?

Appendix E: Focus Group Schedule

1. STRESS
   - What sorts of things usually create stress for young Chinese migrants in New Zealand?
   - Are these stressors similar or different compared to those of other young people in New Zealand?

2. COPING
   - How do young Chinese migrants cope with stress?
   - How do these learn to cope with stress? Does culture influence coping with stress?

3. SUPPORT-SEEKING
   - Do young Chinese migrants seek support when they are feeling stressed? If so, how?
   - Does Chinese culture influence support-seeking?

4. PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES
   - What do you know about mental health and psychological services (e.g., school guidance counsellors, Youthline, psychologists, etc)?
   - What do you think about these services?
   - What do you think mental health professionals and/or psychological services can do to facilitate help-seeking of young Chinese migrants and/or help them manage through times of stress?

Appendix F: Individual Interview Schedule

1. MIGRATION BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCES OF GROWING UP IN NEW ZEALAND
   - Do you know anything about your migration to New Zealand?
   - Can you tell me about your experiences of growing up in New Zealand?
   - How do you make sense of your cultural identity?

2. STRESS
   - What things generally make you feel stressed?
   - Can you tell me about the last time you felt stressed about something?

3. COPING
   - What do you usually do to deal with stress?
   - Does your culture influence how you cope with stress?
   - Going back to the last time you felt stressed, can you tell me about your experience of trying to cope?

4. SUPPORT-SEEKING
   - What do you think about seeking support from others when you are feeling stressed?
   - Do you have experiences of seeking support from others?
   - Does your culture influence your support-seeking?

5. PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES
   - What do you know about psychological services?
   - What do you think about psychological services?
   - Have you ever sought advice or help from a mental health professional for a personal problem before? If yes, what were your experiences of it?
   - What do you think mental health and/or psychological services can do to facilitate you to seek them for help and/or help you manage through times of stress?