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**Intercultural Communication Competence, Adaptation
Context, and Acculturation Strategies among Chinese
Immigrants in Spain: Based on Field Work in Barcelona**

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ABSTRACT

There are more than 240, 000 Chinese, legal and illegal, living in Spain and constituting the Chinese ethnic community which arises as the fifth largest minority in Spain. The Chinese population has undergone an exponential growth during the last 20 years, getting increasingly noticeable in Spain, due to its remarkable economic model in connections with China across the Eurasia continent. The considerably large Chinese community in Spain, forming part of nearly 65 million overseas Chinese worldwide and part of over 230 million international migrant population, has been going through relocation accommodation processes.

Unlike traditional destinations for Chinese migrants, like the U.S.A., Great Britain and Australia, Spain has not received surprisingly large influx of Chinese immigrants until the 1980s. Almost 70 percent of the registered Chinese have their origin in commerce-centered Qingtian county of Zhejiang province in Southeast China, where entrepreneurship is highly praised. The flow of Chinese migrants into Spain has kept running ever since and its composition has become increasingly variegated either in terms of place of origin or of educational and socioeconomic backgrounds. Even when Spain sinks in the depth of economic depression and decline of employment, the number of Chinese immigrants continues to go up instead of decrease. While more and more recent new immigrants arrive in Spain, the second or subsequent generations of the eldest first generation immigrants have started to assume responsibility and play the role of mainstay of the ethnic community.

It is against such a background that the problem of cross-cultural adaptation stands out in relief. Different from older receiving countries of Chinese immigrants where cultural integration among the specific Chinese minority has been investigated for decades, Spain contains a newly formed significant Chinese community which has drawn scarce academic attention on the issue of cross-cultural adaptation. It is therefore the general objective of the present study to get to know about cross-cultural adaptation related issues among the Chinese community in Spain.

The present study is based on the premise that culture, like a complicated language that involves multiple layers of verbal and nonverbal codes and symbols, can be conveyed through communication. By the degree of identification with Chinese culture and/or Spanish culture are developed four acculturation modes: assimilation, integration, marginalization, and separation. It is the first specific objective of the current investigation to measure host/ethnic

cultural identification so as to classify different immigrant groups into acculturation modes. This objective is set to understand whether generation and socioeconomic status exert influence on immigrants' cultural identification.

By looking at the intercultural competence can be identified socio-cultural adaptation degree among the immigrants. Besides, immigrants' psychological adjustment difficulties are measured in order to figure out the relations between acculturation mode, socio-cultural adaptation competence and psychological health among Chinese immigrants.

The third objective is to find out what coping strategies are taken by immigrants to deal with adaptation difficulties and the possible causes are explored, too. In other words, exploration is made around two questions: whether the immigrants (categorized into four acculturation modes) have failed intercultural communication or not; what makes them fail or succeed in intercultural communication and what coping strategies they take to deal with multiracial environment.

The main body of the current study is divided into seven parts. The first part is an introduction in which the general concepts of intercultural communication and intercultural adaptation are explained. Combined with the current situation of Chinese community in Spain, the necessity and importance of doing an investigation on cross-cultural adaptation among them are stated, as related in the section of "problem statement". Besides, the general objective of the study is presented at the end of the part.

The second part accounts for an overview of Chinese immigration which is unfolded along a historical line anchored on geographical distribution of Chinese diaspora. Both main sending places of Chinese international migrants and principle receiving regions are described. The Chinese migration to Europe, Spain and Catalonia is recounted in more detail. In the last, a literature review of academic research on Chinese immigration to Spain leads to an impression that the academic field has paid attention mainly to history, migratory pattern, economic activities, demographic features, and ethnic organizations of the ethnic community.

The third part is devoted to constructing theoretical framework and variables for the field work. The framework is structured on four dimensions: intercultural communication competence at the core, together with adaptation context on the periphery, the two of which correspond with acculturation mode and coping strategy. The process of cross-adaptation is also expounded.

In the fourth and fifth parts is presented the current investigation. The study objectives are stated, hypotheses are established, and methods used in field work are explained. A survey

was carried out among 50 participants in Barcelona for the purpose of knowing about acculturation degree among the Chinese, the impact of generation and socioeconomic status on cultural adaptation, and the relations between acculturation mode, psychological health and communication competence. 28 of the 50 participants accepted a semi-structured interview and provided valuable information for further explanation. Besides, sampling, procedure of doing field work, and measures and scales exploited in the study are explained in detail.

In the sixth part, namely Chapter 5, are shown findings and analysis results. The results either confirm or reject the hypotheses presented in Chapter 3, demonstrating that socioeconomic and generation have great impact on acculturation mode, that acculturation mode is closely related to socio-cultural adaptation competence, and that psychological health is irrelevant to both of them. The results of the qualitative part show that immigrants of different types tend to adopt different coping strategies to confront difficulties met in their intercultural life. The reasons behind are also summarized in a theme tree.

The seventh part, called Chapter 6, is dedicated to discussion and conclusions. Generally speaking, all immigrants have the subjective wish of integrating into the mainstream Spanish society, but among them are produced different adaptation outcomes because of multi-layered conditions which demarcate them into different acculturative groups. For those integrated immigrants, internal cognitive identification as well as external actions combined together speed up their integration process. The separated immigrants, despite of their subjective willingness to integrate into the Spanish society, they have neither urgent motives nor access to cultural integration due to various structural and environmental limitations. There are a few marginalized immigrants who are identified with neither the Spanish host culture nor the Chinese ethnic community, unable to proceed in the direction of higher acculturation and upward mobility in the mainstream society and afraid to go back to China because of return adaptation difficulties to a dramatically changing China. The assimilated group is mainly composed of those second-generation offspring of higher socioeconomic origin. It is predictable that more descendants of the Chinese will identify themselves with the host culture. In the end, active practical measures are suggested to give more effective guidance to the Chinese community on the journey of integration into the Spanish society.

Keywords: Ethnic Chinese in Spain, Acculturation, Intercultural Competence, Coping Strategy

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Intercultural Communication Competence, Adaptation Context, and Acculturation Strategies among Chinese Immigrants in Spain

INTRODUCTION

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Globalization has long been one of the most pronounced phenomena brought about by the age of information explosion in which we live. It is reported that the number of international migrants worldwide reached 232 million in 2013, up from 175 million in 2000 (Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations). The number is expected to reach 405 million by 2050. During the ten years between 2000 and 2010, the international migrant population expanded with annual growth at a speed of 2.3 percent each year. The number in 2013 comprises over 3.2 percent of the world population that year, denoting that one in every 31 persons in the world population there is one international migrant (United Nations).

With the arrival of globalization age, intercultural communication has shown its increasing importance in many aspects of modern life, the acuteness of which is most felt by immigrants and their host societies. The term “intercultural communication” was first proposed by Edward T. Hall in his book *the Silent Language*, which is widely recognized as the founder of the field. Intercultural communication distinguishes itself from the rest of communication studies by its “relatively high degree of difference in the experiential backgrounds of the communicators due to cultural differences” (Kim, 1984). Here implies an assumption that people from the same cultural background share more commonality than those from different cultures.

When a socialized person come into contact with a different culture, the communication phenomena involving him / her are bound to influence and to be influenced by the previous cultural elements inscribed in him / her. It is in this sense that Edward T. Hall regards culture as communication, which functions the same way as human language, except that culture is a language that works with more equipment than vocal and nonverbal symbols (1975). It can be then inferred that intercultural communication is in essence an interaction process in multiple levels, intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social. Contact and communication are the two critical concepts of intercultural communication.

INTERCULTURAL ADAPTATION

Intercultural communication research was first established as an academic area in 1960s and 1970s when American Peace Corps volunteers were motivated by practical interests to study about knowledge of cultures in the developing world (Kim, 2005). From the 1980s intercultural communication has since ushered into a vibrant newly emerged research field, built on interdisciplinary literature of sociology, sociolinguistics, psychology and anthropology. In the area of intercultural communication are frequently mentioned several concepts, such as adjustment, adaptation, and acculturation, which are all related to transition experiences and cultural adaptation process.

Shaffer and Shoben (1965) distinguished adjustment and adaptation on the argument that the former refers to “the reduction or satisfaction of short term drives”, whereas the latter is “valuable for long term individual or racial survival” (p. 56). The term acculturation emphasized the aspect of learning and acquisition of the elements of the new culture or environment (Kim, 2001). Adaptation is widely used to allude to the general processes of fitting with broader environment, and therefore it is the broad term most frequently employed in the intercultural communication research field, although more often than not it is also alternated by the term acculturation.

Intercultural adaptation has become the main concern of Western intercultural communication studies aimed at identifying ways to relieve stress, facilitate the acculturation process and make immigration a better experience. It was initially conceived of as a one-dimensional phenomenon mainly in the light of psychological analysis of immigrants’ experiences in a strange environment (Klopf, 1987). On later research stage, it has been considered as a multi-faceted phenomenon worthy of exploration from kaleidoscopic perspectives. Cognitive, emotional, affective and behavioral changes take place as individuals strive to better fit into the host society (Kim, 1995).

In her research about adaptation model, Anderson (1994) outlined the cross-cultural literature into four broad families: the U shaped “recovery” model describing culture shock, the cultural accommodation mechanism which views adaptation as a learning process, the psychological journey model, and the model cognitive psychological diffusion. The U shaped culture shock model, emerging along with the concept of “cultural shock”, had clout in cross-cultural literature until 1990s, but later investigations based on the learning model started to take weight in description of adaptation process (Anderson, 1994). “U-curve” adaptation process, coined by Lysgaard in 1955, refers to the initial period of cross-cultural stay as a honey-moon

like high point, which changes into a low point because of cultural confrontation and conflicts, but gradually it climbs up and goes back to a high point when one person accepts and internalizes the strange cultural values and practices.

Later due to a lack of supporting experiments, the validity of U-curve model was doubted by many theorists. Cross-cultural adaptation began to be described as an ascending slope of learning line. Not a few investigators agree that one person gets adapted to the strange host society by constantly learning about the host society's language, thinking pattern and customs and practices. They think that adaptation is a changing process of the involved immigrant going from being ignorant of the host society to achieving easy-to-understand stages by acquiring both cognitive knowledge and behavioral conform.

Until recent years, more comprehensive models, such as Kim's integrative theory of intercultural competence (2002) and Anderson's six principles applying to cross-cultural adaptation (1994), both based on precedent works, provide researchers more encompassing framework and detailed variables. Focus on psychological equilibrium, which means that one person does not suffer excruciating tension or uncertainty about surroundings and environments, has assumed greater importance. Kim and Anderson's models, integrating multilayered elements, put emphasis on person-environment interaction (Kim, 1998) and the relation between psychological coping, behavioral acting and structural / environmental factors (Anderson, 1994).

Authoritative researchers, such as Mischel (1973), Bennett (1977), Taft (1987), Weaver (1993) and Anderson (1994), etc., asserted that cultural adaptation is, in its essence, an evolving continuum of responses to challenges and changes in life circumstances caused by transition experiences. Leaving one's home and living in a new environment where he/she encounters strangers, unfamiliar language and practices, is an experience requiring cultural adaptation caused by the bereavement of the familiar in his/her old life environment. In this sense, cross-cultural adaptation competence should be considered as important in so far as any common experience in our daily life could involve some degree of adaptation competence.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Large scale immigration waves into Europe has not started until recent decades. After WWII large amount of political refugees formed intra-European movement due to displacement and disorder resulting from the war. The movement lasted till Berlin wall was built which made Eastern European countries more and more insulated (Dustmann, 2012). During the 1950s and

1960s, most European countries lost their governance over their colonies. The decolonization, together with economic expansion that appeared in most northern European countries, helped bring on the second large migration wave which attracted people from former colonies and southern European countries to come to northern European countries where great demands for labor emerged. In the 1980s, with the fall of Berlin wall and dismiss of soviet bloc, immigrants from eastern European countries flowed into the rest of Europe out of political and economic reasons (Dustmann, 2012). Southern European Union members like Spain and Italy transformed themselves from out-migration origins to vibrant receiving countries of immigrant labourers (Beltrán, 2002; Gladys, 2007; Portes, 2014). The accession of 8 eastern and central European countries into the European Union in 2004 further complicated the migration movement both within and outside of Europe (Dustmann, 2012).

These recent waves of large influx of immigrants from heterogeneous origins into European Union members forced EU draw up and carry out emergency policies in response to the rising phenomenon. The European Commission has taken a number of measures in terms of migration policy, including the Common Basic Principles for Immigration Integration Policy in the EU adopted in 2005, the Stockholm Programme approved in 2009 which addresses the integration of immigrants in the context of “a comprehensive immigration policy”, and the Agenda for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals passed in 2011. These measures are designed under a multiculturalist framework which prescribes that both the immigrants and host citizens should make efforts in mutual accommodation in order to attain harmony in ethnically plural society (Council of EU, 2014).

The migration of people, different from movement of goods or capital, has lasting consequences. Migrants come together with their languages, symbols, cultural practices, values, and norms, etc. which inevitably interact with the host state culture. This contact between cultures is a “creative and reactive process” (Berry, 2009), which may lead to conflicts or enriching cultural integration. The situation poses unexpected challenges for ethnically plural societies. Success in dealing with this situation contributes to prosperity of the society, whereas failure in this respect may cause resentment, conflicts, and insecurity for the society (Portes, 2014), such as racial violence frequently reported in media.

Spain nowadays has similar proportion of foreign population to other countries with old immigration history like the USA (14% of total population for Spain and 13% for USA). Foreign population in Spain accounts for only 1% of the population before early 1990s, yet during the last two decades, it rose exponentially to more than 14% (Dustmann, 2012). Although the

number of foreign population in Spain falls due to the economic depression, the majority of them choose to stay. The Chinese population, in contrast to other immigrant nationals, even increases during economic downturn, the percentage of the Chinese in foreign population rising from 3.3% in 2013 to 3.7% in 2014 (INE, 2014).

Conflicts resulted from racial discrimination against the Chinese frequently happen in Spain. For instance, in 2004 host local citizens in Elche protested and marched in demonstration against Chinese businessmen who were indicted for robbing locals of shoe market share. The locals intruded into Chinese-run shoe stores, looted and burned Chinese businessmen's shoe warehouses (El País, 2004). Despite the fact that the long-time prevailed slander and rumour of cooking cat meat or dog meat in Chinese restaurants proved to be malevolent and hurting, some Spanish TV channels are still keen on producing racist programmes with strong tendency of discrimination against the Chinese. In April of 2013, TV channel 5 broadcasted a programme defaming Chinese restaurants by claiming that the Chinese use human flesh to do dishes (Netease, 2014). This discrimination event was closely followed by two others: on New Year's Eve of 2014, one festival entertainment show broadcasted on channel 5 again vilified and uglified the image of the Chinese and the Chinese restaurant; in May of 2014, Julian Lopez, the talented comic, insulted the Chinese ethnics in a popular talk show on channel 6 (Netease, 2014). Besides, events of illegal transaction in business committed by the Chinese are frequently reported, too. For example, the sensational scandal of money laundering exposed by the "Emperor Operation" (Operación Emperador) in October of 2012 led to arrests of 84 people among whom 58 are of Chinese origin (El País, 2012, 2015).

Before, Chinese migrants passed unnoticed in Spain; not until the second boomer in 1991 when the sudden inflow of Chinese migrants into Spain became evident did the mass media pay serious attention to this group. Chinese migrants have since then been persecuted and stereotyped by the mass media and the police. Misunderstanding and discords between Chinese immigrants and Spanish locals are heard about not a few times. The burning of Chinese merchants' shoes in Elche in 2004 was a most telling example. The media presents Chinese migrant business owners as "mafias" dealing in illegal immigration and extorting and excruciating their Chinese compatriots. Under the depressing climate of economic recession, Chinese "mafias", who are considered economic thieves of local Spanish economic opportunities and profits, continue to be played up with xenophobic sensations by the media. Little has been said about peculiar characteristics of this immigrant group. The more recent case happened in October of 2012 and the Chinese businessmen were indicted for forming illegal sinister gangs and for tax fraud.

These conflicts and problems indicate a sad picture of the ethno-cultural relationship between the Chinese ethnics and the locals far from being harmonious. Finding out problems during cross-cultural adaptation for Chinese immigrant community and inductive solution suggestions for these problems then is in urgent need and of great significance. Apart from that, the fact that these Chinese immigrants have chosen to stay here and have children and form new generations (the percentage of the Chinese under the age of 24 in Barcelona rising from 19% in 2000 to 37% in 2013, statistics from the city hall of Barcelona), necessitates a close and deep investigation about the integration problem of the Chinese community in Spain in order to create better integration pathways for this specific ethnic group.

MAIN OBJECTIVE

Like all human adjustment, cross-cultural adaptation takes place along three dimensions: affective, perceptual and behavioral (Anderson, 1994; Kim, 2002; Ward & Kennedy, 1994). The overt-behavioral change could lead to economic and structural adjustment, such as getting rich and winning socioeconomic status following cross-cultural exposure through active participation in the host environment. However, behavioral adjustment may not necessarily be accompanied by emotional, psychological, and cognitive adjustment in the individual (Amir, 1969; Ward, 2001).

As an impressive minority in Spain, how are the Chinese doing currently in terms of cross-cultural adaptation? What adjustments do they tend to make in the cross-cultural situation as they are in Spain? How does their socioeconomic adaptation connect with their affective, attitudinal and perceptual changes? These questions still remain overcast under biases, misunderstandings, indifference and ignorance. It becomes therefore a worthy attempt to measure the degree of cultural integration among different groups of the Chinese ethnic community in Spain in order to grasp an accurate, unbiased and full picture of their position and doings in the relatively new adopted country.

CHAPTER 1 CHARACTERIZING CHINESE IMMIGRATION

1.1 AN OVERVIEW OF CHINESE INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Chinese international migration started early by the 12th century when merchants and Buddhist pilgrims led the way in East and Southeast Asia. From the 10th century on, China had been keeping the ocean-going skills and the shipping industry alive. The steady momentum of Chinese maritime development had not been broken until 1433. Between 1405 and 1433, there was a wave of state-sponsored maritime exploration ventured by Zheng He¹ which marked the high point of Chinese naval history (Wang, 2000). The Chinese in Maritime Provinces like Guangdong and Fujian had been keeping emigrating in small number since the 10th century. Despite the centuries-old earthbound values, these Chinese succeeded in emigration out of two reasons: poverty in their native place due to lack of natural resources, and less control from the central government due to distance. There was a period of Chinese free-ranging commercial activity in Southeast Asia from 1620s to 1644. A large number of Chinese migrated to Vietnam, Thailand, Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, and other parts of Southeast Asia. Weakened central government, absence of Asian naval rivals, and the rivalry between the Dutch and the Spanish, brought about such prosperity (Wang, 2000).

New waves of departure from southern China came in the 19th century and early 20th century when the ports were opened up. After the defeats by the West powers, China was forced to agree upon the recruitment of contract labour in the treaty ports of Southeast China. Chinese emigrant labourers became indispensable to the economies of Western colonial territories in Southeast Asia, North and South America, Australia and Africa. A few Chinese reached Western countries as servants of missionaries, imperial envoys, coolies, shipmen, merchants, circus acrobats, novices and cooks, etc. Up until to the early 20th century, the emigrants were overwhelmingly male as women were long required to keep house together back at home. After 1949 the communist government resorted to the closed-door policy and a continuing

¹ Zheng He is the greatest navigator in Chinese history who adventured seven voyages to the western Pacific Oceans and established on the part of ancient China diplomatic relations with numerous countries in Southeast Asia during 1405 to 1433, decades earlier than the Age of Discovery that Europe embraced.

flood of illegal emigrants to Hong Kong began. Since 1949 Taiwan has been ruled by KMT² exiles from mainland Communism, and an influx of political dissenters flowed into Taiwan from mainland China to avoid persecution or uncertainty of life. By the route of Hong Kong or Taiwan, the Chinese reached to Great Britain and the United States in force, and thereby spread to other parts of Europe and of other territories under the United States' control (Wang, 2000; Mai, 1992; Wang, 1991).

From the 19th century, the industrial revolution and the end of slavery in the western world resulted in severe shortage of labor in industries established by new generation of Western colonialists and capitalists. The need for labor to the mines and plantations owned by European capitalists was met after a series of coastal wars that had opened up China for international trade. New arrivals flowed for family reunion or joined their kin, relatives, and fellow villagers in America and Europe. From the latter half of the 20th century on, economic uncertainty and political persecution under the new regimes of Southeast Asia after decolonization has driven a large number of overseas Chinese to the way of remigration to America and Europe (Zhuang and Wang, 2010; Wei, 2010). Since the 1980s, about 18 million of Chinese from the mainland left their home to find opportunities in other countries, forming the most significant emigrant group in the world (Kwong, 2007; Skeldon, 2013).

From 1980s onwards, as a liberal emigration law was adopted, new waves of emigrants have left the Chinese mainland to study, join relatives, work, or trade abroad. Many of the new immigrants seem upgraded in economic and education backgrounds. Urban origin and higher education level characterize members of the new immigrant groups (Wei, 2010). In recent years, categories of investment and entrepreneur immigration have taken on mounting importance, outshining traditional categories like family reunion, unskilled labor, and professionals (Nyiri, 2002).

1.1.1 MAIN MIGRANT-SENDING PROVINCES

Most of the members of the Chinese immigrant community can trace their own family's origin to peasant village life in southeast coast of China. They are composed of a variety of dialect groups like the Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka, Hainanese, and Zhejiangese. At first, the Cantonese dominated the Chinese community in Southeast Asia and North America, but other

² KMT is the abbreviation for Kuomintang Party of China, which was one of the dominant parties of the early Republic of China, and remains one of the main political parties in modern Taiwan from 1912 onwards. By the end of 1949, when the Communists controlled almost all over mainland China, the KMT retreated to Taiwan Island and have controlled the island ever since.

dialect groups have been progressively involved in trade in these regions. In Western Europe, the Zhejiangese and Cantonese formed the core of the Chinese communities.

1.1.1.1 Zhejiang

Most of the Chinese migrants dispersed across the world often can trace their origin to rural area in specific places along the southeast coast of China (see map 1 and map 2). Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangdong are the top three mainland sources of Chinese international migrants. The group who came first to Europe as small traders was from two adjacent places (the county Qingtian and the port city Wenzhou) in the coastal province of Zhejiang in Southeast China (see map 1).



Map 1: Map of China (Source: own elaboration)

Their presence could trace to contract workers recruited by the allied forces in the World War I. They are also said to have arrived earlier in the 1910s either by route of Siberian railroad or by maritime route to Marseilles (Wang, 1991). Wenzhou has since the ancient times been a severely disadvantaged place in economic and political terms. It suffers from both problems of overcrowding population and scarcity of natural resources. It has a population density of 630 person/km², with over 7 million living in an area of about 11,800 km² (Wu & Zanin, 2007). Besides, over 68% of its land is covered by mountains, rivers and sparsely distributed small lakes. Qingtian used to be a county belonged to Wenzhou prefecture until 1963 when the central government allocated it under the administration of prefecture-level city Lishui. Qingtianese have the same problems as Wenzhouese, born in a place where 89.7% of its land

is covered by mountains, 5% by rivers and brooks, and only 5.3% by cultivable area (Qingtian government's portal website).

Wenzhou and Qingtian, adjacent and sharing much in common, have developed a similar model of economic development. The pressure from survival problem has driven people to find means of livelihood elsewhere. Thus these two places have since early times been large sources of both national and international migrants. In Qingtian, 230,000 out of the total population of 430,000 live overseas (the Southern Weekly, 2012). In Wenzhou, the number of citizens living abroad is 1.5 times that living in the local city (the Southern Weekly, 2012). Apart from the above-mentioned circumstances factors, the trend for migration also has other contributing factors. First of all, it has its root in traditional philosophical school originated in Southern Zhejiang called "Yongjia School" (永嘉学派) which emphasizes the value of commercialism, production and circulation, advocating a pragmatic perspective in thinking and acting (Wu & Zanin, 2007). Secondly, due to long distance from the capital representing central authorities, the central government was not able to exert strong control over the place. Thirdly, since the economic reforms in late 1970s, local government has adopted a policy of giving the greatest support to those who attempt to emigrate in order to relieve the local unemployment stress as well as to reap benefits of remittances (Wei, 2010). The current Chinese central government also plays the role of facilitator alongside with the local government being the pusher for the emigration flow because of the impressive sum of foreign revenue and foreign investment it brings about. Most Zhejiangese migrants choose Europe, Spain and Italy in particular, as their destination as a result of the chain migration pattern.

These places are also well known for the town market it has developed. The people peddle local products to other parts of the country and bring products and materials of other places to the locals (Fei, 2002). Kinships and social networks play important role in their market activities. They develop business in the unit of family (Fei, 2002). The whole family runs the business. Usually the man of the house takes charge of selling petty commodities in distant places, establishing business connections outside hometown, and purchasing raw materials and products from other places, while the woman and children are responsible for selling to the locals and taking care of business at home. People there are business-oriented and self-reliant, which has formed a commercialism-centered culture around these places. Wenzhou is the birthplace of China's private economy (Fei, 2002; Wu & Zanin, 2007). When China began economic reforms in 1978, Wenzhou was the first city to set up "individual and private enterprises" as well as a shareholding economy in China (HKTDC).

1.1.1.2 Guangdong; Fujian



Map 2: Map of China (Source: own elaboration)

The maritime provinces of Guangdong and Fujian are places where the majority of the overseas Chinese are historically originated. These two provinces hold a long history of emigration. Nearly all Chinese emigrants in Southeast Asia before modern times were from these two provinces. Unlike Zhejiangese, Cantonese and Fujianese tended to migrate to the US and western European countries like Britain and Netherlands. Like what happened in Zhejiang, in Fujian and Guangdong, people are so motivated to emigrate abroad under the spell of well-off economic prospects and life standard in developed nations that they willingly pay criminal smuggling networks (also called “snakeheads”) tens of thousands of dollars to be illegally migrated (Kwong, 2007; Zai, 1998).

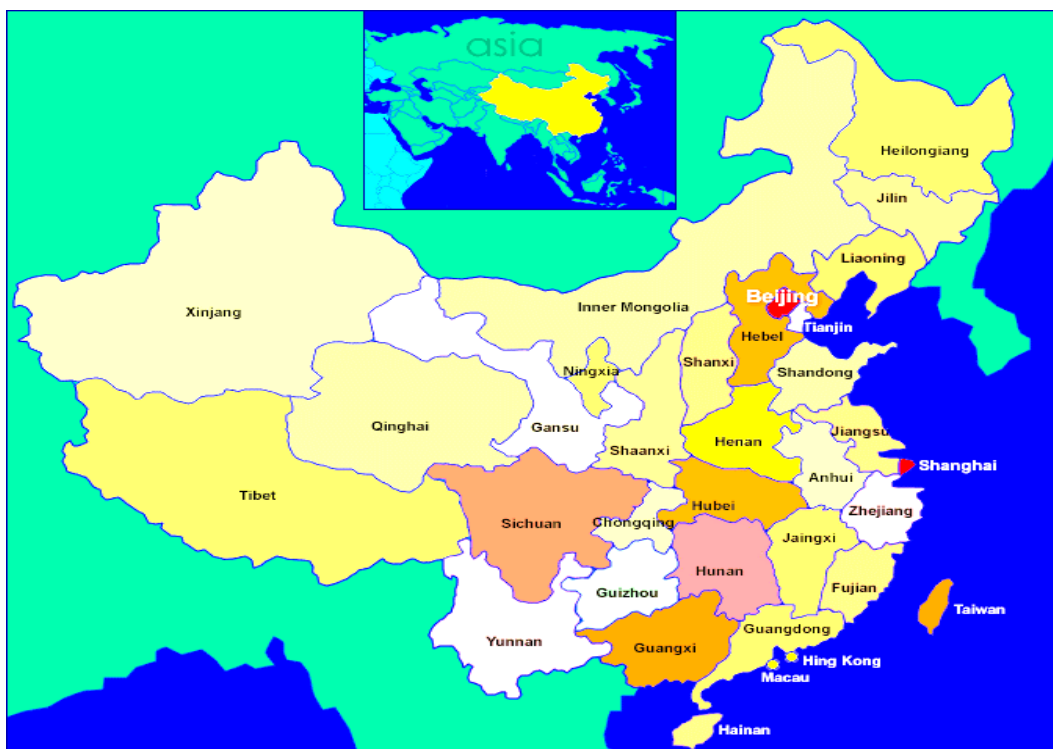
The local governments’ huge encouragement, the central government’s facilitating efforts, the opportunity to go out after the economic reforms, the prior close relations kept with town fellows and relatives who have already settled abroad and the demand for cheap labourer of overseas employers and especially of those overseas ethnic employers, all contribute to mass emigration in these provinces (Kwong, 2007; Shen, 2010; Wu & Zanin, 2007; Zai & Hideki, 2005).

Hongkong shares the dialect with Cantonese, and the indigenous language widely used across Taiwan Island is the same to that in Fujian province. Hongkong and Taiwan have long been concentrations of illegal and sometime unlawful emigrants from the mainland. Taiwan, often

occupied by pirates and merchants from Fujian, only came under central control after 1684 (Wang, 2000). It was a colony of Japan from 1895 to 1945, and has been ruled by KMT exiles since 1949. Hongkong and Taiwan often functioned as main hubs upon where the Chinese remigrated to the rest parts of the world (Wang, 2000).

Furthermore, the first batch of special economic zones supposed to work as the engines of burgeoning national economy mostly belong to these two provinces, like Guangzhou, Shenzhen, and Zhuhai in Guangdong province, Xiamen in Fujian province. Guangdong is not only China's largest exporter of goods, but also it is the country's largest importer. Since 1978, when China opened to the world, Fujian has received significant investment from overseas Fujianese around the world, Taiwanese and foreign investment (Lever-Tracy, 1996).

Recent Chinese international migration has shown a diversified trend in both origin of place and education and social status background. Large number of migrants arrived sporadically in Europe, North America and Austria after leaving their homes in three large provinces in Northeast China, namely, Jilin, Heilongjiang, and Liaoning (see map 3) in 1980s when China's reform and privatization of state-owned enterprises caused massive layoffs (Wei, 2010; Zai & Hideki, 2005). The migration ball has further spread to remote inland provinces like Hubei, Sichuan, Hunan, Xinjiang, etc (Chin, 2009).



Map 3: Map of China

1.1.2 MAIN RECEIVING REGIONS OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

The principle recipients of Chinese immigrants are Southeast Asia, North America, and Europe, as indicated above by statistics provided by Overseas Community Affair Council of Taiwan (see chart 1). Recent Chinese international migrants have adventured to tread on relatively newer territories like Africa and Latin America where great economic potential resides in.

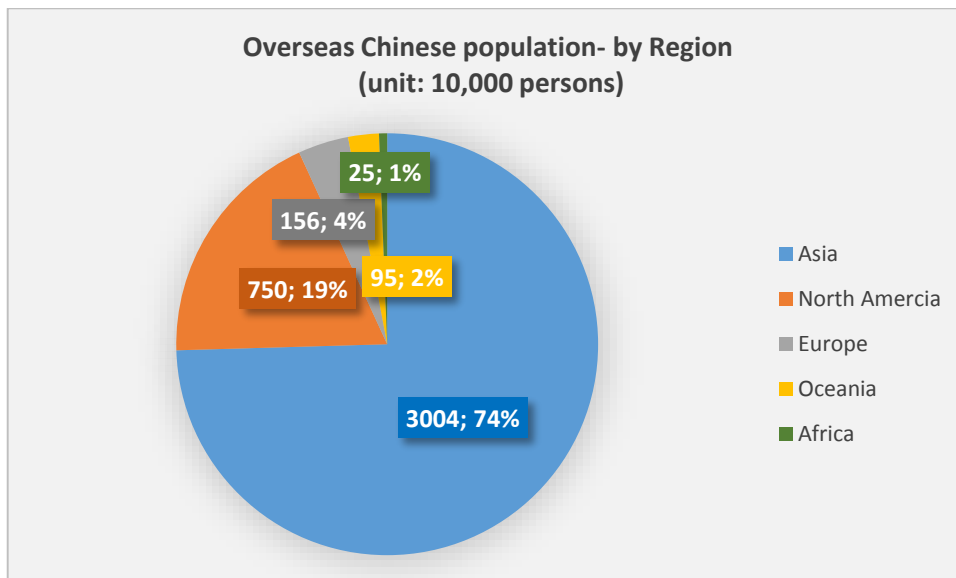


Chart 1: Overseas Chinese population of Year 2011
(Source: Overseas Community Affair Council of Taiwan)

There are over 50 million overseas Chinese by the end of 2012 (Xinhua, 2012 March 11; Xinhua, 2012 April 9). Though the Chinese spreads in nearly every corner of the world, most of them concentrate in Southeast Asia, North America, Europe, and Oceania. In Southeast Asia, the overseas Chinese make up a majority of the population of Singapore, and significant minority population in Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. The overseas population mostly came from the maritime provinces of Guangdong, Fujian, Hainan and Zhejiang along the south-eastern coast of China. Second to Southeast Asia, North America attracts most Chinese diaspora (see table 1). Over 4 million Chinese Americans live in the United States by 2011, comprising the largest ethnic group of Asian Americans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). In Europe, France and the United Kingdom are the leaders absorbing the Chinese diaspora population, respectively of 440,000 and 400,000 by 2011(Overseas Community Affair Council of Taiwan, 2011). 140,000 overseas Chinese were registered in Spain by 2011, yet about 240,000 Chinese migrants, legal and illegal, are reported to live in Spain (Mallet, 2011).

Year	Total	Asia	Americas	Europe	Oceania	Africa
2009	39,082	29,747	6,906	1,259	932	238
2010	39,568	29,815	7,255	1,317	945	236
2011	40,307	30,041	7,498	1,565	955	249

Table 1: Overseas Chinese Population Count (Unit: '000 persons)
(Source: Overseas Community Affair Council of Taiwan, 2011)

1.1.2.1 Southeast Asia

Most multi-ethnic societies in Southeast Asia are predominately composed of the Chinese, due to geographical and historical reasons. Chinese merchants had lived in Southeast Asia for about two millennium (Zhuang & Wang, 2010). Early in the 10th century when the ancient China started its shipping industry and naval skills, males in impoverishment along the coast secretly emigrated to neighbouring islands and lands for trade. Since Chinese culture had long been determined as continental and earthbound, in contrast to European maritime culture (Wang, 2000), the centre of the nation attracted an overwhelmingly major part of the nation-wide economic and political resources. Thus the coastal provinces were left relatively poor and desolated. Chinese people had long been indifferent or hostile to emigrant merchants who had left the shore. However, the subterranean flow of emigration had never been cut off throughout the succeeding centuries. Gradually, the Chinese abroad formed a considerably large community in the local society (Wang, 2000).

Until the beginning of the 20th century almost 80% of the Chinese overseas concentrated on territories of Southeast Asia (Zhuang & Wang, 2010). People in coastal provinces like Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangdong always had to seek foreign trade in Southeast islands and regions to make ends meet in the family. But the powerful influence from the north-central imperial culture prevented the sojourners from emigrating permanently (Wang, 2000). Only after the late 18th century when Western European maritime powers like Britain and France, and later Japan, defeated China and forced to open its ports, the Chinese overseas in Southeast Asia gradually got rid of the Chinese land-bound culture and began to assimilate themselves into the recipient community by intermarrying locally and forming new families (Wang, 2000). In Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines, the Chinese form a significant ethnic population, and in Singapore the Chinese are the majority population, comprising over 75% of residents by 2012 (see table 2).

Country	Population	% Ethnic Chinese
Indonesia	2,200,000	3%
Philippines	750,000	1.3%
Thailand	620,000	8-10%
Vietnam	700,000	1.5%
Malaysia	230,000	27-28%
Singapore	3,500,000	75-80%
Myanmar	450,000	2-3%
Cambodia	600,000	1%
Laos	400,000	0.5%
Brunei	30,000	15%

Table 2: Percentage of ethnic Chinese in the population in Southeast Asian countries
(Source: Department of Statistics, Singapore, Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, Brunei 2012)

It should be noted that the percentage listed above is subject to a large standard of error, because a large number of descendants of ethnic Chinese ancestors are not registered by the governments as ethnic Chinese due to generations of inter-marriages with locals. For example, it is said that over 10% of the Philippine population have Chinese ancestry (Zhuang & Wang, 2010). However, the statistics shown is only about 1%. As seen from the table, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand have a large proportion of ethnic Chinese in the population, almost to the extent of being the majority (it is the majority in Singapore). The Chinese in these nations have achieved a fairly great degree of autonomy, actively involved in the nations' issues in political and economic terms (Wang, 2000). Especially after these nations won independence from European colonists, the enthusiastic participation of the Chinese, the local born Chinese in particular, cracked the idea that the Chinese overseas are apolitical (Wang, 2000). In Singapore, Mandarin is recognized as one of its official languages. Singaporean Chinese are usually better-educated and more exposed to western influences. In the Philippines and Indonesia, the ethnic Chinese, while constituting just 1% and 3% of the national population in 1998, control over 60% of the private economy of the host countries (Chua, 2003). Overseas Chinese are most successfully assimilated into local communities of Thailand and Singapore. For over 400 years, Thai-Chinese have largely intermarried and assimilated with their compatriots (Wang, 2000).

1.1.2.2 North America; Oceania

The United States could be taken as a typical recipient of Chinese immigrants in North America. There are mainly two waves of Chinese immigration into U.S. The first one took place when the Chinese flowed in great number into the United States in the latter half of the 19th century when the gold in California was newly discovered after the Mexico-America war ended (Mai, 1992). During the period from 1868 to 1882, a rush of Chinese came to the United States as indentured labour or by migration chains, either working for capitalist industrial teams, or working for small business owners. At first the Chinese immigrants could only deal with menial activities in small business like Chinese restaurants, laundry shops, grocery stores, tailoring workshops, etc. (Wang, 2000).

The second wave happened from late 1960s to the present. Emigration on large scale began to take its course after the U.S. government lifted in 1965 the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Chinese government lifted the emigration restrictions in 1978 in accordance with the economic reforms which led China to the global markets. The ethnic Chinese population in the US increased from 384,000 in 1980 to 2,018,000 in 2013 (Hooper & Batalova, 2015). Gradually the Chinese were able to enter big enterprises and some become professionals with high salaries. They survived political persecution, discrimination, and adversity in an unfriendly and sometimes hostile host society (Mai, 1998). They subdued, tolerated, resisted, adjusted, and finally found new identity under autonomy in a multicultural host community through constant self-improvement and through continual endeavours for improvement of their environments (Wang, 2000).

Up until the 1950s, the melting pot model³ of the United States was adopted widely which believed in the assimilation of all immigrants. The Chinese immigrant community descended from earthbound ancestors has proved to be filled with an ethnicity too consolidated to get rid of. From the 1970s on, multiculturalism took place of the melting pot model and led the way in multi-ethnic societies. Multiculturalism created a new atmosphere of tolerance, promoted stronger guarantees of legal rights for ethnics. The Chinese diaspora also turned to pursue a multicultural quest for autonomy, gaining confidence in a new Chinese identity built on modernised, cosmopolitan and more global values (Wang, 2000). The post-1965 Chinese immigrants in U.S. are predominantly skilled and engaged in jobs requiring professional

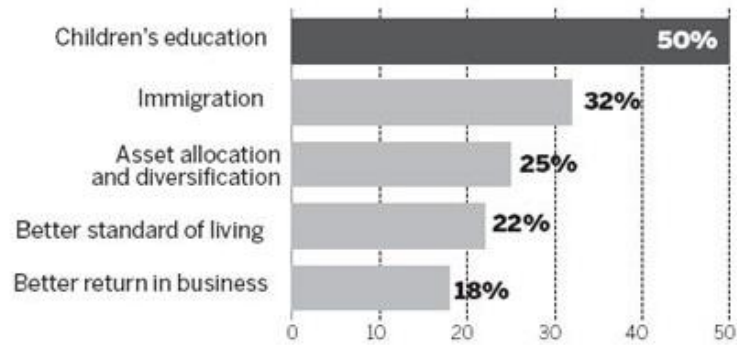
³ The melting pot is a metaphor for a multi-ethnic society becoming homogeneous, the heterogeneous elements melting into a harmonious whole with a common culture. The melting pot model often refers to the assimilation policy on immigrants in the host country.

qualifications. China is the principal source of foreign students in U.S. and the second largest recipient of temporary work visas (Hooper & Batalova, 2015).

Canada (896,000) and Australia (547,000) are also popular destinations for Chinese immigrants. In 1858 gold was discovered in Canada's British Columbia, and many Chinese gold miners hired in California were quickly rehired in Canada (Mai, 1998). Gold rushes in 1855 in Australia also lured large number of Chinese, which was the starting point of Chinese settlement in Oceania. In the early 20th century, stranded between the chaotic political situation and gloomy economic prospect in China, more and more Chinese adventured to migrate to Hongkong and Taiwan whereby they remigrate at the opportune moment to North America or Oceania. Later during the 1980s and 1990s, the anti-Chinese sentiments widespread in Southeast Asia also pushed a considerable number of ethnic Chinese to remigrate to North America and Oceania (Wang, 2000). There are now more than 870,000 people having Chinese ancestry in Australia (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2013).

In North America, Europe and Oceania, occupations are diverse and impossible to generalize; ranging from catering to significant ranks in medicine, the arts, and academia. However, in recent years, Economic growth in the People's Republic of China has given mainland Chinese more opportunities to emigrate. A 2011 survey showed that 60% of Chinese millionaires plan to emigrate, mostly to the USA or Canada (Shi, 2011). For rich Chinese emigrants, children's education is the top concern, succeeded by concerns about asset allocation, stand of living, and business return (see fig.1). Among all the destinations for Chinese investor immigrants, the United States always outstands all other options, followed by Canada and Singapore (see fig.1).

REASONS FOR OVERSEAS INVESTMENT MADE BY RICH CHINESE



Destination of immigration

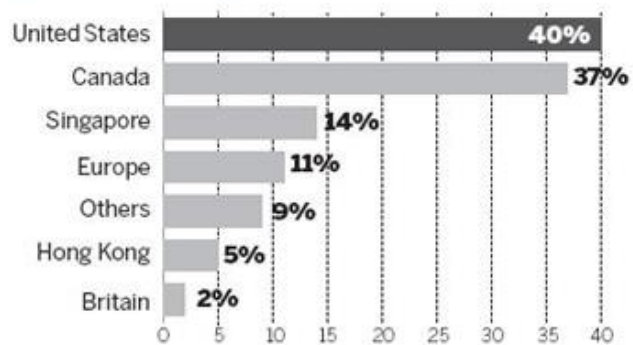


Fig.1: (Source: Private Banking White Paper 2011)

1.1.2.3 Europe

Chinese immigration into Europe is a process which occurs in different historical phases and under different circumstances. It can be traced back to the Chinese Opium Wars (1839-1841), when Western capitalists headed by Britain, under the two-fold pressure of industrial revolution and abolishment of slavery, forced China by war to open up port cities for international trade (Christiansen, 2003). Hongkong, Taiwan and Macao soon became international treaty ports after being colonized. A freer flow of labour poured from China into North America, Europe, Australia and Hawaii. The treaty ports along the east coast of China became the coolie trade field which supplied new sources of cheap labour to replace black slaves (Christiansen, 2003).

The recruitment of Chinese labourers first gained the momentum during 1870s and 1890s when steamship transport between Europe and the Far East began to run its course (Christiansen, 2003). Large number of Chinese coolies were recruited to work on board as

seamen. Some of them settled down in Europe. Later during the WWI, more than 100,000 were employed as part of the mercenary army in France and Belgium (Latham & Wu, 2013). A number of the Chinese mercenary army who survived the war did not have home to return chose to stay in France.

The second large wave of Chinese immigrants into Europe was composed of refugees who sought for political asylum after WWII. From the late 1950s, former British, Dutch and French colonies like Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, and Laos won independence one by one. The post-colonial nationalism in these countries adopted either assimilation or expulsion policies on the issue of immigrants. The warfare and ethnic policies made ethnic Chinese in these countries remigrate to Europe, mainly in the former colonist nations (Christiansen, 2003). Between the 1950s and 1980s a constant stream of Chinese political refugees came to Europe from the mainland China out of fear of the Communist authority.

Thanks to the “open door” policies and economic reforms adopted in the mainland China 1980s, rapidly increasing numbers of Chinese immigrants arrived in Europe mainly by the reason of trade and investments. Europe emerges as the continent with the fastest growing Chinese population in the 1960s and 1970s, when economically burgeoning Europe became frontier of great potential for overseas Chinese expansion (Latham & Wu, 2013). Chinese immigration into Europe has been rising alarmingly over the three decades from 600,000 in the 1980s to 2.15 million in 2007 (Latham & Wu, 2013). Beside, similarly fast-growing numbers of Chinese students arrive in Europe to study. Europe has become the destination of Chinese immigrants which ranks second in growth rate of Chinese immigration, only after Africa (Latham & Wu, 2013).

The Chinese came before the Second World War to Europe as temporary contract labourers, repeating the pattern of Chinese coolie trade in Southeast Asia and North America. Cantonese seamen awaited employment in Europe’s harbour cities and were usually recruited by European shipping companies (Wang, 2000). Zhejiangese became peddlers or small traders selling stonework. Britain’s Chinese community continues to be dominated by the Hongkong, Singapore and Malaysian Chinese; France has a majority of Chinese from Indonesia and a smaller group of Zhejiangese; the Netherlands’ Chinese community includes various groups of Zhejiangese, Southeast Asians, Surinamese, and a growing group of Fujianese; in Spain and Italy, the largest and best-rooted group of Chinese diaspora came from Qingtian and Wenzhou in Zhejiang province (Benton & Pieke, 1998). From the 1990s, large numbers of Chinese workers, especially those from Qingtian and Fujian, have flowed into Europe, Spain and Italy in particular, to work in sweatshop factories owned by the Chinese.

Individual nations in Europe have had different immigration policies concerning ethnic Chinese group. For example, at first the Chinese in Britain, being an insignificant ethnic group, were not important in the state's political and social policy landscape. But in 1985 British Home Affairs Committee proposed policy concerns about Chinese ethnic group (Christiansen, 2003). The policy led to services directly to the Chinese, such as bilingual staff in local councils, publication of information in Chinese, provisions in accordance with Chinese tastes, etc. Such a multicultural community atmosphere made ethnic Chinese feel accepted and autonomous, and gradually more and more Chinese, under the guidance of their ethnic association leaders, got to participate in the local society (Christiansen, 2003). In contrast, the German system was mainly directed towards the Turkish, affording the Chinese no role in public policy. Spain and Italy, due to frequent amnesties and a tolerant or even welcoming attitude towards migrant labourers, attracted large numbers of Chinese immigrants since the 1980s. Thus the process of identity construction among the Chinese in different European states follows diverse patterns owing to complex circumstantial elements like migration history, sub-ethnicity, host immigration policies, policies on the part of Chinese government, ethnic business, and ethnic association, etc. (Christiansen, 2003).

1.2 AN OVERVIEW OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION INTO SPAIN

1.2.1 HISTORY AND CURRENT SITUATION

The origin of the Chinese migration to Spain goes back to the early years of the 19th century when small drifting peddlers from Zhejiang and Hubei provinces arrived by way of the Trans-Siberian Railway to the European Continent (Chang, 1968). Later, a serious shortage of labor caused by the outbreak of World War I led some European governments to import and recruit the Chinese coolies to work on construction projects (Chang, 1968). Part of the Chinese workers drafted by the French government during World War I chose to stay in Europe and moved to other European countries instead of returning to China (Nieto, 2003). The very first Chinese settlers in Spain were partly those workers recruited by the local Qingtian government and sent to Spain in the 1920s. The first Chinese in Spain is also said to accompany Spanish missionaries as servants from the Far East. Early to the 16th century when the Philippines were Spanish colony the Spaniards and the Chinese came into contact and the trade between them flourished. The abolition of slavery in the 19th century led to large-scaled employment of cheap contract laborers which was the origin of coolie trade.

The massive Chinese immigration into Spain started in 1980s when an opportune time arrived for both China and Spain. The economic boom in Spain and the implementation of Chinese policy of Reform and Opening up contributed to steadily increasing inflow of Chinese immigrants to Spain in pursuit of prosperity and better life (Nieto, 2003). The Chinese immigrants holding a Chinese passport living in Spain has reached 165,978 in 2014, ranking the sixth only after those arrivals from Rumania, Marruecos, Reino Unido, Ecuador, and Italia (INE, 2014). Asian immigrants constitute the fourth largest immigrant group in Spain, the population of which totals up to over 370,000, coming only after those from Europe Union states, Africa, and South America. However, the Chinese account for 40 percent of these Asian immigrants in Spain.

There are different subgroups in Spain’s Chinese community, formed by natives of Shandong, Hubei, Anhui, Guangdong, Liaoning and Heilongjiang (see map 3), which are not large enough to deserve special mention. The principal Chinese communities in Spain are Zhejiangese from rural areas of Qingtian and Wenzhou, which account for nearly 80 percent of Chinese population in Spain (Beltran, 1998; Wang Dingxi, 1991). The proportion of Chinese population divided by origin place did not tend to change until the beginning of this century. For more than a decade, the Chinese community in Spain has undergone a rapid evolution towards variegation in composition. New waves of Chinese immigrants arrived in Spain to study, work and invest. According to statistic provided by General Secretary of Immigration and Emigration of Spain, Chinese overseas students make up the largest group of foreign students in Spain in 2013 (see fig.2). Spain is about to implement a new policy which cancels the college entrance exam for foreign students (Pilar, A., el país, 2014), whereby an increasing number of Chinese overseas students studying in Spain can be predicted.

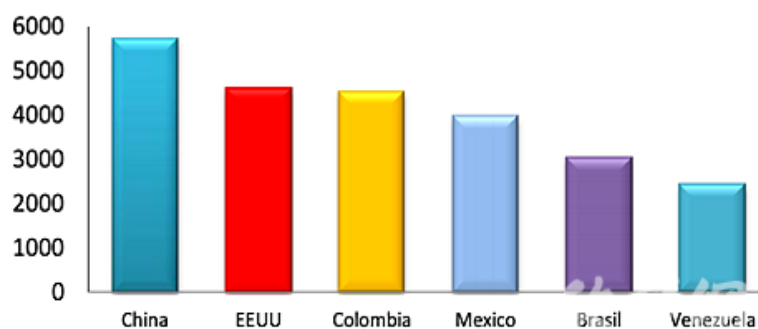


Fig.2: Number of Foreign students holding study visas in Spain
 (Source: Tipo de Autorización Estancia por estudios 2013, Secretaría General de Inmigración y Emigración)

With the rising importance of Chinese economic potentials, a vast number of wealthy Chinese have mushroomed after years of capital accumulation and expansion and have got more and more interested in overseas investment. The pass of the law of Supporting Entrepreneurship and Its Internationalization (“el Ley de Apoyo a los Emprendedores y Su Internalización”) on 27 of September of 2013 has contributed to attracting more Chinese investors to come to Spain. Many of the new immigrants seem upgraded in economic and education backgrounds. Urban origin and higher education level characterize members of the new immigrant groups. In recent years, categories of investment and entrepreneur immigration have taken on mounting importance, outshining traditional categories like family reunion, unskilled labor, and professionals (Nyiri, 2002).

1.2.2 ACADEMIC RESEARCH ON CHINESE IMMIGRANTON TO SPAIN

The ethnic Chinese group in Spain has not drawn attention in academic circle in Spain until the end of the last century. From the late 1980s the stream of Chinese immigrants to Spain have become an increasingly rushing influx thanks to the nearly simultaneous outbursts of economic potential in both Spain and China and the relatively favorable circumstances like frequent amnesties in Spain, as described above in the last section. The visibly growing numbers of the Chinese in Spain began to attract academic attention in the 1990s. Beltrán A. J., Nieto Gladys, Portes A., Aparicio Rosa, Perez Angel, González-González José María, and Jessica Yiu are some representatives of the outstanding researchers in Spain on this topic.

However, the existing literature on Chinese migration to Spain is focused on approaches of social anthropology, political relations, economic impact, ethnic organizations, and relationship with origin of immigrants, etc. which are the popular themes of the works of most researchers. Within Spain there is very little relevant research found in existential unpublished documents on the topic of communication competence and intercultural adaptation of Chinese immigrants, except for the research project made by Portes A. and Aparicio R., and Jessica Y.’s analysis of low educational attainment among the Chinese adolescents in Spain. Portes A. and Aparicio R. drew the conclusion that the second-generation Chinese exhibit positive characteristics in terms of cultural integration with higher academic performance and weak tendency to provoke conflicts, despite their low willingness of continuing academic pursuit and strong ethnic nationalism which hinder assimilation.

In relation to Chinese migration has been found only one doctoral dissertation titled “The Role of Taiwan in the Possible Chinese Emigration” (“El Papel de Taiwan en la Posible Emigracion

China”) which was undertaken by Roberto Chyou from the Complutense University of Madrid and was orally defended on January 1st of 1991. Falling into the domains of political science, it discusses the international relations between Spain and China, especially at the diplomatic level, from the breakthrough point of Taiwan’s function in Chinese emigration to the rest parts of the world.

Social anthropology has been the field where most scholars in Chinese immigration research are found. Joaquin Beltrán Antolin, after doing field work in Zhejiang province in China, has written studies on the role of kinship and social networks in the migration process, the social construction of emigration, and migrants’ links to their native places in mainland China (Beltrán, 1997; 2000; 2002). Anthropologist Crescen Garcia Mateos has studied educational and linguistic aspects of the Chinese in Spain (Garcia, 1994). Nieto (2007) explores the influence of ethnic Chinese associations and organizations in Spain exerted on the Chinese. It is assumed that these ethnic associations and organizations have cultivated Chinese nationalism among the immigrants.

Economical approach is frequently employed in Chinese migration studies. On the part of China, more and more scholarly attention has been paid to the increasing group of overseas Chinese migrants. Taiwan scholar Wang Dingxi introduces the main occupations engaging the Chinese are ethnic Chinese restaurant, import-export trading business, retail sale, Chinese food processing, canning industry, photo studio, etc (Wang, 1991). Gladys Nieto, in “the Chinese in Spain”, also talks about regional distribution and occupation of the Chinese community (Nieto, 2003). From the first beginning of settling Chinese migrants tend to concentrate in big cities which are economically developed and offer more opportunities for business success. Due to increasing competition more and more Chinese migrants have been dispersed into small cities and towns. Nearly all cities and towns of Spain can be found Chinese migrants now. Catering is the predominant occupation. While the number of Chinese restaurants increased to saturation point, garment industry became the second large occupation for Chinese migrants. Minkang Zhou points out that with the times changing Chinese migrants have turned to deal with new services like travel agency, telecommunications, legal counsel, and informal credit institutions (2010).

To sum up, there is no deep and systematic investigation focused on the intercultural communication and adaptation for the Chinese community in Spain. It is widely held that the Chinese, though economically established, are a weird group of self-contained, mysterious and even dishonest people. Not a few scholars, like Gladys Nieto (2000, 2002, 2003), Beltran (1997, 2000, 2001, 2002), Minkang (2010), Chen (1999), have set foot in and paid attention to this

enlarging immigrant community in Spain, and thanks to their efforts, much description has been given about these immigrants on topics of the history, migratory pattern, their life before and after the immigration, demographic features, economic activities, etc. However, the specific problem of intercultural communication and adaptation for the Chinese immigrant community still waits to be systematically explored. It deserves attention because successful intercultural interactions offer opportunities for new learning and growth for immigrants on the one hand, and for fuller understanding of the home culture for the host community themselves on the other hand. Favorable relationships between host society and newcomers are conducive to interactional activities for both peoples.

CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COMPETENCE

Intercultural communication competence is widely considered one of the most important outcomes of (Wiseman, 1993; Spitzberg, 2000; Rathje, 2007) or the internal capacity (Kim, 2001) for intercultural integration, and reveals the applied foundation of the research of intercultural communication. In Wiemann's (1977) integrative model of competence, communication competence is defined as "the ability of an interactant to choose among available communicative behaviors in order that he [she] may successfully accomplish his [her] own interpersonal goals... while maintaining the face and line of his [her] fellow interactants within the constraints of the situation" (p. 198). Wiemann's conceptualization is founded mainly on assumptions in the interpersonal communication field. Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) put it in a concise way by referring communication competence as behaviors or social actions perceived to be appropriate and effective in particular contexts.

The principles of effectiveness (achieving one's own goal) and appropriateness (not violating norms) in Wiemann's definition of communication competence were further elaborated by more comprehensive models comprising components of knowledge, motivation, social skills and contextual factors at different levels of analysis (Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984; Spitzberg & Hecht, 1984; Spitzberg & Brunner, 1991). There has been a debate about the question of whether intercultural communication is universal or culture-specific (Koester & Olebe, 1988, 1989; Philipsen, 1975, 1986; Saville-Troike, 1982; Herzog, 2003).

Intercultural communication, just as interpersonal communication, is itself in essence a form of social interaction requiring social communicative competence. However, a definition of intercultural communication which equates it with any other social interaction would ignore the exceptional difficulty almost every interactant has experienced in such contexts (Rathje, 2007). Some theorists claim that bi-cultural competence is grounded in the experiences and knowledge of one or more specific cultures (Philipsen, 1975, 1986; Saville-Troike, 1982; Herzog, 2003). Through these experiences the cultural stranger tend to identify him/herself with the outer cultural environment. Cultural identity has thus become the key notion for intercultural communicative competence (Collier & Thomas, 1988; Hecht & Ribeau, 1991; Kim, 2001; Huynh et al, 2011).

In a similar vein, Samovar and Porter (2003) and Stella Ting-toomey (1999) founded their theories on the assumption that intercultural communication takes place by virtue of communicating on different layers of concrete cultural elements. According to Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter, three cultural elements have the potential to affect situations in which people coming from different backgrounds communicate with each other: perception, verbal processes, and non-verbal processes. Three socio-cultural elements are directly pertinent to perception and communication: cultural values, worldview (religion), and social organization (family and state) (Samovar & Porter, 2003: 11).

Culture is manifested in aspects like language, communication practices, social acts, economic and political activities, eating habits, friendships, education systems, artistic expressions, political and social institutions, economic capacities, and daily practices. Values concerning ethics and morals, work and leisure, definitions of freedom, the importance of the past, religious practices, the pace of life, and attitudes toward gender and age are entrenched deeply in a culture. The cultural values that most directly influence the intercultural communication relate to individualism and collectivism, family, religion, materialism, human nature, science and technology, competition, work and leisure, equality, gender roles, nature and the environment, time, formality and informality, talk, silence, and interpersonal harmony (Samovar & Porter, 2003: 12).

The verbal aspect of spoken and written communications reflects culture. Verbal language is a vehicle for people to communicate in social interaction by expressing and creating experiences. Nonverbal message in the intercultural communication could be received by examining bodily behavior, body movements, facial expressions, eye contact, touch, concepts of time and use of space. A graph as following explicates the logic:

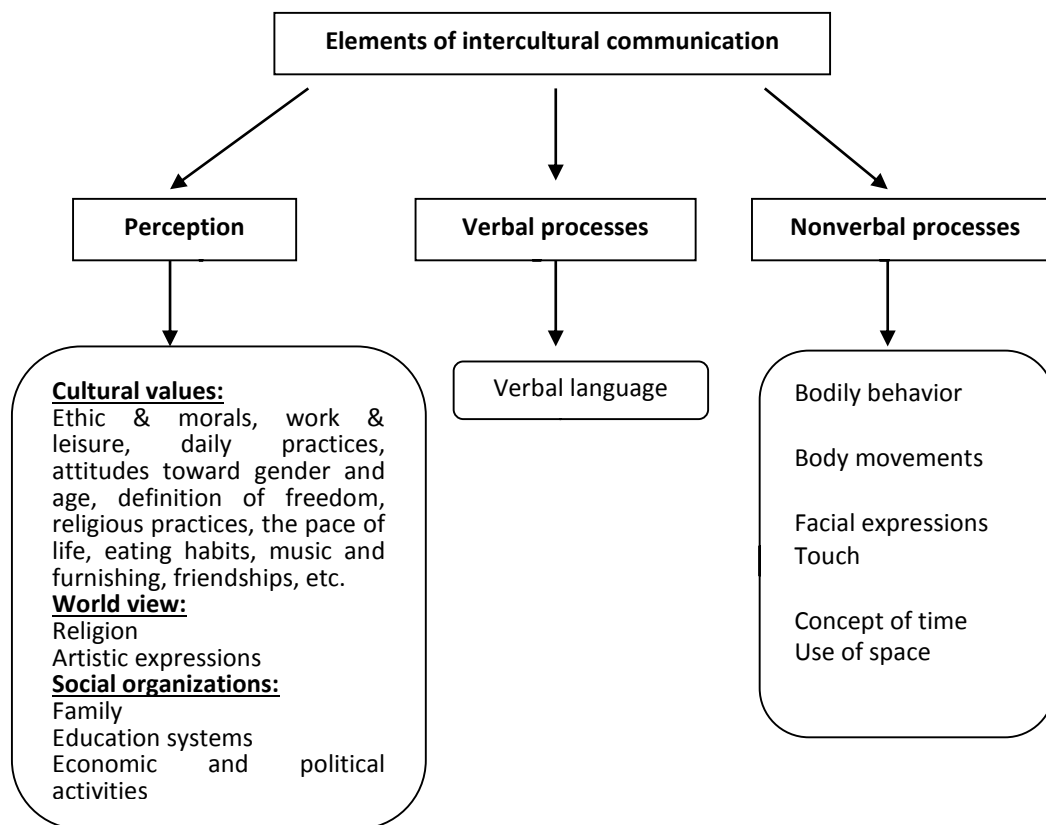


Fig.3: Samovar & Porte’s theory of elements for intercultural communication (Source: own elaboration)

Stella Ting-Toomey (1999) presented identity negotiation perspective of trans-cultural communication competence in mindfully communicating across cultures. As Ting-Toomey has observed, antecedent factors for intercultural adaptation could be categorized by different levels. System-level factors include socioeconomic conditions, multicultural stance and policies, degree of institutional support, in-group / out-group definitions, and degree of cultural distance. Individual-level factors cover newcomers’ motivations, individual expectations, cultural knowledge, and personality attributes. Interpersonal-level factors regard with contact network support, ethnic media, and adaptive interpersonal skills. Strangers in a new culture undergo change process during intercultural adaptation by managing culture shock process which involves a sense of identity loss, identity strain, identity rejection, identity confusion or identity impotence. Her theoretical framework can be illustrated by the following figure:

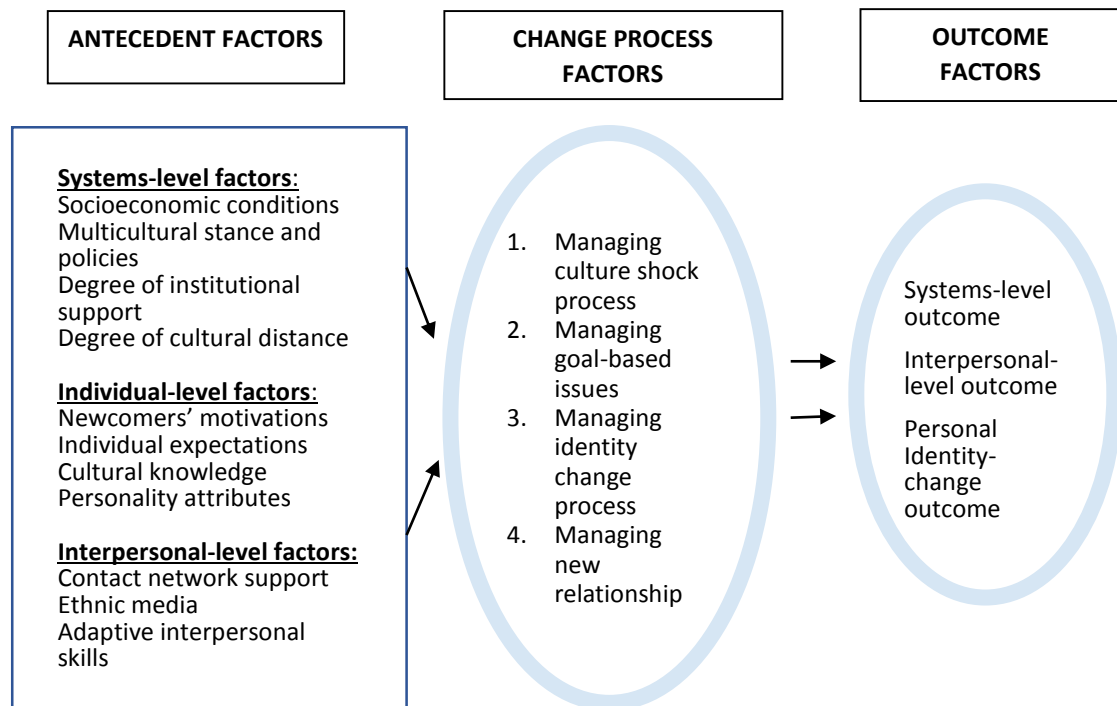


Fig.4: S. T-Toomey's intercultural adaptation model (Source: S.Ting-Toomy, 1999, p.236).

2.2 ADAPTATION CONTEXT

Susceptible both to external and internal influences as it is, intercultural identity, which is often called bicultural identity, is determined by a variety of factors, ranging from dispositional attributes, such as personality, to the immediate social environment to the broad socio-historical context of one's cultural group (Huynh et al, 2011). Three levels of factors are claimed to be antecedents of bicultural identity: 1) cultural group's historical, political and economic context; 2) dispositional factors such as personality; 3) the immediate social environment and experiences (Huynh et al, 2011). As Yum (1987) argued, contextual and some other necessary conditions have to be met before immigrants are engaged in intercultural communication, and once these prerequisites are obtained, personal psychology orientation such as personality would work effects on intercultural communication.

Contextual factors in Kim's theory are categorized into dispositional ones (called "predisposition") and surroundings (called "environment"), the former including such items as the individual's preparedness for change, ethnic proximity, and adaptive personality, the latter containing items like host receptivity, host conformity pressure, and ethnic group strength. Schnittker (2002) even proved that Chinese immigrants' self-esteem and psychological

wellbeing is highly dependent on their immediate social surroundings in which different aspects of identity become salient.

In line with intercultural communication concept, adaptation context includes concrete objects and phenomena of different levels of system that may influence adaptation outcome. An integrative model of intercultural communication explains an interactive process between three agents: individuals' motivation to communicate, knowledge of communication in the situational context, and skills in carrying out their motivation and knowledge (Spitzberg, 2000). However, these agents are directly or indirectly influenced by contextual factors, according to the structural explanation favored by sociologists. Structural explanation tends to look at a problem or phenomenon by virtue of macro-theory perspective referring to antecedents of socio-economic circumstances instead of inherent characteristics of the individual (Jackson & Pettit, 1992). Spitzberg (2000) argues that an increase in communication confidence, reward-relevant efficacy beliefs, communicator approach dispositions or cost/benefit ratio of a situation will increase individual's communication motivation. These antecedents are further determined by concrete circumstances like length of residence, linguistic competence, immigration reasons, parental socioeconomic condition, and origin of place, etc. For knowledge of communication in the context and skills of implementation of knowledge, different outcome may derive from interaction as a function of elements like educational backgrounds, institutional services, personal experiences, and prior contact with the other communicator, etc.

As Berry (2009) narrates, an immigrant brings with him / her cultural and psychological qualities to a new society, and it is important to know about pre-contact features of the immigrant groups. As an advocate of universalism, Berry recognizes commonalities of universal basic psychological processes that are possessed by all individual human beings. But he also argues that these shared, common and inherent characteristics are made infinitely variegated by cultural factors along the course of daily activities and development. In other words, these underlying common characteristics are expressed differently across vastly varied cultural communities. Applied to the case of immigrants, universalism implies that individuals coming from shared community may perform differently in terms of cultural adaptation to a new society, because each and every one of them may develop with different cultural experiences, competences, and because performances also depend on situational factors. Therefore, to understand an individual's cross-cultural adaptation competence, it is essential to examine contextual factors that they are subjected to.

2.3 ACCULTURATION MODE

Berry's four acculturation strategies are one of the theoretical pillars for this study of acculturation among Chinese immigrants in Spain. Berry (2009) agrees with the assumption that though cross-cultural groups in contact know the role they play at the cultural level, persons vary at the individual level within the cultural group due to structural factors such as educational, occupational and family backgrounds. It is then what the individual do to deal with their new host society that decides the outcome of acculturation process. With attitudes assessed initially, and other attributes measured later such as language proficiency, behavioral performance, cultural identity and motivation drive, Berry's theoretical framework of acculturative strategies gets well-defined.

Berry's framework presents four acculturation orientations divided along two dimensions: immigrant individual's maintenance to his/her own cultural heritage, and his/her involvement with other ethnic groups in the larger host society (1997, 2005, and 2009). Those who are strongly identified with both host culture and ethnic culture are considered to be integrated. Those with strong orientation towards host culture without affinity to ethnic culture are categorized as assimilated. Those who identify themselves with only ethnic cultural heritage without any interest in host environment are thought of as separated. Those who feel that they do not belong to either cultural groups are said to be marginalized. Marginalization and separation are considered to be indicators of failing to incorporate into the host society, while assimilation and integration are regarded as two different modes of acculturation, with the former having host national identification and the latter co-national identification (see fig.5).

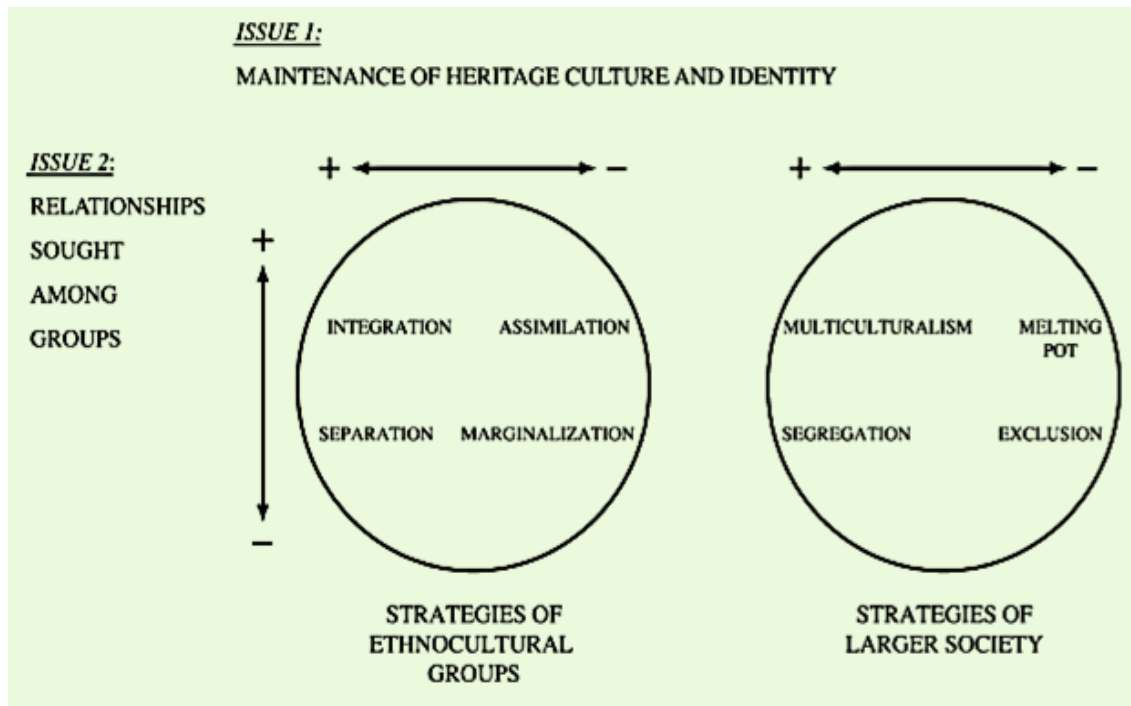


Fig.5: Berry's acculturation strategies in ethnic groups, and in the host society.
(Source: Berry J. W. 2009, p. 366).

The above-mentioned orientations are defined from the perspective of ethnic minorities in a host culture. It is believed and proved that during the process of intercultural communication, both groups in contact exert influence upon one another, instead of the mainstream culture impacting on the minority unilaterally (Berry, 1990, 2009). In other words, the host society can be acculturated by cultural qualities brought by ethno-cultural minorities. When looked at from the position of the larger society, the acculturative strategies are categorized into four modes (see fig.5): when the dominant society imposes assimilation policy on minorities, it seeks to be a state of melting pot; if the host country respects and accepts the cultural diversity caused by minorities and even considers it enrichment of the host culture, the host nation implements a multiculturalist policy; marginalization forced by the dominant group upon immigrants is called exclusion; and finally, when separation is carried out on the issue of racially or ethnically different ones, it is called segregation on the part of policy makers.

The integration policy is now widely adopted in the present world. Multiculturalism becomes possible only when the receiving society takes an open and inclusive stand on the issue of cultural diversity (Collier, 1996; Zhou, 1997; Berry, 2009). A consensus of mutual accommodation between the receiving country and the immigrants are requisite for successfully implementing a multiculturalist policy. It requires efforts from the immigrants to learn about and accept basic values of the larger society, to actively obtain knowledge of the

dominant culture, and to obey public laws and stipulations, etc. It also demands from the host society recognition of equal rights of minority members to work and live as members of the dominant group, acceptance of ethnic-cultural minorities living as culturally different people, and adjustment of institutional services to suit new members' needs (Berry, 2009).

2.4 COPING STRATEGY

Prominent scholars (Berry, 1997, 2005; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Ward, 2001) in the field of acculturation and intercultural adaptation have asserted the paramount importance of the broader psychological theory of stress and coping in constructing theoretical framework of acculturation. Coping is defined as “the changing cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person” (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 141). In the research field of acculturation and intercultural adaptation, coping strategies are generally categorized into three styles: the avoidance coping style, which denotes behavioral disengagement, attitudinal detachment, denial, and inability to see the positive potential of changes; the approach coping style, which compasses responses like active coping and planning; and acceptance coping strategy, which refers to acknowledging the existence of a stressor without taking action to overcome it (Cross, 1995; Ward, 2001).

Coping strategies were first coined in psychology research field to refer to psychological coping mechanisms that individuals undergo when confronting depression or stress. It focuses on betterment of individual's mental and psychological health. It was first proposed and constructed in a systematic manner by Lazarus & Folkman (1984; Lazarus, 1986) whose theory makes linchpin of two processes, namely, cognitive appraisal and coping, the former requiring cognitive and perceptual acquisition and the latter behavioral efforts. These two processes are mediators of stressful relationships between the individual's mental health, adversity and coping outcome. Cognitive appraisal happens when a person evaluates whether the environment or situation presents some risk or threat against his/her interests. Coping, as defined above, is the response to cognitive appraisal. It is a kind of efforts paid to manage specific demands, whether successfully or unsuccessfully (Lazarus, 1986).

With regard to acculturation experiences, stress and depression may well frequent the newly relocated immigrants who have to face challenges such as language barriers, daily life problems, unfamiliar environment and customs, conflicting values, different schools, and discrimination experiences, etc. (Berry, 1990, 2005; ward, 2001; Kuo, 2014). All these problems

may give rise to negative influence on the individual's psychological health. As identified in psychological research line, coping strategies are generally of two types: problem-focused type which attempts to change the stressor, and emotion-focused type which tries to change individual's reaction to stressors (Naughton, 1997; Ward, 2001). Problem-focused strategies may involve conflicting coping acts like aggressive efforts to change the stressor, or planning acts of solving the problem, such as analyzing the encounter, figuring out solutions and carrying out them. The emotion-focused strategies are likely to be getting away from the stressor and distracting oneself in other activities, seeking support from friends and relatives, denying the existence of the stressor, or deriving positive meaning from the situation and focusing on internal personal growth, etc.

It is noted that coping strategies during acculturation process are contextually affected by specific cultures and societies in which the sets of rule of what is considered as stressful and what is not could be dramatically different (Naughton, 1997). By the same token, cultural context and situational setting should be considered in affecting the outcome of coping strategies an individual adopts in the processes of intercultural adjustment.

As mentioned above, contextual factors involves a wide range of variables like personal character, personal experiences, socio-economic conditions, socio-cultural environment, etc. It is common practice to consider socio-economic adjustment, socio-cultural adaptation, and psychological adjustment when it comes to intercultural adaptation transition (Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Fokkema, 2011). Socio-economic adjustment refers to individual's position in terms of educational attainment and occupational achievement. Socio-cultural adaptation includes items like cultural identification, interpersonal and interethnic relationships, language proficiency and media use, cultural traditions and values, and participation in organizations, etc.

Kim's integrative theory of intercultural adaptation (2002) also contains the items which correspond with factors that fall under such categories. For instance, items in Kim's theory such as host and ethnic language competence, host and ethnic interpersonal relationship, host and ethnic media use, intercultural identity, functional fitness, host environment can all be put into the concept of "socio-cultural adaptation".

2.5 PROCESS OF CROSS-CULTURAL ADAPTATION

The term of cross-cultural adaptation refers to the process of “change over time that takes place within individuals who have completed their primary socialization process in one culture and then come into continuous, prolonged first-hand contact with a new and unfamiliar culture” (Kim, 1995). The adaptation process can be identified from three interrelated aspects: psychological, socio-cultural, and economic, also called as “psychological health, intercultural identity, functional fitness” in Young Yun Kim’s integrative theory. A variety of theoretical models have been proposed to address different levels of individual adaptation. Social and personal variables residing in the society of origin and the society of settlement are inclusively considered, the specifications of which are psychological/personality characteristics, communication patterns/skills, demographic characteristics, realistic pre-departure expectations, mass-media usage, socioeconomic status, cultural identity, etc.

The structure of integrative theory is built on six dimensions of constructs (see fig.6): personal communication (the intrapersonal system of host communication competence), host social communication (participation in the host interpersonal and mass communication activities), ethnic social communication (participation in the ethnic interpersonal and mass communication activities), environment (the degree of host receptivity, host conformity pressure and the strangers’ ethnic group strength), the strangers’ predisposition (preparedness for change, ethnic proximity and adaptive personality), intercultural transformation (functional fitness, psychological health and intercultural identity).

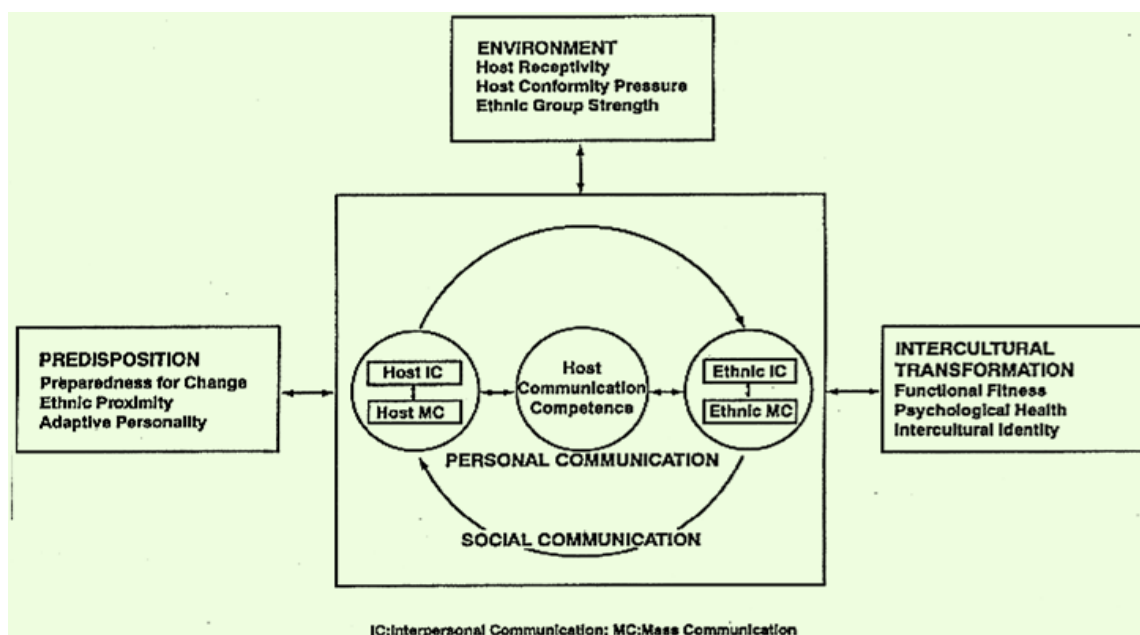


Fig.6. Y. Y. Kim’s communication model of cross-cultural adaptation (Source: Y. Y. Kim, 1988, p.79).

Kim develops her theoretical framework based on Ruben's (1975) parameter of human communication dimensions of personal (intrapersonal) and social communication process. Personal communication refers to all the internal mental activities that occur within the system of individuals. Only when the internal communication systems sufficiently overlap with those of the natives can successful adaptation be realized. It can be observed along three dimensions: cognitive complexity, affective co-orientation, and behavioral competence (see figure 6) (Kim, 1995).

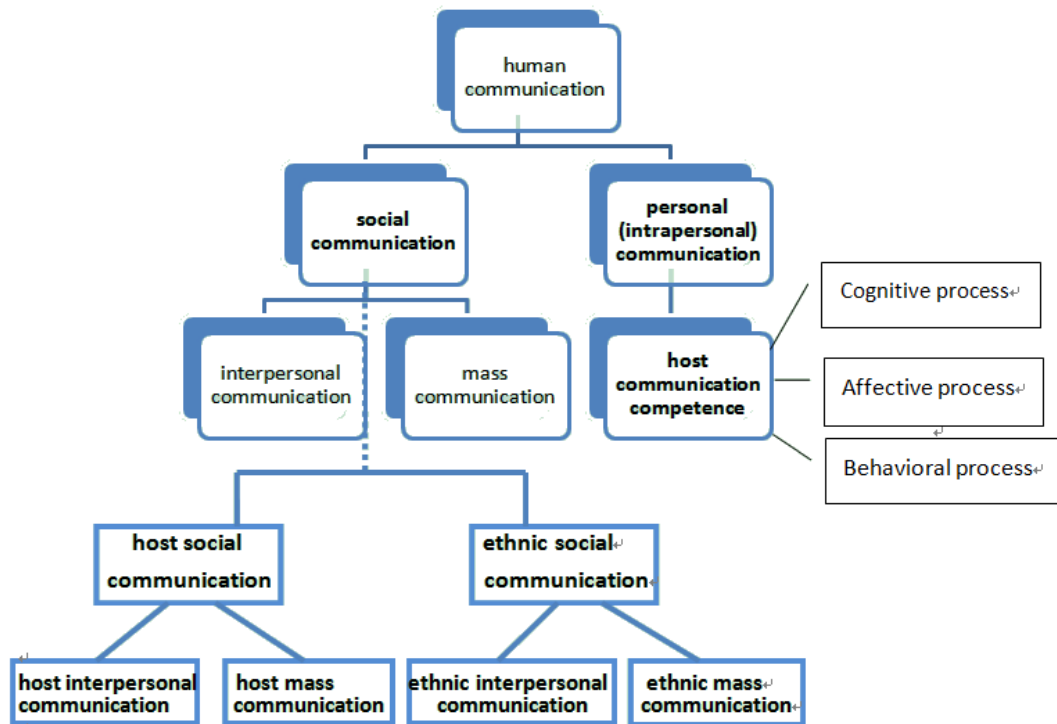


Fig.7: (Source: own elaboration)

Knowledge of host communication system (see fig.7) includes knowledge of the host language, knowledge of host non-verbal behavior, and knowledge of host communication rules. Host non-verbal behavior can be studied by such indicators as facial expressions, body movement, vocal patterns, and spatial-temporal behaviors. Knowledge of host communication rules covers the knowledge of historical, political, economic, religious, educational practices of the host society, the group's institutions and subgroups, arts, sciences and technology, attitudes, beliefs, values, reciprocal role requirements (Kim, 1995).

Cognitive complexity of cultural strangers refers to how they know what they know with regard to the host cultural environment, and it is manifested by Cognitive differentiation, Cognitive Integration, and Cognitive flexibility (Kim, 1995). Affective co-orientation enables the strangers to put themselves in a psychological position that is favorable and compatible with

that of the host cultural milieu, and it involves adaptive motivation, affirmative self/other attitude, and aesthetic/emotional orientation. Behavioral competence entails verbal, nonverbal, and interactional proficiency (see fig.8) (Kim, 1995).

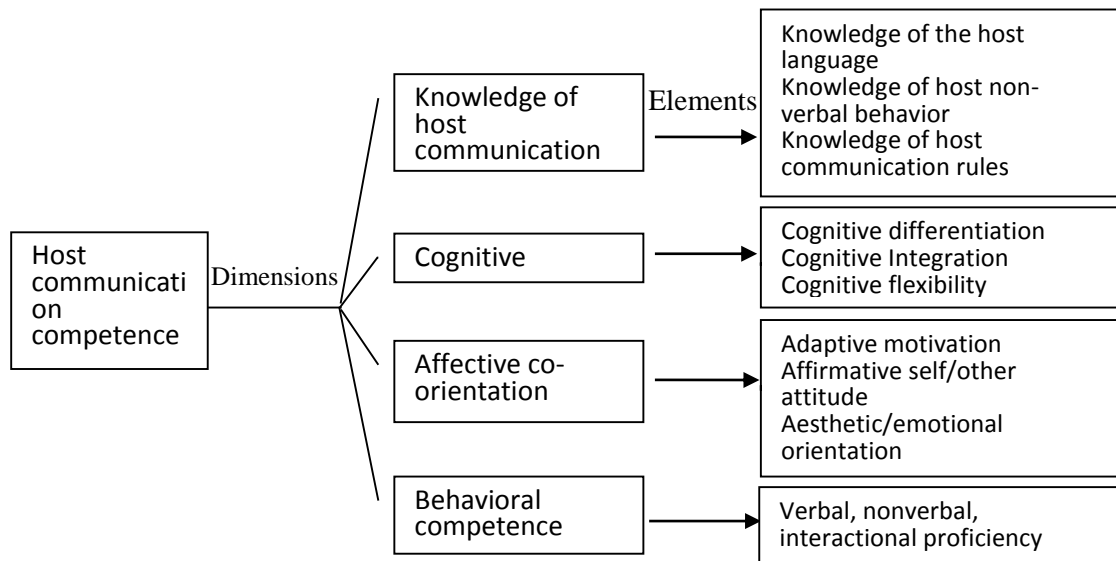


Fig.8: (Source: own elaboration)

With regard to social communication process in intercultural communication, two branches, namely, host social communication and ethnic social communication are analyzed, both of which are further observed by divisions of interpersonal and mass communication (see fig.9). Interpersonal communication is studied along the dimension of relational networks whose elements are categorized into the proportion and size of interpersonal ties and the strength of those ties (Kim, 1995). Mass communication encompasses elements like activities involving the mass media, theater, museums, art galleries, libraries, restaurants, schools, churches, supermarkets, the fashion industry, etc. (Kim, 1995).

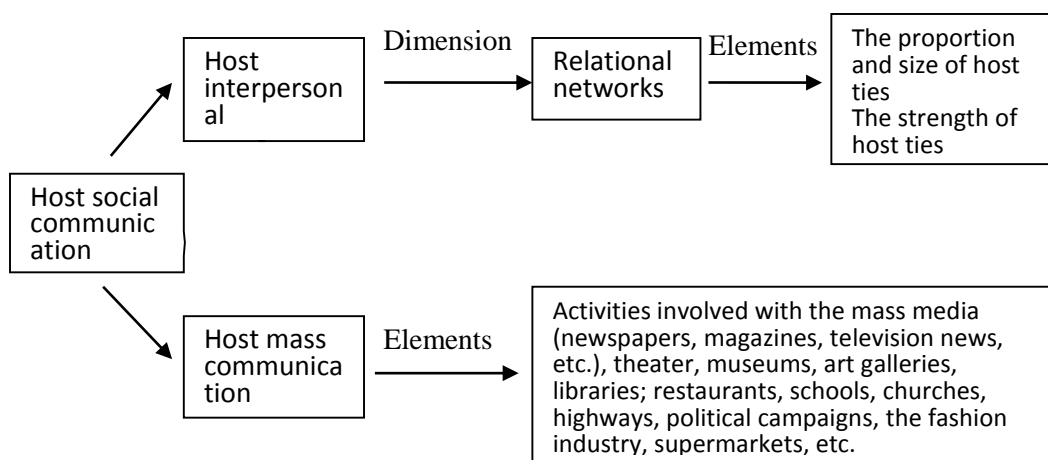


Fig.9 (part 1): (Source: own elaboration)

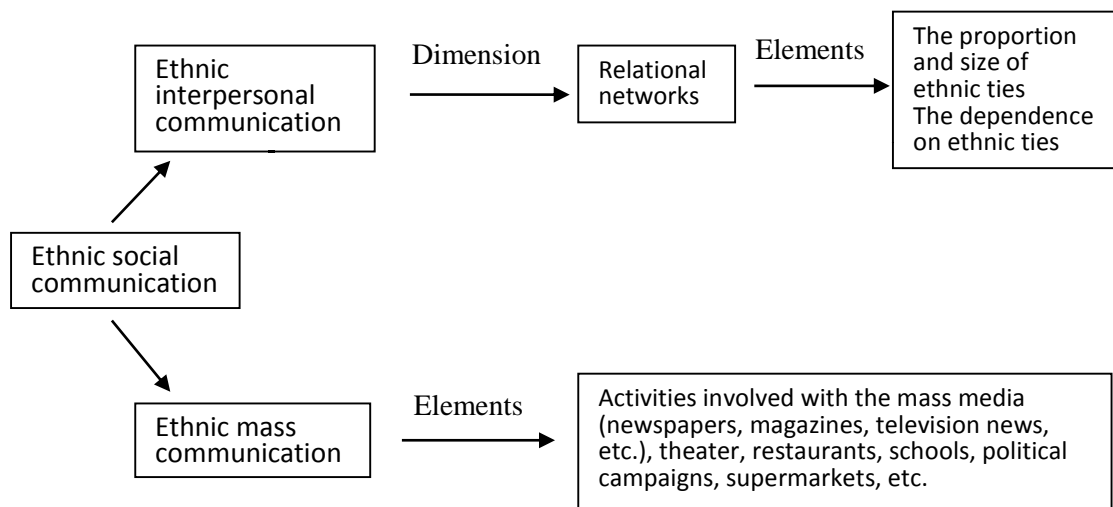


Fig.9 (part 2): (Source: own elaboration)

Host environment conditions of receptivity towards strangers and conformity pressure are pertinent to cross-cultural adaptation outcome (Kim, 1995). The first condition refers to the degree to which the host nationals show openness and acceptance towards strangers, and the second means the degree to which the host environment demands the strangers to follow its normative patterns. They can be examined in the attitude of acceptance or denial of strangers expressed in interpersonal and mass communication.

Predisposition concerns the background characteristics that vary with the individual. Three factors have bearing on the adaptive processes: cultural similarity which can be observed by such indicators as language, non-verbal behavior, communication rules, emotional and aesthetic orientation, and behavior patterns; personality attributes of openness, age, resilience; preparedness for change which consists of elements like formal education experiences, pre-entry training, and circumstances of arrival (see fig.10) (Kim, 1995).

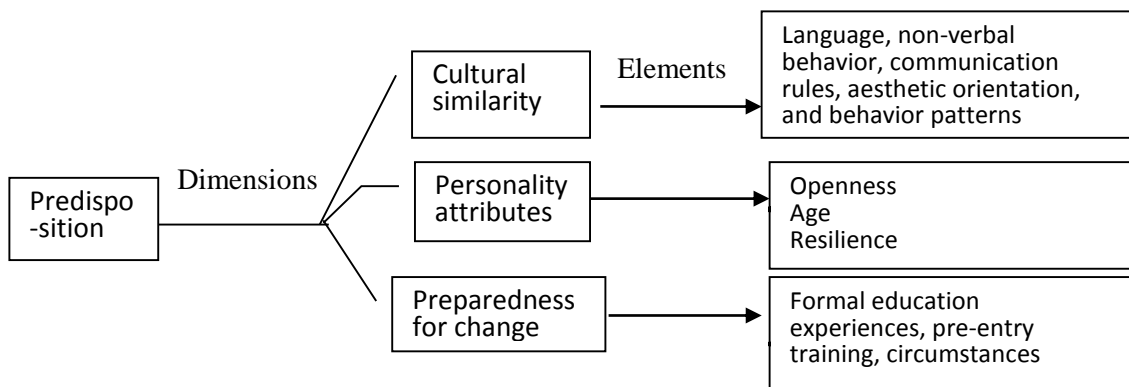


Fig.10: (Source: own elaboration)

Adaptive outcomes are to be assessed by measures of increased functional fitness, increased psychological health, and increased intercultural identity (Kim, 1995). The assessment indicators could be strangers' subjective sense of belonging in the host environment and confidence in their future as members of the host society. They can also be assessed by checking whether the strangers shows culture shock symptoms like negative self-image, low self-esteem, low morale, social isolation, dissatisfaction with life in general, a bitter attitude of being helpless victims of circumstance and related psychological distress, hostility and aggression toward the host society, and extreme stress reactions (escapism, mental illness symptoms, paranoid syndrome). The assessment can also involve broadened perspective or third-culture perspective which represents more than one cultural perspective while transcending both groups (see fig.11).

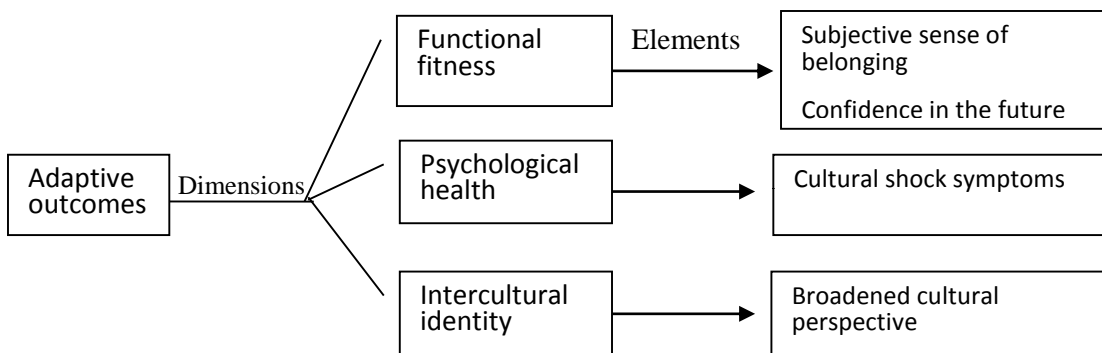


Fig.11: (Source: own elaboration)

2.6 RESEARCH ON ACCULTURATION AMONG CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

2.6.1 OVERSEAS CHINESE COMMUNITY AS AN AUTONOMOUS AND SELF-SUFFICIENT COMMUNITY

An overview of the ethnic history of Chinese immigrant communities in most receiving countries leaves people an impression that the overseas Chinese community, especially when newly entrenched on the new land, tend to live and work within the enclave without a single gesture of involving themselves with the mainstream host culture. It is widely recognized that the highly autonomous Chinese community, formed as a result of international labor migration, does a relatively poor job at cultural adaptation to the host society in comparison with other minorities (Benton & Pieke, 1998; Lever-Tracy, 1996; Mai, 1992; Pérez, 2012; Sowell, 1993; Sun, 2006; Wang & Lo, 2005). Rather than the relatively reserved personality of the overseas

Chinese, the way they live their life and run business should claim the most responsibility for the slow process of cultural adaptation (Sowell, 1993; Mai, 1992; Benton & Pieke, 1998; Pérez, 2012). Most of the Chinese migrate to other parts of the world out of economic reason. In terms of their economic activities, the Chinese are disproportionately concentrated in co-ethnic small business, being either business owners or employees. At present, the Chinese in Spain have the highest rate of self-employment, with a 30 percent difference than the 10-15 percent rate among Chinese Americans (Beltrán, 2005; Nieto, 2003).

As Thomas Sowell (1993) pointed out, those ethnicities that own entrepreneurship as well as specialized skills which could be employed within their ethnic community either doing business on their own or being hired by compatriot business owners, could achieve economic success and upward mobility without resorting to the external mainstream market. To the self-sufficient Chinese ethnicity, the economic and social status recognized within the ethnic community is where the greatest accomplishment a man could achieve lies. Only for those who have neither skills nor entrepreneurship it becomes a necessity to grasp the host language and to fully understand the host culture so as to obtain the employment opportunity. In other words, the overseas Chinese community, throughout the long history of international labor migration, has been much less motivated to integrate into host local culture due to a complex of factors. Generally speaking, this story has not changed until the recent decades in response to improved social conditions and new economic pattern on a global scale.

2.6.2 ASSIMILATION HAPPENING AT DIFFERENT PACE

In spite of overseas Chinese communities' tendency to adopt, witting or unwittingly, separatist policy to deal with multi-ethnic problem, they are inevitably on the track of promising route into the mainstream, though at different paces. Min Zhou even claimed that the assimilation process among Asian immigrants in the United States is not hindered but helped by immigrants' sense of belonging to their ethnicity (Min Zhou, 2003, 2004). Her reason echoes with cross-cultural researchers' affirmation of ethnic identity's contribution to the adaptation process, the ethnic community serving as an interim refuge and a springboard for assimilation at the initial stage of the process (Chan & Lam, 1987a; Hurh & K. C. Kim, 1990; Kim, 2001; Stopes-Roe & Cochrane, 1990).

The oldest immigrants and their offspring of the Chinese community in the United States have been long assimilated to the mainstream American culture since the mid-20th century when the pioneer immigrant generations had accumulated enough economic capital as well as

human capital to create favorable conditions for the coming generations' integration process (Sowell, 1993; Min Zhou, 2003, 2004). Those who went to the adopted countries in later immigration waves gave asynchronous performance in terms of assimilation, due to significant internal differences in aspects such as composition, economic performances, sub-ethnicities, the length of residency, educational credentials, immigration class, etc. (Sowell, 1993; Mai, 1992; Wang & Lo, 2005; Min Zhou, 2004).

2.6.3 VARIETIES OF GROUPS WITHIN THE CHINESE COMMUNITY DUE TO DIFFERENT DEGREES OF ACCULTURATION

The fact that intra-ethnic groups are going through different acculturation phases drives some groups to keep other co-ethnic groups at distance. Separatist policy is also adopted within the ethnic community. For example, those who are better-off, more identified with the mainstream values usually aspire to leave the ethnic enclave and live in multiethnic or mainstream communities. In today's more open, inclusive America, ethnic identity is no contradiction against mainstream American identity whose richness and essence is based exactly on the mosaic multiethnic background (Sowell, 1993; Min Zhou, 2004). With all that, there exist internal differences among the ethnic Chinese in the United States in terms of the degree of assimilation into the host society. Given the changing nature of overseas Chinese community, the investigation about their acculturation process presents itself as quite a commanding task which constantly requires updated information.

In comparison, the Chinese in Spain, on the average, seem to have fallen behind their compatriots in the continent of America across on assimilation issue. Yiu (2013) identifies two kinds of interaction jointures which functions as important vehicles of upward mobility for immigrant groups, calling them as *opportunity structures* and *alternative channels of mobility* respectively (Yiu, 2013). The former provides opportunities by make accessible the higher educational system as well as the occupational prestige ladder, the latter furnishing other viable means, such as ethnic entrepreneurship, to socioeconomic advancement. The Chinese in Spain still stick to the latter as the future of their financial success. Instead of resorting to higher educational system, most of them opt for niche markets as small-business owners to bring their entrepreneurial endeavors into full play (Yiu, 2013; Pérez, 2012).

However, this is just a rough, even stereotypical point of view, way far from the full story which needs unveiling either to corroborate or controvert the opinion. Based on extant literature on overseas Chinese communities in those comparatively old countries of

destination, it is safe to conclude three ethnic traits about the Chinese community concerning integration into the mainstream life: a) it is a relatively self-contained, auto-mechanic community, passively responding to the policy of assimilation; b) anyway it is on the whole going on the way to integration, though different groups advancing at different paces adopting divergent pathways to success and mobility in host society; c) the unbalanced tempo in the integration progress deepens the difference between different groups within the ethnic community.

2.7 THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTION OF KEY VARIABLES OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

2.7.1 DEMOGRAPHICS AND SOCIAL STATUS

Demographic variables such as gender, age, education, previous occupation in China, current occupation in Spain, education background, occupation, social status, income, length of stay and religious affiliation, are to be measured.

During recent years, more and more research reviews have been warning the tendency to ignore the contribution of social status variables in the cross-cultural adaptation process (Rudmin, 2009). Low socioeconomic status (SES) as a major factor influencing psychological health among immigrants has been studied widely among psychological acculturation researches (e.g., Canabal & Quiles, 1995; Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995; Gallagher-Thompson et al., 1997; Pham & Harris, 2001; Schalk-Soekar, van de Vijver, & Hoogsteder, 2004; Simich, Hamilton, & Baya, 2006). Significant positive correlations between SES and acculturation have been found. It is proved that lower SES involves higher degree of cultural conflicts and acculturation stress during the adaptation process. Two pronounced elements for measuring SES are educational attainment and income levels. Higher education and income levels are positively related to acculturation degree due to greater likelihood of interactions with locals and the host culture (Garcia Coll et al., 2002).

Rudmin (2009) constructed a modified model of acculturation taking into account racial discrimination and SES. Acculturative learning is also affected by discrimination and SES as well as motivations to acculturate.

2.7.2 CULTURAL HOMOGENEITY

Cultural homogeneity is to be measured along the continuum of Hofstede's items of power distance, collectivism vs. individualism, femininity vs. masculinity, uncertainty avoidance and of Hall's high-low context.

Kim's integrative theory is founded on 21 theorems three of which give great consideration to the ethnic proximity. They go as such: 1) the greater the ethnic proximity, the greater the host communication competence; 2) the greater the ethnic proximity, the greater the host interpersonal and mass communication; 3) the greater the ethnic proximity, the lesser the ethnic interpersonal and mass communication (2001, pp.92).

Cultural homogeneity or cultural heterogeneity is proposed to execute great impact on the process of acquiring intercultural identity (Byrne, 1961; Gile & Powesland, 1975; Gudykunst, 1988; Kim, 2001; Ward, 2008; Huynh, 2011). *Ethnic proximity* (Kim), *group similarity* (Gudykunst), and *similarity-attraction* (Byrne), are all terms referring to similarity between ethnic cultures. It is assumed that individuals from an ethnic culture that is greatly different from the host culture would experience more difficulties and greater conflicts in identity integration than those from a culture similar to the host one.

2.7.3 THE HOST ENVIRONMENT

The host environmental conditions are to be measured by looking at the degree to which the Spanish environment is open to, welcomes, and accepts the Chinese immigrants to its social communication networks and offers them various forms of social support, and by examining the extent to which the Spanish environment challenges the Chinese immigrants to adopt the normative patterns of the Spanish culture and communication system. Kim defines the former measured element as "host receptivity", and the latter "host conformity pressure".

Huynh et al. in the theory of "bicultural identity integration" (BII) claims that the immediate social environment is one of the determinants that influence the actual degree of BII (2011). Immigrants' immediate social environment is closely related to their experiences with discrimination, and interpersonal problems with culturally different ones. The environment includes all levels of social milieu, from the macro-level social-economic-historical contextual factors to the micro-levels of local communities, neighborhoods, and workplaces.

Host receptivity, referred as "interaction potential" (Kim, 1977), "acquaintance potential" (Cook, 1962), "opportunities for contact" (McPherson, 1991), and "communication climate"

(Leets & Giles, 1995), is proved to be an important determinant of intercultural identity integration.

In addition, pressure to conform linguistically and culturally is more urgently felt for those immigrants whose livelihoods are dependent on the local institutions (De Vos & Suarez-Orozco, 1990a; Sowell, 1993).

2.7.4 HOST LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

No doubt, language as the most important conveyer of code systems is at the core of communication. Both verbal and nonverbal codes are to be transmitted and interpreted by language. Code system variable refers to both verbal and nonverbal codes (Sarbaugh, 1988), including patterns of time and space proposed by Hall (1976). This variable includes what Samovar and Porter (2003) considered the other two elements of culture: verbal processes, and nonverbal process. Verbal language is a vehicle for people to communicate in social interaction by expressing and creating experiences. Language is a vital aspect of the social identity of any group, particularly ethnolinguistic group (Johnson, 1981). Nonverbal message in the intercultural communication could be received by examining bodily behavior, body movements, facial expressions, eye contact, touch, concepts of time and use of space. These variables comprise what Collier (1988) considered conditions for cultural identity which is created through symbolic and normative competence.

Knowledge of the host language is considered as the most salient factor of cognition in cross-cultural adaptation. As Whorf (1952) notes, language is the shaper of ideas, the guide for individual's mental activity. Linguistic barriers are closely associated with immigrants' perception of intercultural integration (Huynh, 2011). Social identity is "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his / her knowledge of his / her membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63). Language is a vital aspect of the social identity of any group (Giles and Johnson, 1981).

Cognitive knowledge is a prerequisite for the dealing with uncertainty produced by contacting with culturally strangers. Of cognitive knowledge the host language competence counts for the most. Gudykunst proves that the process of intercultural integration is one of reducing uncertainty and anxiety in interacting with members of other cultural groups. One of the axioms on which Gudykunst's theory of uncertainty and anxiety is founded says that an increase in strangers' host language competence will produce an increase in their attributional

confidence regarding members of other groups' behavior and a decrease in the anxiety experienced when interacting with members of other groups (Gudykunst, 1988).

As Yum (1987) argued, contextual and some other necessary conditions have to be met before immigrants involve to be engaged in intercultural communication. The most important necessary condition is nothing other than language competence.

2.7.5 HOST AND ETHNIC INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Intercultural communication patterns are generally studied through two levels of communication channels: interpersonal communication and mass media communication (Kim, 2001). Immigrants' participation in the socialization process of the host environment takes place through interpersonal relationships with local people and exposure to the host mass media communication processes.

Ability to establish interpersonal relationships is considered as one of the main outcomes of successful intercultural integration (Hammer, Gudykunst, and Wiseman, 1978). Communication in any given interpersonal relationship almost always exerts some degree of social influence and control (Heckathorn, 1990; Ho & Sung, 1990). Interpersonal communication is essential to one's cross-cultural adaptation (Yum, 1988). Adaptation is facilitated by local networks that provide material support, instrumental information and emotional support (Yum, 1982). It is proved that a higher degree of interconnectedness in a system is positively related to the degree of behavior change at the system level (Korzeny & Farace, 1978). That one's network extends beyond one's own ethnic boundary implies that one is more acculturated than those whose network does not extend (Yum, 1987). Huynh (2011) also deems that culturally isolated environment partly accounts for low degree of intercultural integration.

2.7.6 HOST AND ETHNIC MEDIA USE

As stated above, the other important communication channel is through mass media communication. The mass media use of immigrants, together with their interpersonal networks and organized behavior, has been studied as an index of acculturation (Richmond, 1967; Gans, 1962; Yum, 1988; Kim, 2001; Cheah, 2011).

The adaptation function of the host mass media communications is pointed out clearly by Gordon's (1964) theory which affirms the media's socialization influence on: 1) the images and

stereotypes we possess of our environment and social systems; 2) the internal value systems we possess; and 3) what we consider as priority concern. Lasswell (1964) also confirms three functions of the media: the surveillance of the environment, correlation of components of society in making a response to the environment, and transmission of social inheritance. Media and cultural setting is interactively connected. Instead of a mechanic globalization due to media sharing on a global scale, people tend to interpret media in terms of their own cultural expectations (Hinton, 2007). It is believed that mass media communication processes not only transmit informational resources but also societal values, normative patterns of beliefs and overt behaviors, worldviews, perceptions of relationship and intent as they are supposed to convey to the members of the host society.

2.7.7 FUNCTIONAL FITNESS

Functional fitness, psychological health, and intercultural identity are presented by Kim (2001) as three facets of intercultural transformation changing gradually as the process of cross-cultural adaptation proceeds. Functional fitness represents the internal capability to carry out everyday life activities and perform social roles without efforts in the host society (Kim, 2001). It deals with operational competence of intercultural communication. It enables immigrants to engage in the behaviors necessary to communicate appropriately and effectively with culturally different ones (Gudykunst, 1993). Spitzberg and Cupach (1984) refer it as *skills*, isolating it as one of the three components of intercultural communication competence (with the other two named respectively *motivation* and *knowledge*). Functional fitness enables one to be *behaviorally resourceful* in Ting-Toomey's terms (1993). In her words, behavioral adaptation and flexibility refers to the importance of both behavioral responsiveness to culturally different ones and behavioral openness to learn from them (Ting-Toomey, 1993, p. 103).

2.7.8 PSYCHOLOGICAL HEALTH

Psychological health reflects a normal state of mental being, as a result of harmonious work among cognitive, affective and operational tendencies, psychological health (Kim, 2001). It corresponds in a sense to Spitzberg and Cupach's (1984) *motivation* and Ting-Toomey's (1993) *affective resourcefulness*. Psychological illness, frequently used as an indicator, is usually manifested as culture-shock symptoms, which includes negative self-image, low self-esteem, low morale, social isolation, hostility or aggression toward the host environment,

dissatisfaction with life in general, anxiety, stress, depression, frustration, feelings of alienation or marginality, etc. (Berry, 1990). Thus, a healthy personality is one that actively participates in local interpersonal and mass communication processes and strives to improve the host communication competence. Studies of immigrants in psychological health aspect abound in acculturation inquiries linking with indicators such as immigrants' satisfaction and happiness, or stress and alienation, etc. (Nishida, 1985; Searle & Ward, 1990; Gudykunst, 1988; Huynh, 2011).

2.7.9 SPANISH CULTURAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITY SALIENCE

Cultural identities are defined by Collier (1989) as identifications with and perceived acceptance into a group with shared systems of symbols and meanings as well as rules for conduct. Thereby intercultural communicative competence could be measured by mutual confirmation of the interactants' cultural identities during the communication process where both interactants' behaviors are perceived to be effective and appropriate (Martin, 1993). Kim (2001) lists intercultural identity as one of the three constructs (together with functional fitness and psychological health) of successful intercultural transformation. Kim refers to the term *intercultural identity* as an "acquired identity constructed after the early childhood enculturation process through the individual's communicative interactions with a new cultural environment" (2001, p. 191). In accordance with the generally acknowledged concept of evolving identities (Linger, 2004; Peek, 2005; Ting-Toomey, 1993, 1999), intercultural identity, together with other multiple identities like social, religious, and familial identities, undergoes an evolutionary process by putting the person in the position of continually negotiating new situations and "new forms of reality" (Adler, 1982, p. 391).

Ethnic identity involves a sense of belonging to, and of sharing the fate of the ethnic group (Taft, 1987). Cross-cultural adaptation is believed to be either a process of gradually casting off the ethnic identity and acquiring the intercultural one, or a process of elevating flexibility or complexity in cultural identity (Kim, 1995, 2001). Collier (1998) claims that in-group cultural identities are constructed contextually through avowal and ascription. Avowal consists of the perceived identity enacted by the self or group members; ascription of identity consists of perceptions of others' identities and self's perception of identities attributed to self by other. Whether immigrants are able to manage the dynamic and dialogical interaction between the original culture and the new culture, and whether ethnic identity or intercultural identity

becomes salient in immigrants' avowal of his cultural identity could be used as an indicator for intercultural integration.

CHAPTER 3 PRESENTING RESEARCH

3.1 OBJECTIVES OF THE PRESENT STUDY

From the above-mentioned concerns, this study intends to find out degree of intercultural adaptation among varied groups of Chinese immigrant community in Spain. The Chinese immigrant community is be divided into four groups along two dimensions: socio-economic status (SES) and generation. Four groups will be categorized from the samples: first generation immigrants with middle-high SES; first generation immigrants with low SES; 1.5-/second generation⁴ immigrants with middle-high SES; 1.5-/second generation immigrants with low SES. A vast body of literature on acculturation of second-generation immigrants (Child 1943; Gordon 1964; Min Zhou, 2005, 2006, 2007; Constant, Nottmeyer, Olga & Zimmermann, 2009; Algan, Bisin, Manning & Verdier, 2012) convinces that younger generations will become more incorporated into the mainstream host society than their precedent generations. The notion of *segmented assimilation* proposed by Portes and Min (1993) corroborates the propensity in immigrants to move along divergent pathways in quest of social mobility and success in host society. Segmented assimilation, contrary to the classic viewpoint that assimilation processes will contribute to upward mobility and success for all members of younger generations in a direct and similar way, argues that different generations and groups of immigrants may incorporate into host society adopting various strategies and along divergent pathways, whereby lead them to different acculturation outcomes. This theory, with more detailed elaboration and test by other researchers (Hiller & Chow, 2005; Waters, Tran, Kasinitz & Mollenkopf, 2010; Xie and Greenman, 2005), provides a theoretical vantage point for the present study which aims at examining the mobility and incorporation paths that different groups of Chinese immigrants follow.

Based on such understanding, this study is divided into two parts, with the first dedicated to answering the following questions:

Q1: How do members of each of the four groups (first generation immigrants with middle-high SES; first generation immigrants with low SES; 1.5-/second generation immigrants with middle-

⁴ 1.5 generation immigrants refer to the children of the first generation immigrants, who were born in China and brought to Spain before the age of 12, or who were born in Spain but sent to China to be raised to his/her teenage when they were brought back to Spain; they will also be referred to later in the present study as second generation together with those who were born and raised in Spain.

high SES; 1.5-/second generation immigrants with low SES) fair in terms of intercultural adaptation? Is it orientated towards integration, marginalization, assimilation, or separation?

Q2: How does the acculturation model relate to socio-cultural adaptation and psychological adjustment among Chinese immigrants in Spain?

The latter part of the study, employing a qualitative approach “in-depth interviewing”, attempts to reveal in detail and in depth the answer of the following question:

Q3: What coping strategies do members of each group adopt to deal with difficulties and stress brought upon by living in a strange or mixed cultural environment? What makes them to adopt such strategies?

3.2 HYPOTHESES

This study, in the first part, aims to examine intercultural adaptation levels among different groups of Chinese immigrants in Spain by looking at host national and co-national identification in relation to socio-cultural adaptation and psychological adjustment respectively. Based on the above-mentioned theories, the following hypotheses are proposed:

- a. Generation and SES are important factors that affect intercultural adaptation level among Chinese immigrants in Spain.
- b. Respondents who are strongly identified with both host culture and ethnic culture (namely, co-national identification) are more likely to perform best in terms of psychological adjustment.
- c. Respondents who are marginalized will experience the most difficulties in psychological adjustment.
- d. Respondents who are assimilated will experience the least socio-cultural adaptation difficulties.
- e. Respondents who endorse separation will experience the most difficulties in socio-cultural adaptation.

In the latter part of the study, exploration will be undertaken about coping strategies adopted by Chinese immigrants of different groups to cope with stress and adversities incurred in the process of living in a new and unfamiliar culture. The reasons contained therein will also be explored by interview analysis using grounded theory method. Grounded theory approach is a repetitive intertwining between research data, inductive reasoning and research outcomes

(Glaser & Strauss 1967; Henwood & Pidgeon, 2003), wherefore no preprogrammed conceptual framework should be supported before and during the process of data analysis. Hence, no hypotheses are structured for this part of study.

CHAPTER 4 METHODS

4.1 RESEARCH TYPE

4.1.1 EXPLORATORY RESEARCH

Exploratory research is undertaken to explore a phenomenon so as to “become familiar with it and gain insight and understanding about it, frequently in order to formulate a more precise research problem for further study” (Royce, 1988: 90). Exploratory studies dig into something that is unknown or barely known by people. It is often used when a problem has not been identified and conceptual definition and relationships have not been confirmed. Exploratory research also provides the researcher enlightenments and insights about the phenomenon under investigation.

The present study is of the exploratory kind because of its deviant character of its newness. As explained above, there still exists a blank space for a systematic research centered on cross-cultural adaptation problem concerning the conspicuously large number of Chinese Diasporas in Spain. The existing researches on this topic cover the history of Chinese migration, the migratory pattern, the present state of contemporary Chinese immigration in Spain, motivations behind global movements, the traces of historical influence on the livelihoods of the immigrants in Spain, the demographic details.

4.1.2 MIXED METHODS RESEARCH

Mixed methods research is defined by Creswell (2003) as a “research design with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry” (p.5), which involves both quantitative and qualitative approaches for data collection and analysis in a single study project. It is proposed on the premise that quantitative and qualitative approaches combined together provide “a better understanding” (p.5) of the problem under investigation than either quantitative or qualitative approach alone.

Quantitative approach is often used when the researcher wants to test a theory or hypothesis by collecting close-ended information to corroborate or refute it (Neuman, 2014). It requires a predetermined claim or attitude about a phenomenon. It is employed to explain a phenomenon or problem by collecting numerical data that are to be analyzed in mathematical

manner, statistics often involved. The behaviors are seen by analyzing scores on close-ended checklists. Surveys and questionnaires are usually used to collect quantitative data. Quantitative method is efficient and accurate, but may miss contextual details (Neuman, 2014).

According to Tayie, for a qualitative researcher, reality is subjective and is holistic, all individuals under study are fundamentally different, and from a given situation or individual generates a unique explanation instead of a normative law (2005: 86). In more specific terms, qualitative research gives prominence to five areas. The researcher is an integral part of the data; the design changes along the progress; the investigator conducts the studies in natural settings; the researcher him/herself is the measurement instrument; theory is built up through the research process. It involves four main research methods: field observations, focus groups, intensive interviews, and case studies.

The present study fits the definition of mixed methods research in that the researcher collects data by a quantitative survey tool which is followed up by qualitative interviews with some of those individuals who participated in the surveys in order to learn more details about their responses (Creswell, 2003). It belongs to the category of mixed methods research because of the following respects. Firstly it aims to find out whether acculturation mode is correlated with the individual immigrant's socioeconomic status and generation. Besides, the relation between intercultural adaptation and psychological health is needed to be either supported or rejected. Surveys of the quantitative method would be the efficient and suitable way to test the hypotheses.

Secondly, the study also strives for depth of the intercultural adaptation problem. It takes the individual as the unit of analysis while regarding the individual as unique being. I will undertake the investigation in natural surroundings without trying to control deviant variables. All links of the cross-cultural adaptation process are interrelated and inseparable from each other. During the practical research process are also employed the qualitative research methods, in concrete, the intensive interview.

4.2 INSTRUMENTS

4.2.1 SURVEY/QUESTIONNAIRE

Survey method is an efficient way to gather data from a sample of individuals who are asked to fill some questionnaires used to measure many variables (Neuman, 2014). It allows the researcher to obtain the respondents' response to some variable at low cost of both money

and time. Roughly speaking, survey method includes the following steps: defining the objectives, identifying a sample of individuals, deciding research design, designing questionnaires, collecting data, processing the data, analyzing and documenting the data (Neuman, 2014).

With objectives defined as above and the samples identified as following, the questionnaires in the survey part of the present study are designed as self-administrated ones which are made by fixed-choice questions (see appendices 1 -- 4). The self-administrated questionnaires are completed by the respondent alone without the intervention of the researcher. The fixed-choice questions refer to the type of questions that contain a given number of options. The respondent only has to choose one that best reflects his/her situation (Neuman, 2014).

In the present study, four questionnaires are used: the first one to obtain the demographic and socioeconomic status information of the respondents, the second to define the individual's acculturation mode, the third to know about the individual's psychological adjustment, and the last to measure his/her socio-cultural adaptation competence. All these questionnaires are designed in a convenient way to get results in numerical terms.

4.2.2 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

In the second part of the study, semi-structured interviews were used to examine what the Chinese immigrants in Spain do to deal with stress incurred by adversities and difficulties that they meet in a strange or mixed cultural environment, and examine how their coping strategies are related to their socio-cultural intercultural adaptation. Since semi-structured interview allows the researcher to explore further the particular themes under a framework of predetermined open questions, and thereby offers an opportunity for the interviewees speak openly and freely based on their personal experiences and feelings (Kvale, 2007), it is an ideal method for the third objective of the present study.

I formulated questions after reviewing a vast body of research literature on coping strategies in cross-cultural situations and acculturation (Cross, 1995; Kuo, 2014; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, Mena, Padilla & Maldonado, 2007; Ward & Kennedy, 2001. etc.). Acculturative stress arising from intercultural contacts is in essence a person-environment conflict (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Berry, 1997; Ward, 2001). Stress and coping is an inevitable and inherent aspect of acculturative processes for individuals who are faced with major life changes and challenges (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). It is a multivariable interaction process involving variables of both individual the person and situation the environment, ranging from personality, internal

resources, support resources, and specific types of stress (Mena, Padilla & Maldonado, 2007). Immigrants usually deal with stress by resorting to coping mechanisms such as psychological resources and/or social resources (Mena, Padilla & Maldonado, 2007). Coping styles (approach, avoidance, and acceptance) were also checked in the interview.

The interview questions were thus structured into two parts: acculturation challenges, and coping strategies. The former tries to find out whether Chinese immigrants are suffering or not acculturation challenges and psychological stress arising in the process of overcoming intercultural adaptation difficulties, and what those problems are if there's any. The latter part attempts to stress how Chinese immigrants deal with those challenges they are facing and what may cause them to choose to handle it this way.

4.2.3 SUBJECTS/SAMPLING

The respondents are to be selected according to a complex sampling design. Due to limited money, time and personnel, the sampling frame is to cover only those long-term adult Chinese immigrants in the province of Barcelona who have about or more than 10 years of residence in Spain. Working alone and without financial support, the investigator could only afford to study about 40-50 units of analysis.

For the purposes of examining different groups within the Chinese immigrant community in Barcelona, the sampling frame is to be divided into subframes according to two key variables: generation and social status. Since I have no access to either full profiles or contacts of all ethnic Chinese living in Barcelona, it is impossible for me to practice a probability sampling. Unlike probability sampling which involves random selection, nonprobability sampling does not require a "randomization distribution" of the subjects (Neuman, 2014; p. 38). Instead, it can be a model of the population characteristics, such as age, generation, education background, etc. Therefore, in this study, nonprobability cluster sampling is to be employed in deciding the subframes. The first step is to narrow down sampling subframes by the investigator approaching institutes like Confucius Institute in Barcelona, Association of the Chinese in Barcelona, Chinese language school such as Centro Cultural Confuci de Barcelona, and the enclave Fondo. The next step is to find samples based on the investigator's judgment and if necessary, by the snowball sampling technique.

Up until January of 2013 in the city of Barcelona there was registered Chinese population of the total of 16.128, among which 82.4% was born outside Spain, with only 17.5% born in Spain. Adult Chinese at the age of 25 and over account for the majority of the immigrant community

(62.9%). For the whole community, their educational attainment is dramatically unevenly accomplished (see table 1).

		Number	%
Birthplace	In Spain	2831	17.5
	Outside of Spain	13.297	82.4
Age	0-14	3520	21.8
	15-24	2468	15.3
	25-39	5514	34.2
	40-64	4355	27.0
	65 and over	271	1.7
Educational level	Without any education	451	2.8
	Primary education	6035	37.4
	Junior secondary education	3168	19.7
	Upper secondary educational levels (including vocational training)	1495	9.3
	Tertiary education	1283	8.0

Table 3: Profile of the Chinese ethnicity in Barcelona (January of 2013)

Source: statistics from the city hall of Barcelona

(<http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/castella/dades/inf/pobest/pobest13/part1/t34.htm>)

50 subjects participated in the survey part of the study, but only 44 questionnaires were considered valid, and the other 6 rejected as incomplete. They are categorized into the following four subgroups (see table 4).

Analysis Sample			
	Generation	Social Status (by index of education and occupation)	Number of Subjects
Group 1	First-generation immigrant	Middle-high social status stratum	11 individuals
Group 2	First-generation immigrant	Low social status stratum	12 individuals
Group 3	Second-generation immigrant	Middle-high social status stratum	11 individuals
Group 4	Second-generation immigrant	Low social status stratum	10 individuals
Total			44 individuals

Table 4: sampling (own elaboration)

4.2.4 MEASURES AND SCALES

In line with the above-mentioned hypotheses, summarized is the following framework of variables and their corresponding scales according to which the investigation is to be conducted in order to examine intercultural adaptation levels among the Chinese in Spain.

4.2.4.1 Demographics and Social Status

Demographic variables such as gender, age, previous occupation in China, current occupation in Spain, education background, length of stay and religious affiliation, are to be measured.

During recent years, more and more research reviews have been warning the tendency to ignore the contribution of social status variables in the cross-cultural adaptation process (Rudmin, 2009). Low socioeconomic status (SES) as a major factor influencing psychological health among immigrants has been studied widely among psychological acculturation researches (e.g., Canabal & Quiles, 1995; Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995; Gallagher-Thompson et al., 1997; Pham & Harris, 2001; Schalk-Soekar, van de Vijver, & Hoogsteder, 2004; Simich, Hamilton, & Baya, 2006). Significant positive correlations of SES to acculturation have been found. It is proved that lower SES involves higher degree of cultural conflicts and acculturation stress during the adaptation process. Two pronounced elements for measuring SES are educational attainment and income levels. Higher education and income levels are positively related to acculturation degree due to greater likelihood of interactions with locals and the host culture (Garcia Coll et al., 2002). Rudmin (2009) constructed a modified model of acculturation taking into account racial discrimination and SES. Acculturative learning is also affected by discrimination and SES as well as motivations to acculturate.

The Barratt Simplified Measure of Social Status (BSMSS) was administered in assessing socioeconomic status of the immigrants. As a simplified measure built on the most commonly used Hollingshead's four-factor index of social status (marital status, retired / employed status, occupational prestige and educational attainment), BSMSS is used because it updates the list of occupations and considers the generational shift in social status combining parent's educational levels and occupational prestige with the individual's own family (Barratt, 2006).

The amount of educational attainment is scored on a seven-degree scale faithfully in accordance with Hollingshead's conceptualization. Barratt modifies it by taking into consideration educational attainment of the individual's family members.

Level of School Completed		Mother	Father	Spouse	You
Less than seventh grade		3	3	3	3
Junior high school (9 th grade)		6	6	6	6
Partial high school (10 th or 11 th grade)		9	9	9	9
High school graduate (whether private preparatory, parochial, trade, or public school)		12	12	12	12
Partial college (at least one year) or specialized training		15	15	15	15
Standard college or university graduation		18	18	18	18
Graduate professional training (graduate degree)		21	21	21	21
Level of School Completed Scoring					
1	If you grew up with both parents add Mother + Father and divide by 2. If you grew up with one parent enter that score to the right.				
2	If you are married or partnered add Spouse + You and divide by 2. If you live alone enter Your score to the right. If you are a full-time student leave this blank.				
3	Double your score from line 2. If you are a full-time student leave this blank.				
4	If you are a full-time student enter only your parents' score. Add line 1 and line 3 then divide by 3 (three) for a TOTAL EDUCATION Score should be between 3 and 21				

The occupational prestige is graded on a nine-step scale, which also accounts for that of the individual's family members.

Occupation	Mother	Father	Spouse	You
Day laborer, janitor, house cleaner, farm worker, food counter sales, food preparation worker, busboy.	5	5	5	5
Garbage collector, short-order cook, cab driver, shoe sales, assembly line workers, masons, baggage porter.	10	10	10	10
Painter, skilled construction trade, sales clerk, truck driver, cook, sales counter or general office clerk.	15	15	15	15
Automobile mechanic, typist, locksmith, farmer, carpenter, receptionist, construction laborer, hairdresser.	20	20	20	20

Machinist, musician, bookkeeper, secretary, insurance sales, cabinet maker, personnel specialist, welder.	25	25	25	25
Supervisor, librarian, aircraft mechanic, artist and artisan, electrician, administrator, military enlisted personnel, buyer.	30	30	30	30
Nurse, skilled technician, medical technician, counselor, manager, police and fire personnel, financial manager, physical, occupational, speech therapist.	35	35	35	35
Mechanical, nuclear, and electrical engineer, educational administrator, veterinarian, military officer, elementary, high school and special education teacher,	40	40	40	40
Physician, attorney, professor, chemical and aerospace engineer, judge, CEO, senior manager, public official, psychologist, pharmacist, accountant.	45	45	45	45
OCCUPATION Scoring				
1	If you grew up with both parents add Mother + Father and divide by 2. If you grew up with one parent enter that score to the right..			
2	If you are married or partnered add Spouse + You and divide by 2. If you live alone enter Your score to the right. If you are a full-time student leave this blank.			
3	Double your score from line 2. If you are a full-time student leave this blank.			
4	If you are a full-time student enter only your parents' score. Add line 1 and line 3 then divide by 3 (three) for a TOTAL OCCUPATION Score should be between 5 and 45			

TOTAL Score: Add TOTAL EDUCATION + TOTAL OCCUPATION: Score should be between 8 and 66
Source: the Barratt Simplified Measure of Social Status (BSMSS), retrieved online [http://socialclass-bpd.wikispaces.com/file/view/Barratt Simplified Measure of Social Status.pdf](http://socialclass-bpd.wikispaces.com/file/view/Barratt+Simplified+Measure+of+Social+Status.pdf)

4.2.4.2 Acculturation Model

The Acculturation Index created by Ward, et al., (Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999) is employed to measure the two dimensions and four orientations of acculturation. This instrument assesses immigrants' acculturation attitudes both towards the host culture and

towards the home culture. The investigator drafted 13 questions (see appendix 2) according to 13 items (see the following index items) adopted from the Acculturation Index which test the subjects' current lifestyle by asking them how similar their behavior or experience are to those of typical people from their country of origin and how similar their behavior or experience are to those of typical people from their country of destination. These items are scored along a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not similar at all) to 7 (very similar). The scale scores indicate two dimensions of cultural identification, one towards their ethnic culture and one towards the host culture.

By using a median split point the scores are classified into four groups, which indicate the four acculturation orientations among the subjects, namely, assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization.

This instrument used in previous study (Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999) has strong internal reliabilities, ranging from .91 to .94 for the scale of home culture identification, and ranging from .89 to .97 for the other of host culture identification.

In the present study, the sample reliability coefficients for the scale of home culture identification and that of host culture identification are .773 and .777 respectively. Sufficient internal consistency is claimed by the scales for this study.

Acculturation Index Items:

1. Pace of life
2. Food
3. Recreational activities
4. Family life
5. Accommodation/residence
6. Values
7. Friendships
8. Communication styles
9. Cultural activities
10. Language
11. Worldview
12. Self-identity
13. Social customs

Source: Ward, C., & Rana-Deuba, R. (1999). Acculturation and adaptation revisited.

4.2.4.3 Psychological Adjustment

The Zung (1965) Self-Rating Depression Scale (ZSDS) measures psychological and physiological symptoms related to depression. It consists of 20 statements testing the depression components the subjects are experiencing. Respondents are given 4 points to choose from 1 (never or a little of the time) to 4 (most of the time) for each statement. I modified ZSDS by deleting the sixth item "I still enjoy sex" given that some of the subjects are second-generation adolescents who may well not have the need to consider this activity highly involved in their daily life. Ultimately, 17 statements were drafted to be measured.

Cronbach's alpha for this instrument in the current sample is .75, which indicates quite strong reliability in the tool used for the present study.

4.2.4.4 Socio-Cultural Adaptation

Given that socio-cultural adaptation covers a wide range of elements from dispositional factors, through media use to cultural environment, subscales under the framework of Kim's integrative theory are used to assess this variable. Elements such as "host language competence", "host interpersonal relationship", "host media use", "ethnic interpersonal relationship", "ethnic media use", "functional fitness", "Spanish identity salience" and "Chinese identity salience" are examined. Seven specific scales are consulted in the present study as follows:

4.2.4.4.1 The Host Environment

The host environment will be measured by asking respondents about items adopted from Kim's elaboration of intercultural adaptation theory: host receptivity, host conformity pressure, and ethnic group strength. The items are covered as follows:

- Spanish locals' attitude towards the Chinese ethnic group
- The use of derogatory ethnic jokes and name-calling
- Institutional support of Spanish government, schools and media for the Chinese language
- Perceived pressure to speak only Spanish, to follow local beliefs and practices
- The degree of institutional completeness of Chinese ethnic organizations (with specific programs to provide various services)
- Perceived in-group political pressure from the Chinese community not to go native

- Perceptions of discrimination and blocked upward mobility along the social status ladder will be measured by examining the degree to which respondents agree or disagree with the following statements:
- I often feel rejected or not being treated the same as others;
- In Spain, everyone has the same opportunities to advance in the society.

4.2.4.4.2 Host Language Competence

Multi-group Acculturation Scale (Stephenson, 2000) is used to rate the respondents' command of the Spanish language. Sample items for language proficiency includes, "I think in Spanish", "I feel more comfortable speaking Spanish/Chinese", "I speak Spanish only when I have to", "I read, write, and speak in Spanish, and understand spoken Spanish language without any effort", "I'm satisfied with my language ability in my daily communication with local people", etc.

4.2.4.4.3 Host and Ethnic Interpersonal Relationships

Referring to items from Lee and Chen (2000), the respondents are to be asked the following questions:

- How many Spanish friends do you have?
- How many Chinese friends do you have?
- How often do you invite your Spanish friends to your house?
- How often do you invite your Chinese friends to your house?
- How often are you invited to your Spanish friends' gathering?
- How often are you invited to your Chinese friends' gathering?
- How many activities hosted by Spanish institution or organization have you participated?
- Do you enjoy being with Spaniards? How comfortable do you feel in interacting with local people?
- Do you interact more frequently with local people or with Chinese ethnics, either in real life or in virtual Internet world?
- How often do you go to a Chinese restaurant?
- How often do you go to a Spanish restaurant?
- Do you celebrate Chinese festivals?
- Do you celebrate Spanish festivals?

4.2.4.4.4 Host and Ethnic Media Use

The respondents are to be asked to indicate:

- How often do you read Chinese storybooks/novels/fiction/magazines?
- How often do you watch Spanish movies and soap opera?
- How often do you watch Chinese movies and soap opera?
- How often do you listen to Spanish radio?
- How often do you listen to Chinese radio?
- How often do you listen to Spanish music?
- How often do you listen to Chinese music?
- Do you more often surf Spanish websites than Chinese ones?
- Do you prefer using Spanish on the Internet rather than Chinese?
- How often do you use Chinese on the Internet?

4.2.4.4.5 Functional Fitness

Items adopted from Sociocultural Adaptation Scale (Ward and Kennedy, 1999) will be used in constructing interviews for measuring functional fitness among Chinese immigrants. The widely used Sociocultural Adaptation Scale measures the amount of behavioral and cognitive difficulties an individual experiences living in a new culture. Out of its 41 items are extracted the following ones:

1. Making friends
2. Using the transport system
3. Making yourself understood
4. Getting used to the pace of life
5. Going shopping
6. Going to social events/gatherings/functions
7. Worshipping in your usual way
8. Talking about yourself with others
9. Understanding jokes and humor
10. Dealing with someone who is unpleasant/cross/aggressive
11. Getting used to the local food/finding food you enjoy
12. Following rules and regulations
13. Dealing with people in authority
14. Dealing with the bureaucracy
15. Making yourself understood

16. Adapting to local accommodation
17. Communicating with people of a different ethnic group
18. Relating to members of the opposite sex
19. Dealing with unsatisfactory service
20. Finding your way around
21. Dealing with the climate
22. Dealing with people staring at you
23. Going to coffee shops/ food stalls/restaurants/fast food outlets
24. Understanding the local accent/language
25. Living away from family members overseas/independently from your parents
26. Adapting to local etiquette
27. Getting used to the population density
28. Relating to older people
29. Dealing with people of higher status

4.2.4.4.6 Psychological Health

Brief Psychological adaptation scale (Demes and Geeraert, 2014) will be employed to rate Chinese immigrants' psychological health. Respondents will be asked about the following kinds of feelings when living in Spain:

- Excited about being in Spain
- Out of place, like you don't fit into Spanish culture
- A sense of freedom being away from China
- Sad to be away from China
- Nervous about how to behave in certain situations
- Lonely without your Chinese family and friends around you
- Curious about things that are different in Spain
- Homesick when you think of China
- Frustrated by difficulties adapting to Spain
- Happy with your day-to-day life in Spain

4.2.4.4.7 Spanish Cultural and Ethnic Identity Saliency

The cultural and ethnic identity saliency scale (Ting-Toomey, 2000) will be used to measure the respondents' intercultural identity. This scale includes two subscales: ethnic identity subscale and cultural identity saliency subscale. Ethnic identity saliency is defined as "the degree to which members feel attached and comfortable with their own ethnic group" (p. 72), and

cultural identity salience reveals “the extent to which individuals identify with the overall larger culture” (p. 72). In the present study, the “overall larger culture” refers to the Spanish culture.

The ethnic identity subscale contains five five-point Likert-type items (e.g., “I generally identify strongly with the overall Spanish culture,” “It is important for me to follow the overall Spanish cultural values”), with response options ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.” The ethnic identity subscale had a total of seven items, but only 5 were adopted in this study. Like the cultural identity salience subscale, these items were measured on a five-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree” (e.g., “I am involved with activities with my ethnic group,” “I feel a strong attachment to being a member of my ethnic group”).

I mixed and distilled items from various scales particularly oriented towards the above-mentioned variables, such as Multigroup Acculturation Scale (Stephenson, 2000) to rate the respondents’ command of the Spanish language, Lee and Chen (2000)’s scales on host and ethnic interpersonal relationship and on host and ethnic media use, Sociocultural Adaptation Scale (Ward and Kennedy, 1999) to assess function fitness, and the cultural and ethnic identity salience scale (Ting-Toomey, 2000) to measure the respondents’ intercultural identity. In the end, 24 questions are subsumed from the above-listed scale items.

These modified subscales are subsumed into a general one using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The internal consistency is maintained at .763 shown as Cronbach’s alpha.

4.2.5 PROCEDURES

Given the absence of census-based statistics on the profile of people of Chinese ethnicity with Spanish citizenship as well as that of the social status of specific Chinese groups in Spain, the investigator is obliged to do a survey using self-administered questionnaire among the Chinese accessible through institutes such as Confucius Institute in Barcelona, Association of the Chinese in Barcelona, Chinese language school such as Centro Cultural Confuci de Barcelona, and the enclave Fondo. Out of the questionnaires whose data are analyzed will be chosen about 28 samples for further semi-structured interviews. When it was impossible to gather enough questionnaires responded, the snowball technique was employed to attract enough samples for further investigation about other variables. One typical representative of each stratified subgroups of samples will be asked to introduce more samples who are just like

themselves in terms of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics and who are interested and consent to participate in the study. The final samples are to be stratified into the above-mentioned four groups for investigation.

The self-administered questionnaires are designed in both Chinese and Spanish languages to be chosen by the participants' preference, and the semi-structured interviews will be conducted in Chinese language. The investigation will be conducted in any place and any time that suits, whether at home or at work place, whether in work days or in their leisure time. As an incentive, the respondents will be given a gift for participating in the study.

For the first part of this study, out of the 50 questionnaires distributed, 50 questionnaires were returned, but 6 were rejected in later analysis phase as incomplete. Thus 44 questionnaires are analyzed in this study. For the second part, 28 subjects were interviewed under a semi-structured interview (15-30 minutes) design. The participants were interviewed whenever and wherever they saw fit to do, either at coffee house, school, or workplace, etc.

CHAPTER5 FINDINGS AND ANALYSES

5.1 PART I (OBJECTIVES 1 and 2)

5.1.1 PLAN OF DATA ANALYSIS

The first step was to gauge the internal consistency of each measurement scale by Cronbach alphas. These scales proved to contain good level of reliability. The Acculturation Index used in the present study has Cronbach alphas of .773 for the scale of ethnic culture identification and of .777 for that of host culture identification. The Zung (1965) Self-Rating Depression Scale (ZSDS) employed to assess psychological adjustment difficulties also proved sufficient reliable with internal consistency coefficient at .75. The third scale measuring socio-cultural adaptation ability turned out to be sufficiently reliable with Cronbach alpha of .763.

Then a MANOVA analysis of variance was employed to assess the effects of SES and generation on host culture identification and socio-cultural adaptation, whereby the first hypothesis could be proved true or false. Next, median split points were obtained from the scores of Acculturation Index scales respectively for home culture identification and for host culture identification, according to which the respondents were categorized into four groups in four acculturation modes: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization.

Afterwards one-way ANOVA analysis was used to measure the effect of different acculturation modes on socio-cultural adaptation and psychological adjustment respectively. With this analysis tool, the difference could be discerned between each of these four groups on socio-cultural adaptation and psychological adjustment.

At last, multiple regression was employed to test correlation of intercultural communication competence to socio-cultural adaptation and psychological adjustment respectively.

All the above-mentioned analysis instruments were used with significance level set at $p < .05$.

5.1.2 HYPOTHESIS 1

Hypothesis: **Generation and SES are important factors that affect intercultural adaptation level among Chinese immigrants in Spain, proved true and was accepted.**

A main effect is present for generation, for both host culture identification, $F(1) = 36, P < .05$ and socio-cultural adaptation $F(1) = 23, P < .05$. SES explains a similar story as generation,

indicating a main effect for both host culture identification, $F(26) = 7.7, P < .05$ and socio-cultural adaptation $F(26) = 6.4, P < .05$. There is no significant interaction effect between generation and SES on either host culture identification, $F(5) = 1.6, P > .05$ and socio-cultural adaptation $F(5) = 2.2, P > .05$ (see table 5 and table 6).

This result refers to a fact, in line with the first hypothesis, that the first generation of Chinese immigrants in Spain fair much worse than the younger generation in terms of host culture identification and socio-cultural adaptation competence; and that immigrants with lower SES perform much worse than those with middle-higher SES in the same aspects.

Table 5 & Table 6:

Effect		F	df of	Std. Error	Sig.
Interception	Pillai trace	1265,34	2,000	10,000	,000
	Wilks' Lambda	1265,34	2,000	10,000	,000
	Hotelling trace	1265,34	2,000	10,000	,000
	Roy greatest root	1265,34	2,000	10,000	,000
generation	Pillai trace	16,619 ^b	2,000	10,000	,001
	Wilks' Lambda	16,619 ^b	2,000	10,000	,001
	Hotelling trace	16,619 ^b	2,000	10,000	,001
	Roy greatest root	16,619 ^b	2,000	10,000	,001
SES	Pillai trace	4,120	52,000	22,000	,000
	Wilks' Lambda	4,254 ^b	52,000	20,000	,000
	Hotelling trace	4,343	52,000	18,000	,001
	Roy greatest root	7,918 ^c	26,000	11,000	,000
generation * SES	Pillai trace	1,701	10,000	22,000	,143
	Wilks' Lambda	1,569 ^b	10,000	20,000	,187
	Hotelling trace	1,433	10,000	18,000	,243
	Roy greatest root	2,195 ^c	5,000	11,000	,129

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Source	Dependent variable	Type III sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	host culture	15189,909 ^a	32	474,685	9,018	,000
	sociocult adap	21210,061 ^b	32	662,814	8,491	,000
Interception	host culture	98175,888	1	98175,888	1865,172	,000
	sociocult adap	211750,857	1	211750,857	2712,647	,000
generation	host culture	1898,519	1	1898,519	36,069	,000
	sociocult adap	1792,531	1	1792,531	22,963	,001
SES	host culture	10540,738	26	405,413	7,702	,001
	sociocult adap	13006,280	26	500,242	6,408	,001
generation * SES	host culture	428,307	5	85,661	1,627	,232
	sociocult adap	848,582	5	169,716	2,174	,132
Error	host culture	579,000	11	52,636		
	sociocult adap	858,667	11	78,061		
Total	host culture	128182,000	44			
	sociocult adap	271372,000	44			
Total corrected	host culture	15768,909	43			
	sociocult adap	22068,727	43			

a. R Squared = ,963 (Adjusted R Squared = ,856)

b. R Squared = ,961 (Adjusted R Squared = ,848)

5.1.3 OTHER HYPOTHESES

Subjected to a median split, the 44 subjects were divided into four categories by their scores on scales testing home culture identification and host culture identification of the Acculturation Index. The distribution is demonstrated in the following matrix graph (see fig.12). Four tags for these data are used to represent these four categories of respondents: “1h” referring to the first generation immigrants with middle-higher SES, “1l” meaning the first generation immigrants with lower SES, “2h” referring to the second generation immigrants with middle-higher SES, and “2l” the second generation immigrants with lower SES.

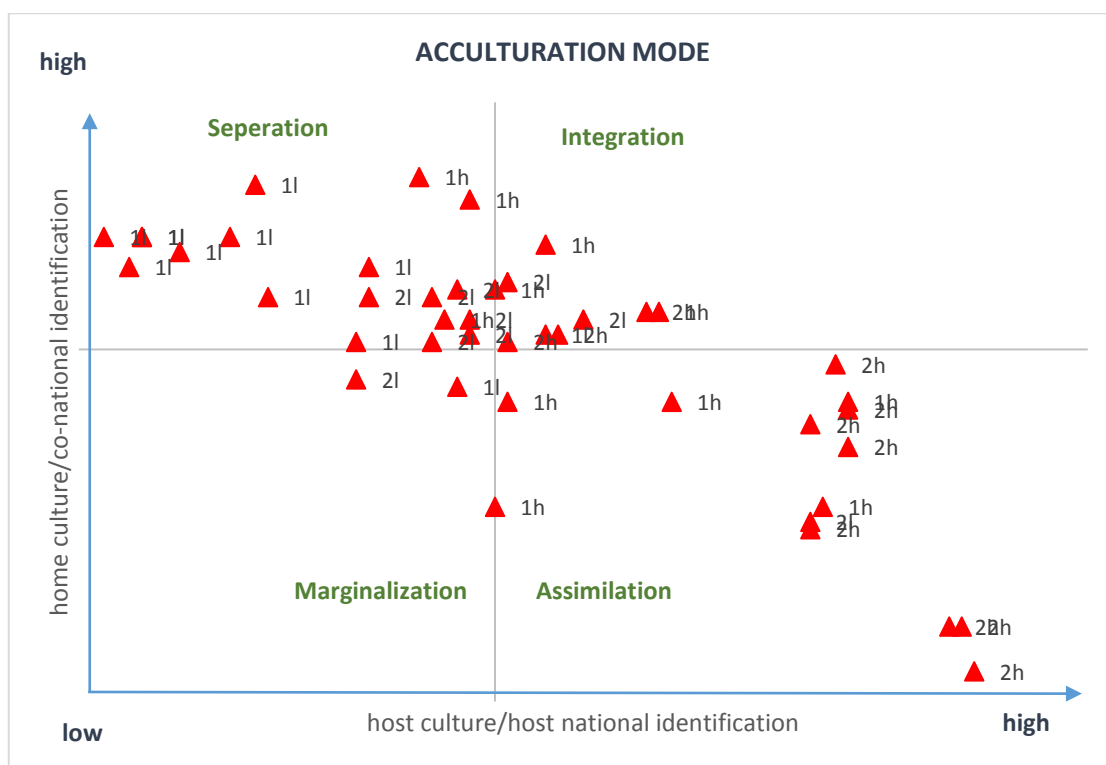


Fig.12: respondents categorized into four acculturation modes.

From the matrix distribution it can be seen that an overwhelming majority of the immigrants (or descendants of immigrants) in the lower SES stratum, regardless of which generation they are in, are subjected to the separation acculturation mode, while a large number of those in the second generation with middle-higher social status tend to be assimilated. Into integration acculturation mode are subsumed those who are in the higher socio-economic stratum, whether first or second generation. It can also be discerned that a very low proportion of Chinese immigrants in Spain experience the marginalizing acculturation process.

I put the data on members of different groups into one-way ANOVA analysis on the variable “psychological adjustment”, and the results show **that the second hypothesis could not be accepted** as true while **the third hypothesis proved true**. There is no main effect present of the variable “groups” on the variable “psychological adjustment”, $F(3) = 2.2, P > .05$ (see table 7). Therefore, the hypothesis that “Respondents who are strongly identified with both host culture and ethnic culture (namely, co-national identification) are more likely to perform best in terms of psychological adjustment” should be rejected in the case of Chinese immigrants in Spain.

Table 7:

Tests Of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: psychological adjustment difficulties

Source	Type III sum of	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Model corrected	112,159 ^a	3	37,386	2,217	,101
Interception	15352,06	1	15352,060	910,456	,000
Groups	112,159	3	37,386	2,217	,101
Error	674,478	40	16,862		
Total	17674,00	44			
Total corrected	786,636	43			

a. R Squared = ,143 (adjusted R Squared = ,078)

However, it is the marginalized group that experience the most difficulties in psychological adjustment (M= 23.33, compared with the other three groups like integration M= 19.09, assimilation M=18.00, separation M= 19.53) (see table 8), while the difference between the other three groups is not significant. **The third hypothesis that “respondents who are marginalized will experience the most difficulties in psychological adjustment” is confirmed** hence. In table 8, the groups are labeled as Arabic numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4, respectively referring to integration group, assimilation group, separation group, and marginalization group.

Table 8:

Psychological adjustment difficulties

Student-Newman-Keuls^{a,b,c}

groups	N	Subsets	
		1	2
2	10	18,00	
1	11	19,09	19,09
3	17	19,53	19,53
4	6		23,33
Sig.		,695	,073

The means for the groups are displayed in homogeneous subsets.

It is based on the observed means.

The error term is the root mean square (Error) = 141,807.

a. use the sample size of the harmonic mean = 9,606.

b. Group sizes are not equal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. The levels of type I error are not guaranteed.

c. Alpha = ,05.

Then data about these four groups on the variable “socio-cultural adaptation” was analyzed by using the same one-way ANOVA analysis. There is a main effect of groups on the variable of socio-cultural adaptation, $F(3) = 38.5$, $p < .05$ (see table 9). Remarkable difference between these four groups is discerned, with the separation group achieving the least socio-cultural adaptation competence ($M = 55.35$) and the assimilated group as the most competent ($M = 104.90$) in socio-cultural adaptation (see table 10). In table 7, the groups are labeled as Arabic numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4, respectively referring to integration group, assimilation group, separation group, and marginalization group. Therefore, **the fourth and fifth hypotheses**, which argue respectively that respondents who are assimilated will experience the least socio-cultural adaptation difficulties, and that respondents who endorse separation will experience the most difficulties in socio-cultural adaptation, **are confirmed as true** for the case of Chinese immigrants in Spain.

Table 9:
Tests Of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Sociocultural Adaptation

Source	Type III Sum Of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Model corrected	16396,430 ^a	3	5465,477	38,542	,000
Interception	233246,745	1	233246,745	1644,813	,000
groups	16396,430	3	5465,477	38,542	,000
Error	5672,298	40	141,807		
Total	271372,000	44			
Total corrected	22068,727	43			

a R squared = ,743 (adjusted R squared = ,724)

Table 10:
Sociocultural Adaptation
 Student-Newman-Keuls^{a,b,c}

groups	N	Subsets			
		1	2	3	4
3	17	55,35			
4	6		68,67		
1	11			82,73	
2	10				104,90
Sig.		1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

The means for the groups are displayed in homogeneous subsets.

It is based on the observed means.

The error term is the root mean square (Error) = 141,807.

- a. use the sample size of the harmonic mean = 9,606.
- b. Group sizes are not equal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. The levels of type I error are not guaranteed.
- c. Alpha = ,05.

In addition, subscales about intercultural communication competence adopted from the socio-cultural adaptation scale were tested in order to find out their correlations respectively to socio-cultural adaptation, Spanish identity salience, and psychological adjustment difficulty. Three subscales were extracted, and they are “host language competence”, “host interpersonal relationships”, and “host media use”, all defined by Kim’s theory as important elements of the concept of “intercultural communication competence”.

Regression analysis produced results that indicate **remarkable correlation of intercultural communication competence to socio-cultural adaptation**, with coefficients at $R(40) = .71, p < .05$, **strong correlation to Spanish identification salience** with coefficients at $R(40) = .86, p < .05$ (see table 11 and table 12). In contrast, **intercultural communication competence together with Spanish identity salience have very low correlation coefficients to psychological adjustment difficulty**, $R(39) = .32, p > .05$ (see table 13). The correlations are also manifested in correlation scatter diagrams (see diagrams 1-3).

Table 11:
Model summary^b

Model	R	R Squared	Adjusted R Squared	Standard error of the estimation
1	,710 ^a	,504	,466	16,738

a. Predictors: (Constant), Host L C, host relationship, host media use

b. Dependent Variable: sociocultural adaptation

Table 12:
Model summary^b

Model	R	R Squared	Adjusted R Squared	Standard error of the estimation
1	,864 ^a	,747	,727	2,426

a. Predictors: (Constant), Host L C, host relationship, host media use

b. Dependent Variable: span ID S

Table 13:

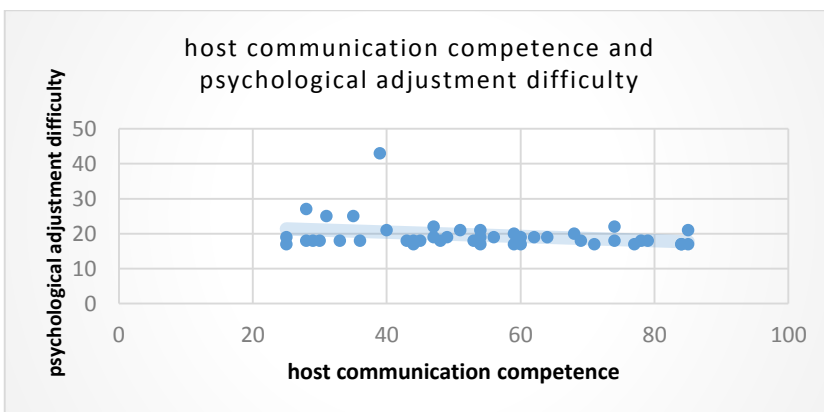
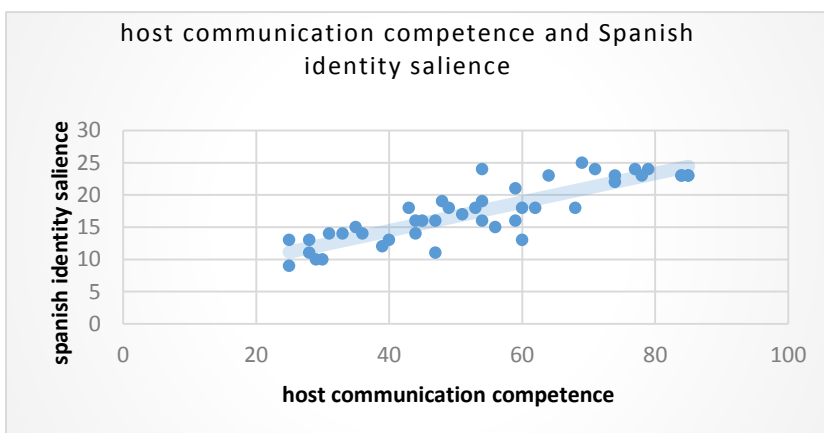
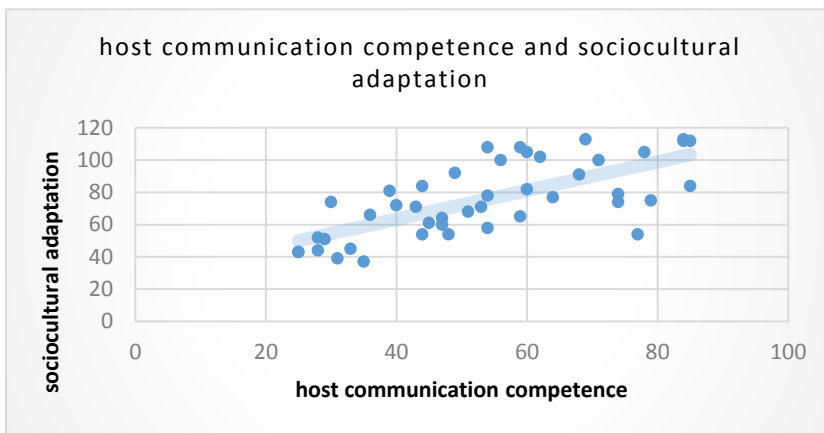
Model summary^b

Model	R	R Squared	Adjusted R Squared	Standard error of the estimation
1	,321 ^a	,103	,011	4,253

a. Predictors: (Constant), Host L C, host relationship, span ID Saliency, host media use

b. Dependent Variable: psycho adjustment difficulties

Correlation scatter diagrams 1-3:



5.2 PART II (OBJECTIVE 3)

5.2.1 ANALYSIS PLAN

5.2.1.1 Grounded Theory Method

The interviews were transcribed in the mode of unfocused transcription. Unfocused transcription refers to the mode of transcribing the basic intended meaning of a recording without considering the detailed contextual characteristics (Gibson, W. J. & Brown A., 2013). This type of transcription was selected because how the stories were said is of no importance to the present study. Instead, what was said suffices for the aim of the present study.

Grounded theory analysis method provides an ideal approach for the qualitative data of the present study. It is a research process based on the application of pragmatism to social phenomena (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In other words, the grounded theory analysis is a methodology of interpreting social phenomena and of developing inductive theory by repetitive generalization of collected data. It does not necessitate predetermined theoretical conceptions which are to be corroborated by the collected data. Instead, it tries to generate conceptions and understanding in accordance with the reality about an unexplored field. In the present study, no predetermined theoretical hypotheses or conceptions were formulated, and the interview was structured mainly from a pragmatic perspective in an effort to understand and explore the routine life of Chinese immigrants involving intercultural contacts.

The data analysis procedure involves techniques such as open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Open coding refers to the technique of decomposing the gathered data to identify and develop categories and subcategories in theme. The methods of deduction and reduction are a telling representation of pragmatism in solving problems.

5.2.1.2 Researcher as the Instrument

It is a commonplace that qualified interviewer may well affect in a beneficial way the efficiency of semi-structured or unstructured qualitative interviews (Pezalla, Pettigrew & Miller-Day, 2012). Standardization of interview practices in qualitative research proved to be outdated and flawed. Not only does the interviewer's characteristics, such as personality, experiences, and social status, influence the interview process, but also his/her abilities like self-reflexivity, perception for changes, and research perspective bear on the reasoned interpretation and understanding of the phenomenon (Potter & Hepburn, 2005).

5.2.1.3 Identifying the Themes Generalized From Data

Grounded theory method involves a set of reiterative and inductive techniques which aim to categorize and conceptualize the raw data. Qualitative data of interviews are transcribed in the form of free-flowing text which is then analyzed first by the open-coding technique in order to understand the details of the data. In this step the researcher read verbatim transcripts and categorized the participants' replies into possible themes. Then through comparison and contrast between these themes the study identified structure among them which later evolves into theoretical model. Afterwards, a constant check of the model against the data was done and several modifications of the model ensued from the check. From the relationships between the themes and categories the researcher drew an interpretation of the acculturation challenges and coping strategies among the Chinese immigrants in Spain.

5.2.2 DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPANTS

The analysis was made of the data of interviews with 28 participants in total. They are selected from the four groups of Chinese immigrants divided by socioeconomic status and generation. In the following table is depicted basic demographic information of each participant.

Name (pseudonym)	Birthplace	Gender	Age	Marital status	Religion	Stay length (years)	Educational level	Occupation	Acculturation mode
1st generation and Middle-High socioeconomic status (abbreviated to 1h)									
Xiao	Shanghai	Female	43	Married to Spanish	Buddhism	20	master	Teacher & clinic owner	marginalization
Yuan	Nanjing	Female	32	Married to Spanish	none	7	master	Teacher	Integration
Ma	Qingtian	Male	66	Married to Chinese	none	20	bachelor	Entrepreneur, CEO, writer	separation
Zhu	Dongbei	Female	28	With Spanish boyfriend	none	5	master	Translator, freelance	Integration
Lin	Shandong	Female	45	Married to Spanish	none	17	master	Office clerk	Integration
Kaili	Qingtian	Female	49	Married to Chinese	Christianity	18	bachelor	Organizer, intermediary	Separation
2st generation and Middle-High socioeconomic status (abbreviated to 2h)									

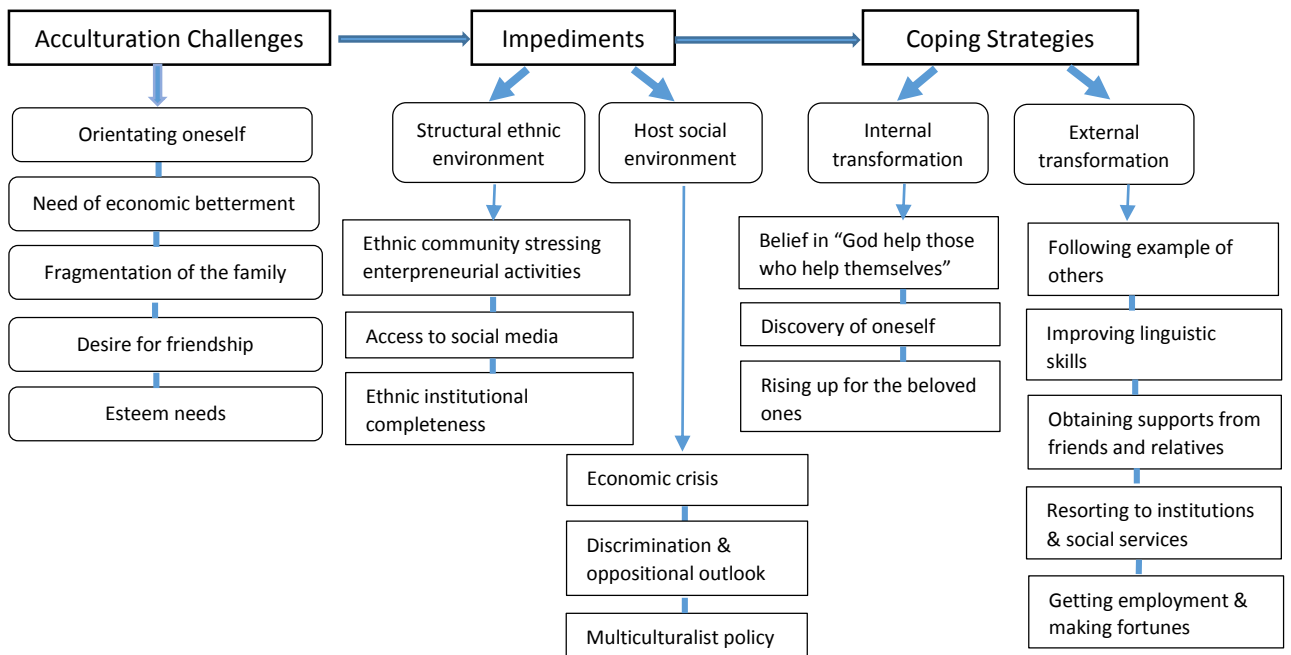
Kangyun	Shanghai	Female	30	Married to Spanish	none	20	master	Lawyer	Integration
Natalia	Barcelona	Female	30	With Spanish boyfriend	Christianity	25	master	Schoolmaster, entrepreneur	Assimilation
Pedro Liu	Barcelona	Male	27	single	none	26	master	Student	Assimilation
Almu	Madrid	female	25	With Spanish boyfriend	Christianity	25	bachelor	Student	Assimilation
Ainha	Beijing	Female	27	Single	none	6	Master	Office clerk, interpreter	Integration
Wei	Qingtian	Male	28	With Chinese Italian girlfriend	none	21	bachelor	manager	Integration
2st generation and Lower socioeconomic status (abbreviated to 2I)									
Jiuba	Qingtian	Male	18	single	none	8	Middle school	Bar owner	Separation
Kongzi	Amsterdam	female	15	single	none	13	Middle school	Student	Separation
Shunda	Barcelona	female	17	single	none	17	High school	Student	Integration
Baiyu	Wenzhou	Male	18	Single	none	8	Middle	Store owner	Separation
Lucía	Barcelona	female	25	With Chinese boyfriend	none	25	Partial college	entrepreneur	Separation
Fangcun	Wenzhou	Male	38	Married to Chinese	none	31	master	entrepreneur	Integration
Gao	Barcelona	Male	40	With Spanish	none	40	Vocational training	Restaurant owner	Assimilation
1st generation and Lower socioeconomic status (abbreviated to 1I)									
Caidian	Qingtian	Male	35	Married to Chinese	Buddhism	13	Partial college	Store owner	Separation
Dushu	Qingtian	Male	52	divorced	Buddhism	10	Partical college	Store owner	Separation
Ahong	Qingtian	female	41	Married to Chinese	Buddhism	18	Primary school	entrepreneur	Separation
Jidu	Qingtian	female	50	divorced	Christianity	7	Primary school	Bar worker	Separation

Liushu	Qingtian	Male	58	Married to Chinese	none	33	High school	Entrepreneur	Separation
Yong	Sichuan	Male	36	Single	none	9	Middle school	Cook	marginalization
Gaoyi	Dongbei	female	59	Divorced	none	10	High school	Cook	Separation
Cheng	Wenzhou	Male	39	Divorced	none	14	High school	Store owner	Separation
Xinzhong	shaanxi	Female	41	Married to Chinese	none	8	High school	Restaurant co-owner	Separation

5.2.3 FINDINGS

From the actual data in hand the researcher drew a model (see the following model) for the interpretation of the acculturation challenges, coping strategies and impediments to adaptation among the Chinese immigrants in Spain. In the present study, the key theme of acculturation challenges highlights the challenges and stressors that participants faced during the adaptation period.

A MODEL OF ACCULTURATION AND COPING STRATEGIES OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN SPAIN



5.2.3.1 Acculturation Challenges

This section describes the themes categorized under the concept of acculturation challenges that Chinese immigrants faced during the adaptation period of their stay in Spain. It's almost impossible to separate the themes since they are all interconnected and exert mutual impact on each other. However, several themes are identified in order to organize the data.

5.2.3.1.1 *Orientating Oneself*

Participants narrated that when they first arrived in Spain, either prepared or unprepared, they had to take some time to get accustomed to the new surroundings, including geographical locations, timetable of daily issues, opening time of stores, transportation rules, eating habits, etc. Xiao (in the category of 1h, 43 years old), who first came to Spain as a candidate of master's degree, said about her experiences and feelings upon arrival:

“It was a tough one for new arrivals. Very exhausting. Totally at lost. I took me quite a while to find the nearest facilities around the place I lived. At first when I hadn't got to know about the timetable of working time of the stores I had several experiences of going shopping for groceries and coming back with nothing because the stores were closed during that time period. It also took me time to distinguish the one-way road and two-way road. During that period, I was highly nervous when I was on the bicycle because I couldn't figure out where I should go when the bikeway was out of sight.”

Zhu (1h, 28 years old), a Spanish-majored undergraduate who came to Spain for further education, also described the orientation problem when she just arrived in Spain:

“(I was at that time) busy. Busy in solving practical issues, like accommodation, legal papers for the residence card, etc. At first a little depressed. It was all new for me after all, the environment. Though I majored in Spanish language in college in China, I still found difficulty in communication with Spanish people.”

Likewise, for those who came to work and to make a living in Spain, the beginning period of their stay here was full of challenges, of which the orientation was the first one to take. For example, Kaili (1h, 49 years), who arrived by a visa of job, said that:

“Due to very limited Spanish ability, I used to feel incompetent for my job, and every time when I had dealings with Spanish people I felt very insecure if nobody was with me. It was quite depressing. Besides, although I had my friend helping me, I would still feel quite lonely when I stayed off-work alone in the corner of the apartment.”

Like Xiao (1h, 43) and Kaili (1h, 49), Caidian (1l, 35), who arrived in Spain through chain immigration pattern in his early 20s, also talked about the problems he met upon arrival:

“It was my town fellow who came to meet me at the airport. I had to follow him very closely, otherwise I would be lost. I didn’t know a single Spanish word; I knew nothing about the rules and customs. I had never taken a metro line before I arrived here. Everything seemed very advanced, all like products of technology, which fascinated me yet scared me to death.”

Xinzhong (1I, 41) came to Spain 20 years ago and has been running a Chinese restaurant for over 15 years. He had trouble getting accustomed to Spanish eating habit at the beginning period of the stay. He said that he missed very much Chinese food cooked in Chinese style, specifically the Qingtian cooking style.

Ahong (1I, 41), brought to Spain by her Qingtian town fellow who hired her as a factory girl, recalled that:

“The first thing you had to do after the arrival was the application for the residence card. The procedure thing. Because I didn’t understand the Spanish language, I had to rely on my town fellows and friends to help me figure out what I had to prepare and where I should apply for that, etc. In spite of this, sometimes I felt very helpless, for everything around me seemed so strange and new to the point of going beyond of my control.”

It is frequently mentioned among the Chinese immigrants that the orientating period was the first challenge they met upon arrival. For the majority of the first-generation immigrants with lower SES, first arriving in Spain, they had to orientate themselves for the new environment. For the earlier settlers, since they all followed the chain immigration pattern, they usually resorted to co-ethnic family members for support and help. Most of them were poorly prepared in terms of the understanding of Spain and its language, they lived and worked day and night in the niche of Chinese co-ethnic business places.

For those of 2nd generation who were born in Spain and lived since without being sent to China, the orientation problem certainly did not exist. But for those who were sent to China and later sent back to Spain after spending their childhood in China, their orientation problem was mainly about schooling, since they were dependent on their parents in almost every aspect of their lives. Kangyun (2h, 30) remembered that:

“My parents did appalling efforts in making one of the local schools to accept me. I knew I couldn’t make them disappointed, although I was really scared and was reluctant to go to school. Anyway I went to school. The first several weeks were difficult. Everybody seemed very curious about me, but not in a friendly and comfortable way. Due to insufficient linguistic ability, I was reluctant to talk, and being a very quiet girl, which was obviously not a good way to establish relationships with classmates. The environment was so strange to me. It made me depressive.”

5.2.3.1.2 *In Need of Economic Betterment*

As far as the 1st generation immigrants with lower SES are concerned, early from the beginning most of them were closed completely in co-ethnic culture, without any need to contact with the wider Spanish society. The main aim for them was to work as hard as they could so as to pay back the debts incurred by successfully departing China and arriving in Europe. The most basic economic betterment was the origin of stress for them. As told by Ahong (11, 41), the economic problem was all that was on her mind:

“The only thing on my mind was to make money in an honest and fast way. Life at that time was very hard, working day and night for the boss who was my town fellow. To make money as much as I could and as fast as possible, and to pay off the debts incurred by the travel from China to Spain, was the aim I wanted to achieve at that time. Everybody originate from Qingtian knows very clearly that the reason why we all have to go abroad is that only by going abroad and working hard can you make fortune. To stay at home means having no future at all.”

Caidian (11, 35) also expressed the clear-cut goal for him at that time:

“Whether happy or unhappy didn’t matter at all. The only thing was to run business well and make myself established. Although I didn’t have to repay the debts of travel like others, I have to make a living and then make a fortune. This is all the reason why I left home thousands of miles behind and came here. Penniless, life is full of misery; with money in hand, life begins to smile at you.”

Liushu (11, 58), who arrived in Spain 20 years ago by the Siberian route which travelled from Northeast China through Moscow to Netherland and finally to Spain, said in the same tone:

“The first was no doubt the survival thing. To orientate myself towards the new situation. And to find a job and then a trade suitable for me to earn more money and to establish myself.”

Gaoyi (11, 59) disclosed that she came to Spain to work as a cook in the Chinese restaurant because she just lost a job in the factory in China and could not find another one. In the 1990s, there was a laid-off wave in her hometown and she lost the job in the state-owned steel factory. Her sister married with a man in Anhui province (south China), and they arrived in Europe. After years of struggle and efforts, they finally owned a restaurant and established themselves in Spain. The son of Gaoyi’s sister and brother-in-law was born in Spain, and they ceded the franchise and ownership to their son when he grew to manhood. Gaoyi’s nephew extended and modified the restaurant and succeeded in making it one in the top grade in Spain. Gaoyi, under her sister’s invitation, came to work in her restaurant, which was a win-win

decision, resolving her employment on the one hand and saving her nephew's cost on hiring workers on the other hand.

For the group with middle-higher SES, economic issue is also one of the main causes of stress, as Lin (1h, 45), who came from Shanghai and moved to Spain by a student visa, revealed that money issue disturbed her to a great degree:

"I had been disturbed by my economic conditions for a long time. I didn't have money to renew the contract of accommodation on campus. It's very pricy for me. I only had money to rent a room in an apartment whose rent was shared by all the people living in it. Sometimes people rent a room of the apartment only for a short term, one month, or two months, and it's very disturbing for me, the frequent come and go of different people. I was ashamed to ask my friends to come to my place to have party or something. I felt so embarrassed for the place I could afford to live."

Kaili (1h, 49) also recalled those days when she was poor:

"I was economically straitened, and couldn't afford to rent a big house or apartment. Actually I couldn't afford anything except accepting my friend's generous help which was a small room free of charge. The situation was too obvious a contrast against the standard of living that I had enjoyed in China. I missed my home in China. And when off-work I tended to stay in my room all the time, afraid to go out even for shopping. The life seemed very boring and monotonous to me. I lost interest in everything. It was a feeling that a loser would have."

Gao (2l, 40), a 2nd generation immigrant born into a lower SES family, mentioned the impact of the economic problem of the family on him during his growth phase:

"My parents were not rich at that time, and they didn't have the custom of spending holidays in some country abroad, and they wouldn't vote for me making birthday party and invite my classmates at home. All these made me feel embarrassed in front of my classmates. For this reason I was never a very gregarious boy in the primary school. I felt that I was useless and had no luck to make friends."

5.2.3.1.3 Fragmentation of the Family

It is common practice that the most productive male labor of the family go alone first to make a living abroad and then secure the other family members to reunite with him in Europe as soon as he establishes himself there. As says the proverb "man proposes, God disposes", it is very likely that things would not turn out as they planned. Some families would disrupt apart because of the big move. Some immigrant families were fragmented or were at the risk of separation. This happens more to the 1st generation immigrants with lower SES. Among 28 participants there are 4 who are divorced, and all of them belong to the 1st generation group with lower SES. Still more immigrants took preventive measures to exclude the possibility of

divorce, for example, bringing their family members left at home in China as soon as possible, of which Liushu (1l, 58) is an exemplar:

“The second thing was to bring my family members here, my wife and our eldest son. A long delay means many hitches. Of course the sooner the better. I have friends whose family broke up because they were separated for too long. The most important reason was that my family was the world to me. I fought against tough side of life mainly because of my family. They were the drive of motivation in me. And family members could help me with the business. We like to do business on family scale.”

Jidu (1l, 50) is a victim of the long distance and long separation period she had suffered which caused the divorce. When she arrived in Spain her husband had long been living together with another woman who accompanied him during the almost 10 years of separation with his wife.

“I had heard of his cheating and disloyalty. But I could do nothing. When I finally arrived here, we had no other solution than divorce. Disloyalty in long-distance relationship is not something rare. You really could do nothing about it except for withdrawal from it.”

Similar thing happened to Gaoyi (1l, 58), whose husband was in China, and they got divorced in the fifth year of her stay in Spain.

“I was in the dark not until I went back to visit the family after 5 years of working hard in the restaurant. I couldn’t afford to go back every year because the flights were too expensive for me. But everything was too late to be recovered when I was aware of his infidelity.”

The divorce case of Dushu (1l, 52) has something to do with immigration, although the causes were not purely about the immigration thing:

“We got divorced because I had a bad temper. During the long period of separation without me by her side, my ex-wife went through very tough times in China, bringing up our son alone, which I wasn’t able to understand. After she came here, she divorced me saying that she couldn’t put up with me anymore.”

The other notable phenomenon is that not a few immigrant parents experienced an unhappy time when it comes to the matter of parent-child relationship. Xiao (1h, 43) has been obsessed with her son’s education on which she and her Spanish husband greatly disagree and which causes frequent conflicts between her and her son. Second-generation participants like Almu (2h), Wei (2h), Jiuba (2l), Kongzi (2l), Gao (2l) and Baiyuan (2l) all mentioned those unhappy moments they had with their parents. Wei, Jiuba and Baiyuan were brought to Spain after spending their early childhood in China under care and protection of their grandparents or relatives in China. They expressed their rebellious and alien feeling towards their parents at the first period when they had to live with their parents in Spain. Gao and Almu mentioned the disagreement between them and their parents on the matter of romantic relationships.

5.2.3.1.4 *Desire for Friendship*

The initial period of the stay abroad is often accompanied by numerous hardships. Nostalgia for old friends, relatives and living settings in China is inevitable. Most of the first-generation immigrants experienced the feeling of loneliness and helplessness at the preliminary phase of immigration period. The need for heart-touching friendship and for social interaction with bosom friends was commonly mentioned by the participants. For example, Caidian (1l, 35), who has lived here for more than 13 years and has his family held together in Barcelona, frequently expressed his loneliness:

“If I didn’t come out (to Spain) and stayed in China, I may not have lived so comfortably. But still I don’t feel my life is a full and satisfying one because I don’t have soul mate, or say, bosom friends here. Anyway a man has to have several bosom friends, right? ... Yes, (I have) a bunch of (Spanish local friends). They are nice. We go out for drinks, at weekends we go hiking. But somehow, may be for the cultural differences, they couldn’t become my bosom friends like I had in China. We don’t have so much in common with the locals, their minds, ways of thinking, cultural knowledge, etc. ... I can’t find intimate friends among them (Chinese immigrants), either. I don’t like working with them.”

Yong (1l, 36), who had been a sailor and later decided to settle down in Barcelona, regretted living here because of having no family and bosom friends here:

“I don’t have relatives here. I’m all alone. I used to have several supposed friends here but very soon they left for other places and we couldn’t live together any more. And one of them even swindle my money out of me. So now I don’t have close friends, which makes me unhappy and depressive.”

Ainhua (2h), who came to Spain to pursue further education, remembered a tough time during the adaptation period when she was under great stress. She used to fall in unfathomable homesickness:

“I had to phone my mom almost every day when I had enough money to make a call. It was the first time that I had gone so far away from my parents. I had nobody to depend on any more, and the problems I faced all looked one hundred times larger in my eyes during that time. I then missed very much the life I had in China, with no stress and with a lot of sense of security. Sometimes I couldn’t help reliving all day long the scenes of me and my old friends and classmates together in China.”

Xiao (1h) referred to her life as “incomplete, wanting and lacking” which was a result of unmet social needs:

“They (immigrants originate from Qingtian or Zhejiang province) immigrated into Europe through kinship network or town fellowship network--- they either have relatives or friends

here in Europe before they came ... For most of them, their whole family is here together, with parents, children, brothers and sisters. They live a well-off life, doing business well, with relatives and friends all here together ... But I don't. I'm not happy about where I am. I don't have much social network, no bosom friends, which is really depressive."

Friendship, as one of the basic human social needs, is one of the main factors that influence immigrants' appraisal of the life in Spain. It is an important element for the 2nd generation immigrants who arrived in their childhood or adolescence. For example, Kangyun (2h, 30), Gao (2l, 40) and Baiyuan (2l, 18) all mentioned the uncomfortable days when they had yet to make friends with classmates at school:

"At first it was very hard for me to catch up with the class, because I had trouble understanding the language, and I wasn't able to be sociable with classmates ... Due to insufficient linguistic ability, I was reluctant to talk, and being a very quiet girl, which was obviously not a good way to establish relationships with classmates. The environment was so strange to me. It made me depressive."

"I felt that I was useless and had no luck to make friends."

"I was really getting on my nerves the first week. I wouldn't talk to anyone... at school, I could only made friends with Chinese immigrant children with the same background as me, but they were in different grade, and I usually felt very lonely and helpless in class."

5.2.3.1.5 Esteem Needs

As time goes on, the immigrants, much more familiar with the surroundings, have mastered skills to make a living here, and practical issues have been solved one by one and step by step. No longer obsessed with the survival problem, they now begin to pursue in an effort to win respect from their peers and to gain status and prestige. They are motivated during this phase by the needs on the level of "esteem needs" of the hierarchy proposed by Maslow (McLeod, 2007). For example, Lucía (2l, 25), who was born in Spain to a lower SES family, was harassed by not being able to achieve her goal as expected:

"I was under great stress. I had always wanted to be a great entrepreneur. But what I could do was opening a grocery store. I had always liked to dress myself up pretty and to help others dress pretty. I wanted to be a stylist and clothes designer. But with neither professional training nor enough capital, it was a dream of little possibility of realization. Days passed with me doing the thing I didn't like. The life seemed very boring and frustrating to me."

Ainhua (2h, 27) also mentioned that the immigration experience made her very unconfident about herself:

“I had been the top one student at school in China. And I had been used to get compliments from the teachers whoever taught me, because I had always been a very excellent student. I was the apple of teachers’ eyes. But during the first period of my stay in Spain, I often felt frustrated because no matter how hard I tried, I could never surpass others because of the Spanish linguistic capability. It was not until then did I realize that I wasn’t the shiniest star in the world; I wasn’t humorous, wasn’t funny, wasn’t good at any instrument or sport; I feel myself so valueless and useless. It’s very excruciating.”

For the majority of Chinese immigrants in Spain, self-respect, social status and prestige are exemplified in economic success. For instance, Yong (11, 36) interpreted the meaning of social status in the following way:

“How do you get your dignity recognized? Well, first of all, you have to be economically successful. Get rich and then you will live a decent life which makes others respect you. Nobody knows about this more clearly than myself. I was penniless upon arrival. Everybody looked down upon me and treated me rudely. What’s the remedy? All over the world is applied the law of the jungle, not to mention the Chinese community. I’m not rich, and I’m unhappy. Life here is cruel and full of misery.”

Like Yong, Xiao (11, 43), as a marginalized ethnic Chinese in Spain, also experiences a tough time not knowing where she can get high self-esteem. The two-fold lack of friendship and satisfying employment make her feel lost, as lonely as duckweed, “floating rootless and adrift”. She feels herself misunderstood, neither belonging to the mainstream Spanish circle, nor to the typical Chinese immigrant community, nor to the mainland China where she does not have a clue every time she visits her parents in China.

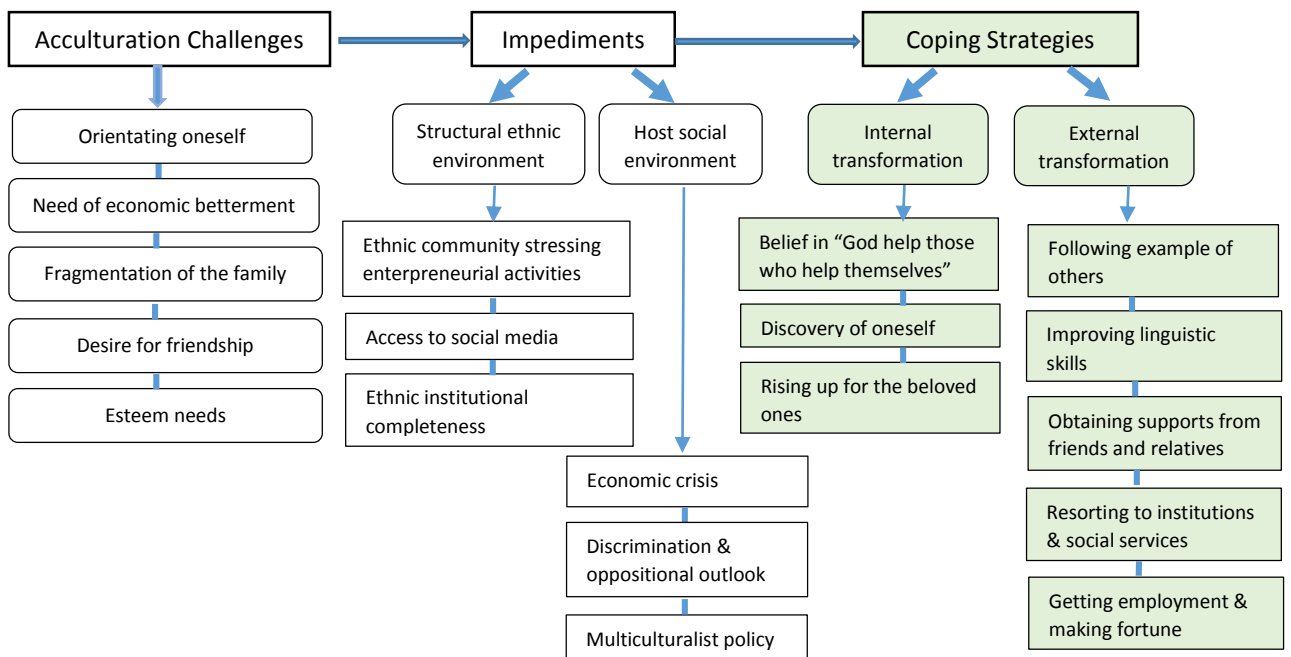
5.2.3.2 Coping Strategies

Different groups of immigrants tend to adopt different coping strategies in accordance with their own needs and capitals. The coping strategies was based on the “three-A parcel” which refers to the three means of coping, namely Approach, Acceptance, and Avoidance. Different theorists have given diverse names to the three strategies, although the categorization of coping behaviors was based on the similar line. According to cognitive behavioral therapy theory, all activities of coping could be subsumed into two styles: problem-focused coping and emotion-focused coping. The former one targets causes of stress in practical ways, using means of problem-solving, getting organized, time-management and obtaining instrumental social support, etc. The latter one relieves stress by distraction with pleasurable activities, talking with friends, relaxation, and obtaining emotional support, etc. The approach strategy concerns the participants’ cognitive and behavioral attempts to change the environment to

meet his/her needs. Individuals in favor of approach strategy tend to appeal to problem-focused coping, and those who choose acceptance or avoidance strategy tend to recur to emotion-focused coping.

The majority of the participants had long adapted to the life in Spain and are now living a satisfying life. The study summarized the driving engines of the mechanism of their coping strategies into two interrelated and interactive aspects: **internal transformation** and **external transformation**, the former referring to individual’s cognitive understanding and the latter behavioral acts. The internal transformation process involves mainly three mechanisms: belief in “God help those who help themselves”, discovery of oneself, and rising up for the beloved ones; the external transformation process involves five actions: following examples of others, improving Spanish language skills, obtaining supports from friends and relatives, resorting to institutions and social services, and getting employment and fortune. Among the Chinese immigrants these are the most frequently used tactics to deal with acculturation experiences.

A MODEL OF ACCULTURATION AND COPING STRATEGIES OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN SPAIN



INTERNAL TRANSFORMATION

5.2.3.2.1 *Belief in “God Help Those Who Help Themselves”*

It is deep rooted common sense among Chinese community in Spain, especially for the 1st generation, that God help those who help themselves. It is engraved on their minds that only through working hard can a person get the possibility of becoming successful and rich. The Spanish idiom “trabajar como chinos” (work as hard as the Chinese) refers to a person who works too much at the expense of life quality. This phrase is not based on nothing. The Chinese immigrants of the elder generation were in fact working too much at the expense of life quality, especially during the adaptation period before settling down in the host country, as addressed by Ahong (1l, 41), Dushu (1l, 52), Liushu (1l, 58), Yong (1l, 36), and Xinzhong (1l, 41).

Ahong came to Spain to work for an ethnic Chinese factory owner 20 years ago. She worked there for 3 years and saved enough money to pay the debts of travel fees. Later she worked in a bar owned by an ethnic Chinese. There she stayed for 3 years and saved money to open her own bar. She is now the owner of one bar, two shoe stores and one bazaar. She is the protagonist of a rags-to-riches story. She attributes her economic success to her hard work and perseverance. She said:

“You have to force yourself to work as hard as you can, if you don’t want to live without dignity in a mess. Life is cruel and fair; victory always belongs to those who help themselves. In the Chinese community here, if you are lazy and don’t work, you’ll be looked down upon because you are poor and have no character... The only thing on my mind was to make money in an honest and fast way. Life at that time was very hard, working day and night for the boss who was my town fellow.”

Dushu and Liushu, who were respectively a sushi restaurant owner and Chinese restaurant owner, consider diligence and perseverance the most important virtues for life. They stated that there is an enormous lack of natural resources in Zhejiang province, which is their hometown, and hence Zhejiangneses had to turn to other channels to survive, to do something such as commerce, and Zhejiangneses have been well-known to the public for their trait of ‘chiku’ which means that they are able to bear all kinds of hardships. They think they, as Zhejiangneses, have inherited this characteristic.

Besides, some of the elder first-generation immigrants such as Liushu arrived in Europe through unbelievably harsh route of illegal channels, they had to possess an extremely strong willpower and resolve to succeed in arriving in the country of destination. Liushu came to Spain by traversing Siberia. Yong arrived as a sailor and stayed as an illegal immigrant. Every kind of hardship could emerge on the road. They arrived after so many hardships in order to

get a better life. They could do everything they had in hand to bring about betterment for their families and offspring generations. Doing business means a lot of hardships, especially on others' territory. They were fully aware of this. But the survival thing was outshining the importance of all other issues. Yong used to work 16 hours a day, 7 days a week, in order to make ends meet at the first years of his illegal stay in Barcelona. He had no choice except for working as hard as he could. He deeply believes in the principle of no pains no gains.

Xinzhong(1, 41), the owner of a Chinese restaurant, responded when asked about life quality of those tough times when he tried to accumulate capital for opening his own business that:

“Life quality? I didn't think too much about this. It was not the time yet to think about this kind of thing. The most important thing is to make and save money in order to get myself established. All my time and efforts were spent on making a living.”

Generally speaking, Chinese immigrants in Spain have an enterprising character, ready to rise to challenges and quick to take actions. The second generation immigrant Kangyun (2h) describes herself the following way:

“I think it was partly because I have a hardy character. My parents always told me to work hard; they follow the precepts of “no pain no gain”, just like most of the Zhejiangneses. I agree with them on that because it is a matter of self-esteem. I like the feeling of controlling my life and being the winner, and I believe where there is a will there is a way. Compared with those typical first-generation Chinese immigrants here in Spain, my father could be counted among the well-educated, and he had high expectations of me in terms of education and employment. Because that's a decent way for me to live a better and respected life.”

Ainhoa (2h, 27) also noted that her belief in self-reliance and self-improvement helped her achieve a satisfying life:

“Although I felt frustrated because I wasn't no longer the shiniest star wherever I went like I had been before in China, and sometimes I even felt humiliated when I couldn't speak perfect Spanish, I didn't lose my enterprising spirit. ‘You would not be destroyed by defeat,’ I told myself, ‘you have to spend more time on study and improve yourself.’ It's just a matter of character. I had to say that from my childhood I have been a proud girl with high self-respect.”

5.2.3.2.2 Discovery of Oneself

It is mentioned in the participants' narratives that things seemed to change when they began to look at themselves in a different perspective. For a few of them the turning point happens when something touches their hearts and hammers them out of psychological plight. For

example, Lin (1h, 45) narrated her experience which made her examine the qualities in her in a new way:

“I was reading in the library that afternoon when suddenly a seemingly fifty-year old Spanish woman with benignant smile came to me and greeted to me in Chinese. She had been learning Chinese for 4 years, and wanted to practice it with me. I later learnt that she has serious heart attack disease, and she also faced many problems which were not easier at all than mine, but she really lived a very happy life in spite of all these problems. She learnt Chinese simply out of interest and had learnt quite well. Although she had more than fifty, she acted and lived the life in the way as if she were only twenty. Meeting her was the turning point for me, and I began to examine myself, and I felt inspired to rise to all the challenges in front of me.”

Yuan (1h, 32) recalled her experience of visiting her relatives in Germany, which helped her see clearer that Spain is the right place for her. From that experience she began to find a harmony between herself and the surroundings and culture in Spain, which speeded up her acculturation to the Spanish host culture:

“My uncle is in Germany and has achieved success there after living in Germany for over 30 years. He invited me to visit him, so I went. There I perceived a very indifferent atmosphere of the host culture. The Germans are much less social, less open-minded, and less tolerant than the Spanish. When in Germany very soon I began to miss what I had in Spain, the slower pace of life, the sunshine, the good weather, the laughing people, and that ease of life. Suddenly I realized Spain is the right place for me; there’s a chemistry between Spain and me, and I would take it as my home and live a happy life in Spain. All of a sudden I foresaw my future.”

The same turning point happened to Zhu (1h, 28) after her stay for a year in China which helped her know clearly what she really desired for life. She had a big problem of return adaptation in China. The life and environment there seemed intolerable for her. Only at that time when she stayed and worked in China did she realized how much she had fallen in love with Spain, the environment, the pace of life, the gourmet, etc. She then came back to Spain again, trying to make myself settled in Spain.

For the majority of the participants, especially for those 1st generation people with lower SES, getting to know about himself/herself and becoming content with the life in Spain is a result of gradual change, instead of some moment of epiphany. Whether integrated into the Spanish culture or not, the immigrants, regardless of their SES and acculturation mode, have worked out a lifestyle which makes them feel comfortable. For example, Ahong (1h, 43) has a growing affection for her life in Spain:

“After working hard for six months, I had only half of debts to repay, and I know that after another half a year I would be free of debts and start to work purely for my own future. I began to realize that the fate was in my own hand and I could change it if only I’d like to. My heart lit up at this and almost jumped for joy. The life which I had considered unbearable began to look brighter, and I gradually got used to the routine of the life. Once for while I

would even go out with my colleagues for shopping, and I gradually came to terms with my life.”

Like Ahong, Ainhua (2h, 27) started to hold herself in high esteem during the process in which she accomplished one by one those tasks in her life:

“I had no choice. I had to finish the study tasks, right? I didn’t expect too much; I just wanted to get passed. Gradually I found that I could accomplish them satisfyingly. The self-confidence came back little by little. And I knew that I wasn’t as bad as I imagined. I’m not that kind of person who sucks.”

5.2.3.2.3 Rising Up for the Beloved Ones

Belonged to a collective culture, Chinese immigrants attach great importance to family values. Most participants reported that family members are the main source of motivation. For instance, Liushu (1h, 58) remembered clearly that day when his son encouraged him unwittingly:

“My son came home depressed, and I asked him what happened that day. He said that he didn’t want to go to school anymore; he wanted to help my wife and me. My wife and I worked so hard those years that we neglected our son’s feelings. At that time my wife and I shouted at each other and even fought against each other just because of the striated economic situation. And our son saw that we worked so much that he wanted to help us. From then on I became even more firm and decisive to create a well-off economic condition and happy atmosphere for my family.”

Like Liushu, Ma (1h, 66) consider his daughters’ future the reason for whatever he does. He went abroad in order to give her daughters better education, as he had found it difficult to gain in China education resources as good as to live up to his expectations. He confessed that his daughters are the whole world for him and he does not take much pride in what he’s accomplished, but he does take pride in his daughters and the great things they’ve accomplished. His daughters haven’t made him disappointed, the elder working in a world-top consulting group in America after obtaining the master’s degree in the University of Oxford, and the younger doing a bachelor degree course in the University Complutense de Madrid.

Lin (1h, 45) also described the importance of the emotional support from her parents during the tough first months of her stay in Spain:

“I cried often, especially on the phone with my parents on the other head of the line. They were so worried about me and I felt so helpless. Hearing me crying, my mom would cry, too. And later my mom was sick and had to see the doctor. On hearing this news my heart sunk

and it was like somebody hammered me on the head. I realized that I couldn't go on like this, helpless and stressed but doing nothing at all. I had to stand up for my mom. So I encouraged myself to face all these problems and started to go out to get to know more people."

Shunda (2l, 17), Kongzi (2l, 15) and Pedro (2h, 27), as the 2nd generation immigrants, also revealed that they care the most about the opinions of their family members when making decisions. To live up to the expectation of their parents is an important fount of motivation:

"My parents are the most important people in the world to me. They have sacrificed so much in order to make my sister and I live a well-off life. We have to have filial piety for them. I want them to be happy with us."

"I've never imagined that someday I'll be a big SOMEBODY to influence the world. But I think I care about my own family the most; I want my parents to be happy, and I want myself to be happy, too. That's all."

"I think my parents' expectations in me matter the most. I want them to feel proud of me. I don't care very much about the outer society, neither the Chinese community. I'm not able to worry about that so far. The most important thing to me now is to well what I have to do at the moment."

Kangyun (2h, 30) mentioned her parents' love motivated her to overcome difficulties she met at school. She recalled that since there wasn't a ready institutional solution to her education problem, she had to count on herself and make initiatives to adapt to the new environment. She confessed that it wasn't such a challenging difficulty that she couldn't overcome. She clearly knew that she had nothing to worry about because she had supporting parents and a family with sufficient economic resources. What she had to do was to perform well on study at school. She thought that if she failed to do well in studies she would be very disappointed with herself, and more importantly, she would make her parents disappointed. "That's the last thing I would want to do" she revealed.

EXTERNAL TRANSFORMATION

5.2.3.2.4 Following Example of Others

It is noted that about 70 percent of Chinese immigrants in Spain originate from the same town, named Qingtian, of Zhejiang province of southeastern China. They arrived in Spain by the chain channel pattern. They are eager to go abroad because numerous predecessors who have gone to Spain have achieved great economic success, and they want to follow their example. The

Qingtian local government also encourages its residents to go abroad, providing them all kinds of services related to emigration, such as advocating economic success their town fellow have achieved abroad, language preparation courses, skills training courses, and emigration procedure guidance. Therefore, among new immigrants there is an almost fixed routine of life track for them to achieve success just like their predecessors did. Dushu (1l, 52), Ahong (1l, 41), Jidu (1l, 50), Cheng (1l, 39) all immigrated into Spain following the examples of their relatives, friends and town fellows.

Dushu's elder brother owned a bazaar, a clothes store and a bar several years later after his arrival in Spain. His brother had tried his luck and found that Spain was a fantastic place to do business. So he followed his brother's example and came to Spain to do business. Ahong expressed her admiration when she had heard of her town fellows doing well in business and getting rich abroad. She had wanted to be one of them, and had confidence in herself, saying that "numerous town fellows had succeeded and I would also be as good as them". Jidu didn't hesitate in moving to Spain holding a similar "Spanish dream". She thought that everyone did things in this way and she'd better do it this way, too. Cheng took it granted that people from Qingtian should go abroad to make a fortune. He thinks that he just did what everybody did.

Kaili (1h, 49) also drew strength from exemplars who overcame difficulties to achieve success:

"My friend and other Christian friends told me inspiring true stories about several poor Chinese female immigrants who had overcome ordeals to become very happy and successful in the end. In comparison with them, my situation was a hundred times better. I realized that one man's attitude towards and views of the facts would decisively influence his decisions which in turn determine the results."

Zhu (1h, 28), though deeply obsessed with make-money problem, still has great confidence in leading a well-off life here in Spain. Her confidence comes from precedent successful immigrants who fully used the advantage of bilingualism and thorough understanding of both cultures. She believes that by making advantage of what she has at hand she will make better life in near future.

5.2.3.2.5 Improving Linguistic Skills

The linguistic skill was frequently stressed by the participants. By mastering the Spanish immigrants could make their life and work much easier. The Spanish linguistic skill makes changes possible which help them live better and more successfully. Kaili (1h, 49) expressed her opinion on the importance of Spanish linguistic ability:

“Next I figured out what difficulties I should overcome immediately. So I registered Spanish courses. Learning Spanish was a very strenuous experience for me, yet every little step of improvement brought me great sense of achievement, which made me very happy. Effective communication in Spanish became a great source of confidence in me. It brought me more competence and deftness in work, which created more opportunities. I broadened my social network, and now I’ve achieved success in many things.”

Yuan (1h, 32) was under great pressure to speak the host language well. She works as a teacher in a public school in Barcelona where all her colleagues communicate in Catalan. Catalan is the commonly used language in her workplace and in her work emails. She is improving fast in her proficiency in Catalan.

Kangyun (2h, 30) mentioned that she started to integrate into the host culture after she mastered Spanish:

“The only problem was language and study in school. Except for that, I didn’t feel anything wrong with the new life here in Spain. At home I lived with my mom and dad the same way as we lived in Shanghai. We ate Chinese meal, spoke in Chinese dialect, just like we did in Shanghai. What’s new for me was the environment outside home. My dad hired a Spanish tutor for me to learn and practice Spanish language. I learned Spanish every day and kept devoting time and energy to it until 1 year and half later when I came to use the language perfectly without any need of paying efforts.”

Lin (1h, 45) thought that things began to turn on the right track only after she got to understand Spanish:

“Later I registered for a one-year intensive Spanish course. Learning Spanish really helped me rebuild confidence. From not understanding a single word to being able to figure out what’s going on around, it’s something awesome. Getting to know the language, I started to feel that the world all of a sudden becomes larger and brighter. It seemed that suddenly opportunities were open to me.”

For 1st generation immigrants with lower SES, the Spanish competence also plays an important role in their work performance and career development. Ahong (1l, 43) explained as follows:

“If you speak Spanish then you could easily find a more decent job instead of doing menial odd jobs which don’t require the linguistic capability. You make much more money doing decent jobs. It’s safe to say that the basic level of Spanish linguistic competence is the bedrock for career development here.”

For 2nd generation descendants who were born and raised up in Spain, mastery of the Chinese language becomes acquisitive process. They were told by their parents to acquire the Chinese linguistic skill because this would be an incomparable advantage for them. For example, Kangyun (2h), Pedro (2h), Kongzi (2l), shunda (2l), Natalia (2h), Almu (2h) and Wei (2h) all recognized the importance of the Chinese linguistic competence. Kangyun revealed that:

“(being Chinese-Spanish is) Even better (than being purely Spanish). I’ve got more opportunities just because I’m Chinese Spanish. I speak both Chinese and Spanish, and I know perfectly the way the Chinese think, and I got professional training in Spanish institution. In the law firm where I’m working, I’m specialized in dealings with Chinese clients which contribute greatly to the revenues of the firm. My firm values me very much, because the Chinese clients are the savior of the firm, bringing about a great proportion of the revenue. I really think the Chinese ethnicity in me is an advantage for me.”

Kongzi (2l), shunda (2l), Natalia (2h), and Pedro (2h) admitted that, besides the possibility of making good friends with other descendants of Chinese immigrants in Chinese language school, they attended Chinese language school because their parents sent them there for their own good:

“I was sent by my parents at first. They attached great importance to the Chinese education for me. They said that it does me benefit and can provide me with more opportunities in the future. And they intended to educate me in the Chinese way at home, although they stressed much importance on my Spanish proficiency at school, too. Gradually I became there.” happy to attend the Chinese language school because I made very good friends with other Chinese children.”

Almu (2h) has different experience. But she also realized how important the Chinese linguistic competence was for her:

“I didn’t like to learn Chinese and didn’t learn it well when I was a child. Not until 5 years ago did I realize how important it is. I regretted not having mastered it, for I would have a great advantage if I spoke it, under such economic situation in Spain. I wanted to do business with China. So I started to learn it again. And it turned out that it is really helpful.”

5.2.3.2.6 Obtaining Supports from Friends and Relatives

Belonged to a closely-knit immigrant community, the Chinese highly depend on their social connections to obtain opportunities for career development and life betterment. Due to the chain immigration pattern, the majority of Chinese immigrants got required legal papers provided by their relatives and town fellows who have already established themselves in Spain in order to obtain the visa. Relatives and town fellows play a leading role in making them successfully immigrate to Spain, the form of help ranges from shared updated information, money for the travel and visa, capital for start-off business, job offer, accommodation, etc. It is constantly mentioned by the participants that they usually asked their relatives, town fellows, and friends for help when they met difficulties, especially when they had to solve practical issues or legal issues. For example, Ahong (1l, 43), Caidian (1l, 35), Kaili (1h, 49), Dushu (1l, 52), Liushu (1l, 58), Gaoyi (1l, 59), Cheng (1l, 39) all admitted that due to the help from their

relatives, town fellows, and friends, either in the form of information or in the form of start-up capital, it was possible for them to achieve a relatively satisfying life in Spain.

Ahong appreciated the opportunity to make a living at such a start-off point which was to work for her town fellow on low wages. She took it as a favor made by her townsman boss. The shoe store that she owns was transferred by her relatives at a very low cost. Apart from that, she borrowed money that her savings couldn't cover from her relatives to run the store. Caidian's grocery store that he has run for years wouldn't have been possible without his relatives support. He arrived in Spain by a visa of job which was offered by his father-in-law. His well-off life is partly due to the help and support he had received from his relatives and town fellows.

Kaili had been asked by one of her friends who had established herself in Spain. During the initial stage of adaptation her friend offered great support both in material and psychological forms. Her first job was introduced by her friend's husband. As mentioned above, Dushu followed his brother's example in arriving in Spain and doing business. The start-up business was established under his brother's support and guidance. Liushu said that Chinese country fellows, or more specifically speaking, the towns fellows, play a dominant role in every step that the recent-arrivals go through from nothing to something, from employment, through start-off capital for business, to business expansion, and other things involved. Gaoyi was asked by her sister who was the owner of a Chinese restaurant in Barcelona, to work in her restaurant and live with her sister's family together. Cheng said that it was his parents and brother who gave him money and stores to start his own business at first.

For the second-generation with lower SES, family support plays a paramount importance to their business, for normally they inherit their parents' business and received their parents' money to open or broaden their business. The 2nd generation Chinese-Spanish are closely connected within their own circle formed by people like themselves; they hang out together, have theme party together, share information and build interpersonal relationships within the circle. For example, Kongzi (21, 15) reported that:

“We all attend Chinese language school, the Chinese immigrants' children here. I can meet and find very good friends in the school. We communicate very happily and easily with each other. Because we have the same background. We have a lot in common... I feel a little weird sometimes with Spanish classmates. We don't have so much in common in taste as I have with Chinese immigrants' children.”

Lucía (21, 25) explained that:

“I prefer going out with the Chinese-Spanish just like me; we have a lot in common, and understand each other easier. When I feel down I certainly would think of my Chinese-Spanish friends and to turn to them to have a talking.”

5.2.3.2.7 Resorting to Institutions & Social Services

Besides relatives and family members, there are also ethnic associations for the Chinese in Spain to resort to. Ethnic Chinese institutions like Chinese language school, Chinese Restaurant Association, Qingtian Town Fellow Association, Fondo the Chinese enclave, etc. form important parts of ethnic Chinese community in Barcelona. For example, Liushu (1f, 58) explains the function of ethnic associations as follows:

“We have several associations, and I myself am the president of the Association of Qingtian Townsmen in Barcelona. When you join in this type of association and organization, you are available to more resources, for example, an extended circle of contacts which opens more business opportunities and makes you accessible to more information.”

Yuan (1h, 32) participates in Spanish organizations in her free time which speed up her adaptation process:

“I’m a voluntary worker in the Spanish Office of Red Cross. I would join in local NGO and do voluntary work wherever I stay. I worked voluntarily in local communities when in Colombia, Mexico, and Andalucía. Here in Barcelona I’m in Red Cross.”

Christian churches also play a role in some of the Chinese immigrants’ life. Although there is no research data or governmental statistics about the popularity of Christianity among the Chinese in Spain, the study was informed by some participants that there are an increasing number of Christians among them. Ma (1h, 66) reported that:

“There are more and more Christians among the Chinese in Spain, and I consider it a good thing. People turn to religious belief for comfort and consolation. I think it’s a part which benefits them to have a healthier spiritual life.”

Kaili (1h, 49) revealed that due to Christianity she was accessible to much resources and support which helped her live better:

“My friend introduced me to the church for Chinese immigrants in Barcelona. We did prayers every weekend in that church. Praying and my belief in God really helped a lot to make me recover. My belief in God came back. I knew that all the difficulties were just a test that God put on me. He gave me challenges in order to help me achieve greater happiness. It’s good luck in the disguise of ordeals. Every time I finished praying it seemed like I had a talk with God and He strengthened and empowered me like I had gone through a new birth...”

Jidu (1I, 50) is a pious Christian who received comfort and support from her religious belief:

“I became a Christian in China. There are two Christian churches in my hometown, and I was told that if I believe in God, I would get luck in my life. The brothers and sisters (church members) were so kind and gave me great consolation. So I joined. Christianity is the best thing ever in the world. It helps me, helps people. You should believe in it... We have several branch churches of Chinese Christian Church in China (Iglesia Cristiana China en España) here in Barcelona. We listen to praying every weekend. The priests preach the gospel and make us peaceful and blissful... I prayed to God, and shared with brothers and sisters in the church. God and brothers and sisters helped so much; they helped me go through those difficult times... there certainly are some difficulties all the time, but these difficulties are actually good fortune in disguise. All these are God’s will, and God’s trying to help me become stronger and happier by making me go through all this.”

Lastly, Community services function as a supplementary tool for some Chinese immigrants to adapt to the host society. Lin (1h, 45) and Yuan (1h, 32) both pointed that the community services contributed a lot to her adaptation:

“For me, it was the campus services like International Welcome Point provided me with information of orientation. It was very useful especially for those who didn’t speak Spanish. Off campus I heard that there are courses of Spanish language free of charge. Although I didn’t attend to that free school, but I have friends who went there and said that it was useful for them to get the basic linguistic skills.”

“I like the community facilities such as place of kindergarten (plaza de guardería), toy house and feeding room in supermarkets, all of which are absent in Chinese society.”

5.2.3.2.8 Getting Employment & Making Fortune

For the majority of immigrants, things really began to change after they obtained employment and gradually accumulated some money. Employment is the key element for immigrants’ life. Once they achieve financial independence, many other problems they meet are then solved. Ahong (1I), Caidian (1I), Liushu (1I) all claim that thanks to their employment (or self-employment) their life got easier. Ahong started to feel that things were getting better and easier after running several business on the right track and after her family getting richer. Caidian said that “life got itself on the right track step by step when he began to make money running the grocery store”. In a similar tone, Liushu said that with the savings he had accumulated for years, he opened a restaurant, and then things went easy. Then he brought his family to Spain, and extended their business lines. They started to enjoy a better life from that time on.

Fangchan (2l, 38) found the sense of achievement and the fun of life by running his enterprises successfully:

“My sense of achievement mainly comes from my success in business. Money gives me a feeling of satisfaction, and what’s more, in the present system of values, prosperity becomes an index for measuring a man. Besides, making money is fun.”

For immigrants with higher SES, they get the sense of achievement or the feeling of being accepted through work performance which helps them to adapt to the host Spanish culture.

Kangyun (2h), Yuan (1h), Ma (1h) all pointed out this:

“(I’m now) very satisfied with my job, my family, and my colleagues... I am a lawyer, in a Spanish law firm, and yet my job here is mainly involved with business and legal issues of Chinese clients. I contribute a lot to the revenue of the firm.”

“Now I’ve come back to education sector, and now I feel very comfortable. The same Catalonians are now so kind and loveable in my eyes. Some of them, because of political partisanship, force me to speak Catalan. But all of them are very friendly with me; I feel myself fully accepted.”

“I want to do something in strengthening China-Spain rapprochement. I’d like to do some bridging work, especially in a cultural sense. Through writing and publishing books on this topic, I got a deep sense of pleasure and achievement.”

In contrast, the participants who feel dissatisfied with the immigrant life regretted the most at their economic situation and their failure in career development. For example, Yong (1l), Dushu (1l), and Xiao (1h) rued as follows:

“I’ve noticed that I’ve become more morose than before. I have worries. I’m almost 37 years old, and I can’t find a girl who want to be my wife. I have no family here. It’s all because of the fact that I’m not well-off. My savings were tricked away last year, and I have to start from the scratch again. If I’m rich all these problems will certainly have solutions.”

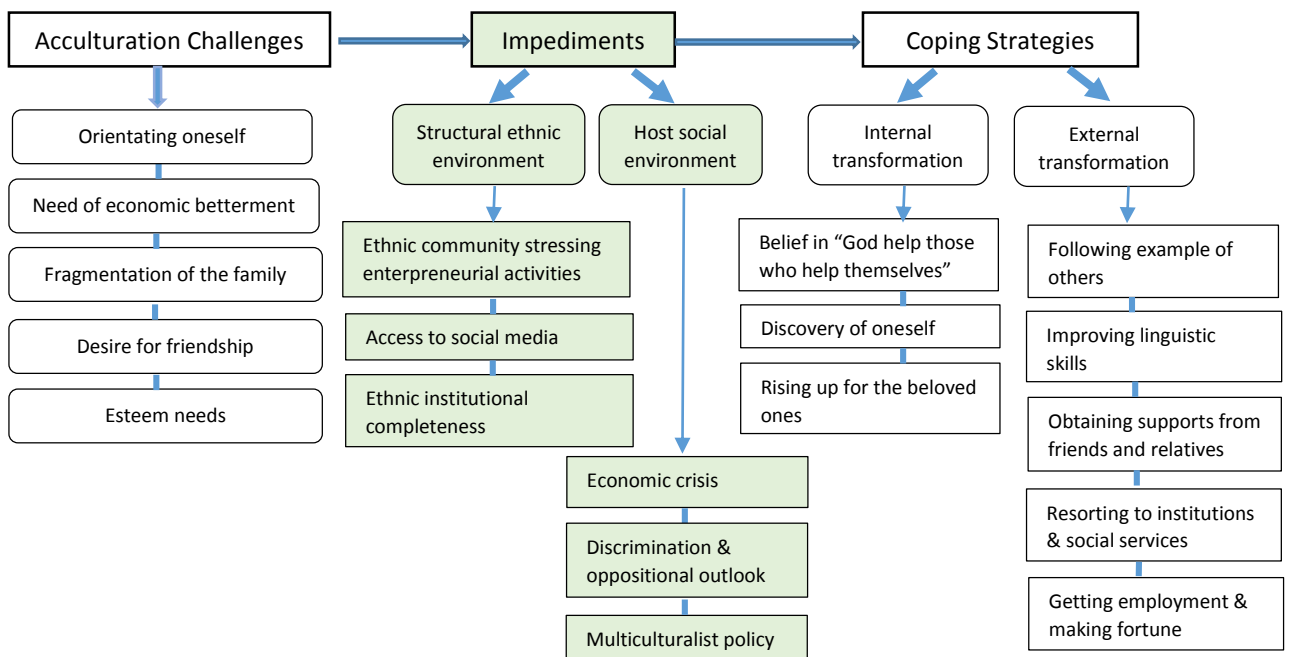
“In terms of worldly definition of success, I am a loser, because my ex-classmates and town fellows are all richer than me; in terms of family, I am a loser, because I’m all alone at this age. I’m old, useless, the world is full of snobs; people are all snobbish; they all look down upon me as an out and out loser.”

“(I’ve become) upset and low-spirited recent years due to bad economic conditions... I couldn’t help troubling myself with practical problems. I feel lonely, needy to be understood, and stressed by realistic issues like family financial problems. The fundamental cause for all these is in fact our straitened economic situation.”

5.2.3.3 Impediments

In this section are summarized the themes of impediments which, based on the participants' narratives, may have resulted in failures of acculturation among Chinese immigrants in Spain. These themes are categorized into two branches under the framework of structural explanation: those caused by the ethnic structural environment of the Chinese community in Spain, and those caused by the wider host social environment in Spain. Structural explanation believes that a phenomenon should be explained as part of a larger phenomenon. In the present study, structural explanation considers into account the socioeconomic circumstances in which the Chinese ethnic community live, consisting of the role of the growing ethnic economy, the access to social media, and ethnic institutional completeness from the perspective of ethnic structural environment, and of the impact of economic crisis, multiculturalist policy, and discrimination tendency on the part of host social environment.

A MODEL OF ACCULTURATION AND COPING STRATEGIES OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN SPAIN



STRUCTURAL ETHNIC ENVIRONMENT

5.2.3.3.1 *Ethnic Community Stressing Entrepreneurial Activities*

It is estimated that over 70 percent of the Chinese immigrants in Spain come from the same specific province named Zhejiang, and more exactly, from two specific places: Qingtian town and Wenzhou city. As mentioned in the first chapter, Zhejiang province, especially Wenzhou and Qingtian, due to its geographical remoteness and its lack of natural resources, has the tradition of doing commerce which shaped the business-centered atmosphere among its population. People with origin in Zhejiang province all have the entrepreneurial spirit deeply engraved in their character. They went abroad unexceptionally for economic reasons. Therefore entrepreneurial activities are the foremost and paramount part of their life to which the most attention are paid. To this point Ahong (1l, 43), Caidian (1l, 35), Liushu (1l, 58), Dushu (1l, 52), and Xinzhong (1l, 41) all explained:

“I came because it’s easier to earn big money abroad. Many town fellows had made fortune abroad. So I came, hoping to be rich just like them.”

“(I came) mainly for economic reasons. I didn’t think too much about this (decision). Everybody has the dream of going abroad and making fortune.”

“It’s self-evident that you have to go abroad to make fortune. It’s a tradition.”

“My brother and sister had already established themselves in Spain. They asked me to join them, saying that it was very easy to do business in Spain and that they had earned a lot of money. So I came.”

“Of course (we came) for economic reasons. Abroad it’s easier to accomplish the accumulation of wealth.”

Some of the second-generation descendants of the immigrants expressed their interest in business and commerce. They tend to choose the utilitarian majors focused on solving practical issues concerning commerce if they go to university. That majors involving business administration, finance and banking are the most popular ones among the Chinese immigrant descendants in Spain is itself a telling proof of this point. It can be referred that the younger generation, when it comes to their future career, is greatly influenced by the values, expectations, and concerns of their parents. Kongzi (2l, 15) recognized that:

“That’s what I plan to do (taking her parents’ business after graduation from high school). I don’t have such a strong desire to go to the university. And my parents respect my own choice. I think those university graduates couldn’t find a job anyway. They are very poor. I want to run business and make expansion, and then own my own company.”

Baiyuan (2l, 18) takes it granted that he takes one of his parents’ bazaars and feels satisfied:

“I’m content with what I have now; life is going on at normal pace. Of course there are always business things to do and worry, but it’s normal and I can handle it.”

Lucía (2l, 25) runs a real estate agency, and has the ambition to extend the business line:

“We mainly focus on the Chinese clients. Recently I plan to open another clothes store. I have the provider here, and the designer in Italy. It’ll go well if all goes as expected.”

Ma (1h, 66), as the school master of the biggest Chinese language school in Barcelona, pointed out that it is widely held among the first-generation immigrant parents that the family business belong in the end to their offspring:

“There is strong pragmatism in the mind of Chinese immigrants. Economic issues are the foremost part of their life. Usually they have more than one child. They tend to make the elder ones to run business at very early age and ready to inherit family business, and send the younger one to the university or abroad to receive tertiary training of business administration and finance and the like... And for another, high education nowadays doesn’t ensure as much payoff as expected, and the parents don’t attach so much importance to it for their children’s education.”

5.2.3.3.2 Access to Social Media

Social media takes a great part in immigrants’ after-hours social activities. Their social needs can be partly met online using the apps of social media. Ahong (1l) explained that:

“(I’m) Not so much (homesick). We have QQ, Wechat, etc. all these communication facilities with those in China. Where do you live doesn’t matter so much now, as long as you like the place where you live in.”

In social media age immigrants do not suffer as much homesickness as in the past. For the majority of them, the distance between Spain and home is not so obvious, for they are tightly knit to the original home world through social media. They get all the information about hometown as fast as it could be. Yuan (1h) related that:

“It’s a small world, with so convenient tools that we could employ in our days. Technology do shorten the distance between people. My original family, the big family, is like a dandelion that spreads its seeds in different places across the globe, but we don’t feel far away from each other; we all are here together on Wechat, on the internet, sharing everything in life.”

Social media tools connect members of the ethnic community more closely. The first-generation immigrants are used to use popular Chinese apps such as QQ, Weibo, and Wechat

where social relations are largely limited within the Chinese co-ethnic community. Both Yong (1) and Cheng (1) said to this point that:

“I contact with friends mainly through social media apps like QQ and Wechat. From now and then I look at the ‘circle of friends’ to check their updates, and I share the interesting things that happen in my life or whatever I like to share with them... Yes, it has become an important part of my social life.”

“I don’t think nowadays the physical concept of place matter at all. We have so many apps of social network, and the transport vehicles are so efficient.”

Strange enough, some second-generation immigrant offspring don’t identify themselves with the China across Eurasia continent, exactly as the result of the Chinese social media apps functioning as the dynamic information window of China. Kongzi (2) explained that:

“I use the app Wechat, and I’ve learned from it that there’s a lot of pollution there, and people are dishonest in business. (It is) Not a good image presented to us. Here I received much information presenting the ugly side of China. So I guess China is quite terrible.”

5.2.3.3.3 Ethnic Institutional Completeness

Ethnic institutional completeness refers to the fact that within the Chinese ethnic community are provided almost all kinds of services that the typical Chinese immigrant would need, ranging from the basic needs such as food and grocery through leisure activities such as karaoke and travel agency to the professional services like law firm and consulting. Cheng (1) narrated that:

“I don’t need to (learn Spanish very well). I have employees who speak perfect Spanish; as to other things in life, we have town fellows and relatives. You can get everything from the Chinese.”

Ahong (1) said that she would consult her personal lawyer if any trouble appears:

“I usually would ask my lawyer about what I should do and what I shouldn’t do when something bad happens... yes, we all have contracted lawyers for this kind of issues.”

As mentioned above, the Chinese in Spain have within their reach ethnic associations to resort to. For example, Liushu (1) explains the function of ethnic associations as follows:

“We have several associations, and I myself am the president of the Association of Qingtian Townsmen in Barcelona. When you join in this type of association and organization, you are available to more resources, for example, an extended circle of contacts which opens more business opportunities and makes you accessible to more information.”

The Chinese ethnic community also provide religious services especially for co-ethnic members, like the Christian Church for the Chinese in Spain (Iglesia Cristiana China en España). Jidu (11) explained that:

“We have several branch churches of Chinese Christian Church in China (Iglesia Cristiana China en España) here in Barcelona. We listen to praying every weekend. The priests preach the gospel and make us peaceful and blissful.”

The second-generation Chinese teenagers usually hang out with their co-ethnic peers. Almu (2h) disclosed that:

“I used to hang out with other Chinese teenagers a lot. We held big party every month in the same place such as the spacious terrace of some building. We would drink, dance, eat, talk aloud, and play guitar. We have organizations among us, some music band and other hobby reunion. We celebrate like we do the festivals.”

Besides, the Chinese face has become more and more common in almost every corner of Spain, and their industry signboards are easily observed in the street. In Madrid there is Chinese commerce enclave named “Cobo Calleja”, and in Barcelona there is “Fondo”. The booming China has great potential for consumption abroad, bringing many economic opportunities for Spain as more and more newly enriched Chinese people come to Spain for tourist and shopping purposes. The increasingly complete Chinese ethnic services are a concomitant of successful economic achievement on the part of China.

HOST SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

5.2.3.3.4 Economic Crisis

Based on the narration of the participants, the immigrants flinch at the economic crisis which in turn highlights the role of strong ethnic economy in buttressing the impact of the economic depression in the larger Spanish society. The case is not like other more traditional host countries such as the U.S.A and Britain where the mainstream market offers much higher payoff to those well-educated immigrants who are competent for jobs requiring professional skills and techniques. The case in Spain is the other way around. The ethnic economic niches provide the immigrants with employment and economic development by offering substantial financial guarantee and creating opportunities for them. Ma (1h, 66), as the school master of the biggest Chinese language school in Barcelona, explains the point clearly:

“But on the large the Chinese immigrant descendants have for the majority involved themselves in ethnic financial footholds instead of the mainstream economy. For one thing, the larger mainstream economy has been struck by the economic depression and there’s very little opportunity for the Chinese young people. Holding to the ethnic economy ensures much brighter future because of their connection with the giant economy China...”

Kongzi (2l, 15), when explaining why she is willing to take her parents’ business, ascribes partly to the economic depression:

“... I think those university graduates couldn’t find a job anyway...”

Zhu (1h, 28) could only find jobs in enterprises owned by Chinese boss, saying that it is very difficult to obtain a stable job in the mainstream Spanish companies due to the economic depression:

“Under such economic depression, it is almost impossible to find a secure long-term job and make a decent life without efforts. I part-time several jobs I could get at hand, all of them owned by Chinese employers.”

What’s more, Zhu is not confident of her relationship with the Spanish boyfriend partly due to his economic situation:

“I guess (my ideal life-partner) would be Chinese, or Chinese-Spanish, with better economic conditions... The only thing that make me flinch when it comes to marriage (with Spanish boyfriend) is that he’s too much infantile, boyish, and economically unequipped. I sometimes feel very tired just because life is so hard, I have to take responsibility of so many things in our lives, while he behaves like a sweet innocent boy of little help.”

Zhu is not alone in thinking about marriage in the economic perspective. Ahong (1l, 43), as mother of two boys and one daughter, said that she would not be very willing to marry her daughter to the locals:

“Of course I would like my children to marry people who have similar background as themselves, that’s to say, descendants of Chinese immigrants. Things would be easier for us, because of the language and customs. And the Spanish young people are usually too poor. Unlike us who pass on what we have to the next generation, Spanish parents don’t give their property and possession to their younger ones. But I think I will respect my children’s choice, anyway.”

Pedro (2h, 27) feels lucky to be born into Chinese ethnic family in terms of economic opportunities:

“(Under the economic depression) certainly my parents will offer help, by their resources in Chinese ethnic enterprising community, and I don’t mind their helping me. Many of my friends (the Spanish locals) envy me for this. They think the Chinese community has their own resources and methods to fight against the crisis and manage to fare well even during economic depression. I also regard myself as very lucky to be born into such an immigrant family in Spain.”

5.2.3.3.5 Discrimination and Oppositional Outlook

Many participants think that the economic depression has resulted in more severe discrimination among the Spanish locals against the Chinese ethnic community, which slows down the integration process among the Chinese immigrants. It is frequently commented by the participants that since the economic crisis they have perceived more discrimination. Jidu (1l, 50), Dushu (1l, 52), Liushu (1l, 58), all narrated in the same vein:

“... The locals treated us very nicely before the crisis. When they get poor after the crisis, they became to envy us and show more hostile attitude towards us...”

“They (the Spanish locals) used to treat us nice and friendly. However, since the economic crisis they have devoted to defaming and discrediting us by inventing and spreading rumors about us. From now and then have emerged something with strong prejudice like the news story produced by the TV channel 5, and the talk show for the New Year celebration, etc.”

“It is true that we have received more and more prejudice from the host society since the economic depression. Our business has faced more challenges. I think they (Spanish locals) hold misunderstanding about us.”

It is widely reported by the participants that they have experienced discrimination. But most of them would not involve themselves in conflicts with people from other races. Although they

do not accept it as fair, they try to understand the situation with compassion. Yuan (1h, 32) said that:

“Of course yes (I’ve experienced discrimination), that’s something very common here. When in the subway or on the road, etc. but not in the workplace. Usually I don’t like to overreact... (The Chinese image is) Generally speaking, not pretty. The fact is that years past, things changed, and the Chinese image in Spanish people’s eye lasts. They ask the same questions as they did ten years ago, about mafia story, urban legend, and lopsided views. According to what I’ve felt, great majority of prejudice holders are the older generation, in their 50s or 60s. According to my observation, racial discrimination is becoming rarer among the younger generation, especially among teenagers and children, because they grow up in a multiracial social environment; their classmates, friends, very likely happen to be descendants of Latin Americans, Africans, Asians, etc. It’s normal.”

Kangyun (1h, 30) also recognized that she has experienced discrimination, especially in her childhood and adolescence. There were always several classmates who talked of her using insulting words and a sneering face. She said that they may have gently spoken of her while smiling, and yet spoken very ill of her. However, she pointed out that she has rarely experienced racial discrimination in recent years. She mentioned that in Spain racial discrimination is more obviously perceived when dealing with the government or institutions. “The procedure could be much more complicated just because you have an Asian face”, she said.

On the other hand, both Caidian (1l, 35) and Jidu (1l, 50) try to look upon the phenomenon with compassion and understanding:

“Of course I’ve experienced some discrimination cases. But usually that happened for a reason, for example when you unwarily violated some law or stipulation. The police or government always treated us a little differently. With more hostile attitudes. But if you are fine with everything, if you respect and obey all laws and stipulations, you wouldn’t perceive much discrimination from the immediate surroundings. Quite on the contrary, the neighborhood is very nice and friendly.”

“If there is discrimination it is totally understandable, because we are not the locals. It’s the same in China. The locals treated us very nicely before the crisis. When they get poor after the crisis, they became to envy us and show more hostile attitude towards us.”

Discrimination from Spanish of Southern America origin has been much more easily perceived than that from Spanish locals. The second-generation participants claimed to this point, with Jiuba (2l, 18) and Baiyuan (2l, 18) relating that:

“Yes, frequently (discriminated), not from the teachers, but from Latin-American classmates. They liked speaking ill of us, mocking at me because of my accent and bullying us... the Spanish society is all right. Maybe they are not so tolerant and friendly but I don’t feel too much discrimination. After graduating from high school I started to run this bar business, and don’t have to worry about the discrimination from South Americans anymore.”

“Discrimination from classmates because I couldn’t Spanish at first. The worst was from those with Latin American origin. They always mocked at me. Language barrier made it a very tough task to do well at school.”

The more obviously perceived discrimination would in turn pushes the Chinese immigrants to more tightly knitted ethnic community, failing to be recognized and feeling unaccepted by the host society. Ahong (1l, 43) talked that the way they deal with such unfriendly and hostile attitude is to resort to co-ethnics instead of violence:

“Just avoid them as much as possible. Normally we don’t like to resort to violence to solve the conflicts. Neither to the Spanish police. That’s of no use. I heard some country fellows did this before and it proved useless. Except for very serious cases, we usually would not fight in conflicts with other races. Instead we resort to experiences of country fellows, and we do exchanges and get support and help from town fellows.”

Even some of the second-generation descendants turn to their co-ethnics to feel the sense of belonging. Shunda (2l, 17) commented that:

“Of course I have (experienced discrimination). Usually at school. I think they (the Spanish) are quite unreasonable to judge people simply by their skin color. They couldn’t believe that the Chinese can speak perfect native Spanish. Sometimes I feel annoyed. I think they should treat us with more respect, and treat us as equals. They are humans, we are humans, too. On what grounds do they have to treat us like we’re inferiors?”

Natalia (2h, 30) shared Shunda’s view of the discrimination phenomenon in Catalonia:

“I sort of got to know that no matter how long I’ll live here, even though I live here for the whole life, I will never be fully accepted by the Catalans. Only those who are 100 percent assimilated can be fully accepted by them, otherwise you are at best a half foreigner to them, which is intolerable for them. They will not accept anyone who is in any way different from them, whether lifestyle, linguistic accent or anything.”

Wei (2h, 28), while deeply identified with Spanish culture, has to rethink about his identity after he heard discriminating comments. He said that:

“I’d never been dubious about identifying with Spanish culture until I went to university and experienced discrimination. I had never thought that I’m different from other Spanish peers. But in university I started to feel that I’m different. I’m different in their (Spanish people) eyes. So there must be something different in me. I’ve started to learn more about China and its culture, trying to find out what has made me different.”

5.2.3.3.6 Multiculturalist Policy

Spain adopts a multiculturalist policy in favor of cultural pluralism. However, the favorable policies of intercultural integration seem to have executed limited influence on the first-

generation Chinese immigrants with lower SES. The multiculturalist policy has given the needed space within which they have culturally encapsulated themselves. In other words, the benefits of multiculturalist policy have never been within their reach. When asked whether she is aware of any activities organized by the municipal government such as intercultural theater and training courses, Xinzhong (1I) replied:

“No. not that to my knowledge. The integration thing is not so important a factor in our daily life. The most important is to run business well. And I’m afraid that my own children would turn out to be bananas, totally spanishized. There are several Chinese language schools. We all send our children there on weekends. Spanish young people are very egoist; they only think about themselves, not taking others into account; they like having fun and dress in a strange way; most probably they have easy sex with others, which will get my children in trouble if they are totally assimilated; I don’t want to have serious conflicts with my children when they grow up.”

When asked whether she would attend the activities sponsored and hosted by the local government, like the intercultural theatre hosted by Casa Asia, which could help you understand people from different cultures and know more new friends from other cultures, Xinzhong (1I) said:

“(Laughing) for one thing, we have no time. I have to run business, and have to do the housework. For the other thing, I would feel embarrassed in front of so many strangers from other cultures. That’s terrible for me. This kind of activities are not suitable for us, I think. That’s something for those young people to have fun with.”

It is commented by the participants that language barrier is the major impediment for them to integrate to the host culture, and it is almost impossible for them to fully master the host language at their age. Liushu (1I) said to this point:

“The language decides whether you can integrate into the Spanish local community or not. Although I’ve lived here for thirty years, my Spanish level doesn’t provide me the capability to make very meaningful and deep communication with locals. The same case happens for many of my Chinese friends here.”

Workplace provides an ideal context for intercultural contacts which in turn improve intercultural integration. In contrast with the majority of Chinese immigrants with lower SES, Caidian (1I) keeps on very good terms with his Spanish employees and prefers employing in his grocery store locals to Chinese co-ethnics:

“I prefer working with Spanish people. The thing becomes very clear and simple. If I employ Chinese co-ethnics, the thing is always complicated. You gonna keep him or her at home to have dinner, and you gonna be cautious not to make him or her embarrassed, the sort of things. We Chinese always focus too much on the interpersonal relationships instead of the work itself. I don’t like it.”

But for the majority of Chinese immigrants, they are self-employed or do business on family scale with all the family members working in it. It is not very common that the employees in their stores or restaurants are Spanish locals. In the workplace where the workers are mostly co-ethnics, the context for intercultural contacts cannot be created. Hence the little opportunities for them to integrate into the host culture on a daily basis.

CHAPTER 6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The present study investigates cross-cultural adaptation among the Chinese immigrants in Spain, based on samples from those living in Barcelona. It targets those who have lived in Spain for a long term and have settled to take a root in Spain. It is said that there are more than 240, 000 Chinese (Mallet, 2011), legal and illegal, living in Spain, constituting the Chinese ethnic community which arises as the fifth largest minority in Spain. The ethnic population has undergone an exponential growth during the last 20 years, getting more and more noticeable in the recent destination of immigration, due to its remarkable economic model in connections with the rising potential superpower across the Eurasia continent.

In this study three main objectives are supposed to be accomplished. First of all, the effects of generation and socioeconomic status on acculturation is examined processes among the Chinese immigrants in Spain. The samples are divided into four groups along generation and socioeconomic status: the first generation immigrants with middle-high SES; the first generation immigrants with low SES; the 1.5-/second generation immigrants with middle-high SES; the 1.5-/second generation immigrants with low SES. These four groups are respectively scored on acculturation degree by using questionnaires based on a series of established scales. From the results is shown that considering the current acculturation processes in Chinese immigrant community in Spain, generation and socioeconomic status do affect a lot to acculturation degree. This conclusion is in line with the classic straight-line assimilation theory which proposes that immigrants are supposed to get assimilated over generation and time, more concretely, i.e. each succeeding generation will integrate better to the host society, outcompete their predecessors in education attainment and occupation, and culturally more assimilated to the larger mainstream environment, showing less ethnic features in linguistic usage, marriage patterns, and interpersonal social circles, etc. (Warner & Srole, 1945). Concerning the Chinese ethnic community in Spain, it can be concluded that the later generations do a better job than the first generation in terms of host culture identification and sociocultural adaptation competence. In the same token, immigrants with higher socioeconomic status are in general more integrated than those with lower socioeconomic status.

Secondly, the role of acculturation strategy in the processes of sociocultural adaptation and psychological adjustment among the Chinese immigrants in Spain is studied. Using the median

split of the scores on host cultural identification and ethnic cultural identification, the samples are categorized into four acculturation modes: integration (identified with both ethnic and host culture), assimilation (identified with host culture only and possessing little affinity to ethnic culture), separation (identified with ethnic culture and showing little interest in host society), and marginalization (having little interest in ethnic community or host society), under the framework of acculturation strategies put forward by Berry (1997, 2005). From the results of data analysis can be drawn the conclusion that among the Chinese community in Spain, those who are more integrated or assimilated, i.e. more identified with the host culture, experience less sociocultural adaptation difficulties, while the psychological health does not necessarily correlate with the assimilation degree.

Thirdly, the coping strategies the Chinese ethnic members take when they face difficulties during their stay in Spain are probed. In the study of coping and stress in regard to cultural adjustment processes have been developed three styles of coping strategies people would take in face of challenges: approach, which refers to positive responses to difficult situations, such as planning and constructive actions with a problem-focused mindset; acceptance, denoting passive responses to challenges whereby the difficulties and challenges are recognized but no actions are taken; and avoidance, involving aversive responses to difficulties whereby escapist fantasy and behavioral disengagement are entailed (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Ward, 2001). Qualitative data collected in the study lead to the conclusion that the first generation Chinese immigrants with lower socioeconomic status tend to adopt avoidance strategy in respect of cultural integration to the host mainstream society, while the second generation immigrants with lower SES take acceptance strategy, and the first generation with higher SES and the second generation with higher SES resorting to approach strategy. Besides, the underlying reasons behind the coping differences among different ethnic groups are also explored.

In the ensuing section are explained in more detail the conclusions presented above. What's more, some of my reflections on the findings are shared in the discussion. Some implications are disclosed following the discussion, and limitations of the study and suggestions for future research are also advanced in the ending part of the section.

6.1 PART I (OBJECTIVES 1 and 2)

6.1.1 HYPOTHESIS 1

The first hypothesis, i.e. generation and socioeconomic status are important factors that affect intercultural adaptation level among Chinese immigrants in Spain, was confirmed in the study. The data results show that there is a main effect for generation on acculturation degree ($F(1) = 36, P < .05$ for host culture identification, and $F(1) = 23, P < .05$ for socio-cultural adaptation), and there is also present a main effect for socioeconomic status on acculturation degree ($F(26) = 7.7, P < .05$ for host culture identification, and $F(26) = 6.4, P < .05$ for socio-cultural adaptation). But there is no significant interaction effect between generation and SES on host culture identification, $F(5) = 1.6, P > .05$ or socio-cultural adaptation $F(5) = 2.2, P > .05$.

It is indicated that as far as the Chinese community in Spain is concerned, the later generations are on average better adapted to the host society than the first-generation provided the variable of socioeconomic status is controlled at the similar level. In the same token, immigrants with higher socioeconomic status generally integrate more to the host society than those with lower socioeconomic status.

The inference about generation correspond with the classic straight line assimilation theory which argues that members of later generations and immigrants residing longer in the host population show less ethnic characteristics and more similarities with the majority larger environment (Warner and Strole, 1945; Algan, Bisin, Manning & Verdier, 2012). The current situation of the Chinese community in Spain expects descendants in coming generations will on the whole become more and more similar with the host population in norms, values, lifestyles, behaviors and characteristics, as their parents and predecessors have accumulated material possessions and human capital which provide them the conditions for obtaining the access to education and employment and other opportunities for their offspring.

However, the positive effect of socioeconomic status points out between-group difference within the Chinese ethnic community in Spain, which leads to the tendency of segmented assimilation which states that structural barriers, such as lack of educational resources and lack of the chances of intercultural contact, block the access to employment and other opportunities in the mainstream society for the disadvantaged members of immigrant groups (Portes and Min, 1993; Waters, Tran, Kasinitz & Mollenkopf, 2010). According to the data in the present study, most of the immigrants with lower socioeconomic status, no matter they belong to the first generation or the second, are categorized into the separation acculturation

mode, while the majority of those with higher SES belong either to the acculturation mode of integration or of assimilation. The strong correlation between acculturation and SES echoes the findings of Moyerman and Forman (1992) that SES plays as the most important factor that decides the outcome of acculturation.

The results in the present study imply a contrary claim against the stereotypical image of all Chinese immigrants who are described as standoffish, excluded, and hard-working to the boring degree. It indicates that the immigrants with higher SES, who in general terms hold higher academic degree and more decent employment, have more chances of exposure to and participation in the mainstream society, which naturally leads to higher acculturation.

With the growing variety of the composition of Chinese immigrants in their origin of place, which has been brought about by the recent influx of international students, investors, and other immigrants with better backgrounds in education and occupation, a larger between-group gap can be predicted within the Chinese immigrant community in Spain in respect of cultural integration. The group with higher SES will have more time and resources spent in acquiring skills to speed up the acculturation processes and are more capable of doing so. The group with lower SES will advance much more slowly, and for many of the first generation members, the acculturation processes will be very likely to be stagnated. Despite that, with the intergeneration progress, the community will in general terms proceed in the same direction toward upward mobility and higher acculturation.

6.1.2 OTHER HYPOTHESES

The second hypothesis, i.e. respondents who are strongly identified with both host culture and ethnic culture (namely, co-national identification) are more likely to perform best in terms of psychological adjustment was refuted, while the third hypothesis, i.e. respondents who are marginalized will experience the most difficulties in psychological adjustment, was accepted in this study. The results demonstrate no direct effect of acculturation on psychological health among the Chinese immigrants in Spain.

Berry (1990) thinks that integration mode of acculturation leads to the best psychological health since there is the least level of acculturative stress during this form of adaptation process. However, the present study illustrates that except for the marginalized group which experiences the most psychological stress (marginalization $M= 23.33$), the other three groups do not vary significantly with regard to psychological health (integration $M= 19.09$, assimilation $M=18.00$, separation $M= 19.53$). From the results it can be inferred that acculturation degree

does not influence Chinese immigrants' mental health and neither does socioeconomic status affect it significantly. **Does it mean that the new environment in Spain does not present itself as a threatening challenge to the Chinese immigrants at all? Or does it mean that the Chinese ethnics have developed efficient strategies to cope with psychological stress? These are the questions that will be answered in the succeeding discussion of the results of qualitative data.**

It is recognized that both contextual and individual-level factors (Blau, 1994; Kim, 2001; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Huynh, 2011; Ward, 1996) work on one's psychological adjustment in the process of acculturation. The mechanism behind the independent relationship between acculturation outcome and psychological health among the Chinese in Spain may be explained from these two levels. From the macro-level perspective, the pluralist policy of the Spanish societal environment and the Chinese ethnic solidarity and mutual aid must have helped a lot to Chinese immigrants. From the micro-level perspective, Chinese immigrants may see immigration to Spain as a voluntary and even opportune choice to realize their dream, so they are psychologically well-prepared for the risks and challenges that emerge. Their initiative personality characteristics may have diminished negative consequences brought on by the translocation change.

The fourth hypothesis, i.e. respondents who are assimilated will experience the least socio-cultural adaptation difficulties, and the fifth hypothesis, i.e. respondents who endorse separation will experience the most difficulties in socio-cultural adaptation, are both confirmed by the data results of the samples of the study. It is noted that unlike psychological health, socio-cultural integration competence is found to be strongly correlated with acculturation degree.

This conclusion is in accordance with classic theoretical assertions (Berry, 1990; Kim, 2001; Ward, 2001) that acculturation styles greatly impact upon one's functional competence in intercultural communications. Furthermore, the intercultural communication competence may well produce reciprocal influence on acculturation outcome. Since the socio-cultural adaptation to the host society inevitably involves host language competence, host interpersonal relationships and host mainstream resources employment, it is a well-reasoned case for the assimilated to perform the best and for the separated to fare the worst in aspects concerned. However, combined with the anterior hypotheses, the incompetence in cross-cultural socio-functional adaptation does not hurt the immigrants' psychological health. **There must be structural mechanisms within the ethnic community which help the separatist population avert or deal with the socio-cultural adaptation difficulties during their**

resettlement in the new territory and culture. This topic will be further discussed in the following qualitative part.

6.2 PART II (OBJECTIVE 3)

6.2.1 ACCULTURATION CHALLENGES

According to the United Nations, there are more than 250 million people around the world living outside of their country of origin every year (Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations). Among them more than 240,000 Chinese are living in Spain, and the number has been constantly increasing. Earliest works on cross-cultural transition were deeply influenced by the concept of culture shock coined by Cora DuBois in 1951 and later systematically defined by Oberg (1960). The acculturation experiences were described with an emphasis on the negative consequences of cross-cultural relocation, such as physic-somatic symptoms, emotional distress and anxiety, etc. Contemporary anthropologists and scholars tend to look at the experience of immigrating to a new land with a more positive perspective, addressing it in more positive terms. The positive consequences, such as contact with diverse cultures, broadening the outlook, acquiring more skills, awareness of one's potentials, and personal growth, etc. get stressed in the updated conceptual framework (Berry, Kim & Boski, 1987; Kim, 2001; Ward & Kennedy, 1999, 2001).

Both the culture shock model and the new contemporary framework suggest acculturative stress brought about by life changes as big as the cross-cultural relocation. In fact, immigrating to a culturally different country involves numerous life changes, ranging from linguistic barrier, unpredictable environment, and functional inability in practical issues, to unknown patterns of social life and unfamiliarity with local customs, etc. These life changes may precipitate the newcomer into a state of anxiety and stress.

6.2.1.1 Orientating Oneself

In the present study, almost all the first and 1.5 generation participants said that they have encountered orientation difficulties soon after their arrival in Spain. But this was not severely felt until the moments of excitement had passed. Nearly all of them, especially the first-generation immigrants, reported that they had high expectations and hopes for the life after

immigration, considering Spain as the right place to realize their dreams which usually refer to economic success and better quality of life. For the early arrivals among the first-generation immigrants, it was their intention to make fortune here in Spain and send remittance back to the rest of the family in China to make a living.

Due to insufficient host language competence, newcomers usually had to manage practical problems with great efforts. For example, they had to get familiar with geographical locations, timetable of daily issues, transportation rules, opening and closing time of stores and restaurants, etc. Procedures to get legal papers and legal status could also be a great challenge for new arrivals. Language is the most important factor that either promote or hinder the adaptation process (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). In the study, participants who had some knowledge of Spanish language and culture obviously felt less stress at the primary phase. Some of the rest got frustrated because of the hardships, but still their mental health was not significantly damaged.

The low level of psychological stress on orientation to Spanish environment felt by the participants in the study can be explained by the following three points. Firstly, they are voluntary immigrants looking for opportunities in Spain, and usually only those with an adventurous character would be ready to do such risky moves, for they own personality attributes of openness, resilience and optimism, and therefore they are psychologically well-prepared for changes (Kim, 2001).

Secondly, the majority of them come from Zhejiang province in southeast China where the centuries-long tradition of township economy and small-scaled commercial activities has shaped in its people the characteristics both of endurance of hardships and flexibility for changes (Fei, 2002), which makes them focused on solutions of practical problems while abates the negative impacts of stress.

Thirdly, Spanish culture and Chinese culture are both described as collectivist (Hofstede, 1991) where a contextualized identity or interpersonal interrelatedness is emphasized. It is assumed that individuals from a collectivist ethnic culture would not experience as great conflicts in another collectivist culture as in an individualistic one (Byrne, 1961; Gile & Powesland, 1975; Gudykunst, 1988; Kim, 2001; Huynh, 2011). The immigrants in the present study did not fall into so big a cultural gap as to be shocked into a damaged mental state. In fact, quite a few of the participants reported that there is strong similarity between Spanish culture and Chinese culture in terms of family values, interpersonal relationships and other behavioral patterns.

6.2.1.2 In Need Of Economic Betterment

Despite the aforementioned relatively favorable conditions and strengths, most of the immigrants do feel under great pressure especially during the preliminary phase of their stay in Spain. Their stress is mainly originated from socioeconomic needs. They are not so much concerned with the integration thing as with their commercial business, and their psychological health is more closely related with their socioeconomic achievement. Berry proposes that immigrants' mental health is decided by the acculturation stress perceived (Berry, 1987, 1990). However, this hypothesis cannot be verified in the present study. In this study acculturative problem does not exert so much influence on Chinese immigrants' psychological well-being as socioeconomic status does. This finding is consistent with the case of Chinese Americans studied by Shen and Takeuchi (2001).

It is notable that the socioeconomic status which affects immigrants' psychological health is limited within the ethnic community. That is to say, immigrants attach great importance mainly to their status among their co-ethnics, and value very much their co-ethnics' opinion of him/herself. Considering the channel pattern of immigration to Spain among the first generation immigrants, they usually had on their shoulders the responsibility of repay the huge sum of debts incurred by the travel from China to Spain. After pay off the debts, they had to work as hard as possible and save as much money as possible so as to start off with a small business which belongs to him/herself. By years of accumulation of low wages and practical skills during those hardworking apprenticeship, they very probably move in the direction of success after taking on their own business. This is almost the only way that is widely recognized in the Chinese community as both successful and feasible for newcomers to pursue. Hereafter the economic pressure is very noticeable in the life of new arrivals.

Ma, once working at the university when in China, had to start in Spain by working in a Chinese restaurant. Dushu, once employed in a state-owned bank when in China, had to begin his life in Spain in a bazaar. Xiao (in the category of 1h), holding master's degree, had to stay at home and be a housewife because she could not find an employment. These participants all narrated their psychological burden caused by the embarrassment and sense of uselessness at the preliminary period right after immigration.

For the first generation with higher SES, the stress is even more acutely perceived. Since today's labor market is like an hourglass in which only the most skilled and the least skilled could easily find employment (Sassen 1998), the immigrants with higher SES when in China are subject to greater stress than those with lower SES. As immigrants, because of various

disadvantages such as linguistic barriers, lack of human capital, etc., they usually could not find employment which corresponds to that they engaged in China. They had to take menial jobs as the immigrants with lower SES would do. The loss of social status inevitably adds to their psychological stress which forces them to achieve greater socioeconomic attainment than their less educated peers.

For the second generation immigrants, immigration to Spain and doing family business has become the routine course of life, and they do not face as great economic pressure as their parents did. What's more, for the descendants there are more choices than family business for their future since their parents had earned them substantial material conditions for choosing other possibilities of life.

6.2.1.3 Fragmentation of the Family

There are four out of nine participants in the first generation with lower SES who are marked as divorced in the column of "marital status", all reported to be related with the immigration experience. It is in the ordinary course of things for the first-generation immigrant family that the head of the household takes the initiative of migrating to Spain to establish material foundations and other resources, through which he/she brings the rest members to Spain to reunite the family. Sometimes, the situation of transnational family lasts for years if things do not go well for the head of the family in Spain. That the family is divided due to legal and economic obstacles causes certain stress among some immigrants. Families are separated by environmental factors such as the lack of proper legal documents and lack of economic opportunities. Long-term separation sometimes lead to the breakup of the marriage.

Family solidarity contributes significantly to the individual's psychological health and emotional well-being before migration and during the prime phase of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim, 2001; Scott, W.A. & Scott, R., 1989). Compared with those who have their family reunited together in Spain, those who is alone in Spain with their family members left in China do experience a tougher time during the adaptation period.

Apart from the unhealthy relationship between husband and wife, long separation may also cause ill parent-child relationship. It has been almost a commonly practiced strategy that the parents stay in Spain running business and send their younger ones (usually between 1 and 12 years old) to China under their relatives' guardianship. The children would be brought to Spain to be living with their parents only when reaching teenage. The absence of parents in their

childhood may set obstacles in establishing a healthy parent-child relationship, especially during those first years of their living together.

Another form of fragmentation of the family that Chinese immigrants may run into is the dissention within the family between different generations due to different pace of the acculturation process. It is said that teenagers and children in immigrant family may experience negative health behaviors not only due to the rapid cultural change but also to the generation gap between the elders and the young (Smokowski & Bacallao, 2010). The younger generation is in general terms more flexible and lithe in cross-cultural situations and hence more readily integrated to the host Spanish society, who may as a result acquire norms, values, and behavioral patterns different from their parents if the latter do not acculturate at the same pace. The dissention within the family may in turn result in the fragmentation of the family. Therefore family fragmentation may be considered one of the noticeable challenges that profoundly impact the mental health of the Chinese immigrant families and individuals, as reported by the participants in the interviews.

6.2.1.4 Desire for Friendship & Esteem Needs

Surrounded by unfamiliar cultures and faces, participants of the study talked about the feeling of being cut off from old best friends and intimate relatives. The collectivist orientation among the Chinese is evidenced by numerous studies (Shek & Cheng, 1990; Kuo, 2010) as of great importance in cross-culture coping strategies, and the collective identity is defined by friends, family relationships, and community. The newcomers usually experienced a tough time upon the displacement in a new cultural environment where they felt themselves different from others. Due to the invincible cultural barriers, it is almost an impossible mission for most of the first-generation immigrants to make close friends with people from other races. The feeling of difference adds to the sense of isolation which further strengthens the need of intimate friendship.

Under such situations the participants would prefer staying within the ethnic community where they could find a comfort zone and supportive social networks. In contrast, not a few participants reported to have a crisis of self-esteem in the larger mainstream society, where they could not find enough confidence in themselves. Some even feels that the disadvantaged position of immigrants impedes them to achieve their life goals as expected. Resorting to ethnic social networks and the importance of oneself in the eyes of co-ethnics helps the

participants build self-esteem. This supports the conclusion of the study conducted by Lee (2002) which demonstrates the close relationship between ethnic identity and individual self-esteem, that is, ethnic identity is positively correlated with self-esteem while negatively related to psychological stress.

It may be worth noting that the needs of friendship and higher self-esteem is most acutely perceived by the first generation immigrants of higher socioeconomic origin among the participants of the present study. Their sense of lacking in intimate friends and of incompleteness is even not efficaciously abated by ethnic community involvement. Generally speaking, they are recent immigrants who are engaged in unchallenging employment that does not match with their educational background and potentials. Furthermore, they are usually not the typical Chinese immigrants who arrived in Spain through chain family reunification.

6.2.2 COPING STRATEGIES

In front of acculturative stress one has his own coping strategies, dependent on a series of factors from personality characteristics to societal environment, which can lead to adaptive outcomes and satisfactory consequences or result in inefficacious and damaging ones. As argued by Shen and Takeuchi (2001), two factors, i.e. personality characteristics and social support, have been recognized as two decisive factors that affect mental health during the acculturation processes. As for the Chinese immigrants, who are voluntary immigrants instead of passive types such as refugees, they fare quite well in psychological terms.

This could be explained from the perspective of the aforementioned two factors. On the one hand, since the Chinese immigrants usually come to Spain voluntarily seeking for economic opportunities, they are well-prepared at least psychologically even before setting off from China. They come with initiatives, expect challenges ahead and are willing to make sacrifices in order to achieve their goals. On the other hand, structural factors such as social and economic circumstances of the Chinese ethnic group contribute to their choice of coping strategies. Besides, influence may also come from the culture of the sending country of the Chinese immigrants.

The self-construal elements and collectivist social networks working combined together buffer the negative consequences of acculturation stress on their well-being. It is along these two dimensions that the coping strategies taken by the Chinese immigrants in Spain are discussed

as follows, with the former subsumed under the category of “internal transformation” and the latter “external transformation”.

6.2.2.1 Internal Transformation

The transition between being under pressure of the relocation and getting used to the new life in Spain involves various interrelated processes which help the immigrants to overcome the acculturation challenges. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) conceptualize coping strategies as the result of cognitive and behavioral efforts that an individual would make in order to abate the negative effects of acculturation stress. This section deals with the cognitive transformation that the Chinese immigrants in Spain have said to undergo.

The participants described the internal resources they resorted to at the individual micro-level during the period of adaptation. One essential value that Chinese immigrants hold onto is self-reliance (Alidoost, 2011; Wu & Mak, 2012), which is also the top tenet applied in the immigrant life of the Chinese in Spain. There is an old proverb in Chinese “天道酬勤” which means that God help those who help themselves, and almost all the participants recognized their belief in this axiom in one way or another. The hard-working image of the Chinese has become so stereotypical in Spain that the phrase “trabaja como chinos” has been coined to describe a person who is hard-working to the boring extent and knows nothing of real life quality.

For the first generation immigrants, especially for those of lower socioeconomic origins, the life overseas has never been an easy one. Before the immigration, they got familiar with the overseas stories including the long travel, the business pattern, and other things about their town fellows who had already emigrated to Spain. They knew that only through sacrifices and industriousness can a person of humble origin get access to fortune and success. From these narration can be seen sufficient pre-migration psychological preparation among the Chinese immigrants.

Despite this, it is widely recognized among the Chinese immigrants coming from Qingtian and Wenzhou that going abroad guarantees bright future while staying at home in China is what only those men good for nothing will do. They see immigration to Spain as a means of survival and of economic mobility among the ethnic community of the sending town (Portes & Borocz, 1989). Undoubtedly, the optimistic attitude and aspirations towards the immigration topic among the immigrants-to-be prepare them with a flexible and resilient disposition for major life changes.

For the younger generation and the recent immigrants of urban origin with higher SES, life quality has become as much important as the career success, which is a major value distinction between different generations of immigrants. However, the value of self-reliance and resilience has not been omitted from the mentality of the younger generation, who consider the balanced dyad between career and life quality as the pattern of an ideal life.

Holding onto aspirations and the self-reliance entrepreneurial spirit, some participants began to feel empowered as things started to get better a bit. It feels like they have found more and more aspects of themselves where are contained unknown potentials. For some, changes happened when they looked inside and explored themselves in perspective. Gradually through self-reflection on their life goals they gained more and more confidence and self-esteem and became able to consider the immigration life in more positive terms, which energized their motivations in pursuing their way to success.

In addition to obtaining strengths through self-exploration into the depth of individual concerns, caring for family members and loved ones is another fountainhead of strength for the Chinese immigrants. Their proclivity to care for others may be accounted for by the cultural value of collectivist China. Historically, the agricultural tradition and teachings of Confucianism bear on the mentality of the Chinese (Lee, 1997). Almost all the participants, regardless of generation and socioeconomic origin, expressed their urgent concerns for family members and beloved ones, and the importance of them to their personal life is easily perceived. Traditional Chinese family stresses the value of the family above that of the individual, regarding the latter as the product of all the preceding generations of the family. Therefore, an individual's actions appertain not only to himself but also to the whole family and ancestors (Shon & Ja, 1982). These characteristics of collectivist culture still affect the thinking of the Chinese immigrants in Spain and provides them with a channel of strength beneficial for their psychological well-being.

6.2.2.2. External Transformation

Cognitive transformations are closely interrelated with behavioral transformations that immigrants experience in the process of adaptation upon immigration. The external behavioral transformation refers to the concrete measures and approaches that immigrants take in order to overcome adaptation challenges. The majority of the participants indicated that they got empowered by the success achieved by co-nationals with the same background as him/herself. A fine example has boundless power. The influence of ethnic examples was penetrated into

many participants even before they succeeded in migrating to Spain. They reported that in famous hometowns of overseas Chinese, such as Qingtian and Wenzhou, there are digital bulletin boards on which roll constantly updated stories of economic success that their town fellows accomplished overseas. Their success is exemplary in the eyes of all the immigrants-to-be. They have been surrounded by economically successful town fellows both before and after the immigration.

Further to the exemplary influence, all the participants stressed the importance of the mastery of Spanish language for a successful life in Spain. Those who have dominated the language confessed that they got a kind of sense of control when they acquired Spanish; those who have failed to master Spanish regretted that they felt fettered in some way or another through their way to success. Besides, due to an increasingly enlarged size of the Chinese community of recent non-Spanish-speaking immigrants, there is a correspondingly enlarged ethnic market in accordance with the law of supply and demand. Those with a certain level of Spanish linguistic ability are involved in ready-made business which functions as go-betweens and offers services to the linguistically and culturally poor-equipped immigrants. Hence within the ethnic community there have been mushroomed numerous intermediaries such as housing agencies, law firms, driving schools, tourist agencies, etc. which are specially focused on the co-ethnic clientele. The case of the Chinese in Spain demonstrates the deciding role of language acquisition in individual-level acculturation (Cuéllar et al. 1995; Kim, 2001). Language as the main vehicle of communication is at the core of cross-cultural adaptation which is itself a form of communication between different cultures (Kim, 2001; Klopff, 1987; Hall, 1975).

All the participants spoke highly of the support they received from their friends and family relatives which helps avert acculturation stress. Family solidarity, as mentioned above in the section of the fragmentation of the family, plays an important role in keeping psychological balance and getting emotional comfort especially in the beginning of the adaptation process (Kim, 2001; Scott, W.A. & Scott, R., 1989). It is beneficial for the maintenance of individual's self-esteem, being a source of emotional support. Strong sense of family solidarity, especially for the members of collectivist culture, elevates the permeability of familism in almost all aspects of immigrants' daily life. Permeability refers to the degree to which family membership is vaguely defined and is represented to the highest degree in extended families (Scott, W.A. & Scott, R., 1989). Permeability seems to help diminish the negative consequences of cross-culture relocation problems, but it proves to slow down and even counteract the assimilation processes if the individual holds on to it long after the immigration, since it may in all

likelihood make the individual dependent on ethnic community facilities and services whenever they run into difficulties.

The participants also appreciated the help from ethnic institutions, associations, and community services. Shek et al. (1990) conducted a study in Hongkong examining the elements of typical Chinese way of coping strategies. They concluded that the Chinese resort to two distinctive types of coping: self-reliance and seeking help from others. Besides the self and personal resources, they tend to seek help from larger associations, institutions, etc. For the Chinese immigrants in Spain, ethnic associations like “the Association of Qingtian Townspeople in Barcelona” offer help to co-ethnics by providing updated information about almost every aspect of their business and daily life including issues and notifications concerning the Chinese minority, and political and socioeconomic moves on the part of local Spanish government as well as marketing tendency in China and their hometowns.

It is worth noting that there is a noticeable Christian religious group within the Chinese community in Spain. Some participants expressed their appreciation for the help offered by Chinese Christian organizations such as the “Chinese Christian Church in Spain” (Iglesia Cristiana China en España) in Barcelona. All these ethnic institutions contribute a lot to the immigrants’ expansion of social networks which efficiently adjust them to a balanced state of homeostasis.

At the same time, the limited community services sponsored by the local government were acknowledged by a few of the participants. However, there is a severe lack of resources specifically focused on the Chinese immigrants as well as a severe lack of information among the Chinese about community services. Besides the free basic language courses, most of the participants know nothing at all about social services. In contrast, the immigrants of higher SES, due to broader social networks interactive with the mainstream society, have more channels for enjoying resources provided by the Spanish local part.

In addition, the participants revealed that only after the practical problems are solved will they really gain full confidence in themselves and in their life in Spain. Progress in employment or success in careers is the most confirmative proof of their competence and potentials. When they have obtained success they got higher self-esteem feeling themselves being recognized as a worthy person. Economic activities preoccupy most of the first-generation immigrants who have yet to build up material foundation for better life quality for their descendants. For the second generation participants and the rest of first generation with higher socioeconomic

status, career and employments mean not so much a means of survival as a means of self-actualization.

Both internal and external factors interact with the individual to yield different cognitive, behavioral and emotional responses to inter-cultural challenges that vary from person to person (Ward and Kennedy, 1999). Therefrom develop different coping styles cross different individuals. Ward and Kennedy (2001) proved in the study of British expatriates in Singapore that psychological adjustment is closely related to the choice of the three coping styles of acculturation, i.e. approach (problem-focused, taking actions to overcome challenges), acceptance (emotion-oriented, restraint coping action), and avoidance (concerning disengagement and distraction). They confirmed that the avoidant coping style is negatively correlated with psychological adjustment, while the approach coping style promotes psychological health and the acceptance style is irrelevant to psychological adjustment.

In the current study, the interesting finding is that the choice of coping style is not so much related to psychological adjustment as to cultural and socioeconomic circumstances. The participants, belonging to different generation and socioeconomic origin, do differ in their choice of the coping style of acculturation, but they do not vary to a noticeable degree in terms of psychological health. Generally speaking, the first generation immigrants of lower socioeconomic origin tend to take the avoidance or acceptance strategy in respect of acculturation; the first generation with higher socioeconomic status usually take the approach strategy; and the second generation mainly take the approach strategy, too.

6.2.3 IMPEDIMENTS

As can be seen from the aforementioned discussion of the analysis results, the dominant part of the Chinese in Spain fair quite poor as regards cultural integration to the mainstream Spanish society. However, there are several characteristics about the Chinese ethnic community in Spain that go against the popular adaptation theories, i.e. the positive correlation between pre-migration preparedness and adaptation competence (Kim, 2001), and positive correlation between psychological adjustment and adaptation competence (Ward and Kennedy, 2001). On the one hand, the Chinese immigrants are all voluntary immigrants with strong initiative and aspiration upon the migration, and they are psychologically prepared possessing an adaptive and resilient personality or character. On the other hand, it has been discovered that their psychological well-being is not closely related to their intercultural

integration into the Spanish society. The current section is to deal with the causes behind this surprising yet fascinating phenomenon. Based on the participants' narratives, the following themes are identified along two dimensions of structural explanation: structural ethnic environment and host social environment. The structural perspective means explaining a phenomenon as part of a larger one, therefore, the seemingly low level of cultural integration of the Chinese in Spain should be looked at under a greater framework of larger societal circumstances.

6.2.3.1 Structural Ethnic Environment

The participants, the majority of who, possessing the genealogical origin of Qingtian town or Wenzhou city in Zhejiang province of southeast China, expressed their ambitions in entrepreneurial activities saying that making fortunes and being a businessman is the tradition of their hometown. As noted earlier, Zhejiang province was where the earliest wave of township economy and small-scaled market raised up in full swing at the moment of economic reformation in 1970s in China (Fei, 2002). Due to lack of natural resources and remoteness from the control of the central government, free market and commercial activities had formed in shape since ancient times (Mai, 1998) in this place. The entrepreneurial spirit and enduring character which are necessary for commercial activities has been the part and parcel of the people from there. Therefore, among the Chinese in Spain the strong tendency of devoting to entrepreneurial activities take precedence over other pursuits such as academic and educational attainment.

The Chinese ethnic community has developed a microstructure of ethnic economy which is relatively independent of the larger Spanish economic cycle (Nieto, 2000; Beltrán, 1998). The ethnic cohesion by tie of economic activities contribute to reinforcing the value of entrepreneurial ambitions among the Chinese. As acculturation is closely associated with education background and occupation and stay length (Kim, 2001; Berry, 1997; ward, 2001; Min, 1997; Portes, 1993), the atmosphere stressing ethnic entrepreneurship is not beneficial for the immigrants to quickly adapt to the host Spanish culture. Roughly speaking, higher education level means greater language competence and better understanding of the cultures. The popular low academic achievement among the Chinese in Spain would definitely slow down their acculturation process. Besides, the workplace is the ideal place for intercultural contact (Ward, 1997), employment of ethnic economy would cut off a great number of

chances for possible intercultural contact between the Chinese and mainstream Spanish people and those from other races.

Furthermore, the participants mentioned that the virtual life in social media takes up a large portion of their daily life. Since the social media has been born, it has affected us in our everyday life to an unimagined degree. The code systems of information are conveyed in various digital forms, such as verbal and non-verbal language, image, video, etc., and are responded simultaneously with the reception due to digital technological revolutions. As acculturation is in essence a process of communication and contacts between different ethnic groups (Kim, 2001; Hall, 1975), the use of social media has in a way abated the immigrants' eagerness in acculturation to the host culture, for it creates closer and quicker connection between co-nationals, co-ethnics, and beloved ones.

The popular social media apps, such as Weibo, QQ, and Wechat, are most frequently used among the Chinese immigrants, and they usually use these apps to interact with co-nationals and co-ethnic only. Apart from these apps, some participants of higher SES also use WhatsApp, Skype, and Instagram, where takes place broader intercultural contact. Due to the social media, the participants are reported not to suffer as much homesickness as before, for the internet has brought much closer them and their friends and relatives in other places.

At last, the participants frequently mentioned that they tend to go to co-ethnics to meet their needs in daily life. There has developed a well-functioning ethnic microstructure covering all kinds of services for the Chinese co-ethnics. As the Chinese has broadened their traditional business (restaurant, garment, clothing, haircutting) line to many different fields (Beltrán, 2001; Minkang, 2010) such as travel agency, telecommunications, legal counsel, informal credit institutions, beauty parlor and driving license school, language training center, etc., the Chinese ethnic community covers an overwhelming part of their needs. Besides, the Chinese Christian Church has grown on an increasing scale, and the religious members also have their ethnic institution to resort to. Such completeness of the ethnic institutions reduces the necessity of intercultural contact with the mainstream society.

6.2.3.2 Host Social Environment

The macro-level factors such as larger social structures and circumstances limit the opportunities for immigrants to integrate to the host culture (Portes, 1993; Blau, 1994). The

context of reception exerts great influence on the Chinese immigrant's performance in integrating culturally to the Spanish society.

As mentioned earlier, the ethnic niche constitute a significant undercurrent running against broader economic trends (Portes, 1989), thereby the ethnic economy may not be as sensitive to the fluctuations in the world economic cycle as the mainstream economy. Rather than the "push-pull" forces ---- labor flow resulting from poverty and backwardness of the sending country and from economic advantages in the advanced receiving country, it is the history of prior contact between the country of origin and the country of reception that keeps the continuum of immigration flow of recent arrivals (Portes, 1989). Therefore, the Chinese has become the only minority in Spain the number of which has been constantly growing even during the most difficult times of economic crisis that Spain has been suffering (Palomo, 2014; Carbajosa, 2014).

Notwithstanding, the economic crisis affects acculturation process among the Chinese immigrants because of the lack of employment opportunities. In contrast, the less impacted ethnic economy provides them with employments and development chances. By virtue of the advantage of close relation to China, the super power with potentials, the ethnic economy is seen as the better choice worth trying. Some participants revealed the preference for the Chinese to the Spanish when it comes to marriage out of economic considerations.

Further to the economic crisis, the discrimination quenches the acculturation enthusiasm among the Chinese. The participants pointed out the prevalent institutional discrimination from the Spanish society, which is easily perceived when they have to deal with the governmental offices or institution services. Some reported that the discrimination does not only come from the local Spanish people, but also from other minorities and immigrants of other races, especially Latin Americans. Most of the participants stressed that they have received prejudice more frequently ever since the economic depression. The mainstream media such as TV channel 5 and the channel 6 would broadcast now and then programs severely biased against the Chinese community. All these discriminating treatments that the Chinese receive make them turn to the ethnic cohesion which may contribute to forming an oppositional outlook for cultural integration.

Spain adopts a multiculturalist policy in favor of cultural pluralism. The 2011-2014 Strategic Plan of Citizenship and Integration (Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2011-2014) approved by the cabinet (Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs 2015) continues to support cultural diversity and social integration and inclusion of minorities. This affirmation of

multiculturalism is further strengthened on regional and municipal levels. For example, Barcelona has a Municipal Immigration Council which gives advice to the government on issues related to immigration and ethnic minorities. There are also many NGOs that offer assistance to minorities. Barcelona Center for International Affairs (CIDOB) provides investigations and research reports concerning international and immigration issues. What's more, multiculturalism is even adopted in the school curriculum and pedagogy to promote Spanish people's sense of community between different ethnic minorities and to foster the values of tolerance towards immigrants (2007 Strategic Plan on Citizenship and Integration).

However, the favorable policies of intercultural integration seem to have exerted limited influence on the Chinese community. The benefits of multiculturalist policy have never been within the reach of the Chinese immigrants. The participants demonstrated surprisingly little knowledge about information of multicultural activities, and they could not show more indifference towards it. They said that they are too busy to attend these activities or courses, because all these activities open at the time when they have to work. The multiculturalist policy has no impression on the minds of the Chinese who said that they have practically never felt it in their daily life.

This situation is consistent with Xavier Rambla and Xavier Bonal's (2003) argument that Spain has implemented a splintered multicultural policy. The Spanish state has become a multi-national state after the 1978 constitution which gives self-governing rights to autonomous regions such as Catalonia, País Vasco and Galicia, and the Spanish state has historically always been a poly-ethnic state because different ethnic groups have been living in this country. According to Xavier Rambla and Xavier Bonal's (2003) observation, Spain, as a poly-ethnic state, is reduced to the rhetorical assertion of cultural differences while its most active measures are absent. These measures include those aiming to familiarize newcomers with the country, to recognize cultural difference, to prevent discrimination and to implement affirmative action (Kymlicka, 2000).

6.2.4. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

It is notable that the connections between the constructs of the model are flexible rather than fixed. The challenges of relocation settlement may vary from person to person; the procedure of the coping strategies taken may also be different according to dispositional and contextual factors; and the impediments perceived are probably not the same for different individuals.

Generally speaking, all immigrants have the subjective wish of integrating into the mainstream Spanish society, but different outcomes of acculturation result from multi-layered conditions which demarcate them into different acculturative groups.

For those integrated immigrants, internal values as well as external actions combined together speed up their integration process. Roughly speaking, they have a hardy character which rises up against challenges and believes in the efficiency of taking initiatives in changing things. At the same time, they took actions to improve their situations, such as learning the Spanish language, actively involving with locals, willing to know more and understand better the Spanish culture and people.

For those separated immigrants, despite of their subjective willingness to integrate into the Spanish society, they have neither urgent motives nor the access available to cultural integration. They run business in ethnic economic niches; they have family members and relatives together by their side; they are limited within ethnic social networks; and their values and personal pursuits all correspond with those advocated by the ethnic community. Different from their counterparts in the US and other traditional destinations of Chinese immigrants, Chinese immigrants in Spain almost have a consensus on the low educational ambitions for themselves and their offspring. This is partly because they originated from Qingtian and Wenzhou of Zhejiang province in southeast China, where the thousand-year-long tradition of commercialism and entrepreneurship is inherited by its people for generations. They emphasize entrepreneurship more than academic achievement. Besides, the economic downturn in Spain in recent years have caused high rate of unemployment, especially for young people holding tertiary academic degrees. In comparison, Chinese ethnic economy in Spain have fared much better. Their entrepreneurial ambitions do not necessitate the proficiency in Spanish; nor do they require a seamless integration into the Spanish culture. Although Spain adopts a multiculturalist policy which respects and encourages the maintenance of subcultures, no active measures are implemented to lead the Chinese minority on the way to cultural integration.

As the composition of immigrants has become varied, a few of the immigrants who come from other origin of place than Qingtian or Wenzhou of Zhejiang province are struck in a marginalized situation. They have very little social networks, identified themselves with neither the Spanish host culture nor the Chinese ethnic culture. The absence of social network composed of close friends and family relatives, the lack of linguistic competence, and the unfamiliarity with the modern China undergoing dramatic transformations, all make them trapped in a dilemma, unable to proceed in the direction of higher acculturation and upward

mobility in the Spanish society and afraid to go back to China because of the adaptation difficulties to the dramatic changes that China is experiencing.

The assimilated group is mainly composed of those second-generation offspring of higher socioeconomic origin. In spite of the fact that their parents usually put great emphasis on the maintenance of Chinese ethnic language and culture in them, they are identified with the Spanish culture. The older generation has built up material foundation for their offspring who can freely pursue other goals than making money. The consumption pattern of the host culture has penetrated into the mentality of the younger generation whose lifestyles and values are more and more consistent with the mainstream proclivity. It is predictable that more descendants of the Chinese will identify themselves with the host culture.

For the second-generation and recent immigrants with lower SES, immigration to Spain would no longer be such a great challenge as before. The immigration wave has brought about an industry specialized in obtaining a visa for the clientele, especially in places where emigration abroad has become a tradition, such as Qingtian in Zhejiang province. With the easy access of social media, people ready for the immigration journey have every channel to get updated information about the life of their old town fellows overseas. For towns with emigration tradition like Qingtian, going abroad and earning a life abroad has become a self-evident routine of life track for the residents of these towns. Due to prior contact between the place of origin and Spain the stable migrant flow continues, insensitive to the larger economic cycle in Spain. The ethnic network, with the help of institutions and virtual internet, may present itself as updated big challenge for higher acculturation of the Chinese community.

Therefore, the guidance of the local government is of greater importance in speeding up the integration of the Chinese community to the Spanish society. It may be suggested that active practical measures be taken to improve the situation, which help create more opportunities of intercultural contact such as cooperative commercial programs between the Chinese businessmen and the Spanish businessmen. It may also be noted that the characteristics and work patterns of the Chinese ethnic group should be taken into account in services planning aiming to familiarize newcomers with the country, to recognize cultural difference, and to prevent discrimination.

6.2.5. LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

With all that said above, the present study has its research limitations. First of all, the samples used may not be very representative, for the researcher adopted a snowball nonprobability sampling in finding participants to complete the study. Due to limited time, money and personnel, the researcher could only afford to cover 50 respondents for the quantitative part and 28 for the qualitative part. The respondents were found in Chinese-concentrated places like the Chinese language school “Centro Cultural Confuci de Barcelona”, and the ethnic Chinese enclave Fondo in Barcelona. It must be confessed that it is very hard to say that the samples chosen by the method of snowball nonprobability sampling are 100 percent representative of the whole Chinese community in Spain nationwide. A nation-scale poll and investigation should be completed in further research. With time and fund sufficiently provided, a comparison study between Chinese communities in different receiving nations would be meaningful and insightful.

Secondly, the current study has tried to observe the difference between different groups categorized according to generation and socioeconomic status in terms of intercultural competence, acculturation, psychological difficulty and coping strategy. This is group-based comparison by looking at and analyzing the individual’s performance, presenting a comprehensive yet less detailed picture of the Chinese in Spain on this matter. Further and more profound study may well be devoted to closer observations of micro-level intercultural contact, such as interracial marriages, which may explain the role of intercultural competence in cross-cultural adaptation in more enlightening perspective.

Last but not the least, there are other minorities in Spain which are more biased against and less understood than the Chinese and therefore similar study could be done about them. It would be worth trying to get to know better about the mechanisms of acculturation and coping strategies among other ethnic groups such as Pakistanis, muslims, Moroccans, etc., giving more clues on building an agreed, safe and enriched, multicultural society.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 Questionnaire on SES among Chinese immigrants in Spain

Dear Sir / Madam,

I am a UAB student interested in measuring cross-cultural adaptation degree among Chinese immigrants in Spain, and this questionnaire is designed purely for academic use to roughly examine your socioeconomic status. I sincerely appreciate your time in filling out the questionnaire which is to be analyzed and reported on grounds of anonymity and confidentiality. Thank you for your support!

A. Basic information

Surname: _____ Contacts: _____

Age: _____ Gender: _____

Birthplace: _____ Marital status: _____

Religion: _____ Length of stay in Spain: _____ years

The year of immigration into Spain: _____

B. Level of School Completed

Choose the appropriate answer for your Mother's, your Father's, your Spouse / Partner's, and your level of school completed. If you grew up in a single parent home, answer only the question for your one parent. If you are neither married nor partnered provide only your and your parents' information.

1. How much education have you accomplished?

- a. 6-year primary school or less
- b. Junior high school / complete basic secondary education (ESO)
- c. Senior high school / complete secondary education / vocational training
- d. Partial college (at least one year) or specialized training
- e. Standard college or university graduation (undergraduate degree)
- f. Graduate professional training (graduate degree)

2. How much education has your spouse accomplished?

- a. 6-year primary school or less
- b. Junior high school / complete basic secondary education (ESO)
- c. Senior high school / complete secondary education / vocational training
- d. Partial college (at least one year) or specialized training
- e. Standard college or university graduation (undergraduate degree)
- f. Graduate professional training (graduate degree)

3. How much education has your father accomplished?

- a. 6-year primary school or less
- b. Junior high school / complete basic secondary education (ESO)
- c. Senior high school / complete secondary education / vocational training
- d. Partial college (at least one year) or specialized training

- e. Standard college or university graduation (undergraduate degree)
- f. Graduate professional training (graduate degree)

4. How much education has your mother accomplished?

- a. 6-year primary school or less
- b. Junior high school / complete basic secondary education (ESO)
- c. Senior high school / complete secondary education / vocational training
- d. Partial college (at least one year) or specialized training
- e. Standard college or university graduation (undergraduate degree)
- f. Graduate professional training (graduate degree)

C. Occupation

Give the appropriate answer for your Mother's, your Father's, your Spouse / Partner's, and your occupation. If you grew up in a single parent home, provide only the information about your parent. If you are not married or partnered provide occupational information only about you and your parents. If you are retired use your most recent occupation.

1. What is your occupational title? _____

Where is your occupational position?

- a. Higher executives / government officials / proprietors of large business (valued at € 823,000 / ¥ 7,000,000 and more)
- b. Administrators / proprietors of medium-sized business (valued at € 330,000 / ¥ 2,800,000 and € 823,000 / ¥ 7,000,000)
- c. Managers / artists, stars / smaller business owners, farm owners (valued at € 250,000 / ¥ 2,100,000 and € 330,000 / ¥ 2,800,000)
- d. Technicians / small business owners (valued at € 165,000 / ¥ 1,400,000 to € 250,000 / ¥ 2,100,000)
- e. Clerical and sales workers / small farm and business owners (valued at € 82,000 / ¥ 700,000 to € 165,000 / ¥ 1,400,000)
- f. Skilled manual workers, craftsmen, tenant farmers / smaller business owner (valued less than € 82,000 / ¥ 700,000)
- g. Unskilled laborer or employee

2. What is your spouse's occupational title? _____

Where is your spouse's occupational position?

- a. Higher executives / government officials / proprietors of large business (valued at € 823,000 / ¥ 7,000,000 and more)
- b. Administrators / proprietors of medium-sized business (valued at € 330,000 / ¥ 2,800,000 and € 823,000 / ¥ 7,000,000)
- c. Managers / artists, stars / smaller business owners, farm owners (valued at € 250,000 / ¥ 2,100,000 and € 330,000 / ¥ 2,800,000)
- d. Technicians / small business owners (valued at € 165,000 / ¥ 1,400,000 to € 250,000 / ¥ 2,100,000)
- e. Clerical and sales workers / small farm and business owners (valued at € 82,000 / ¥ 700,000 to € 165,000 / ¥ 1,400,000)

f. Skilled manual workers, craftsmen, tenant farmers / smaller business owner (valued less than € 82,000 / ¥ 700,000)

g. Unskilled laborer or employee

3. What is your mother's occupational title? _____

Where is your mother's occupational position?

a. Higher executives / government officials / proprietors of large business (valued at € 823,000 / ¥ 7,000,000 and more)

b. Administrators / proprietors of medium-sized business (valued at € 330,000 / ¥ 2,800,000 and € 823,000 / ¥ 7,000,000)

c. Managers / artists, stars / smaller business owners, farm owners (valued at € 250,000 / ¥ 2,100,000 and € 330,000 / ¥ 2,800,000)

d. Technicians / small business owners (valued at € 165,000 / ¥ 1,400,000 to € 250,000 / ¥ 2,100,000)

e. Clerical and sales workers / small farm and business owners (valued at € 82,000 / ¥ 700,000 to € 165,000 / ¥ 1,400,000)

f. Skilled manual workers, craftsmen, tenant farmers / smaller business owner (valued less than € 82,000 / ¥ 700,000)

g. Unskilled laborer or employee

4. What is your father's occupational title? _____

Where is your father's occupational position?

a. Higher executives / government officials / proprietors of large business (valued at € 823,000 / ¥ 7,000,000 and more)

b. Administrators / proprietors of medium-sized business (valued at € 330,000 / ¥ 2,800,000 and € 823,000 / ¥ 7,000,000)

c. Managers / artists, stars / smaller business owners, farm owners (valued at € 250,000 / ¥ 2,100,000 and € 330,000 / ¥ 2,800,000)

d. Technicians / small business owners (valued at € 165,000 / ¥ 1,400,000 to € 250,000 / ¥ 2,100,000)

e. Clerical and sales workers / small farm and business owners (valued at € 82,000 / ¥ 700,000 to € 165,000 / ¥ 1,400,000)

f. Skilled manual workers, craftsmen, tenant farmers / smaller business owner (valued less than € 82,000 / ¥ 700,000)

g. Unskilled laborer or employee

APPENDIX 2 Acculturation Index

Directions: This section is concerned with how you view yourself in relation to typical members of your own culture and to the typical Spanish. You are asked to consider two questions about your current life style:

- Are your experiences and behaviors similar to those of typical people from your culture of origin?
- Are your experiences and behaviors similar to those of typical Spanish?

For each statement, please indicate the degree of your agreement by circling the number in the 7-point scale (ranging from 1 “not similar at all” to 7 “very similar”) that most reflects your feeling toward the concept proposed.

1. Food

- I maintain an eating style of Chinese culture. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- I prefer food cooked in Spanish style. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Roommate choice (If you have/had a roommate)

- I choose to live with someone with Chinese origin. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- I prefer living with someone without Chinese origin. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. Recreational activities

- I maintain recreational activities of my own culture. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- My recreational activities are just what Spanish people do in their recreational time. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. Friendship network

- I maintain a good friendship network with people from my own culture. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- I have many Spanish friends or friends from different cultural background. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. Educating children

- I prefer raising my children (if I had any child) in the Chinese way. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- I prefer raising my children (if I had any child) in the Spanish way. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Social customs

- I celebrate more frequently Chinese festivals. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- I celebrate more frequently Spanish festivals. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. Pace of life

- I maintain a pace of life which is similar to peers in my home country. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- My pace of life is similar to my Spanish peers. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Overall language usage

- I spend a lot of time using Chinese. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- I make efforts to increase my opportunities to use Spanish. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
9. Communication style
- My communication style is similar to people from China. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - My communication style is similar to Spanish style. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
10. Church attendance (if you are attending a church)
- I choose to attend a church or religious symbol of my own culture (e.g., Chinese temple).....1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - I choose to attend an orthodox or Christian church. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
11. Values
- I maintain values of my own culture. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - My values are somewhat affected by the Spanish culture. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
12. Social activities
- I like to attend social activities held by Chinese groups and organizations. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - I like to attend social activities held by Spanish or international groups.1 2 3 4 5 6 7
13. Self-identity
- I feel an overwhelming attachment to being a member of my ethnic group. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - The overall Spanish culture is an important reflection of who I am.1 2 3 4 5 6 7

APPENDIX 3 Psychological Adjustment Difficulties

Directions: This section measures your psychological health. You are asked to read the following statements and decide how much of the time you have been feeling the way each statement describes during the past several weeks.

Make check mark (✓) in appropriate column.	A little of the time	Some of the time	Good part of the time	Most of the time
1. I feel down-hearted and blue				
2. Morning is when I feel the best				
3. I have crying spells or feel like it				
4. I have trouble sleeping at night				
5. I notice that I am losing weight				
6. I have trouble with constipation				
7. My heart beats faster than usual				
8. I get tired for no reason				
9. My mind is not as clear as it used to be				
10. I am restless and can't keep still				
11. I feel hopeless about the future				
12. I am more irritable than usual				
13. I find it hard to make decisions				
14. I feel that I am useless and unneeded				
15. My life is pretty empty				
16. I feel that others would be better off if I were dead				
17. I don't enjoy the things I used to do				

APPENDIX 4 Socio-cultural Adaptation

Directions: This section is concerned with your socio-cultural adaptation to the host Spanish society. Please consider the following statements carefully. After each statement, circle the answer that most reflects your opinion. Would you say you agree a lot with the statement, agree a little, are neutral, disagree a little, or strongly disagree with each statement?

1. I speak Chinese only when I have to.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

2. I read, write, and speak in Spanish, and understand spoken Spanish language without any effort.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

3. I feel more comfortable speaking Spanish than Chinese.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

4. I have more Spanish friends than Chinese friends.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

5. I often participate in activities hosted by Spanish institution or organization.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

6. I interact more frequently with Spanish local people than with Chinese ethnics, either in real life or in virtual Internet world.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

8. I go more often to a Spanish restaurant than to a Chinese one.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

9. I read more often Spanish magazines, newspapers, and books than Chinese ones.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

10. I watch more often Spanish movies and soap opera than Chinese ones.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

11. I listen more often to Spanish music and radio than Chinese ones.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

12. I surf more often Spanish websites than Chinese ones?

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

13. I prefer using Spanish on the Internet rather than Chinese?

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

14. I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

15. I usually go by the values of the overall Spanish culture.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

16. I feel comfortable identifying with both my ethnic heritage and the overall US culture.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

17. The overall Spanish culture is an important reflection of who I am.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

18. I frequently involve myself in activities with members of the other ethnic group(s).

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

19. I feel very happy when around with the Spanish.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

20. I often invite Spanish friends to my house.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

21. I am often invited to Spanish friends' gathering?

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

22. I feel very comfortable in interacting with Spanish people.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

23. I find it easy in accomplishing daily practicalities (shopping, using public transport, dealing with the bureaucracy, going to the doctor, going to social events, etc.) in Spain.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

24. I am very happy with my day-to-day life in Spain.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

APPENDIX 5 Semi-structured Interview Questions

<i>Researcher questions</i>	<i>Interviewer questions</i>
Acculturative experiences	What impressed you most when you first arrived in Spain?
	What are the things that you could not understand about Spanish people?
	Are you annoyed by being different than Spanish people?
	Is your stay here in Spain a very happy experience for you? Why?
	When do you usually feel very bad throughout your stay period here in Spain?
	Have you ever been obsessed with identity problem? Do you feel yourself Chinese or Spanish?
	Do you prefer living in Spain or in China? How do you feel living in Spain? Is it like you don't fit into Spanish culture and feel out of place, lonely, or is it like you finally get freedom being away from China?
Host environment	What do you think of Spanish people?
	Do you remember the first time you perceived Spanish locals' hostile attitude towards the Chinese? How frequently do you feel that way?
	When Spanish locals talk of the Chinese, do they usually use positive words or negative words? What do they say about the Chinese in comparison to other minorities?
	Do you think you have the same opportunities to advance here in Spain as the Spanish people?
Types of stressor	What challenges are you facing in your life in Spain?
	Do these problems worry you much?
PERSONALITY Self-esteem Perceived racial self-discrimination Locus of control	When in conflicts with others, especially those from other ethnic minorities, what would you do?
	Do you frequently perceive racial discrimination simply because of your physical features of a Chinese (or an offspring of Chinese immigrants)?
	Do you think that you have the control of your life in your hand? Do you think that you and only you are responsible for your life? Or the possibility that you live a good life is totally beyond your reach?
	How do you feel about yourself? Satisfied with yourself?
COPING MECHANISMS Psychological resources Social resources	When you feel frustrated, what would you usually do (to revitalize yourself)?
	As for those difficulties arising from intercultural contacts, what do you tend to do to overcome it? For example, learning languages and trying to understand local customs, etc.?
	How much help did you obtain from co-ethnic cultural members?
	When you feel bad, you usually adjust yourself or go to talk with peers or friends or relatives about those problems and bad feelings?
	Is it a custom among the Chinese families that they send their children to Chinese language schools?
	Do you attend Chinese language schools voluntarily? Why?
Coping style (approach, avoidance, acceptance)	