A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which something begins its presencing

Martin Heidegger,
'Building, dwelling, thinking'

University of Alberta

Cultural Fusion and Preservation:

Expressive Styles Among Chinese Canadians

by

Tracy Charlene Eng 

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to all the Chinese Canadians I know:

Through Kinship, Friendship, & Scholarship

Thank you for inspiring me to learn more about us

Abstract

In this study, multicultural literature served as the site for Chinese Canadians to explore the interplay between their dual cultural backgrounds. After reading a short story, participants engaged in enactive identification with the characters in the text and expressive enactment of different aspects of themselves. Systematic examination of their enactments with the use of cluster analysis revealed four distinct groups (Rhetorical Conflict, Imperative Conflict, Reconciliation, and Narration). Each of these clusters represents a different expressive style that reflects the participants' different positions vis-à-vis the Chinese Canadian culture. Dialogic expressions of conflict (Rhetorical and Imperative) tended to involve fusions of Chinese and Canadian cultural expectations, while simultaneously perpetuating cultural conflict. In contrast, dialogic expressions of reconciliation tended to involve an embodied fusion that generated a movement towards change. Finally, expressions of a narrative and relational nature tended to be used to preserve aspects of the traditional Chinese culture.

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It is generally accepted that individuals from Western cultures (e.g., Canadians) and individuals from East Asian cultures (e.g., Chinese) hold very different views of themselves and of their relations with others. For example, people from individualistic Western cultures tend to have a sense of self that is stable and consistent across situations. Also, they are more likely to perceive others as separate from themselves and, conversely, to see themselves as independent from them. In contrast, individuals from collectivist East Asian cultures more often emphasize a sense of self that is closely tied to context rather than to stable internal attributes. These individuals pay considerable attention to their relationships and social roles, viewing themselves as interdependent in relation to others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Yamada & Singelis, 1999).

Given these differences, bicultural individuals living at the intersection between Chinese and Canadian cultures somehow must reconcile competing individualistic and collectivistic expectations. It has been suggested that the key to such reconciliation is the acquisition of affective and cognitive skills from both cultural backgrounds, allowing flexible response in either social context (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). These claims are substantiated by evidence that biculturally competent individuals score significantly higher on both independent and interdependent measures of self-construal (Yamada & Singelis, 1999). Despite these findings, little is known about *how* such hybridized reconciliation is brought about (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002).

In the present study, we examined the concrete reflections through which Chinese Canadians attempt to reconcile their divergent cultural identities. We selected literature

(e.g., novels, short stories, poetry, etc.) written by bicultural writers as a site within which Chinese Canadians can explore and make such adjustments to their sense of themselves. This strategy is consistent with research suggesting that the literature of a particular cultural group is especially engaging for individuals with the same cultural background (Larsen & Laszlo, 1990). By implication, *The Jade Peony* by Chinese Canadian Wayson Choy (1999), which explores the complexities of Chinese Canadian bicultural life, is an especially apt choice for Chinese Canadian readers. In an extension of recent research exploring cultural identification through literary reading (Laszlo, Vincze, & Somogyvari, 2003), we attempted to uncover the different ways in which *The Jade Peony* can provide a vehicle for the exploration of Chinese Canadian bicultural identity.

Bicultural Integration

In a widely influential formulation, John Berry has described four acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, marginalization, and separation. Assimilated individuals primarily identify with their host culture, separated individuals primarily identify with their ethnic culture, marginalized individuals identify with neither culture, and integrated individuals tend to identify with both their host and ethnic cultures (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). This proposal suggests that bicultural individuals differ widely in their attempts to manage their dual identities. Given that a multicultural country like Canada allows bicultural individuals to identify with and participate in aspects of both their host and ethnic cultures to varying degrees (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002; Berry et al., 2002; Birman, 1994), we might also expect different forms of bicultural integration—when that option is chosen.

Two models of bicultural integration or reconciliation have been suggested: the alternation model and the fusion model. The alternation model posits that biculturally competent individuals are familiar with and therefore develop a sense of belonging to both cultural backgrounds. As such, they can effectively alternate between dual repertoires of behaviour depending on the social and cultural context (Birman, 1994; LaFromboise et al., 1993). On the other hand, rather than possessing two distinct cultural repertoires that can be employed under different circumstances, the fusion model suggests that bicultural individuals develop a "blended multicultural pattern of behaviour" (Bierbrauer & Klinger, 2005, p. 341). Aspects of both cultures "fuse together until they are indistinguishable" from each other (LaFromboise et al., p. 401), forming a new, transcendent culture (Birman, 1994).

Although fusion may not be as common as assimilation, when it does occur a new culture is created in which both groups interact as equal partners, bringing together their strengths and weaknesses (LaFromboise, et al., 1993). Rather than the loss of ethnic culture implied by assimilation, fusion is evident in the manifestation of new traditions, creative uses of language, and novel expressions not found in either culture alone (Chuang, 1999; Eng, Kuiken, Temme, & Sharma, 2005; Triandis, 1980). Following preliminary evidence that such creative and novel expressions become focal when distressing life events challenge biculturally competent individuals to explore the possibilities for feeling expression (Eng et al., 2005), this study will look at the forms of expression that emerge when Chinese Canadian readers engage affectively significant subject matter during literary reading.

Literature: A Vehicle for Exploring Bicultural Expression

Literature is one site within which the expressive possibilities of bicultural life can be explored. Nussbaum (2001) suggests that, within the "potential space" of aesthetic activity, readers "investigate and try out some of life's possibilities." In reading a literary text, individuals are at the same time reading the world and reading themselves (p. 243). The literary text in that sense is an optical instrument through which the reader may make personal realities focal (Proust, 1929/1982, p. 1089). "Literary works...show us general plausible patterns of action, 'things such as might happen' in human life. When we grasp the patterns of salience offered by the work, we are also grasping our own possibilities" (Nussbaum, 2001, p. 243).

These personal possibilities can be simultaneously cultural. Laszlo et al. (2003) posit that literature provides "patterns of identification in a powerful narrative mode, which [help]...group-members in forming [a] positive national identity...[by transmitting] traditional values and collective emotional experiences" (p. 71). They have been especially concerned with established cultures in which years of communicative memory have led to symbolic representations in text. In this context, the narratives of a particular culture "not only transmit and carry group-identity, but characteristic features of group-identity are manifested in them as well" (p. 71). Although an abundance of such texts exists for the exploration of either Chinese or Canadian culture, individuals caught between these two cultural backgrounds may look to emerging Chinese Canadian texts to explore the interplay between these competing cultural traditions (Hermans, 2003; Schram & Hermans, 2003).

According to Dasenbrock (1987) literature in English is increasingly global and, as such, is more and more multi-cultural. Multicultural literature not only inscribes traditional and host cultures into the textual dynamics; it also examines the multicultural context per se. For example, this study examines responses to an excerpt from the novel *The Jade Peony* by Wayson Choy (1999). Although this story about a Chinese Canadian family includes, for example, traditional references to rank in the names of family members (i.e., *First Brother* Kiam, *Second Brother* Jung, and *Little Brother* Sekky), this "cultural translation" is not literal. Instead it reflects something that is "in-between" and "bafflingly alike and different from" aspects of both the Chinese and Canadian cultures (Bhabha, 1993; Lee, 2004). In the example of Chinese names, the "cultural translation" of rank into the English language is not a direct translation from the Chinese language (which would more accurately be akin to: Big Brother, Middle Brother, and Youngest Brother respectively). This "cultural translation" retains some of the Chinese meaning of rank, but gives it a colloquial form that acknowledges the Canadian context (especially with terms such as First and Second Brother). Such similarities and differences reflect how the author's fused bicultural identity is written into the text. The "neither / nor as well as [the] of both / and at once" nature of his "in-between" cultural background is exemplified in such use of the language. Bhabha (1994) suggests that these generative bicultural expressions occur in the "in-betweenness" or third space open to new possibilities where "meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity" (p. 37).

Given that such bicultural expressions are written into multicultural texts, bicultural readers may empathize with a bicultural seemingly similar narrator or

protagonist (Hermans, 2003). For that reason, literary texts by bicultural authors may provide more concrete opportunities for identification among bicultural readers (Schram & Hermans, 2003), especially when exploring the cultural conflicts.

Using a multi-cultural text that invites such identification, we will examine how Chinese Canadian readers become personally implicated in their reading experience and especially how they fuse and juxtapose personal memories during reflection on the text. Kuiken, Miall, and Sikora (2004), in their phenomenological studies of reader response, have articulated several forms of reader self-implication, including a simile-like form of explicit comparison and a contrasting metaphor-like form of enactive identification with figures in the world of the text. To make these forms of self-implication focal, we examined how bicultural individuals explore their dual cultural possibilities by encouraging enactive reflection on the text during an interview that immediately followed their reading experience. The enactive interview format encouraged readers to find, articulate, and freshly consider the sense of themselves that emerged through their reading experience (Gendlin, 1962; Greenberg, 1979; Greenberg & Higgins, 1980; Watson, Goldman, Greenberg, & Elliot, 2003).

Overview

Chinese Canadian participants in this study were asked to read a story written by an author with a comparable dual cultural background. The story served both as an instigator to bicultural reflection and as a safe way to explore the interplay between participants' dual cultural backgrounds. To encourage full exploration of the text, we adopted Greenberg's (Greenberg, 1979; Greenberg & Higgins, 1980; Watson et al., 2003) experiential two-chair technique. Participants were first asked to select two characters

with whom they identified. Then they described and enacted the roles as they reflected on two parts of themselves. They were encouraged to experience the felt sense (Gendlin, 1981, 1986) of each role and to give voice to that sense of themselves. To investigate how participants' integrated aspects of themselves, they were asked to engage in a dialogue between the two parts. The objective here was to encourage expression of experiencing by means of doing. This technique also encouraged primary direct experience and active contact between parts of the self. It was designed to encourage fullness and totality of expression in the moment, so that as researchers we could bear witness to how differences were negotiated within the participant and we could provide the participant with the opportunity for potential psychological change of any kind. Phenomenological analysis of their intrapersonal interactions of both the process (how they expressed themselves) and the particular content (what they expressed) provided detailed and concrete expressive moments. Cluster analysis of these dynamic expressions suggests individual differences in how Chinese Canadians manage and negotiate the divergent aspects of their bicultural identities.

In sum, the objective of the current study was to investigate the "range of possible experiences" that arise when Chinese Canadians are "sufficiently attuned" to a literary text and are given an opportunity to "try out" some of those possibilities. More specifically we looked at the way cultural identity is reflected in various forms of identification and intrapersonal interaction following a reading of a culturally relevant text. In addition to reading a short story written by a Chinese Canadian author and reflecting on it, participants engaged in enactive identification with the characters in the text and expressive enactment of different aspects of themselves. This enactive

identification and subsequent expressive enactment is the locus of identity exploration and self-perceptual change in this study.

Methods

Participants

Participants were solicited according to the following criteria: (1) that they were second-generation immigrants (who were born in Canada or immigrated to Canada before the age of seven and who had at least one Chinese parent) and (2) that they had completed at least one full year of English literature courses. Participants were offered partial course credit for their participation.

Although second-generation immigrants are defined as those who are born in Canada, the definition was broadened to include individuals who immigrated to Canada before the age of seven. Consequently, all the participants grew up and were primarily educated in Canada. All the participants in this study, including those who immigrated before they were seven, spoke English fluently.

Twenty-seven undergraduate introductory psychology students at the University of Alberta (17 female and 10 male, mean age = 20 years) participated in this study for partial course credit. Twenty-five participants reported *East Asian* as their primary ethnicity and 2 mixed-race participants reported *European* as their primary ethnicity. Finally, 18 participants reported second-generation immigration status (i.e., born and raised in Canada) and 9 reported first-generation immigration status (i.e., immigrating to Canada between the ages of five and seven).

Procedure and Materials

Participants were invited into the lab individually to take part in a three-part research project, which consisted of: (1) a reading task, (2) an interview, and (3) a series of questionnaires (the Post-Interview Questionnaire, the Cultural Background Questionnaire, and the Reading Habits Questionnaire). Upon completion of the study, they were given a complete debriefing.

Reading Task

After providing demographic information, participants were first instructed to read an excerpt from the novel *The Jade Peony* by second-generation Chinese immigrant Wayson Choy (1999; see Appendix A) and to select two passages they found striking or evocative. When they had marked these passages, they were asked to describe their thoughts and feelings about each of the passages into a tape recorder. After talking about their experience of each passage, they were asked to complete the *Reading Experience Questionnaire* (REQ). This questionnaire was used to assess feeling involvement and changes in sense of self as participants reflected on each of the two striking or evocative passages. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which each of the 14 items described their experience of each of the two passages. Items were rated according to a five-point scale ranging from 0 (*not at all true*) to 4 (*extremely true*). The list of 14 items was presented twice, once for each striking or evocative passage. See Appendix B for these tape recording instructions and the REQ.

The Jade Peony is a memoir-like collection of coming of age stories told through the eyes of three Chinese Canadian siblings. The excerpt used in this study was narrated by Sek Lung (the youngest in the family and the only one in the family born in Canada).

Through his naïve eyes we observe events in his family a few months before the death of his grandmother. In addition to its accessibility and poignancy, this excerpt was chosen because it involves characters from different generations who represent various cultural perspectives (e.g., traditional Chinese values are represented by the Grandmother, contemporary values are represented by First Brother Kiam). Additionally, the story presents a number of scenarios illustrating Chinese Canadian family dynamics with which the participants might identify.

Interview

Following the reading task, participants were asked to sit down with the principal investigator in a video-recorded semi-structured interview. Participants were first asked to identify and talk about two "voices" from the story (hereafter Voice 1, the addressor, and Voice 2, the other) that they would call their own. They were first instructed in the following manner to identify Voice 1:

> *I would like you to take a few moments to recall the story. In particular, I would like you to pay special attention to the voices of the various characters.*
>
> *As you reflect on these characters, can you tell me if any of them in any way captured a voice that is familiar because it is similar to a voice that you might call your own?*

Once they expressed whom they identified with in the story, they were asked to locate that voice within themselves and to talk about and describe that part of themselves. Then they were asked to "be that part of themselves" in a role-playing exercise:

> *...Imagine that you are preparing to act the role of (Voice 1) in a play. You are getting ready. Trying to get a sense of how this role feels...*
> *You can actually act it out now if you like, or just imagine it, but be sure to stay within your body. In the role of (Voice 1), how would you walk on stage?*
>
> *From within this sense of yourself, consider now what you would say or do. What would you say? What would you do?*

Once this was done for Voice 1, the same series of questions was asked to identify and explore Voice 2. When two voices were identified and each explored on their own, the participants were asked to imagine and describe an interaction between those two "voices" or "parts of themselves:"

> *Now let's allow these two voices (Voice 1 & Voice 2) to speak to each other. It may help to envision in your mind's eye the two images of them on stage that you provided earlier. Take a moment to recall those images and when you're ready, tell me how you think their conversation might begin? How would they respond to each other? What would they say to each other?*

Finally, participants were asked to describe a personal memory the story reminded them of and to describe how the two "voices" or "parts of themselves" would respond to that memory. See Appendix C for the complete Interview Schedule.

Questionnaires

In the final phase of the study, the participants were asked to complete a series of three questionnaires: (1) the Post-Interview Questionnaire, (2) the Cultural Background Questionnaire, and (3) the Reading Habits Questionnaire.

Post-Interview Questionnaire (PIQ). This 50-item questionnaire assessed participants' reactions during the four phases of the interview: (1) the initial identification of **Voice 1;** the initial identification of **Voice 2**; (3) the **Interaction between Voice 1 and Voice 2**; and (4) review of their **Personal Memory**. A series of nine items was presented for each of the four phases of the interview (for a total of 36 items), the remaining 14-items provided additional information about the significance of their personal memory. Items were rated on a 5-point scale from 0 (*not at all descriptive of my thoughts and feelings*) to 4 (*extremely descriptive of my thoughts and feelings*). See Appendix D for the Post-Interview Questionnaire.

We created 2 PIQ subscales including: (1) Conviction (3 items, e.g., "I felt like changing the way I live"; alpha = .85, .87, & .80 respectively for Voice 1, Voice 2, and their Interaction) and (2) Realization (3 items, e.g., "I became sensitive to aspects of my life that I usually ignore"; alpha = .83, .87, & .89 respectively for Voice 1, Voice 2, and their Interaction).

Cultural Background Questionnaire (CBQ). We used Barry's (2001) East Asian Acculturation Measure to assess participants' level of acculturation. Participants rated 27 items on a 7-point scale ranging from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*agree strongly*).

The questionnaire assessed four aspects of acculturation: (1) Assimilation (8 items, e.g., "I feel that Canadians understand me better than Asians do"; alpha = .77); (2) Separation (7 items, e.g., "I feel that Asians treat me as an equal more so than Canadians do"; alpha = .85); (3) Integration (5 items, e.g., "I think as well in English as I do in my ethnic language, e.g., Chinese"; alpha = .46); and (4) Marginalization (9 items, e.g., "I sometimes feel that neither Canadians nor Asians like me"; alpha = .84).

Two additional self-descriptive items on the questionnaire were used to assess (1) participants' immigration status (e.g., "1st Generation Immigrant = I was born in Asia or a country outside North America") and (2) participants' cultural self-identification (e.g., "I do not identify with either of my two cultural backgrounds. I feel neither Chinese nor Canadian"). See Appendix E for Cultural Background Questionnaire.

Reading Habits Questionnaire (RHQ). This nine item questionnaire was designed to assess participants' reading habits. In addition to general questions about genre preferences, participants were asked about their familiarity with Chinese literature (see Appendix F for the Reading Habits Questionnaire).

Analysis of Experiential Narratives

The responses to the portion of the interview where participants were asked to imagine and describe an interaction between the two "voices" or "parts of themselves" were systematically compared across all 27 participants to identify similarly expressed meanings and forms of expression (see Kuiken & Miall, 2001, for a detailed description of these procedures). When statements with similar forms of expression occurred in three or more narratives (i.e., in at least 10% of the narratives), they were paraphrased to reflect as much of their common meaning as possible. For example, the following three statements, each from a different narrative, expressed a common theme:

- P: *(The awkward one will) kind of tame, you know, just kind of say, "okay, it's good to be all carefree but at times you have to worry"... step back, talk about consequences, stuff like that.*
  I: okay and how do you think the more carefree one would respond?
  P: *at first she'll resist, but then eventually, she'll come to see, "oh okay so you know, you've been through all this, you, I think you know a thing or two so alright I'll listen to you."* [Voice 1: carefree / Voice 2: awkward]

- *Well I think the understanding the heritage one would be more mature in that respect...And try to make the other person see, uh, or the defiant part see, ...why, why it's better to be understanding and not so defensive. ... So I would think that the defiant part would probably storm away (laughs)...so that's, that's how I envision that sort of conflict, and at the end I think that the defiant part would like, uh after long time, sort of conform to that.* [Voice 1: understanding / Voice 2: defiant]

- P: *the better one, which will probably be older, just because it's like a reference now that, would probably slap 'em (laughs)... 'Cause I'm thinking the childish one won't understand why, and the older one would just be like, "just do it, you'll understand later" kinda thing*
  I: ...And how would the, what would the childish one say or do?
  P: Ah, it'll probably whine, but other then that, he'll, it'll just do it. [Voice 1: childish / Voice 2: better]

The meaning these statements had in common was paraphrased, as follows, to reflect as much of their shared meaning as possible: "Despite their differences, the two parts of

myself come together and reconcile either through reluctant compliance or by agreeing with each other." The wording of such paraphrases, called constituents, is constrained exclusively by the requirement that it emerges from the comparative effort through which are captured the similar meanings of recurrent expressions within the set of narratives. In short, careful comparison displaces theoretical expectations. This aspect of the approach, which is crucial to its descriptive objectives, can be contrasted with content analysis in which participant meanings are coded according to preconceived discourse categories.

When a constituent had been identified, each narrative within the available set was systematically re-read to determine the presence or absence of each constituent. Gradually, through repeated reading, an array of 20 such constituents was identified, each of which was neither rare (i.e., found in less than 10% of the narratives) nor ubiquitous (i.e., found in more than 90% of the narratives). These 20 constituents are summarized in Table 1. The first six describe the expressive forms of the interaction (e.g., use of dialogue or talking about what might happen) and the remaining fourteen describe the nature of the interaction (e.g., reconciliation or conflict between the two parts of the self). Finally, two judges, blind to PIQ, CBQ, and RHQ scores, were enlisted to test the reliability of the constituents. They were each assigned 10 constituents and asked to determine the presence or absence of each constituent within the 27 narratives. Cohen's Kappas for these judgements ranged from .63 to 1.00 (*Mdn* = .90).

The resulting 20 x 27 array was subjected to hierarchical cluster analysis (Ward's Method, with squared Euclidian Distance coefficients), revealing four distinct expressive styles. Then a k-means cluster analysis, beginning with the four cluster centres identified using Wards' method, was used to optimize cluster compactness, resulting in clusters

with 6, 9, 3, and 9 members. To determine whether the structure displayed by this cluster solution was non-random, the input matrix was randomized and reanalysed across a series of 120 trials to provide mean fusion values and their confidence intervals (ClustanGraphics; Wishart, 2000). The null hypothesis for the obtained four cluster solution could confidently be rejected, t (26) = 11.39, $p < .01$ (see Figure 1 for the dendrogram representing the four cluster solution).

Results

Four Expressive Styles

The prevalence of each constituent was compared across clusters to identify the constituents that differentiated one cluster from the other three, using the chi-square statistic ($p < .05$) as a criterion. It should be emphasized that, since clustering techniques maximize between cluster differences, the chi-square statistic was used descriptively here and not in its usual role for testing non-random departures from group equivalence (Everitt, Landau, & Leese, 2004, p. 180). The preceding are systematic criteria for describing the structure of a data set that was already demonstrably not random (see above). The characteristic attributes of each cluster, along with the non-differentiating characteristics, are summarized in Table 2. Excerpts from narratives whose profiles most nearly resembled the ideal type for each cluster[1] are also presented in the summary descriptions that follow. Additionally, Table 3 provides a brief summary of all the results presented in this section.

[1] Ideal types for each of the clusters were selected according to the following criteria, the cluster member with: (1) a profile that included the presence and absence of all distinctive cluster attributes and (2) the smallest distance from the cluster centre.

Cluster I: Rhetorical Conflict

The participants in this cluster remained conflicted (Constituent #8) and the two voices engaged in active dialogue with each other (Constituent #1). What distinguished this cluster was that the addressor challenged the other with "why" questions (Constituent #11) while the other defended himself / herself (Constituent #14). Moreover, there was an older self who rejected cultural differences (Constituent #18) and a younger self who accepted cultural differences (Constituent #19). This profile is exemplified in the following excerpt:

> *They'd be like "why are you speaking so much English?"* [C11] *or "Why are you speaking so much Chinese?" You know, like "you're Chinese why are you speaking English?" Kinda thing I guess. They would like, question each other, I guess and ask each other like "why, why, why are you doing this?" You know, "stop speaking (Chinese), you're embarrassing us,"* [C14] *I guess, that would be like the older one* [C18]. *The younger one would be like "'cause I like to," or "I want to" or "cause I'm proud and stuff."* [C19]

This cluster is the only one not distinguished by the absence of any constituent.

Cluster II: Imperative Conflict

The participants in this cluster, like the previous cluster, remained conflicted (Constituent #8). However, in this case, instead of rhetorically questioning the other, the addressor condemned the other and told him/her what he/she ought to do (Constituent #12). In response, the other expressed resistance (Constituent #15). Also, in this cluster, it was a younger self, instead of an older self, who rejected cultural differences (Constituent #20). These constituents are exemplified in the following excerpt:

> *P: I guess, maybe, the part, the one that's close to family, I guess that one would be more connected to the roots and stuff. Being that, you know, talking to family and everything and I guess that one would tell the other one that it's important to go to Chinese school.* [C12]
> I: How do you think the one that doesn't want to go to Chinese school would respond to -

> *P: probably in some bratty way like "oh, well I'd rather be watching cartoons," or something.* [C15] *I don't know...um, I guess the other one wouldn't really understand... .just being that, you know she's a kid.* [C20]

This cluster is also distinguished by the absence of the following constituents: no interaction between the two parts (Constituent 5) and the addressor understanding the other (Constituent 12).

Cluster III: Reconciliation

As in the Rhetorical Conflict Cluster, participants in this cluster were more likely to engage in dialogue when asked to talk about how the two parts of himself/herself would interact with each other (Constituent # 1). However, unlike the Rhetorical and Imperative Conflict Clusters, the nature of the interaction in this cluster was reconciliatory (Constituent #7) whereby both the addressor and the other showed understanding towards each other (Constituents # 13 & 16). This profile is exemplified in the following excerpt:

> *I guess, I guess the part that, that understands would, would try to explain that "it's okay" I guess... you know like, "it's okay that ah you're not, that you didn't go to the school those Saturday's" and stuff like that. Like, "I guess you had no obligation to anybody really but yourself"* [C13] *so... I guess, the other side would say "sadly I understand that's true, but, I guess even now you're never too old to make an effort."* [C16]

As expected, this cluster, unlike the first two conflict clusters (Rhetorical and Imperative), is also distinguished by the absence of conflict (Constituent # 8).

Cluster IV: Narration

Participants in the fourth cluster, unlike in the Rhetorical Conflict and Reconciliation Clusters, are more likely to only talk about the two parts of the self rather than allow them to engage in enactive dialogue (Constituent #2). Additionally, no direct interaction between the two parts of the self was described (Constituent #5). However, if

there was any interaction, each part of the self interacted with a third party (Constituent # 6). These constituents are exemplified in the following excerpt (Voice 1 in this example was identified as a "struggling" part of the participant and Voice 2 an "individualistic" part of her):

> *... like anytime I see people with struggles, for example like, if I was talking to someone with a struggle right now* [C5]. *It would definitely make me feel very compassionate for that person. Like, I would definitely, really lend an ear to them, like I would definitely put all my attention to them because I know, I think I feel very compassionate for people with, um any difficulties in life or...cause I've been through several of them myself, because of my family's traditional kind of uh teachings and stuff like that... and um, kind of like their trends and everything. And um, I guess I would be um, do my best and like, I would be really um, humble about it. Like you know, I'd just try to um, ah be an, individualistic doesn't mean like to be confident and showy and everything, it's just, you know just wanna um show, not be afraid to tell um, the qualities of me, what I went - So definitely I'd probably bring out my past too, to a struggling person... just like share the ideas and talk about it, try to fix that problem for them.*

This cluster is distinguished by the absence of the following: dialogue between the two voices (Constituent #1), conflict between the two voices (Constituent # 8), the addressor condemning the other with "should" statements (Constituent #12), the other resisting (Constituent #15) and the other understanding (Constituent #16).

Post Interview Questionnaire

To compare the four clusters further, a series of Repeated Measures ANOVAs was conducted on the PIQ subscales (Conviction and Realization) and on the PIQ items. The omnibus test on the Conviction Subscale met the traditional level of significance, F (3, 22) = 3.27, p = .04. The tests of Within-Subjects Contrasts revealed linear relationships, of which planned comparisons of the treatment means of **Voice 1** and the **Interaction between Voice 1 and Voice 2** revealed the following: For participants in the Narration Cluster, as they moved from Voice 1 to the Interaction between Voice 1 and

Voice 2, they were *less* likely to become stronger in their convictions to value their own life more and change the way they live (means respectively = 1.83 & 1.46), F (1, 7) = 14.54, $p < .01$. For participants in the Reconciliation Cluster, a marginally significant trend was found suggesting that as they moved from Voice 1 to the Interaction between Voice 1 and Voice 2, they were *more* likely to become stronger in their convictions to value their own life more and change the way they live (means respectively = 0.83 & 1.39), F (1, 5) = 5.44, $p = .07$. The omnibus test on the Realization subscale did not meet the traditional level of significance F (3, 21) = 0.31, $p = .82$.

Finally, the omnibus test on the PIQ Expression item: *I expressed something I had never articulated before* met the traditional level of significance, F (3, 22) = 3.31, $p = .04$. The tests of Within-Subjects Contrasts revealed a linear relationship, of which planned comparisons of the treatment means of **Voice 1** and the **Interaction between Voice 1 and Voice 2** revealed the following marginally significant trend: As participants in the Reconciliation Cluster moved from Voice 1 to the Interaction between Voice 1 and Voice 2, they were *more* likely to express something they had never articulated before (means respectively = 1.33 & 2.33), F (1, 5) = 5.00, $p = .08$.

Cultural Background Questionnaire

A one-way ANOVA was conducted on each of the CBQ subscales: Assimilation, Separation, Integration, and Marginalization. None of these analyses yielded significant results. However, a one-way ANOVA conducted on the specific immigration generation item revealed a trend suggesting that participants in the Narration Cluster were more likely to report first-generation immigration status (e.g., born in Asia or a country outside of North America) than the Rhetorical Conflict, Imperative Conflict, and Reconciliation

Clusters (mean differences respectively = -0.67, -0.44, -0.50), F (3, 26) = 2.81, p = .06. This result is corroborated with the chi-squared statistic tested on the results of the following demographic question: *How long have you lived in Canada?* A greater proportion of participants in the Narration Cluster (66.67%) reported that they *immigrated to Canada between the ages of five and seven* than in the Rhetorical Conflict (0.00%), Imperative Conflict (12.50%), and Reconciliation (16.67%) Clusters combined, χ^2 (3, N = 26) = 8.59, p = .04.

Reading Habits Questionnaire

A one-way ANOVA was conducted on the nine RHQ items, yielding the following marginally significant result: participants in the Narration Cluster were more likely to be familiar with Chinese authors or poets than individuals in the Reconciliation Cluster, (mean difference = 1.60), F (3, 26) = 2.93, p = .06. This result suggests that the first-generation Chinese immigrants (in the Narration Cluster) have a greater familiarity with Chinese culture than their second-generation counterparts (i.e., those born in Canada in the Reconciliation Cluster).

Demographic Information: Gender

Chi-square statistics also revealed significant gender differences among the four clusters χ^2 (3, N = 27) = 8.18, p = .04. Specifically, the Imperative Conflict Cluster was predominately male (66.67%), χ^2 (1, N = 27) = 5.08, p = .02 and the Narration Cluster was predominately female (88.89%), χ^2 (1, N = 27) = 3.89, p < .05. And although not statistically significant, it is noteworthy that all the participants in the Rhetorical Conflict Cluster were female and that there was an equal proportion of males and females in the Reconciliation Cluster.

Character Identification

In the first two parts of the interview, participants were asked to identify two "voices" in the story that they would call their own. There was a range of perspectives on cultural issues from which to choose. The narrator of the story, seven-year-old Sek Lung, who spends most of his time with his grandmother, embraces his traditional culture. His older siblings, and in particular his oldest brother Kiam, have been in school for some time, and, wanting to succeed in Canada, have begun to question the value of retaining tradition culture. Their father speaks of "both the old ways and the new ways" and therefore represents a more integrated cultural perspective. His second wife (referred to in the story as Stepmother) is caught between the two cultures, especially in her attempts to appease her mother-in-law and at the same time find her place in Canadian society. Finally, the grandmother represents someone from the older generation who embraces the traditional culture, but is so set in her ways she has difficulty adapting to the host culture.

Chi-square statistics of the story characters participants' identified with revealed the following: Participants in the Rhetorical and Imperative Conflict Clusters were more likely to identify with two story characters who were *both* younger members of the same generation. Eight of 12 participants (66.67%) in the Rhetorical and Imperative Conflict Clusters and only 4 out of the 15 participants (26.67%) in the Reconciliation and Narration Clusters identified with characters from the younger generation (e.g., the narrator *and* one of the other siblings). Conversely, participants in the Reconciliation and Narration Clusters were more likely to make intergenerational identifications and identified with *at least one* character in the story who was of an older generation. In other words, for 11 of the 15 participants (73.33%) in the Reconciliation and Narration

Clusters, at least one of the two characters they identified with was either one of the parents (father or stepmother) or the Grandmother. For the Rhetorical and Imperative Conflict Clusters, only 4 of the 12 participants (33.33%) identified with someone from the older generation, χ^2 (1, N = 27) = 4.32, p = .04.

More specifically, the member of the older generation with whom participants were more likely to identify in the Reconciliation and Narration Clusters was the father. That is, 8 of 15 participants (53.33%) in these two clusters identified with the father while only 2 out of 12 participants (16.67%) in the Rhetorical and Imperative Conflict Clusters identified with the father χ^2 (1, N = 27) = 3.84, p = .05.

Discussion

The story excerpt was chosen because the different characters represent various cultural perspectives, and identification with these characters provided a starting point for the exploration of expressive possibilities. Patterns of identification with particular characters enabled participants to explore disparate aspects of themselves and to enact an imaginary dialogue between them. These enactments occurred in four different forms, each representing a different expressive style: Rhetorical Conflict (Cluster I), Imperative Conflict (Cluster II), Reconciliation (Cluster III), and Narration (Cluster IV). These expressive styles are also evidence of different positions vis-à-vis cultural integration.

Fused Expressions that Maintain Cultural Conflict

Two expressive styles (the Rhetorical and Imperative Conflict Clusters) involved conflict between two aspects of the self but each involved a different dialogical mode. The Rhetorical Conflict Cluster was characterized by the addressor interrogating the other with "why" questions. The other's response was defensive. The Imperative Conflict

Cluster, in contrast, was characterized by the addressor's condemnation of the other, accompanied by imperatives such as "you should" or "you ought to." In this case, the other's response was resistance. Participants in both of these clusters tended to identify with two story characters from the same generation. For most of these participants, one voice represented a younger self (who identified with the narrator) and the other represented a slightly older self (who identified with one of the narrator's older siblings). However, despite these slight differences in age, both voices were rather consistently of the same generation. This generational homogeneity may help to understand the open display of conflict in these participants' dialogue.

According to Gao (1998), Chinese relationships tend to be harmonious and Chinese people tend to regard conflict and confrontation as unpleasant and undesirable. However, individuals in the Rhetorical and Imperative Conflict Clusters, who are mostly second-generation Chinese immigrants, have been exposed at length to Canadian culture and, for that reason, may be less likely to regard conflict and confrontation as unpleasant and undesirable. Nonetheless, they still adhere to rules specific to traditional Chinese culture. Chinese individuals adhere closely to cultural values such as filial piety (i.e., obedience of elders) and remain sensitive to their positions above, below, or equal to others (Chu, 1985). For the most part, the interrogations and condemnations in these two clusters arose from identification with characters that were from the same generation, and there are fewer social repercussions when the conflict stays within the same generation. Thus the Canadian openness to conflict and the location of the expression of that conflict among equals represents a distinctive fusion of Chinese and Canadian interpersonal expectations.

That these voices are associated with characters from the same generation does not mean that there were no power differentials. Not only were there differences in power attributable to age among sibling "voices", the dialogical modes and gender differences embody contrasting means for attempting to influence the other during conflict. In the Rhetorical Conflict Cluster, the "why" questions expressed by women suggest complaint without power, perhaps reflecting a concern with the seemingly diminished standing of Chinese culture within the dominant Canadian culture. In the Imperative Conflict Cluster, the imperative voice, expressed predominately by men, speaks from a position more assured than the implicitly condemned advocate of departure from Chinese heritage. It can strongly express what "must be done" for these individuals to maintain ties to that cultural heritage.

Although both of these clusters involve persistent conflict, their contrasting expressive styles provide a distinction rarely found in the literature. Greenberg and his colleagues, for example, describe a self-evaluative "critic" split, where an internal critic emerges who condemns another aspect of the self (Watson, Goldman, Greenberg, & Elliot, 2003, p. 221). This characterization suggests a hierarchically structured dialogue in which a "critic" misses the generative potential of the interaction. In the Rhetorical Conflict Cluster, the use of "why" questions takes the respondent out of his/her own reflective space in search of appropriate explanations for his/her actions. "Why" questions force the respondent to search for justifications and are therefore not generative. Despite their interrogative form, the addressor, in posing a 'why' question, is often rhetorically restating what is already known (Pollock, 2001) and using that information to maintain a conflictual hierarchy, for example one addressor said:

> *"Why are you, why is it that you necessarily have to obey what your grandmother says? 'cause she's just an old lady."*

Hidden in this "why" question is an affirmative statement: "You obey grandmother, even though she is just an old lady." The other, in hearing this about herself, would likely agree but because the statement was posed as a why question, she is put on the defensive to explain her behaviour appropriately. As an intrapersonal dialogue, this participant becomes stuck. All that emerges from this line of questioning are proper and correct responses that sound rehearsed (Watson et al., 2003). This leaves the addressor with nothing but what she previously knew. In this example, the other responds by saying:

> *"'cause she feeds me, she's my grandmother, so I have to." And you know, like "you have to have a sense of respect for who you're related to especially if they're older to you or than you" I should say.*

Implicit in the addressor's question was that a part of her (an older rebellious part) did not want to obey her grandmother. However, instead of recognizing some value in the other's perspective, the conflict is rhetorically maintained.

The dynamics of imperative forms (e.g., "you should") in the Imperative Conflict Cluster are rather different. These conflicts appear to arise from the participants' developmental experiences representing standards, edicts, and expectations of what they "ought" to have done (Watson et al., 2003), and in particular what a Chinese Canadian "ought" to do (e.g., a Chinese Canadian ought to go to Chinese school and know Chinese). For example, one addressor said:

> *"Go take Chinese school, it's so good for you," blah, blah, blah. That like "you should learn there" and "it's such a good language, it'll benefit you so much in your future."*

Dialogue in this case is also halted because a firm decision has already been made (i.e., to "go take Chinese school"), without the input from any other aspect of the self. And although there is resistance, it seems like passive resistance. In this example:

> *The other one would just kind of sit there and be like (shaking her head, hands in lap). "Uh un."*

In sum, the Rhetorical and Imperative Conflict Clusters were the only two of the four that involved unresolved conflict. As well, most of these participants were second-generation immigrants. Their interrogation and condemnation of aspects of themselves representing cultural differences suggest an expressive fusion that paradoxically maintains conflict. The way the conflict itself is expressed is a unique fusion of Chinese and Canadian cultural expectations. These second-generation immigrants have incorporated the Canadian openness to conflict in a way that is non-threatening and therefore tolerated in the Chinese culture among young peers. Although such expressive fusion takes place, its rhetorical and imperative dialogic style maintains the "either / or" nature of their cultural conflict, suggestive of a continuing fractured awareness of some aspects of their bicultural identity.

Embodied Fusion and Reconciliation

The Reconciliation Cluster was characterized by reconciliatory dialogue between two parts of the self. Concerns in this cluster involved conflict with intergenerational connotations. At least one of the two characters participants in this cluster identified with, was someone from the older generation, in particular, the father. Moreover, enactment of the father role tended to reflect his adherence to "both the old ways and the new ways," suggesting some of the nuance that enables conflict to generate integrative change.

Despite identification with characters from different generations, the ensuing dialogue appeared to be among equals, without the traditional Chinese emphasis on rank or status differences. Often the addressor was someone older reassuring the other (someone younger) that his/her actions (e.g., not wanting to go to Chinese school) were understandable. The younger voices were described in terms such as "regretful" and "uncomfortable," whereas the older voices were described in terms such as "fortunate" and "empathetic," in both cases reinforcing understanding and acceptance. The integrative aspects of this cluster are exemplified in a participant who expressed the integration explicitly by referring to the two parts of himself in unison with inclusive pronouns such as "they" or "we". He said: "...they might talk about the situation..." and "we're both looking in the perspective..."

The two parts of the self in this cluster express openness, understanding, and compassion, suggesting integration and the capacity for empathic exploration (Watson et al., 2003). For example:

> *I guess, I guess the part that, that understands would, would try to explain that "it's okay" I guess... you know like, "it's okay that ah you're not, that you didn't go to the school those Saturday's" and stuff like that. Like, "I guess you had no obligation to anybody really but yourself" so...yeah, that's what he'd say... I guess, the other side would say "sadly I understand that's true, but I guess even now you're never too old to make an effort."*

Greenberg and his colleagues suggest that this type of dialogue breeds a "fresh contact between the two parts" (Watson et al., p. 234) This proposal is substantiated by results from the PIQ suggesting that something has been freshly articulated during the dialogue. As participants in this Reconciliation Cluster moved from Voice 1 to the Interaction between Voice 1 and Voice 2, they were *more* likely to report that they had touched on

something they had not articulated before. In the following example, clear vocal emphasis is used to affirm this recognition:

> "...*yeah, that's what he'd* (the addressor) *say...*"

Watson et al. also suggest that this type of dialogue provides a "new sense of wholeness" (p. 235). Consistent with this formulation, as participants in this cluster moved from Voice 1 to the Interaction between Voice 1 and Voice 2, they were *more* likely to become stronger in their readiness to change the way they live, as indicated by the Convictions subscale of the PIQ. Such readiness to change is affirmed when the other responds:

> *"...I guess even now you're never too old to make an effort"* (to go to Chinese school and learn the language).

Additionally, these fresh recognitions and readiness to change sometimes seemed to require exemplification through gesture, suggesting an expansive, unfolding, and embodied experience. For example, one participant said the following:

> *And so the one that's on the, the seeker, or the child, or the part of me that, that's um kinda searching for stuff, is or searching for joy is is the one that will initiate the interaction between the two... um, but when it does happen, the, the one the con- the interaction becomes locked* (brings hands together) *as soon as it's initiated* (fingers interlocked)

The words may not provide apt description of something freshly recognized, but the emphatic interlocking of his fingers effectively illustrated the integrative nature of this new sense of self. Other participants' gestures suggested the recognition of something that seemed greater than the sum of its parts. For example, one participant said the following – even while his gestures suggested something more:

> *...I don't think that there will be much argument but rather just kind of like um, a positive feedback talk...they're encouraging each other...there's a balance that they both find...And I think that that balance kind of comes together in me...*

These statements were accompanied by embracing hand gestures in front of his face. His hands were pushing towards each other like they were molding a large ball of clay, suggesting the two parts melding together into something larger. The expression of this "wholeness" was beyond what he was saying with words, it had a "sense" so "new" that it took more than words to express.

The expressive fusion reflected in this dialogic mode suggests that these individuals have incorporated aspects of both their cultural backgrounds into a freshly embodied sense of self. These second-generation immigrants express conflict, but somehow articulation of that conflict generates a sense of reconciliation and change. Therefore, rather than engaging in an expressive style that maintains the "either / or" nature of their cultural differences, participants in the Reconciliation Cluster embody the "neither / nor" as well as the "both / at once" nature of being "in-between" the Chinese and Canadian culture (Bhabha, 1994).

Expression that Preserves the Cultural Heritage

Finally, the Narration Cluster is characterized by abstract, third person storytelling or "talking about" the two aspects of the self without referring to any experiential dialogue. Unlike the other three clusters, no direct interaction took place between the two aspects of the self. Any interaction that did take place was with a third party. This cluster involved the absence of dialogic conflict. It also involved at least one character identification from the older generation, predominately the father. However, in contrast to the Reconciliation Cluster's movement towards intergenerational reconciliation, in the Narration Cluster different generations appeared to be associated with prescribed roles within a persistent hierarchical structure.

According to Greenberg and his colleagues (Watson et al., 2003), this lack of experiential dialogue precludes direct experience of how aspects of oneself influence each other, thereby disrupting the possibility of generativity. This lack of experiential change is supported by statistically reliable results from the Conviction Subscale of the PIQ. Unlike the Reconciliation Cluster, as participants in this Narration cluster moved from Voice 1 to the Interaction between Voice 1 and Voice 2, they were *less* likely to commit themselves to changing the way they live. Interestingly, if there was any interaction in this cluster, it was usually when either of the two voices – or even both voices together –engaged with a third party. However, this form of interaction still lacked the dialogical component necessary to expose the conflicting voices (as in the Rhetorical and Imperative Conflict Clusters) or to reconcile the conflicting voices (as in the Reconciliation Cluster).

Participants in the Narration Cluster appear to gain distance by "talking about" themselves and in some cases, other people, rather than enactively exploring their own voices. It is noteworthy that participants in this cluster were more likely to be first-generation Chinese women who immigrated to Canada between the ages of five and seven. As well, they reported greater familiarity with more Chinese authors and poets than their second-generation counterparts in the Reconciliation Cluster. These findings suggest, first, that their early years abroad, before they moved to Canada continued to be influential. We originally assumed that as long as the first-generation Chinese immigrants were primarily educated in Canada they would be comparable to their second-generation counterparts. However, our results suggest that the first-generation immigrants in the Narration Cluster were more likely to maintain and preserve their ethnic culture and

language than their second-generation counterparts (Cho, 2000). These findings highlight the need to discuss our results, and in particular the results of the Narration Cluster, within the context of the relational nature of Chinese language and culture.

Harris, Aycicegi, & Berko-Gleason (2003) suggest that the emotional contexts within which native and second languages are learned influence how they are used. For example, in the case of these first-generation immigrants, Chinese is likely the only language learned in the emotionally charged context of family life and therefore becomes the language that retains the most emotional resonance and the language of emotional expression. On the other hand, because English is learned in the neutral context of school and work when these individuals have moved to Canada, it is most likely associated with "emotional control, autonomy, and achievement" (p. 564) and consequently is often used to increase emotional distance. Perhaps the distance achieved in storytelling or talking about parts of themselves is a reflection of how these first-generation immigrants have become accustomed to using the English language. Conceivably, if given a choice, these individuals may prefer speaking in Chinese. They may have offered more dialogical responses if the study had been conducted in their native language, as Chinese is more likely the language the different parts of themselves resonate with, communicate with, and maybe even dialogue with.

Given these findings, conducting the study for Chinese Canadians completely in English may have been short sighted. The use of a story written in English as an emotional prime and a reading task presented like an academic assignment may have inhibited their expressive potential. However as a study to understand the individual differences in emotional expression, these results are informative because they suggest

that context and language in a child's early developmental years may play a larger role in the different forms of emotional expression than we originally thought. Nonetheless deferring to the use of language alone is insufficient to account for the complexity that was found in the way these participants contextualized their dual cultural perspectives.

The results for the Narration Cluster may reflect that first-generation Chinese immigrants are more likely than their second-generation counterparts to maintain and preserve their ethnic culture and language (Cho, 2000). And in a contrasting Canadian setting, they may be even more likely to value that sense of the collective that is so important in their culture. This sense is reflected in the three schools of thought that historically make up the Chinese culture and the Chinese sense of self (Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism). Although these ideas differ in many fundamental ways, they concur that the self is not a complete or independent entity on its own (Gao, 1998). For example, Taoists define the self as a part of nature, in which the two parts together complete a harmonious relationship. Buddhists see the self as made up of two layers: the little self (perhaps the closest idea to an individual self) and the great self (the true self devoid of individuality). The Confucian perspective expands on the Buddhist notion of self by introducing ethical and social implications, suggesting that the little self must give in to the interest of the great self (Wu, 1984). Based on these ideas and in particular the Confucian perspective, which has been the most influential in Chinese social life, the Chinese self is conceived of as relational and consequently needs to be recognized, defined, and completed by others (Gao, 1998). This other-oriented conception of self helps clarify the involvement of an external third party in the Narration Cluster of our study. Although it is unknown whether these first-generation Chinese immigrants directly

identify as Taoists, Buddhists, or Confucianists, it is possible that the relational sense of the Chinese self that is based on these three historical ideas, has become implicit in their lives. Consequently, they are less likely to think of themselves as separate from others and are therefore, more likely to include others beyond their primarily intrapersonal dialogic voices.

Interestingly, the others that are addressed in their narrative form of expression were usually family members of a higher status (i.e., parents or grandparents), thereby reflecting the Chinese cultural value of filial piety (i.e., respect for one's parents and ancestors, Chu, 1985). The following excerpt taken from an individual in the Narration Cluster exemplifies this sensitivity and responsiveness to others and the virtue of familial respect. In this example the two parts of the self (Voice 1: Anger / Confusion and Voice 2: Understanding) dissolve to accommodate the father:

> *well, main thing is: What would my father think? ...That would be the main question, like whatever you're saying, the first question that comes to mind is: what would my Ba-father think? And if that is good, like if it's okay, then you say it...and then the response well, what would my father think? And response, like if it's okay, then you like, respond the same way.*

These first-generation immigrants in the Narration Cluster are interestingly different from their second-generation counterparts in the Conflict (Rhetorical and Imperative) and Reconciliation Clusters. Unlike the other three clusters where expressions of cultural fusion are found, participants in the Narration Cluster express themselves in a way that preserves and respects their traditional heritage. Their expressions, although spoken in English, reflect strong Chinese sensibilities in both content and form. Their narrative and relational style of expression suggests a dialogic departure that neither exposes conflict nor affords reconciliation. Therefore, it is not

surprising that they would report feeling less likely to want to change the way they live, primarily because such individualistic concerns are inconsequential and even harmful to the maintenance and preservation of aspects beyond themselves such as the continuation of their traditional culture.

Conclusions

Rather than the alternating form of integration (as suggested by Birman, 1994; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993), our classificatory effort reveals concrete forms of fusion (Bierbrauer & Klinger, 2005; Birman, 1994; Chuang, 1999; LaFromboise et al., 1993) expressed among Chinese Canadians. In the Rhetorical and Imperative Conflict Clusters, we observed fusion of an expressive form that paradoxically maintains cultural conflict. By dialogically exploring conflict, which is more characteristic of Canadian culture, within relations between peers, which is an acceptable site for conflict in the Chinese culture, these individuals made manifest a certain form of cultural fusion. On the other hand the rhetorical and imperative form of those expressive styles preserves the oppositional status quo. Another form of fusion was observed in the Reconciliation Cluster. Among these participants, there emerged a freshly recognized understanding of how to "live" a blend of previously opposed cultural perspectives. The emergence of this understanding was felt, i.e., embodied, in ways that called for expressive gesture and that created a certain impetus for change.

These forms of fused expression appear to be inaccessible on standard cultural assessment questionnaires. The questionnaire used in this study was Barry's (2001) East Asian Acculturation Measure (EAAM), which was designed to assess acculturation: "social interaction and communication response styles (both competency and ease /

comfort in communicating) that individuals adopt when interacting with individuals and groups from another culture" (p. 193). At the level of expression analyzed in this study, we did not find evidence of the kinds of categorizations found in Berry's acculturation formulation (Barry, 2001; Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). Additionally, other recent conceptualizations of bicultural individuals fall short of characterizing their complexity. For example, Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, and Morris (2002) contend that bicultural individuals possess either oppositional or compatible cultural identities. Bicultural individuals with an oppositional cultural identity perceive their ethnic and host culture as highly distinct and separate. And although they identify with both cultures, they are highly aware of the discrepancies between the two cultures and see these discrepancies as a source of internal conflict. On the other hand, individuals with a compatible bicultural identity identify with both cultures, integrate both cultures in their everyday lives, show behavioural competency in both cultures, and switch their behaviour depending on the cultural demands of the situation.

Although on the surface it would appear that participants in the Conflict Clusters (Rhetorical and Imperative) might be associated with Benet-Martinez et al.'s (2002) oppositional cultural identity and individuals in the Reconciliation Cluster might be associated with their compatible cultural identity, further examination reveals that this may not be the case. Benet-Martinez et al.'s conceptualization does not capture the cultural fusion that is expressively manifested among bicultural individuals, despite their feelings of opposition or compatibility. For example, although participants in the Conflict Clusters may perceive their ethnic and host cultures as distinct and separate, their expressions capture fused subtleties from both their cultural backgrounds and

simultaneously perpetuate the cultural distinctness and separation. So, although they may feel opposition between their two cultures, it is the expressive compatibility in the blending of cultural expectations rhetorically or imperatively that creates the feeling of cultural opposition. Additionally, Benet-Martinez et al.'s conception of compatible cultural identity suggests alternation rather than fusion, and consequently fails to capture the expressive and embodied fusion that we found in the Reconciliation Cluster. As well, expression of embodied fusion does not preclude the possibility of cultural conflict. Therefore as exemplified in the Rhetorical Conflict, Imperative Conflict, and Reconciliation Clusters, cultural opposition *and* compatibility are *both* necessary for such expressive fusions to occur. Finally, participants in the Narration Cluster did not concretely show either bicultural opposition or compatibility, but rather an expansion of the Canadian dialogical mode to incorporate collective concerns. Such characterization would appear to be associated with Berry's idea of separation (Barry, 2001; Berry et al., 2002). However, rather than separating from the host culture, they appear to be assimilating the Western cultural (and in this case experimental) dialogical mode within their Chinese Canadian collectivist understanding.

In sum, our findings suggest that exploration of the expressive aspects of acculturation deserves further attention. Our exploratory effort has shown that expressive activities not only provide a level of concreteness not found in the current acculturation literature, but also challenge some of the pre-existing categories. Future studies are necessary to account more carefully not only for differences in culture but also differences in language, more specifically how context and site of language learning interact. Moreover, literary reading as explored in this study is only one context within

which these expressive forms become evident. Many other sites and other cultures provide the fertile grounds for similar explorations.

Table 1

Constituents Derived from the Interview Narratives

Forms of Expression

1. The two parts of the self interact with each other by dialoguing with each other.

The participant talks about how the two parts of himself/herself would interact with each other by saying aloud what they might say to each other. One part of the self addresses the other, who responds.

2. The participant only talks about what would take place between the two parts of the self or with a third party.

The participant talks about the two parts of him/her self, describing them and/or how they are related to each other (and/or how they would interact with a third party).

3. Only one of the two parts is given a voice.

The participant only gives one of the two parts a voice and talks about the other part.

4. The two parts of the self share one voice / thought.

Despite their differences the two parts of the self converge or realize that they share a common understanding.

5. The two parts of the self do not interact with each other at all.

The participant talks about (with or without dialogue) the two parts of him/her self, explaining what they are like and/or how they are related (and/or how they would interact with a third party).

6. The two parts of the self separately interact with a third party.

The participant talks about (with or without dialogue) how each of the two parts would interact with a third party.

Nature of the Interaction

7. Partial to full reconciliation is found in the interaction.

Despite their differences, the two parts come together and reconcile either through reluctant compliance or in agreeing with each other.

8. The two parts remain conflicted.

The two parts of the self are very different and their differences remain unresolved. Responses range from unacceptance / misunderstanding to making the other part feel bad.

9. The two parts were never conflicted.

The two parts of the self are very similar to each other.

10. The participant mentions a third party.

The participant mentions others, such as parents, relatives, friends, and/or other Chinese people.

11. The addressor challenges the other by asking "why" questions.

The addressor confronts the other as to why he/she is or is not engaging in certain behaviours important to the Chinese culture or respecting individuals from that culture.

12. The addressor expresses what the other "should" or "should have" done.

The addressor condemns the other and/or tells him/her what to do or what he/she ought to do or have done.

13. The addressor expresses comfort and/or understanding to the other or a third party.

The addressor offers reassurance to the other or a third party either through empathy, reasoning, or acknowledging.

14. The other defends him/her self from what the addressor is saying.

The other offers his/her point of view and/or questions the addressor and/or tells the addressor what he/she ought to be doing.

15. The other shows signs of resistance to what the addressor is saying.

The other responds in a childish/immature manner to the addressor and/or negates what the addressor has said.

16. The other attempts to or actually does understand what the addressor is saying.

The other understands something and/or sees things from the perspective of the addressor.

17. One or both of the parts represent an older self who accepts cultural differences.

One or both parts of the self is represented as being more mature and as someone who realizes the value of learning the Chinese language or the importance of respecting family members despite their differences.

18. One or both of the parts represent an older self who neglects/rejects something or someone from the traditional culture.

One or both parts represent an older self who rejects something from the traditional Chinese culture or is self-conscious about cultural differences and does not want to be noticed.

19. One or both of the parts represent a younger self who accepts cultural differences.

One or both parts represent a younger self who is proud of his/her traditional heritage and/or enjoys the company of people from their ethnic culture.

20. One or both of the parts represent a younger self who neglects/rejects something or someone from the traditional culture.

One or both parts represent an older self who does not understand, is embarrassed by or is resistant to something or someone from the traditional Chinese culture.

Table 2

Clusters of Expressive Styles

Constituent	Cluster I Rhetorical N = 3	II Imperative N = 9	III Reconciliation N = 6	IV Narration N = 9
1. The two parts of the self interact with each other by dialoguing with each other.	**1.0000 ***	.2222	**.6667 ***	**.0000 -**
2. The participant only talks about what would take place between the two parts of the self or with a third party.	.0000	.4444	.3333	**.7778 ***
3. Only one of the two parts is given a voice.	.0000	.3333	.0000	.1111
4. The two parts of the self share one voice/thought.	.0000	.0000	.1667	.2222
5. The two parts of the self do not interact with each other at all.	.0000	**.0000 -**	.0000	**.7778 ***
6. The two parts of the self separately interact with a third party.	.0000	.0000	.0000	**.3333 ***
7. Partial to full reconciliation is found in the interaction.	.0000	.2222	**.8333 ***	.2222
8. The two parts remain conflicted.	**1.0000 ***	**.6667 ***	**.0000 -**	**.0000 -**
9. The two parts were never conflicted.	.0000	.0000	.1667	.3333
10. The participant mentions a third party.	.3333	.2222	.1667	.5556
11. The addressor challenges the other by asking "why" questions.	**1.0000 ***	.0000	.0000	.0000
12. The addressor expresses what the other "should" or "should have" done.	.0000	**.8889 ***	.1667	**.0000 -**
13. The addressor expresses comfort and/or understanding to the other or a third party.	.0000	**.0000 -**	**1.0000 ***	.2222
14. The other defends himself/herself from what the addressor is saying.	**1.0000 ***	.1111	.0000	.0000
15. The other shows signs of resistance to what the addressor is saying.	.0000	**.8889 ***	.0000	**.0000 -**
16. The other attempts to or actually does understand what the addressor is saying.	.0000	.1111	**1.0000 ***	**.0000 -**
17. One or both of the parts represent an older self who accepts cultural differences.	.0000	.6667	.6667	.2222
18. One or both of the parts represent an older self who neglects/rejects something or someone from the traditional culture.	**.6667 ***	.1111	.3333	.1111
19. One or both of the parts represent a younger self who accepts cultural differences.	**1.0000 ***	.0000	.1667	.0000
20. One or both of the parts represent a younger self who neglects/rejects something or someone from the traditional culture.	.3333	**.8889 ***	.5000	.5556

NOTE: * more frequently present in this cluster than in the other three clusters, $p < .05$;
- less frequently present in this cluster than in the other three clusters, $p < .05$.

Table 3

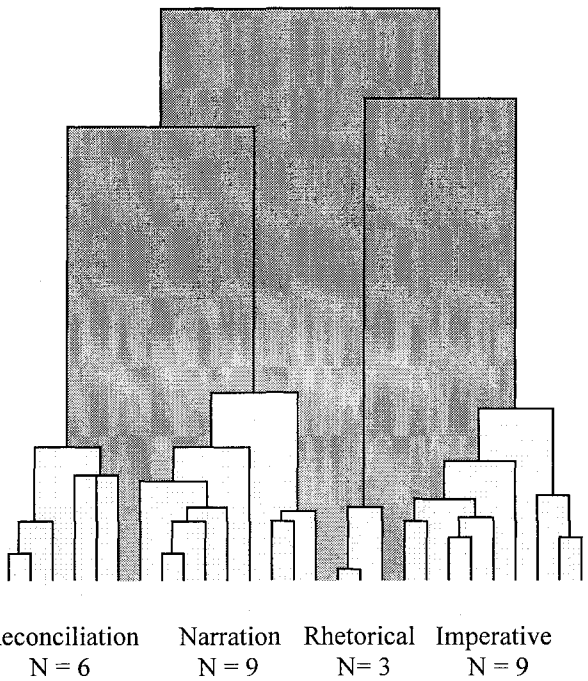
Summary of Results

Cluster	I	II	III	IV
Expressive Style	Rhetorical	Imperative	Reconciliation	Narration
Nature of Interaction	Dialogue	---	Dialogue	Talking About
	Conflict		Reconciliation	No Interaction Unless w/ Third Party
Voice 1: Addressor	Challenges: Why	Condemning: Should	Understanding	---
Voice 2: Other	Defensive	Resistance	Understanding	---
Older Self	Rejects Culture	---	---	---
Younger Self	Accepts Culture	Rejects Culture	---	---
PIQ Subscales	---	---	(Conviction ↑)	Conviction ↓
	---	---	(Expression ↑)	---
Immigration Status	2nd Generation	2nd Generation	2nd Generation	1st Generation
Gender	(Female)	↑ Male	(Male = Female)	↑ Female
Character Identification	Younger Generation Among Siblings		Intergenerational With Father	

NOTE: Information presented in parentheses denotes marginally significant trends.

Figure 1

Dendrogram for the Four-Cluster Solution



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Appendix A

Excerpt from **The Jade Peony** by Wayson Choy

When Grandmama died in 1940 at eighty-three, our whole household held its breath. She had promised us a sign of her leaving, final proof that her life had ended well. My parents knew that without any clear sign, our own family fortunes could be altered, threatened. Stepmother looked every day into the small cluttered room the ancient lady had occupied. Nothing was touched; nothing changed. Father, thinking that a sign should appear in Grandmama's garden, looked at the frost-killed shoots and cringed: *No, that could not be it.*

My two older teenage brothers and my sister, Liang, were embarrassed by my parents' behaviour. What would white people in Vancouver think of us? We were Canadians now, *Chinese-Canadians,* a hyphenated reality that our parents could never accept. So it seemed, for different reasons, we were all holding our breath, waiting for *something.*

I was nearly seven when Grandmama died. For days she had resisted going into the hospital ... *a cold, just a cold...* and instead gave constant instructions to Stepmother on the boiling of ginseng root mixed with bitter extract. At night, between racking coughs and deadly silences, Grandmama had her back and chest rubbed with heated camphor oil and sipped a bluish decoction of an herb called Peacock's Tail. When all these failed to abate her fever, she began to arrange the details of her will. This she did with Father, confessing finally: "I am too stubborn. The only cure for old age is to die."

Father wept to hear this. I stood beside her bed: she turned to me. Her round face looked darker, and the gentleness of her eyes, with the thin, arching eyebrows, seemed weary. I brushed a few strands of grey, brittle hair from her face; she managed to smile at me. Being the youngest, I had spent nearly all my time with her and knew that she would be with me forever. Yet when she spoke, and her voice hesitated, cracked, the sombre shadows of her room chilled me. Her wrinkled brow grew wet with fever, and her small body seemed even more diminutive.

"You know, Little Son, whatever happens I will never leave you," she said. Her hand reached out for mine. Her palm felt plush and warm, the slender, old fingers bony and firm; so magically strong was her grip that I could not imagine how she could ever part from me. Ever.

Her hands *were* magical. Long, elegant fingers, with impeccable nails, a skein of fine barely visible veins, and wrinkled skin the colour of light pine. Those hands were quick when she taught me, at six, simple tricks of juggling, learnt when she was a village girl in southern Canton; a troupe of actors had stayed on her father's farm. One of them, "tall and pale as the whiteness of petals," fell in love with her, promising to return. "My

juggler," she said, "he never came back to me from Honan ... perhaps the famine ..." In her last years, his image came back into her life. He had been a magician, an acrobat, a juggler, and some of the things he taught her she had absorbed and passed on to me through her stories and games.

Most marvelous for me was the quick-witted skill her hands revealed in making windchimes for our birthdays: windchimes in the likeness of her lost friend's parting present to her, made of bits of string and the precious jade peony, a carved stone the size of a large coin, knotted with red silk to hang like a pendant from the centre, like the clapper of a sacred bell. This wondrous gift to her had broken apart years ago, in China, but Grandmama kept the jade pendant in a tiny red silk envelope, and kept it always in her pocket, until her death.

Hers were not ordinary, carelessly made chimes, such as those you now find in our Chinatown stores, whose rattling noises drive you mad. But the making of her special ones caused dissension in our family, and some shame. Each one that she made was created from a treasure trove of glass fragments and castaway costume jewellery. The problem for the rest of the family lay in the fact that Grandmama looked for these treasures wandering the back alleys of Keefer and Pender Streets, peering into our neighbours' garbage cans, chasing away hungry, nervous cats and shouting curses at them.

"All our friends are laughing at us!" Second Brother Jung said at last to Father, when Grandmama was away having tea at Mrs. Lim's.

"We are not poor," First Brother Kiam declared, "yet she and Sek-Lung poke through garbage as if—" he shoved me in frustration and I stumbled against my sister "—they were beggars!"

"She will make Little Brother crazy!" Sister Liang said. Without warning, she punched me sharply in the back; I jumped. "You see, look how *nervous* he is!"

I lifted my foot slightly, enough to swing it back and kick Liang in the shin. She yelled and pulled back her fist to punch me again. Jung made a menacing move towards me.

"Stop this, all of you!" Father shook his head in exasperation. How could he dare tell the Old One, his ageing mother, that what was appropriate in a poor village in China was shameful here? How could he prevent me, his youngest, from accompanying her? "She is not a beggar looking for food. She is searching for—for..."

Stepmother attempted to speak, then fell silent. She, too, *was* perplexed and somewhat ashamed. They *all* loved Grandmama, but she *was inconvenient,* unsettling.

As for our neighbours, most understood Grandmama to be harmlessly crazy, others conceded that she did indeed make lovely toys, but for what purpose? *Why?* they asked, and the stories she told to me, of the juggler who had smiled at her, flashed in my head.

Finally, by their cutting remarks, the family did exert enough pressure that Grandmama no longer openly announced our expeditions. Instead, she took me with her on "shopping trips," ostensibly for clothes or groceries, while in fact we spent most of our time exploring stranger and more distant neighbourhoods, searching for splendid junk:

jangling pieces of a broken vase, cranberry glass fragments embossed with leaves, discarded glass beads from Woolworth necklaces. We would sneak them all home in brown rice sacks, folded into small parcels, and put them under her bed. During the day when the family was away at school or work, we brought them out and washed the pieces in a large black pot of boiling lye and water, dried them carefully, and returned them, sparkling, to the hiding place under her bed.

Our greatest excitement occurred when a fire gutted the large Chinese Presbyterian Church, three blocks from our house. Over the still-smoking ruins the next day, Grandmama and I rushed precariously over the blackened beams to pick out the stained glass that glittered in the sunlight. Her small figure bent over, wrapped against the autumn cold in a dark blue quilted coat, she happily gathered each piece like gold, my spiritual playmate: "There's a good one! *There!"*

Hours later, soot-covered and smelling of smoke, we came home with a carton full of delicate fragments, still early enough to smuggle them all into the house and put the small box under her bed.

"These are special pieces," she said, giving the box a last push, "because they come from a sacred place."

She slowly got up and I saw, for the first time, her hand begin to shake. But then, in her joy, she embraced me. I buried my face in her blue quilted coat, and for a moment, the whole world seemed perfect.

One evening, when the family was gathered in their usual places in the parlour, Grandmama gave me her secret nod of warning: a slight wink of her eye and a flaring of her nostrils. There was *trouble* in the air. Supper had gone badly, school examinations were approaching. Father had failed to meet an editorial deadline at the *Chinese Times.*

A huge sigh came from Sister Liang. "But it is useless, this Chinese they teach us!" she lamented, turning to First Brother Kiam for support.

"I agree, Father," Kiam began. "You must realize that this Mandarin only confuses us. We are Cantonese speakers ..."

"And you do not complain about Latin, French or German in your English school?" Father rattled his newspaper, a signal that his patience was ending.

"But Father, those languages are *scientific."* Kiam jabbed his brush in the air for emphasis. "We are now in a scientific, logical world."

Father was silent. He wanted his children to have both the old ways and the new ways.

Grandmama went on rocking quietly in her chair. She complimented Stepmother on her knitting, made a remark about the "strong beauty" of Kiam's brushstrokes which, in spite of himself, immensely pleased him.

"Daaihga tohngyahn," Grandmama said. "We are all Chinese." Her firm tone implied that this troubling talk about old and new ways should stop.

"What about Sek-Lung?" Second Brother Jung pointed angrily at me. "He was sick last year, but this year he should have at least started Chinese school, instead of picking over garbage cans!"

"He starts next year," Father said, in a hard tone that immediately warned everyone to

be silent. Liang slammed her book shut.

The truth was, I was sorry not to have started school the year before. I knew going to school had certain privileges. The fact that my lung infection in my fifth and sixth years gave me a reprieve only made me long for school the more. Each member of the family took turns on Sunday, teaching me. But Grandmama taught me most. Tapping me on my head, she would say, "Come, Sek-Lung, we have *our* work," and we would walk up the stairs to her small crowded room. There, in the midst of her antique shawls, the ancestral calligraphy and multicoloured embroidered hangings, beneath the mysterious shelves of sweet-smelling herbs and bitter potions, we would continue making windchimes.

"I can't last forever," she declared, when she let me in on the secret of the chime we had started this morning. "It will sing and dance and glitter." Her long fingers stretched into the air, pantomiming the waving motion of her ghost chimes. "My spirit will hear its sounds and see its light and return to this house to say goodbye to you."

Deftly, she reached into the carton she had placed on the chair beside me. She picked out a fish-shaped amber piece, and with a long needlelike tool and a steel ruler, she scored it. Pressing the blade of a cleaver against the line, she lifted up the glass until it cleanly snapped into the exact shape she required. Her hand began to tremble, the tips of her fingers to shiver, like rippling water.

"You see that, Little One?" She held her hand up. "That is my body fighting with Death. He is in this room now."

My eyes darted in panic, but Grandmama remained calm, undisturbed, and went on with her work. I got out the glue and uncorked the jar for her. Soon the graceful ritual movements of her hand returned to her, and I became lost in the magic of her task: she dabbed a secret mixture of glue on one end and skillfully dropped the braided end of a silk thread into it. This part always amazed me: the braiding would slowly, *very* slowly, unwind, fanning out like a prized fishtail. In a few seconds, as I blew lightly over it, the clear, homemade glue began to harden, welding to itself each separate silk strand.

Each jam-sized pot of glue was treasured; each large cork stopper had been wrapped with a fragment of pink silk. We went shopping at the best stores in Chinatown for the perfect square of silk she required. It had to be a deep pink, blushing towards red.

And the tone had to match, as closely as possible, her precious jade carving, the small peony of white and light-red jade, her most lucky possession. In the centre of this semitranslucent carving, no more than an inch wide, was a pool of pink light, its veins swirling out into the petals of the flower.

"This colour is the colour of my spirit," Grandmama said, holding it up to the window so I could see the delicate pastel against the broad strokes of sunlight. She dropped her voice, and I held my breath at the wonder of the colour. "This was given to me by the young acrobat who taught me how to juggle. He had four of them, and each one had a centre of this rare colour, the colour of Good Fortune." The pendant seemed to pulse as she turned it: "Oh, Sek-Lung! He had white hair and white skin *to his toes*! It's true—I saw him bathing." She laughed and blushed, her eyes softened at the memory. The silk had to match the pink heart of her pendant, for the colour was magical for her: it held the

unravelling strands of her memory.

Six months before she died, we began to work on her last wind-chime. Three thin bamboo sticks of varying length were steamed and bent into circlets; twenty exact lengths of silk thread, the strongest kind, were cut and braided at both ends and glued to pieces of the stained glass. Her hands worked on their own command, each hand racing with a life of its own: cutting, snapping, braiding, knotting. Sometimes she breathed heavily, and her small body, growing thinner, sagged against me. *Death,* I thought, *is in this room,* and I would work harder alongside her. For weeks Grandmama and I did this every other evening, a half-dozen pieces each time. The shaking in her hand grew worse, but we said nothing. Finally, after discarding a hundred, she told me she had the necessary twenty pieces. But this time, because it was a sacred chime, I would not be permitted to help her tie it up or have the joy of raising it.

"Once tied," she said, holding me against my disappointment, "not even I can raise it. Not a sound must it make until I have died."

"What will happen?"

"Your father will then take the centre braided strand and raise it. He will hang it against my bedroom window so that my ghost may see it, and hear it, and return. I must say goodbye to this world properly or wander in this foreign land forever."

"You can take the streetcar!" I blurted, suddenly shocked that she actually meant to leave me. I thought I could hear the clear chromatic chimes, see the shimmering colours on the wall: I fell against her and cried, and there in my crying I knew that she would die. I can still remember the touch of her hand on my head, and the smell of her thick woollen sweater pressed against my face. "I will always be with you, Little Sek-Lung, but in a different way ... You'll see."

Weeks went by, and nothing happened. Then one late September evening, Grandmama was preparing supper when she looked out our kitchen window and saw a cat—a long, lean white cat—jump into our garbage pail and knock it over. She ran out to chase it away, shouting curses at it. She did not have her thick sweater on and when she came back into the house, a chill gripped her. She leaned against the door: "That was not a cat," she said, and the odd tone of her voice caused Father to look with alarm at her. "I cannot take back my curses. It is too late." She took hold of Father's arm. "It was all white and had pink eyes like sacred fire."

Father started at this, and they both looked pale. My brothers and sister, clearing the table, froze in their gestures.

"The fog has confused you," Stepmother said. "It was just a cat."

But Grandmama shook her head, for she knew it was a sign. "I will not live forever," she said. "I am prepared."

The next morning she was confined to her bed with a severe cold. Sitting by her, playing with some of my toys, I asked her about the cat: "Why did Father jump when you said the cat was white with pink eyes? He didn't see it, you did."

"But he and Stepmother know what it means."

"What?"

"My friend, the juggler, the magician, was as pale as white jade, and he had pink eyes." I thought she would begin to tell me one of her stories, a tale of enchantment or wondrous adventure, but she only paused to swallow; her eyes glittered, lost in memory. She took my hand, gently opening and closing her fingers over it. "Sek-Lung," she sighed, "*he* has come back to me."

Then Grandmama sank back into her pillow and the embroidered flowers lifted to frame her wrinkled face. She placed her hand over mine, and my own began to tremble. I fell fitfully asleep by her side. When I woke up it was dark and her bed was empty. She had been taken to the basement of St. Paul's Hospital, where the sick Chinese were allowed to stay. I was not permitted to visit her.

A few days after that, Grandmama died of the complications of pneumonia. Immediately after her death, Father came home. He said nothing to us but walked up the stairs to her room, pulled aside the drawn lace curtains of her window, and lifted the windchimes to the sky.

I began to cry and quickly put my hand in my pocket for a handkerchief. Instead, caught between my fingers, was the small, round firmness of the jade peony. In my mind's eye I saw Grandmama smile, and heard, softly, the pink centre beat like a beautiful, cramped heart.

Appendix B

Reading Experience Task

Demographic Information

Please provide the following demographic information. This information can be recorded on the green answer sheet that is attached to this research package. Please provide the information requested by blackening the appropriate circles on that answer sheet.

Your gender: M or F
(Enter this information under the heading marked "SEX")

Your birth date:
Month (mo.)
Day
Year (yr.)
(Enter this information under the heading marked "BIRTH DATE")

Your primary (general) ethnicity:
0. **Aboriginal/First Nations**
1. **African (including Caribbean of African descent)**
2. **East Asian (e.g., Chinese, Vietnamese, Filipino)**
3. **South Asian (e.g., Pakistani, East Indian, Bangladesh)**
4. **European (e.g., French, German, Italian)**
5. **Hispanic/Latin-American (e.g., Chilean, Brazilian, Mexican)**
6. **Middle Eastern (e.g., Iraqi, Iranian, Egyptian)**
7. **Euro-North American (including Euro-Canadian)**
8. **Pacific Islander**
9. **Other**

(Enter the code number associated with your primary ethnicity under the heading marked "SPECIAL CODES," column K)

How long have you lived in Canada?

0. **All my life, I was born and raised in Canada**
1. **I immigrated to Canada before I was three years old**
2. **I immigrated to Canada between the ages of three to five**
3. **I immigrated to Canada between the ages of five to seven**
4. **I immigrated to Canada when I was eight years old or older**

(Enter the code number associated with how long you have lived in Canada under the heading marked "SPECIAL CODES," column L)

Your primary (first) language is:

0. **English**
1. **A language other than English**

(Enter the code number associated with your primary language under the heading marked "SPECIAL CODES," column M)

<u>Beyond your required first year English course</u>, how many university-level literature courses have you taken?

0. **none**
1. **one additional literature (half) course**
2. **two additional literature (half) courses**
3. **three additional literature (half) courses**
4. **four or more literature (half) courses**

(Enter the code number associated with the number of completed English courses under the heading marked "SPECIAL CODES," column N)

Reading Instructions

Your first task is to describe your experience of a chapter from the novel The Jade Peony by Wayson Choy. After reading this chapter, you will be asked to (1) select **two** passages that you find especially striking or evocative, and (2) describe and tape-record your experience of those passages.

To begin, read the entire story carefully, from beginning to end. **Read it as you normally would read such a story**, except for one small thing: **place a checkmark in the margin near any passage that you find striking or evocative**. Then, after reading the entire story in this way, go back over the passages that you checked and select the **two** passages that you find **most** striking or evocative. Each passage that you choose can be a few words or an entire sentence, whatever you find most striking or evocative. So, in summary,

- Read this story once as you normally would, except that you will place a check mark in the margin of any passage that you find striking or evocative.
- Review the passages that you checked and identify the **two** passages that you find **most** striking or evocative.
- In pencil, underline each of the **two** passages that you find most striking or evocative.
- On the right hand margin, near each underlined passage, write a word or two that will help you remember what made that passage striking or evocative.

When you have finished proceed to the recording instructions on the next page.

Instructions for Describing Your Experience of the First Marked Passage

Following the steps given below, please describe what you found striking or evocative about the first passage that you selected.

- **Start the tape-recorder**. Press the "Rec" button large button with a red dot (located on the top right corner of the recorder). The recorder is set on "voice operated recording". Recording will begin when it detects your voice ("VOR" will appear on the display window). The recording will pause when no sound is detected, (for example, when you are completing the reading experience questionnaire "VOR PAUSE" will appear in the display window of the recorder). Once you have started the tape-recorder, you do not need to worry about it until you have completed this reading task.

- **Describe your experience of your first marked passage.** Recall in as much detail as possible your experience of the **first** selected passage. (The word or two you wrote may help you recall in what way that passage was striking or evocative).

  - Begin by reading your marked passage aloud

  - Read aloud the words that you used as a reminder

  - Then in as much detail as possible, describe your experience of that passage. Describe any thoughts, feelings, images, or memories that were part of your experience.

- **Complete the Reading Experience Questionnaire.** Return to the selected passage again and complete the questionnaire on the next page that asks you about several aspects of your experience of that passage. Use the green answer sheet provided in the research package to record your answers.

Reading Experience Questionnaire: First Marked Passage

For each of the following statements (1-14) select a rating using the scale below (e.g., "0- Not at all true" TO "4- Extremely true") that best describes your experience of your FIRST marked passage. Use the green answer sheet to record your responses.

0 Not at all true
1 Slightly true
2 Moderately true
3 Quite true
4 Extremely true

1. My experience of that passage involved feelings about myself (e.g., feelings of pride, feelings of inferiority).
2. My experience of that passage involved feelings in reaction to situations or events in the story (e.g., feeling compassion for a character's frustration).
3. My experience of that passage involved a resonance of my own feelings with those in the story (e.g., feeling in myself the mood of a setting).
4. My experience of that passage involved an impression of the feelings that were expressed / embodied in the story.
5. When reading this passage, I could identify with the narrator's description of a character in the text (e.g., the character made me feel sad, amused, etc.).
6. While reflecting on this passage, I became sensitive to aspects of my life that I usually ignore.
7. While reflecting on this passage, I remembered something from my personal past.
8. After reflecting on this passage, I felt like changing the way I live.
9. In my reflection on this passage, it seems that I reached the limits of expressibility.
10. In my reflection on this passage, I sensed an incongruity that remains unresolved.
11. While reflecting on this passage, I felt a sense of fatigue, weakness, or weariness.
12. While reflecting on this passage, I felt enlivened, revitalized, and alive.
13. While reflecting on this passage, I felt within me a subtle spreading warmth.
14. While reflecting on this passage, I felt a sense of release, a letting go.

Instructions for Describing Your Experience of the Second Marked Passage

Following the steps given below, please describe what you found striking or evocative about the second passage that you selected.

- **Check the tape-recorder**. When you start speaking, make sure "VOR" appears on the display window.

- **Describe your experience of your second marked passage.** Recall in as much detail as possible your experience of the **second** selected passage. (The word or two you wrote may help you recall in what way that passage was striking or evocative.)

    - Begin by reading your marked passage aloud

    - Read aloud the words that you used as a reminder

    - Then in as much detail as possible, describe your experience of that passage. Describe any thoughts, feelings, images, or memories that were part of your experience.

- **Turn off the tape-recorder**. Once you have finished describing your experience of the passage, press the "Stop" button on the tape-recorder (the small round button with a square in it, it is located below the red "Rec" button).

- **Complete the Reading Experience Questionnaire.** Return to the selected passage again and complete the questionnaire that asks you about several aspects of your experience of that passage. Use the green answer sheet provided in the research package to record your answers.

Reading Experience Questionnaire: Second Marked Passage

For each of the following statements (15-28) select a rating using the scale below (e.g., "0- Not at all true" TO "4- Extremely true") that best describes your experience of your SECOND marked passage. Use the green answer sheet to record your responses.

0 Not at all true
1 Slightly true
2 Moderately true
3 Quite true
4 Extremely true

15. My experience of that passage involved feelings about myself (e.g., feelings of pride, feelings of inferiority).
16. My experience of that passage involved feelings in reaction to situations or events in the story (e.g., feeling compassion for a character's frustration).
17. My experience of that passage involved a resonance of my own feelings with those in the story (e.g., feeling in myself the mood of a setting).
18. My experience of that passage involved an impression of the feelings that were expressed / embodied in the story.
19. When reading this passage, I could identify with the narrator's description of a character in the text (e.g., the character made me feel sad, amused, etc.).
20. While reflecting on this passage, I became sensitive to aspects of my life that I usually ignore.
21. While reflecting on this passage, I remembered something from my personal past.
22. After reflecting on this passage, I felt like changing the way I live.
23. In my reflection on this passage, it seems that I reached the limits of expressibility.
24. In my reflection on this passage, I sensed an incongruity that remains unresolved.
25. While reflecting on this passage, I felt a sense of fatigue, weakness, or weariness.
26. While reflecting on this passage, I felt enlivened, revitalized, and alive.
27. While reflecting on this passage, I felt within me a subtle spreading warmth.
28. While reflecting on this passage, I felt a sense of release, a letting go.

Thank you for completing the first portion of this study. Please let the researcher know that you are finished.

Appendix C

Interview Schedule

Thank you for reading the story and completing the first part of this study. Now I am interested in hearing about aspects of your own life that this story may have touched on or reminded you of. There are no right or wrong answers and you are free to talk about as little or as much as you feel comfortable disclosing. Please remember that your responses will remain confidential and anonymous and that you are free to decline to answer any questions during the interview and you may withdraw from the study at any time with no penalty. Are you comfortable continuing?

Before we begin, perhaps we can take a few moments to ensure that you are relaxed and comfortable with these unfamiliar surroundings. Feel free to move around until you feel comfortably settled in your chair and you find a comfortable position to rest your arms. Please take as much time as you need and signal to me when you are ready to proceed.

First, I would like you to take a few moments to recall the story. In particular, I would like you to pay special attention to the voices of the various characters.

- As you reflect on these characters, can you tell me if any of them in any way captured a voice that is familiar because it is similar to a voice that you might call your own?

[*Additional Prompts:*

- *Where are you in the story? Can you find yourself in there, perhaps even just a little bit of yourself in one of the characters?*
- *Did any of the characters remind you of yourself or any aspect of yourself?*]

- Can you please tell me which character that was?
    - (Character 1: _____)
- Now take your time and try to locate that voice within yourself. It may help to close your eyes to feel that part of yourself that comes closest to the voice of (Character 1) in the story. When you're ready, can you describe what this part of you is like?
- How would you describe this part of yourself in a word or a phrase?
  (Voice 1: _____)
- Now this may seem strange, but I'd like you to try something with me. First start by sitting forward in your chair and loosening your body. Imagine that you are preparing to act the role of Voice 1 in a play. You are getting ready. Trying to get a sense of how this role feels. Give me a signal when you have a good sense of how this part of you feels.

- You can actually act it out now if you like, or just imagine it, but be sure to stay within your body. In the role of Voice 1, how would you walk on stage? I don't want you to make it up. Wait and see what comes from how you feel.

- [*How would you sit or stand?*
- *How would your shoulders be?*]

- From within this sense of yourself, consider now what you would say or do. What *would* you say? What *would* you do?

Sometimes when we talk about the felt sense we have of ourselves, it changes a little. Now that you have talked about this voice and what it means to you, has there been any change? Would the word or phrase you chose earlier still fit, or might a different word or phrase fit better now?

- Take a moment to reflect on that, and then let me know whether a different word or phrase seems to fit or capture this aspect of yourself? (Voice1: _____)

- How close do you feel to this voice? How close is this voice in relation to the "core you" that you value most?

Now let's consider the other characters in the story.

- As you reflect on these other characters, did any of them capture a different voice within you?

[*Additional Prompts:*

- *Did any of the other characters capture a different aspect of you? Please tell me about that.*]

- Can you please tell me which character that was?
    - (Character 2: _____)
- Now take your time and try to locate that voice within yourself. It may help to close your eyes to feel that part of yourself that comes closest to the voice of (Character 2) in the story. When you're ready, can you describe what this part of you is like?
- How would you describe this part of yourself in a word or a phrase? (Voice 2: _____)
- Now let's imagine again that you are preparing for a different play. First start by sitting forward in your chair and loosening your body. This time imagine that you are preparing to act the role of Voice 2 in a play. You are getting ready. Trying to get a sense of how this role feels. Please signal when you have a good sense of how this part of you feels.

- You can actually act it out now if you like, or just imagine it, but be sure to stay within your body. In the role of Voice 2, how would you walk on stage? I don't want you to make it up. Wait and see what comes from how you feel.

- [*How would you sit or stand?*
- *How would your shoulders be?*]

- From within this sense of yourself, consider now what you would say or do. What *would* you say? What *would* you do?

Now that you have talked about this voice and what it means to you, has there been any change? Would the word or phrase you chose earlier still fit, or might a different word or phrase fit better now?

- Take a moment to reflect on that, and then let me know whether a different word or phrase seems to fit or capture this aspect of yourself?
  (Voice 2: _____)

- How close do you feel to this voice? How close is this voice in relation to the "core you" that you value most?

Now let's allow these two voices (Voice 1 & Voice 2) to speak to each other. It may help to envision in your mind's eye the two images of them on stage that you provided earlier. Take a moment to recall those images and when you're ready, tell me how you think their conversation might begin? How would they respond to each other? What would they say to each other?

Now that you have imagined these different voices of yourself, I want you to think about other aspects of your own life this story reminded you of. You don't have to respond right away, just let me know when you are ready to move on.

Among what you are thinking about, is there a scenario or memory that relates closely to something in the story or perhaps, a scenario that feels particularly important to you now?

Focus on that personal memory and think about the people involved and how you felt at the time. When you are ready, please describe this scenario in as much detail as you can, including:

- Who else was involved? and
- What were your thoughts and feelings at the time?

Now let's look at Voice 1 and Voice 2 in relation to this situation:

- How would Voice 1 respond to this situation?
- How would Voice 2 respond to this situation?

How does this experience relate to the story?

How does this experience continue to influence your thoughts and feelings?

As you talk about how this experience influences you now, is there anything that feels fresh, important, or different to you now?

(If the participant is reminded of a personal bicultural challenge in this section, interview is finished, if the participant is not reminded of a bicultural challenge, proceed to the next prompt.)

- The story portrays the reactions and some of the challenges faced by members of a family living in the midst of two different cultures. Does the story remind you of some of the bicultural challenges you have faced in your life?

I would like you to think about these challenges you have faced as a bicultural individual. Among what you are thinking about, is there a scenario or memory that relates closely to something in the story or perhaps, a scenario that feels particularly important to you now?

Focus on that personal memory and think about the people involved and how you felt at the time. When you are ready, please describe this scenario in as much detail as you can, including:

- Who else was involved in this bicultural challenge? and
- Your thoughts and feelings at the time.

Now let's look at Voice 1 and Voice 2 in relation to this situation:

- How did Voice 1 respond to this cultural situation?
- How did Voice 2 respond to this cultural situation?

How does this experience relate to the story?

What was the outcome of this bicultural challenge?

How does this experience continue to influence your thoughts and feelings?

As you talk about how this experience influences you now, is there anything that feels fresh, important, or different to you now?

Is there anything else you would like to say?

This concludes the interview portion of the study.

Thank you for sharing your thoughts with me today. Now your last task is to complete a series of three brief questionnaires. I will leave you alone in the room to complete them [present participant with questionnaire package]. Please let me know when you are finished, I will just be outside.

Appendix D

Post-Interview Questionnaire

The following statements describe some of the different ways that people think and feel as they reflect on significant memories. Read each statement carefully and, using the scale provided below, **rate the extent to which that statement describes your thoughts and feelings during the 4 parts of the interview (e.g., reflecting on Voice 1, Voice 2, the dialogue between Voice 1 and Voice 2, and your personal memory)**. Then, on the attached answer sheet, darken the circle that corresponds to your rating. Please do not mark your answers on this questionnaire.

0 = *not at all* descriptive of my thoughts and feelings
1 = *slightly* descriptive of my thoughts and feelings
2 = *moderately* descriptive of my thoughts and feelings
3 = *quite* descriptive of my thoughts and feelings
4 = *extremely* descriptive of my thoughts and feelings

During the **first** part of the interview, while I reflected on **Voice 1:**

29. I became sensitive to aspects of my life that I usually ignore.
30. I recognized feelings that I often overlook during my daily life.
31. I felt that I could say something different about myself than I would have before.
32. I began to think about myself in ways that I had not considered before.
33. I felt like changing the way I live.
34. I felt more like living in a way that is faithful to my deepest values.
35. I expressed something I had never articulated before.
36. I felt more like doing the things that matter most to me.
37. Reflecting on Voice 1 today made me value my own life more.

During the **second** part of the interview, while I reflected on **Voice 2:**

38. I became sensitive to aspects of my life that I usually ignore.
39. I recognized feelings that I often overlook during my daily life.
40. I felt that I could say something different about myself than I would have before.
41. I began to think about myself in ways that I had not considered before.
42. I felt like changing the way I live.
43. I felt more like living in a way that is faithful to my deepest values.
44. I expressed something I had never articulated before.
45. I felt more like doing the things that matter most to me.
46. Reflecting on Voice 2 today made me value my own life more.

0 = *not at all* descriptive of my thoughts and feelings
1 = *slightly* descriptive of my thoughts and feelings
2 = *moderately* descriptive of my thoughts and feelings
3 = *quite* descriptive of my thoughts and feelings
4 = *extremely* descriptive of my thoughts and feelings

During the **third** part of the interview, while I reflected on a **dialogue between Voice 1 and Voice 2:**

47. I became sensitive to aspects of my life that I usually ignore.
48. I recognized feelings that I often overlook during my daily life.
49. I felt that I could say something different about myself than I would have before.
50. I began to think about myself in ways that I had not considered before.
51. I felt like changing the way I live.
52. I felt more like living in a way that is faithful to my deepest values.
53. I expressed something I had never articulated before.
54. I felt more like doing the things that matter most to me.
55. Reflecting on a dialogue between Voice 1 and Voice 2 today made me value my own life more.

During the **last** part of the interview, while I reflected on a **personal memory (if you talked about more than one memory, please focus on the one that you elaborated on which involved a bicultural challenge):**

56. I became sensitive to aspects of my life that I usually ignore.
57. I recognized feelings that I often overlook during my daily life.
58. I felt that I could say something different about myself than I would have before.
59. I began to think about myself in ways that I had not considered before.
60. I felt like I was re-experiencing the feelings I had when I first experienced my personal memory.
61. The people, places, and things that I remembered seemed to have their own characteristic moods or feelings.
62. I reacted emotionally to the people, places, and events that I remembered.
63. The more I reflected on my feelings and emotions in the memory today, the more intense those feelings became.
64. There were times when my memory was so vivid that I could sense its smell, its touch, its "feel".
65. While reflecting on my memory today, I saw images from it as clearly as if I were looking at a picture.
66. I became so involved with the people or places I remembered from my memory that it was almost as if they were actually there.
67. I felt like changing the way I live.
68. I felt more like living in a way that is faithful to my deepest values.
69. I expressed something I had never articulated before.
70. I felt more like doing the things that matter most to me.
71. Reflecting on my memory today made me value my own life more.

0 = *not at all* descriptive of my thoughts and feelings
1 = *slightly* descriptive of my thoughts and feelings
2 = *moderately* descriptive of my thoughts and feelings
3 = *quite* descriptive of my thoughts and feelings
4 = *extremely* descriptive of my thoughts and feelings

72. Reflecting on my memory today made me remember significant events from my past.
73. While reflecting on my memory today, significant events from my past seemed somehow "closer" to me.
74. While reflecting on my memory today, the past, present, and future seemed to have meaningful continuity.
75. While reflecting on my memory today, I became aware that through my past I am shaping my future.

Read each question below and, using the scale provided with each item, rate how your memory has influenced you **since it originally occurred**.

76. Since it originally occurred, how often have you thought about your memory?

    (0) I have hardly ever thought about my memory
    (1) At least once every year
    (2) At least once every month
    (3) At least once every week
    (4) At least once every day

77. Sometimes memories express something about a secondary personal characteristic, that is, *something that is passing and peripheral to one's personal identity*. At other times memories reveal something about a primary personal characteristic, *something that has been and continues to be deeply at the center of one's personal identity*. To what extent did your memory express what is continuing and central to your personal identity?

    passing & peripheral 0 1 2 3 4 continuing & central

78. Sometimes memories convey a view of life in general, something about what it means to be human rather than something about one's individual life. To what extent did your memory convey a view of life in general?

    an individual life 0 1 2 3 4 life in general

79. How long ago did your experience occur?

0 = Within the past one month
1 = Within the past three months
2 = Within the past six months
3 = Within the past one year (12 months)
4 = Within the past two years (24 months)
5 = Within the past three years (36 months)
6 = Within the past four years (48 months)
7 = Within the past five years (60 months)
8 = Within the past seven years (84 months)
9 = More than seven years ago

Appendix E

Cultural Background Questionnaire

The following questionnaire is designed to assess activities pertaining to your cultural background. Please read each of the following statements carefully and, using the scale provided below, rate to what extent each statement reflects your thoughts and feelings. Please record your responses on the green answer sheet and do not mark your answers on this questionnaire.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	**Disagree**	**Disagree Somewhat**	**Neutral**	**Agree Somewhat**	**Agree**	**Agree Strongly**

80. I write better in English than in my ethnic language (e.g., Chinese).
81. Most of the music I listen to is Asian.
82. I tell jokes both in English and in my ethnic language (e.g., Chinese).
83. Generally, I find it difficult to socialize with anybody, Asian or Canadian.
84. When I am in my apartment / house, I typically speak English.
85. My closest friends are Asian.
86. I think as well in English as I do in my ethnic language (e.g., Chinese).
87. I sometimes feel that neither Canadians nor Asians like me.
88. If I were asked to write poetry, I would prefer to write it in English.
89. I prefer going to social gatherings where most of the people are Asian.
90. I have both Canadian and Asian friends.
91. There are times when I think no one understands me.
92. I get along better with Canadians than Asians.
93. I feel that Asians treat me as an equal more so than Canadians do.
94. I feel that both Asians and Canadians value me.
95. I sometimes find it hard to communicate with people.
96. I feel that Canadians understand me better than Asians do.
97. I would prefer to go out on a date with an Asian than with a Canadian.
98. I feel very comfortable around both Canadians and Asians.
99. I sometimes find it hard to make friends.
100. I find it easier to communicate my feelings to Canadians than to Asians.
101. I feel more relaxed when I am with an Asian than when I am with a Canadian.
102. Sometimes I feel that Asians and Canadians do not accept me.
103. I feel more comfortable socializing with Canadians than I do with Asians.
104. Asians should not date non-Asians.
105. Sometimes I find it hard to trust both Canadians and Asians.
106. Most of my friends at work / school are Canadian.
107. I find that both Asians and Canadians often have difficulty understanding me.
108. I find that I do not feel comfortable when I am with other people.

109. Which of the following generation of immigrants' best describes you?

0. 1st Generation = I was born in Asia or a country outside North America
1. 2nd Generation = I was born in North America, either parent was born in Asia or a country outside North America
2. 3rd Generation = I was born in North America, both parents were born in North America, and all grandparents were born in Asia or a country outside North America
3. 4th Generation = I was born in North America, both parents were born in North America, at least one grandparent was born in Asia or a country outside North America, and one grandparent was born in North America
4. 5th Generation = I was born in North America, both parents were born in North America, and all grandparents also were born in North America
5. Don't know what generation best fits since I lack some information.

110. There are many different ways in which people think of themselves. Which ONE of the following most closely describes how you view yourself?

0. I do not identify with either of my two cultural backgrounds. I feel neither Chinese nor Canadian.
1. I consider myself basically a Chinese person. Even though I live and work in Canada, I still view myself basically as a Chinese person
2. I consider myself basically Canadian. Even though I have a Chinese background and characteristics, I still view myself basically as a Canadian person
3. I consider myself a Chinese-Canadian, although deep down I always know I am Chinese.
4. I consider myself a Chinese-Canadian, although deep down I view myself Canadian first.
5. I consider myself a Chinese-Canadian. I have both Chinese and Canadian characteristics, and I view myself as a blend of both.

Appendix F

Reading Habits Questionnaire

111. I believe that reading literature is a pleasurable way to spend time.

0 = not at all true (false)
1 = slightly true
2 = moderately true
3 = quite true
4 = extremely true

112. On average, approximately how many hours a day do you spend reading for pleasure? (This does not include reading for class)

0 = none, I do not read for pleasure
1 = less than an hour
2 = between one to two hours
3 = between two to three hours
4 = over three hours a day

113. During the past year, how often have you read texts written in English by Chinese authors?

0 = never
1 = once
2 = twice
3 = 3-5 times
4 = 6 or more times

114. How many Chinese authors or poets are you familiar with?

0 = none
1 = 1 or 2
2 = 3 to 5
3 = 6 to 10
4 = 10 or more

115. Before today, have you read The Jade Peony by Wayson Choy?

0 = yes, I have read the entire novel
1 = no, I have never read the novel, I have only read the chapter presented today

Using the following scale, please indicate how often during the past year you have read texts from each of the genres described below:

0 = not at all
1 = rarely
2 = sometimes
3 = often
4 = very often

116. Literary fiction (e.g., classics, short stories, plays)
117. Popular fiction (e.g., bestsellers, serials)
118. Non-fiction books (e.g., biographies, self-help books, how-to books)
119. Periodicals (e.g., newspapers or magazines)

You have now completed the study. Please let the researcher know you are finished and she will debrief you. Thank you again for your participation!