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## **Experiences of Anglo-Burmese migrants in Perth, Western Australia : a substantive theory of marginalisation, adaptation and community**

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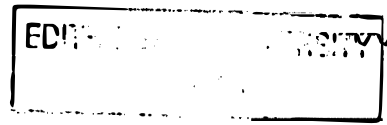
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**Experiences of Anglo-Burmese migrants in Perth  
Western Australia: A substantive theory of  
marginalisation, adaptation and community**

by

**Simon D. Colquhoun, BA(Soc Sci), BSci (Hons)**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Award of PhD

At the Faculty of Community Services, Education and Social Sciences, Edith  
Cowan University, Joondalup

Date of Submission: 4<sup>th</sup> June 2004

## USE OF THESIS

The Use of Thesis statement is not included in this version of the thesis.

## Abstract

The experience of migration and adaptation of ethnically mixed migrants, like the Anglo-Burmese migrants, has received little attention. This group began migrating to Australia, in particular Western Australia, in the 1960s due to changing socio-political circumstances in Burma. The examination of cultural issues in psychological research has operated in a number of different perspectives including cross-cultural psychology, cultural psychology and more recently, community psychology in Australia. The development of community psychology in Australia has led to the development of a community research approach by Bishop, Sonn, Drew and Contos (2002). This approach requires the exploration of the substantive domain using the iterative- reflective- generative process. This leads to the development of tacit knowledge which is reflected upon and influenced by the conceptual domain. Over subsequent iterations, the conceptual domain develops, resulting in a substantive theory. Three substantive questions were addressed in this series of studies: (1) What, if any, have been the experiences of cultural and social marginalisation of Anglo-Burmese migrants over time? (2) What relationship exists between acculturation outcomes, psychological well-being and psychological sense of community for the Anglo-Burmese migrants? (3) How have the Anglo-Burmese migrants interpreted their own experience of acculturation within their own unique set of contextual circumstances?

A number of studies have claimed that racially mixed groups like the Anglo-Indians, South African Coloureds, and Sri Lankan Burghers experience marginalisation (e.g. Bose, 1979; Gist & Dworkin, 1972). Gist and Wright (1973)

developed a model of the marginality, which included two dimensions: cultural and social marginalisation. Study one examined the experiences of Anglo-Burmese migrants in Western Australia to determine the degree to which they have experienced cultural and social marginalisation. Data were collected from three sources: 13 key informant interviews and informal ethnographic interviews, and archives. Narrative analysis revealed that the Anglo-Burmese had experienced cultural and social marginalisation to varying degrees in both Burma (prior to 1962 and following the 1962 under the new socialist government) and their subsequent migration to Australia.

Migration involves a process of adaptation which may be stressful; one way to reduce this stress is to maintain links to the community. The investigation of acculturation outcomes and psychological well-being (Colquhoun & Sonn, in preparation) and psychological sense of community and psychological well-being (Sonn, 1996) has been conducted with a number of ethnically mixed groups in Australia. The Anglo-Burmese represent one group which has received little attention. In study two, 121 participants completed questionnaires incorporating three scales: Berry's (1970) Acculturation Outcome scales, Chavis, Hogge, McMillan and Wandersman's (1986) shortened Sense of Community Index and Cawte, Biachi and Kiloh's (1968) Acculturative Stress Scale. Using path analysis, the results revealed two important features: (1) Marginalisation, separation and integration predicted Psychological Sense of Community (PSC) and (2) only Marginalisation predicted psychological well-being.

Systems theory has been fundamental for its emphasis on change in context and behaviour relationships. The ecological context plays a fundamental

role in the acculturation of migrants to a new country (Berry, 1994). Phinney (1990) commented that the experiences of racially mixed migrants have received little attention. Study three explored the relationships between the ecological contexts of the first and second generation Anglo-Burmese migrants living in Perth, Western Australia in terms of adaptation. For the first generation, their experiences were more positive, with only the occasional negative experience like discrimination. This condition is created by the maintenance of traditional ties, Australia offering a good standard of living and a sense of freedom and a worldview operating in the two contexts with a concern for the current circumstances in Burma. The second generation's experiences of adaptation appeared more negative with the experience of discrimination and racial abuse in their school years which reinforced feelings of difference. This condition is created by maintenance of only extended family ties and conflict between family/community values and Australian values.

The resulting substantive theory highlighted three components for the Anglo-Burmese. These included marginalisation (socio-psychological, social and cultural), adaptation (process and acculturation outcomes) and community (psychological sense of community and socially constructed community). Also highlighted from this series of studies is the development of the relationship between community psychology in Australia, in particular Western Australia, and the changing research method and research practice.

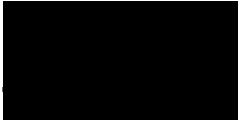
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Signature.  .

Date... 20-1-05 .....



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To the Burmese migrant community, thank you for allowing me opportunity to understand your experiences and worldview more clearly.

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## Table of Contents

Copyright and access declaration . . . . .	ii
Abstract . . . . .	iii
Declaration . . . . .	vi
Acknowledgements . . . . .	vii
Preface . . . . .	xiv
<b>Introduction . . . . .</b>	<b>1</b>
The colonisation and ethnically mixed culture . . . . .	2
Culture . . . . .	4
An Australian community research model . . . . .	5
The impact of post-modernism . . . . .	6
Substantive domain and the structure of the thesis . . . . .	9
Research questions . . . . .	15
<b>The migration and colonial experiences of the ethnically mixed group . . . . .</b>	<b>17</b>
Migration . . . . .	20
Migration theory . . . . .	21
History of migration in Australia . . . . .	22
Migration to Western Australia . . . . .	30
Defining ethnicity, the ethnic group and the ethnically mixed group . . . . .	31
Ethnically mixed migration . . . . .	32
Post colonial theory . . . . .	33
Conclusion . . . . .	35
<b>Understanding culture within the substantive domain . . . . .</b>	<b>37</b>
Cross-cultural psychology . . . . .	40
Cultural psychology . . . . .	45
Critical cultural community psychology: A recent development . . . . .	48
Community research model . . . . .	53
1. Tacit knowledge to theory . . . . .	67
Reflection in action . . . . .	67
Steven's trimodal theory of human action . . . . .	70
Wicker's substantive theorising approach . . . . .	74
Dokecki's reflective generative practice . . . . .	74
Polanyi's tacit knowledge . . . . .	74
Moustakas' heuristic inquiry . . . . .	75
2. The importance of the obvious. . . . .	78
Dokecki's world view studies . . . . .	78
Altman and Rogoff's four world views . . . . .	81
Pepper's root metaphor method . . . . .	84
3. The role of the active mediator . . . . .	86
Throgmorton's active mediator . . . . .	87
4. The role of the professional . . . . .	89
Altman's socially responsive knowledge . . . . .	90
5. Contextualism revisited . . . . .	91

Pepper's world theories .....	91
6. Persons- in-relation .....	99
Conclusion .....	100
<b>Empirical Section</b> .....	<b>105</b>
<b>Study One</b> .....	<b>106</b>
Marginality .....	108
Research question .....	115
Contextualising the methodology .....	115
Psychology and history .....	116
Post-modern ethnography .....	120
Time frame .....	123
Sampling frame .....	123
Data sources .....	123
Memory data sources .....	124
A. Key informant interviews .....	124
Participants. ....	124
Interviewing structure. ....	124
Procedure. ....	126
B. Informal ethnographic interviews. ....	126
Participants. ....	127
Procedure. ....	128
Representational data sources .....	128
C. Archives. ....	129
Sample. ....	129
Procedure. ....	130
Findings .....	130
Narratives and historical interpretations .....	130
Collective narrative analysis .....	132
The context: Setting the scene .....	135
Migration to Australia .....	140
Anglo-Burmese: Their development and experience (vignette) .....	141
Interpretations .....	150
<b>Study Two</b> .....	<b>153</b>
Adaptation .....	155
Ethnic identity .....	156
Stage one: Unexamined ethnic identity. ....	157
Stage two: Period of exploration. ....	157
Stage three: Achieved or committed ethnic identity. ...	158
Phase one: Preoccupation with self or preservation of ethnic self identity .....	159
Phase two: Preoccupation with ethnic conflict. ....	160
Phase three: Resolution of conflict .....	160
Phase four: Integration .....	162
Status one: Conformity (or pre-encounter) .....	162
Status two: Dissonance (or encounter) .....	162
Status three: Resistance and immersion (immersion and	

emersion).	163
Status four: Introspection	163
Status five: Integrative awareness(or internalisation)	163
Status six: Internalisation and commitment	163
Acculturation models and psychological well-being	164
Psychological sense of community	172
History of Anglo-Burmese	176
Research question	179
Hypotheses	179
Method	180
Participants.	180
Instruments	180
Acculturation	181
Psychological well-being.	182
Psychological sense of community.	183
Procedure	184
Pilot study	184
Results	186
Means and standard deviations.	186
Path analysis.	188
Acculturation outcomes and psychological sense of community	189
Assumption testing	189
Results	193
Acculturation outcomes, PSC and psychological well-being	194
Assumption testing	195
Outcomes	196
Trimming the model.	197
Discussion	198
<b>Study Three</b>	202
Post-modern community	204
Ecological approaches in psychology	205
The ecological context, community and acculturation	210
The Anglo-Burmese migrants to Australia	212
Methodology	213
Research Question	215
Participants.	215
Design.	216
Settings measurement.	216
Nested systems measurement.	218
Procedure.	221
Analysis.	221
Step One- Creating and integrating a series of contextual levels	222
Nud*ist	222
Conditional matrix	223
Step Two-The development of a collective representation	229

Constructing narratives .....	234
First generation .....	235
Second generation .....	240
Concluding remarks .....	246
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	256
Understanding the substantive domain .....	258
Worldviews and cultural research .....	260
Contextualism and understanding community .....	263
A substantive theory of the Anglo-Burmese community in Perth, Western Australia .....	272
Marginalisation .....	272
Adaptation and community .....	274
Practical, theoretical and methodological relevance .....	277
Limitations .....	278
Future research .....	280
<b>References</b> .....	285
<b>Appendices</b> .....	327

## List of Tables

Table 1.1	Research questions, epistemology and methodologies . . . . .	13
Table 2.1	Top ten source countries of settler arrivals, countries of birth/ Number of persons per selected period . . . . .	29
Table 3.1	Research approaches of selected W.A. community psychologists . . . . .	66
Table 3.2	The community research model components and associated theories. . . . .	68
Table 3.3	Steven's trimodal theory of human action . . . . .	72
Table 3.4	Dokecki's (1992) framework for human science inquiry . . . . .	77
Table 3.5	Altman and Rogoff's (1984) scientific world views . . . . .	83
Table 3.6	Pepper's (1942, 1966) world theories . . . . .	93
Table 5.1	Models of acculturation, associated outcomes and psychological well-being . . . . .	166
Table 5.2	Means and standard deviations for acculturation outcomes, psychological well-being psychological sense of community . . . . .	168
Table 5.3	Summary of the standard regression of the acculturation outcomes on psychological sense of community (N=95) . . . . .	194
Table 5.4	Summary of the standard regression of the acculturation outcomes, psychological sense of community (PSC) on psychological well-being (N=94) . . . . .	197
Table 7.1a	Relationship between definitions of culture and epistemologies . . . . .	263
Table 7.1b	Key features to each approach to culture . . . . .	263

## List of Figures

Figure 2.1	Composition of the Australian population by birth country (largest migrations only) . . . . .	23
Figure 2.2	Composition of the Australian population by birth country (UK excluded) . . . . .	23
Figure 3.1	Scheme of world hypotheses . . . . .	97
Figure 4.1	Map of Burma . . . . .	137
Figure 4.2	Years of arrival for Anglo-Burmese migrants to Australia . . . . .	146
Figure 4.3	Identification with Australia across generations of Anglo-Burmese migrants . . . . .	149
Figure 5.1	A theoretical model of the relationships between acculturation outcomes, psychological sense of community and psychological well-being . . . . .	190
Figure 5.2	A trimmed path model of the relationships between acculturation outcomes, psychological sense of community and psychological well-being . . . . .	198
Figure 6.1	Berry and colleagues (1996) Eco-cultural framework for the adaptation of migrants . . . . .	211
Figure 6.2	Strong and Hills' (1986) Circumplex model . . . . .	219
Figure 6.3	Strauss and Corbin's (1990) Conditional Matrix . . . . .	224
Figure 6.4	A summary of the conditional levels operating in relation to the experiences of first generation Anglo-Burmese migrants . . . . .	236
Figure 6.5	A summary of the conditional levels operating in relation to the experiences of second generation Anglo-Burmese migrants . . . . .	241

# Preface

One of the real difficulties of any research is capturing the real life issues as the community sees it. Particularly with migrant research, often underlying politics within and between communities and the larger society cannot capture in their entirety the experience within the academic research boundaries.

This research presented here is this my best attempt to capture the experiences of this community from its own perspective. I am well aware that the insightful knowledge gained and described through this process cannot be translated neatly into academic research. The three studies represent the best way possible given the limitations to describe what it means to be an Anglo-Burmese migrant with a Burmese and more specifically a Western Australian context.

To try and fill in these limitations it seems useful to present a preface to the studies which provide a more personal portrayal of what happened in the process of conducting research. At no point in this preface can such comments be substantiated as they represent experiences which I alone experienced and because of their sensitivity to the community were not discussed. It was assumed that such discussion of this sensitive material would represent a clear rejection of the research and of the researcher. This process represents my reflections which have provided not only considerable insight into the community but also the provided for the researcher information on the “no go” issues within the community.

When I began this research, I began with very little conscious awareness of the Anglo-Burmese community. I myself had cultural connections to the community through my fathers family but these were limited because of



remarriage. It placed me in a unique but valuable position of not only being able to get close to the community and be quite subjective, but it also enabled me to maintain some distance from the community and keep some objectivity. This position also provided me with one other advantage. I was able to see cultural processes and mannerisms which an outside researcher had little access to because of its closed community status and also to see and reflect on these processes which an insider experiences but is not consciously aware of.

I started with the belief that this research would be looking at adaptation and community processes of what I called the “Anglo-Burmese community”. I soon realised that the concept of “community” meant something different for this group. It was not about living in harmony together, where there is an association and a general feeling of closeness, it was about having political conflict and a lack of physical contact and a fragmentation of groups which described this community.

Another reality, that I became quickly aware of was the tension invoked on the community at the mere mention of research. I recognised that things were going to be difficult for me, if I decided to go ahead with the research. Because it meant that in order to establish trust within the community, I had to be willing to carry some of the community’s ‘baggage’ and also the community’s cultural norms and habits which were very different from my own.

Another issue, was the little time I had in which to collect my data. I had attempted to do this study a year ago without much success, access was impossible. Until 1997, no one had done research of any substantial quantity with this community despite the fact it represented one of Western Australia’s largest migrant communities. Then in 1997 as I began my PhD it felt like a gap had

opened up. Interestingly it was also the time another Master's researcher began to access the community for her dissertation. I later realised that this gap which lasted until about half way through 1998, was available because of changes in Burma with it being opened up for tourism in 1990 which allowed these migrants to visit for the first time since their arrival. It closed in mid 1998 to tourism because of political turmoil.

The politics in Burma proved to a considerable stumbling block for me. The Burmese military government had put out threats to people living outside of Burma that they would be denied access to Burma and their families in Burma would be watched if they were seen to be connected to any democratic movement in Australia. Individuals within the community were fearful of this threat and for this reason kept their distance from political groups of Anglo-Burmese operating in Australia. This had considerably divided the community up into those who were involved in the democratic movements, those who supported the military government and the majority, those who wanted nothing to do with the politics.

Another reason for the division was to do with the identity. The majority of Burmese living in Australia prior to 1990s were Anglo-Burmese. When they began coming to Australia they no longer used the label Anglo-Burmese community but referred to themselves as the Burmese community. This had occurred for a number of reasons:(1) Australian's at the time and in many cases still do, lump all Asians together so it seems silly to make things more difficult by explaining that they had a mixed identity. (2) The community also wished to distance itself from Anglo-Indians who were greater in number but which this community had considerable internal conflicts within Burma. This however changed with the influx of a considerable number of Burmese refugees in 1990s

who spoke Burmese rather than English as a first language, practised predominantly Buddhism rather than Catholicism and separated Anglo-Burmese from themselves.

The barriers and the experiences imposed on this researcher by way of limited access because of association with one particular group or association, limited the sample somewhat. It also represented a considerable strain on myself because an excessive amount of contact was needed to ensure and maintain trust, without which data collection could have been difficult.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Migration has played an important role in the historical development of a number of countries including Australia. Since European settlement in 1788, the Australian population has been heavily influenced by migrants of British descent. Census data indicate that in 1861, British born migrants represented 54.7% of the total Australian population. Since this time, British migration has gradually declined. By 2001, British migration represented only 10.8% of all migrants. Despite this gradual decline, British migration ranked in the top position of settler arrivals to Australia for the census periods of 1965/66, 1975/76, 1985/86 and in the second position in 1995/96 and 1999/00 (ABS, 1997, 2001b).

Non-British migrants have come to Australia in a number of waves. The first major intake of non-British migrants were Chinese who came in search of gold in the 1860s. With subsequent restrictions on non-European migration from 1901, Australian migration was largely dominated by northern Europeans until the mid 1940s. After World War II the rate of migration increased substantially with many war refugees and southern Europeans coming to Australia.

The Whitlam government abolished the discriminatory migration policy in the mid 1970s, known as the 'white Australia policy'. Since this time, Australia has increasingly opened its doors to a whole gamut of racial and cultural groups from Europe, the former USSR region, the Oceania region, the South East Asian region and the North East Asian region (Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research [BIMPR], 1995a).

While significant migration from Asia has only occurred after the 1970s, there was some migration prior to this period. A number of ethnically mixed groups, for example the Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Burmese, entered Australia during the discriminatory policy period, because they held British passports. These groups represented a product of European colonial imperialism in the Asian region.

## The Colonisation and Ethnically Mixed Culture

Colonisation involved the use of power and force to take control of territories for economic, political or psychological gain by dominant countries. Britain has been one such dominant power. Interactions between colonialisers (traders, military forces) and colonised (indigenous population) led to the development of the ethnically mixed group. For example, the Anglo-Indians are an ethnically mixed group that began with the deliberate British policy of marrying British males to local Indians. This policy was developed to allow the British to establish trade with India. Their progeny were called Anglo-Indians and

subsequent generations formed a recognisable ethnic community. The ethnically mixed group was treated differently from either racial group because of their distinct physical features, cultural and social norms. They typically occupied a middle, social and economic position between the occupying colonial population and the indigenous population.

However, with the decolonisation of occupied territories and shifts towards independence, the evacuation of colonial soldiers and traders left the ethnically mixed group with little support. As a result they were forced to make one of a number of choices, one of which was to migrate to countries which were culturally similar to the colonial country e.g., Commonwealth countries like Australia. While a considerable body of research has examined the responses of traditional migrants (i.e., migrants with one clearly definable cultural heritage) to Australia (e.g., Johnston, 1972; Richardson, 1974), little research has looked at the experiences of mixed ethnic groups (Phinney, 1990). In particular, the Anglo-Burmese have received little attention or recognition. This group typically has a cultural heritage of both British and Burmese. In Burma, they occupied a middle position in the government services between the British and indigenous Burmese. They began migrating to Australia after 1962, following the end of colonial rule and introduction of a Burmese socialist government in Burma. One key feature which is central to the understanding of ethnically mixed groups like the Anglo-Burmese, is the role that the mixture of cultures plays in how they function and operate in their daily lives.

It is these people who are the central players in this research. The cultural adaptations of the Anglo-Burmese migrants in Australia will be examined. Their

experiences will be located in their history. The relationships between sense of community, adaptation and well-being also will also be explored. To achieve this, fundamental issues about culture, community and the underlying epistemological aspects will be explored more thoroughly in subsequent chapters.

## Culture

The understanding of culture within psychology has been a topic of interest for some considerable time. For example, the sub-discipline known as cultural psychology arose out of the challenges posed by the positivist and ethnocentric bias of cross-cultural psychology (Misra & Gergen, 1993). Cultural psychology emphasises a 'top up' approach by grounding the theory of research in the cultural community of investigation. Cultural psychology seeks absolutes that assume the research outcome can be used to explain dynamics in different cultures. Cultural psychology argues that the dynamics of cultural influences are specific to the culture. Even more recently, it is argued that Community Psychology in Australia has offered a third approach. Community psychology suggests that it is not enough to ground research information in a culture but to explore meanings of cultural dynamics from within the community itself to psychology. This challenges cultural psychology by suggesting that the meanings behind cultural communities are fundamental to understanding the culture rather than simply grounding the information in a culture.

## An Australian Community Research Model

Bishop, Sonn, Drew and Contos (2002) describe a community research model developed in Australia. This model involves six components: Tacit knowledge to theory; the importance of the obvious; the role of the active mediator; the role of the professional; contextualism revisited; and persons-in-relation. The model is driven by an iterative-reflective-generative process (Dokecki, 1992) in which an exploration of the substantive domain (Wicker, 1989) leads to the development of tacit knowledge which is reflected upon and influenced by the conceptual domain. Over subsequent iterations the conceptual domain develops. The result is a substantive theory. To facilitate this process, the researcher seeks logical and empirical evidence. This evidence must be understood from a range of perspectives. This is achieved by the use of the root metaphor method suggested by Pepper (1942), and the worldview frameworks of Altman and Rogoff (1984). The researchers themselves act as active mediators between stakeholders and negotiate the role of exchange with the community. The fundamental assumptions underlying this model are two fold. First, the world theory adopted is one of contextualism<sup>1</sup>, and the second, the relations between people are understood to be central in determining the modes of community in operation. With this in mind the methodology used in this process is one of a

---

1

The term contextualism will be discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters in relation to this series of studies.



process of discovering complex, real-world phenomena, using multiple methods, multiple levels of analysis with multiple interpretations.

## The impact of Post-modernism

Traditional psychological research has been dominated by positivism for most of its history (Newbrough, 1992; Polkinghorne, 1983). Positivism has been part of the *Zeitgeist* in which modern psychology has apparently flourished. The modernist period marked a period in which progress was seen as linear with increased control and stability as the essential criteria by which we understand the world and conduct psychological science (Gergen, 1991, 1992).

However, there have been many criticisms of psychological theory, practice and research in this period. For example, Cronbach (1957, 1975) and Wertheimer (1984) have seen the myopic concentration on reductionistic experimentation as of concern because of the failure to recognise the importance of other more descriptive methods. Brinberg and McGrath (1985) argued strongly for the need for a thorough understanding of the domain of interest before 'doing a study'. Sarason (1979) went further and commented that psychology's aping of the natural sciences had been a disaster. Robert Oppenheimer (1971) disputed Sarason's comment arguing that psychology had not even picked the most recent model. He commented in 1955 that:

....the worst of all possible misunderstandings would be that psychology be influenced to model itself after a physics which is not there any more, which has been quite outdated (p.90).

Psychology has also been criticised in terms of its relevance (Elms, 1975), of being too individualistic, asocial, apolitical (e.g., Sampson, 1983; Sarason, 1981a,b) and reflecting dominant cultural values unquestioningly (Albee, 1977; Kvale, 1992; Rieff, 1974; Sarason, 1982). In some areas there has been a response to these criticisms and the development of new approaches e.g., the emergence of community psychology and critical psychology. These criticisms and the accompanying development of new approaches represent a significant shift in thinking which has been marked by the move from modernism to post-modernism.

Post-modernism represents a transition period from a world based on certainty, technological progress and social freedom, to a new world based on uncertainty and multiple truths (Newbrough, 1992; Thomas, 1996). Gergen (1991) argued that this period has been marked by considerable technological innovation and information through the television, video, newspapers, telephones, travel and 'junk' mail, influencing how one lives his/her day to day life. These developments have increasingly fragmented the way in which we communicate and interact with each other, resulting in the development of 'virtual communities', which are highly complex, technologically detailed and unrestricted. Gergen (1991) refers to the notion of the saturated self as integral to post-modernism. Gergen suggested that the saturated self reflects the diverse

complexity with which individuals experience the world around them; in other words, in Gergen's view, in a post-modern context, the individual is bombarded and overwhelmed by the constant changes simultaneously occurring in the external world. Saturated self is open to alternative interpretations, multiple identities and increasing complexity. This is in contrast to Cushman's (1990) notion of "the empty self". Cushman suggested that the individual within the post-modern context can be described as an "empty self" in which, unlike the modernist period, there is an absence of community, tradition and shared meaning. Of these two approaches to post-modernism, Gergen's has by far been the most popular in psychology.

Gergen (1994) warns that science, and psychology for that matter, needs to be aware of its own Euro-American biases and social, historical and political influences without totally rejecting science altogether. Thus, psychology as a discipline is not lost, rather forced to become more complex and critical of its own practices and ethnocentric biases. Gergen (1988) and Kvale (1992) commented that post-modernism allowed for an acknowledgment of the value biases of researchers within psychological investigation and less emphasis on objectivity. It also prescribed a belief that people and events are embedded within an historical, political and cultural context (Kvale, 1992; Newbrough, 1992; Wicker, 1989). This period offered implications for the way research is conducted and shall be conducted in the future by implying that each individual, group or event must be studied within their own unique context (Jahoda, 1981).

However, despite the enthusiasm, post-modernism has offered to research, Gergen (1998) and others (e.g., Bishop et al., 2002) now question whether we

have thrown out the baby with the bath water and make a case for multiple epistemologies. Many researchers, at least in psychology, continue to adopt the positivistic techniques which had limited the development of research in the modern period. Gergen (1998) acknowledged that post-modernism has not achieved what it set out to do and instead has left researchers with only one real alternative, to continue to use the positivistic traditions post-modernism has so vigorously tried to change. This position seems unacceptable given that the world is indeed becoming more complex and convoluted. Society appears to reflect the ideals Gergen espoused too in his development of the notion of post-modernism.

It is for this reason that Gergen (1998) now argues that researchers should be cautious about focussing on the protection of their own epistemological domains. He instead advocates the need to focus on the substantive domain.

### Substantive domain and the Structure of the thesis

For the Anglo-Burmese migrants in Western Australia, three substantive issues stand out as significant areas of investigation:

(1) Firstly, the lack of written historical accounts on the history of the Anglo-Burmese. For other ethnically mixed groups like the Anglo-Indians, written information on their history and experiences of marginalisation<sup>2</sup> are well

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Gist and Wright (1973) define marginalisation as the “intergroup relations when a minority has social, cultural and socio-psychological attributes that distinguish it from other groups in the same society and which function to impede or prevent intergroup contacts and co-operative participation in undertakings of cultural interest” (p.151). This concept is explored further in chapters four and five.

documented (Bose, 1979; Cressey, 1935; Gist & Wright; 1973). Marginalisation has been reported by a number of researchers (Dickie-Clark, 1966; Gist & Dworkin, 1972; Gist & Wright, 1973) as a significant feature of the ethnically mixed group's experience.

(2) Secondly, as with any group, a sense of community for the Anglo-Burmese appears to be important in their identification as a distinctive cultural group. For any migrant group the adaptation to a new context can be stressful. The community has been argued to play a role in helping individuals to cope with the changing environments (McFarlane, 1989; Sonn & Fisher, 1998).

(3) Thirdly, Anglo-Burmese migrants to Western Australia brought with them their own social norms. Establishing themselves in this new context produces a unique set of relationships. The unique set of contextual circumstances can have a significant impact on how one understands the process of adaptation (Mishra, Sinha, & Berry, 1996).

One of the difficulties in exploring these substantive questions is the lack of a well articulated methodology. These questions do not fit into any one epistemological approach, as outlined by Altman and Rogoff (1984), for example. Others who have called for multiple epistemological research have rarely articulated research models, even Dokecki (1992, 1996). While quantitative methods are being borrowed from cross-cultural psychology and qualitative methods from anthropology or sociology (Creswell, 1998), integrating the results can be difficult (Pepper, 1942). In this thesis an approach is developed that reflects the nature of the questions and the substantive domain more than the methods employed. An approach is developed that has adopted the ideas of

Bishop et al. (2002). It adopts a research process, known as the iterative reflective process which forces the researcher to always focus on the substantive domain.

Also advocated is the use of alternative worldviews within research (Altman & Rogoff, 1984) within the context of Pepper's (1942) contextualist world theory to aid in this process.

Because this research paradigm is substantively driven, the structure of the thesis will reflect this alternative approach. While the discussion of the methodology underlying each research question comes after the literature discussion in chapters 4, 5 and 6, the choice of the literature was dictated by the reflection on the epistemology. Each chapter is presented as a conceptual whole, with its own literature, epistemology and methodology. In addition, variations in the type of study will alter the weighting of the literature review, methodology, results and discussion/interpretations in each case. To do otherwise would be to confound epistemologies and this has been problematic in the past (e. g., Creswell, 1998; Gadlin & Rubin, 1979; Girgerenzer, 1988). For example, Gadlin and Rubin argued that situationist theories were based on positivistic notions of causation, and trait theories were based on other, non positivistic notions (although they do not specify exactly what these are). They argued that the interactionist perspective (cf., Mischel, 1968) is fundamentally flawed because it attempts to integrate epistemologies that are incommensurable. Gadlin and Rubin stated that as a consequence of this incommensurability "... advocates of the different perspectives are often arguing about methodological issues while they think they are arguing about empirical differences" (p. 215). Similarly, Girgerenzer points out the assumptions underlying Pearson's approach to correlational statistics is

fundamentally different from that underlying Fisher's analysis of variance. He argues that the incorporation of both in psychological statistics text books as if there was a seamless transition fundamentally misunderstands the basis on which each statistical approach grounded.

In this thesis the three studies will be presented separately each with its own literature, epistemology and methodology to ensure that conclusions from each are not confounded by epistemological differences. Each is presented as representing different ways of looking at the issues of Anglo-Burmese migrants adaptation, community and well-being within the Western Australian context. Only in the final chapter are conclusions drawn together in a fashion that is consistent with acknowledging the philosophical and methodological differences. A model of how incommensurability can be addressed and overcome is presented in the final chapter (Chapter 7). The following table presents the studies, the research questions, the worldviews and the methodologies.

Table 1.1  
*Research questions, epistemology and methodologies*

Study	Research question(s)	Guiding worldviews	Theories	Methodology
Historical context	What, if any, have been the experiences of cultural, and social marginalisation?	Transactional	Historical critical community theory	Historical narrative analysis
Acculturation outcomes, well-being, and psychological sense of community	What have been the relationships between acculturation outcomes, PSC and well-being?	Interactionalism	Acculturation and PSC theory	Path analysis
Acculturation process and community	What have been their experiences of acculturation and the role of the community?	Organicism	Acculturation and nested systems theory	Functional narrative analysis

There are three studies reported in this thesis. These address differently framed questions and will use different epistemologies and methodologies.

Before these studies are described, the concepts of colonisation and migration are outlined in Chapter 2. Colonisation will be discussed focussing in particular on

three post-colonial theories: (1) Social structuralist/ materialist approach; (2)

culturalist approach and (3) psychological approach. It will be argued that the

psychological approach continues despite movements towards decolonisation. A

number of migration theories: (1) Historical; (2) economic; (3) behavioural; and

(4) push-pull, are also described. It is argued that the push-pull theory of migration

appears the most comprehensive of the theories described. This will be followed



by an exploration of how migration has influenced the historical development of Australia and more specifically, Western Australia. It will be argued that both Australia and Western Australia have been dominated by British migration but that Western Australia is becoming more ethnically heterogenous compared to other states. Migrants from Asia represent one of the influences since 1947. Of this group, the ethnically mixed migrants represent a proportion of the migration. This chapter will also look at the development of the ethnically mixed group and how such a group is defined in contrast to more traditional migrant groups. It will be argued that ethnicity is more than a shared set of traditions. It is more subjective than objective and also has negative aspects like stereotyping attached to its definition.

Chapter three will look at the historical development of cultural issues in psychology beginning with cross-cultural psychology and its inherent problems and the emergence of cultural psychology and finally, Australian community psychology. It will be argued that each discipline defines culture differently. These three definitions namely, behavioural, cognitive and symbolic interactionist, also align themselves with different worldviews from Stevens (1998), Altman and Rogoff (1984) and Pepper (1942,1966).

This is followed by three studies (Chapters five & six); a historical narrative study (Study one); a path analysis study (Study two) and a functional narrative study (Study three). The final chapter (Chapter seven) presents comments and conclusions. Each study is preceded by its own literature review and the worldview for each study is described. While the literatures have some overlap, they have been selected to reflect the worldview of the question being

investigated. For example, marginalisation is discussed in studies one and two (Chapters four and five, respectively). In study one the concept of marginalisation is investigated at a collective level while in study two the individual experience of marginalisation is dealt with. These different approaches assume different ways of understanding marginalisation and result in different underlying worldviews. In each chapter a discussion of the worldviews involved leads to different methodologies being selected. Similarly, psychological sense of community (PSC) is looked at in study 2 and notions of community are looked at in study 3. The approach underlying PSC is conceptually and qualitatively different to other models of community, especially the one that is put forward in Chapter 6. Again, different literatures are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

## Research Questions

Thus, the following research questions address each of the substantive issues mentioned earlier:

- (1) What, if any, have been the experiences of cultural and social marginalisation of Anglo-Burmese migrants over time?
- (2) What relationship exists between acculturation outcomes, psychological well-being and psychological sense of community for the Anglo-Burmese migrants?
- (3) How have the Anglo-Burmese migrants interpreted their own experiences of acculturation within their own unique set of contextual circumstances?

There is one further point to stress before preceding with the description and analysis of the three substantive questions presented above, which is described in detail in chapter three. The basis for this investigation was to examine the experiences of the Anglo-Burmese practically. The use of the worldviews and the variety of qualitative and quantitative methods serve as useful tools to meet this end. While Pepper (1942) rejected theoretically the use of more than one world theory at a time, practically, he did accept that each world theory may come into play. It is on this practical basis that the three studies will be presented, each guided by a different world view. At the same time, the requirements of Pepper's theoretical argument is still met by the exclusive use of contextualism in the iterative-reflective-generative process.

## Chapter Two

# The Migration and Colonial Experiences of the Ethnically Mixed Group

The objectives for this chapter are as follows:

- To define and examine theories of migration.
- To investigate the historical development of Australia and Western Australia.
- To define the ethnically mixed group and explain how it has developed.
- To examine post-colonial theories, in particular, the psychological approach.

Migration is a concept which is difficult to define. There also exists a range of approaches in which to explore it. However, it has been central to the historical development of several countries including Australia. Since the initial settlement by Europeans, Australia has been recognised as having a national ethos geared towards population growth. Despite the existence of a substantial Aboriginal population, European settlers, in particular British settlers, saw the need to populate the land, not only because it was perceived as available to be exploited but also because there was a general fear of other imperialistic powers colonising the land. This type of thinking dominated Australia's policy making for two centuries (Ferguson & Browne, 1991). The impact of migration has not only occurred at a national level but also at a state level. For Western Australia, migration has changed the cultural makeup of the state.

In this chapter migration will be defined. It will also be suggested that the definition of Furnham and Bochner (1994) generally covers all other definitions. This is followed by an examination of migration theories, focussing in particular on the push-pull approach which is argued to be the most comprehensive of those described. Finally, the historical development of Australia, and more specifically Western Australia, is outlined. It is suggested that Australia's history has been predominantly British and this is also the case for Western Australia. It is argued that Western Australia however, has become increasingly more ethnically heterogenous in comparison to other states. Particular reference is made to increasing numbers of migrant groups in Western Australia, including migrants from Asia, of whom the ethnically mixed people represent a proportion. The issue of migration is confounded when the history of the country of origin is examined.

The political contexts of a country can have substantial impact on the need for, and process of, migration. For example, colonisation has had a significant impact on the movement of the world's populations over the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

For centuries, colonialism and military invasion were descriptive of exploration by western/european countries moving into what they considered 'primitive' countries (Gist & Dworkin, 1972). The colonial conquests by countries such as Britain, has been argued as being based on economic need, however concern for its cultural and psychological impact has increased over the last 35 years (Hawkins, 1985; Memmi, 1965; Said, 1978,1985). The psychological impact of this colonisation on the colonised country and its people may continue to be felt for many generations after the colonisers have left. For ethnically mixed groups who are the progeny of the colonisers and indigenous population the impact of this change is immediate. This group and their children represent a physical and psychological reminder of colonisation for the indigenous population and they can become the target of oppression and discrimination. Under these circumstances, the ethnically mixed group is faced with a number of choices, one of which is to migrate to countries like the colonial country (Gist & Dworkin, 1972) e.g., Commonwealth countries like Australia.

This chapter will begin by examining migration and the history of migration in Australia and Western Australia. It will also examine three approaches to post colonial theory- the social structuralist approach, culturalist approach and psychological approach. It will be argued that the psychological approach has been most influential in explaining the impact of colonisation on the

experience of the ethnically mixed group. How this group is defined and how it has developed is also described.

## Migration

The complexity of migration can be observed in a diverse range of definitions available to describe the process. There has not been one accepted definition of migration by researchers in the area. For example, Brunn (1977) regards migration "as a social process that involves the movement of people to new locations" (p.6). Whereas Boekstijn (1988) refers to "people who voluntarily leave their country of origin and plan to settle in a new country with a more or less different culture"(p.83). Another definition by Lee (1966) suggested that migration was a permanent change of residence. Every act of migration involves an origin, a destination, and an intervening set of obstacles which always includes the distance of the move. Furnham and Bochner (1994) described migration as the movement from one community/area to another community/area. Of these definitions, Furnham and Bochner's definition is the simplest and all embracing. It covers the others generally and will be used here. In adopting this definition it is important to consider a range of approaches explaining migration, such as migration theory.

## Migration Theory

Migration has been categorised by Cohen (1999) into a number of approaches:

(1) Historical approach. This approach describes migration as a function of a society's need to progress and as such is a predetermined process. For example, the impact of large migration to once rural areas, transforms such areas to modern urban societies (Liaw & Kanaroglou, 1986).

(2) Economic approach. This approach sees migration as a source of human capital investment. It suggests that migration such as this is made by a rational decision. For example, a government's decision to maintain the workforce in the future (Liaw & Kanaroglou, 1986; Sjaastad, 1962).

(3) Behavioural approach. In this case migration is seen as a result of underlying changes in life events such as divorce, retirement or death of a spouse (Liaw & Kanaroglou, 1986)

(4) Push-pull approach. Migration is characterised by 'push' or 'pull' factors (Glick, 1993). Pull migration involves individuals who choose of their own free will to leave their country of origin because they perceive another country to offer more advantages. Push migration, on the other hand, is migration revolving around a perceived or actual rejection by an individual's country of origin. In the latter case, an individual believes migration to be an unavoidable process.



Within these broad classifications, there is a number of other types of migration: (1) Forced migration- where groups are forced to leave their country of origin (either through forced removal or transportation); (2) Impelled migration- where a population group has some choice as to whether they stay or not but that if they stay it may have disastrous consequences; and (3) Free migration- where individuals, families or groups choose to migrate because of pull factors such as better employment opportunities, a better life for their children, or the prospects of a new life (Ferguson & Browne, 1991).

Of these theories, the push-pull approach continues to remain one of the key approaches to migration theory today. In adopting this approach, it is important to consider how migration has proceeded in contexts, like Australia, whose history following colonisation has been one of migration.

## History of Migration in Australia

Australia has been a nation of migrants since 1788 when the later; Governor Philip arrived with British convicts and some settlers. While the population of indigenous people rapidly declined as a result of contact with migrants (and has only recently recovered, Flood, 1999) , the migrant population has swelled. The changes in migration policies over time reveal the difficulty British colonisers have had with people from non-British heritages. As will be discussed, the ethnic mix has changed over the past two hundred years. For example, Figure 2.1 indicates the changing composition of the Australian



Figure 2.1. Composition of Australian population by birth country (larger migrations only, logarithmic scale)

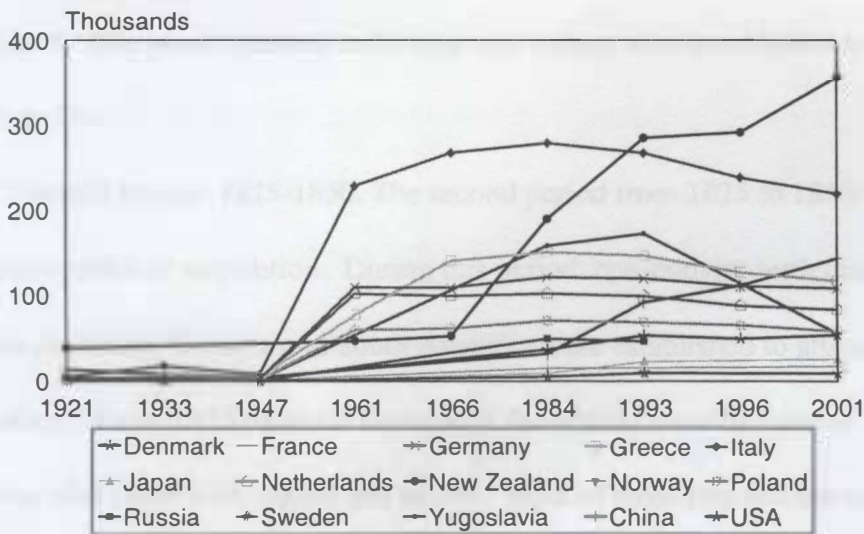


Figure 2.2. Composition of Australian population by birth country (United Kingdom excluded)

population from 1921 to 1996 (ABS, 1998a). As British migration has dominated Australia's changing population, Figure 2.1 shows a logarithmic population scale (otherwise the smaller countries of birth would not be distinguishable). Figure 2.2 shows the population change with British migration removed (ABS, 1998a).

In order to understand how migration has proceeded in Australia, Jupp (1991) described its history in terms of seven major periods. These periods illustrate a history of migration dominated by the British and Europeans.

**First Period: 1788-1825.** The first period began with British settlement in 1788 and lasted up until the mid 1820s. Eastern Australia was claimed by Cook in 1775. Fearing French expansionism, the British established a colony in Sydney in 1788. During this period migration consisted mainly of convicts from England and Ireland. The penal colonies in Sydney and Hobart were established to house these convicts.

**Second Period: 1825-1850.** The second period from 1825 to 1850 saw the first major intake of population. During this period, non-convict settlements in Western Australia, Victoria and South Australia were established to attract the free settlers. From 1825 onwards the bulk of the settlers were farmers or labourers who came with capital and labour. Most of these free settlers were of English or Scottish descent (Jupp, 1991). During this period a small group of Anglo-Indians was brought to Australia to work as labourers (BIMPR, 1995b).

**Third Period: 1850-1880.** The third period from 1850 to 1880, involved a process of assisted passage schemes for English, Irish and Scottish migrants. Those not of this descent were ineligible for assisted passages. Thus only those of sufficient wealth were able to migrate from other regions. This situation however changed considerably in the mid to late 1850s when gold was found in New South Wales and Victoria. During this period the population jumped from 405,000 in

1850 to 1,146,000 in the 1860s. While some immigrants continued to use assisted passages, many had to pay their own way. Immigrants (mainly males) came to Australia from Europe, China and America. The presence in mining camps of considerable numbers of unaccompanied Chinese men brought resentment from non-Chinese. These Chinese men were considered of 'evil habit' (Jupp, 1991) because they were seen to be corrupting European women and dealing in opium.

This anti-Chinese fervour eventually spilled over into a national concern. The result was an ending to free migration of Asians to Australia and the beginning of the White Australia movement in the 1880s. During this period, a significant proportion of immigrants were of European descent. Colonial governments in Australia restricted or prohibited coloured or Asian immigration (BIMPR, 1995b). The only non-Europeans allowed into Australia were those who served as cheap labour (e.g., Kanakas from the Pacific Islands) or were used in dangerous work (e.g., Japanese in the pearl diving industry).

Fourth period: 1880 to 1910. The fourth period from the 1880s to 1910 saw an overall drop in immigration (Jupp, 1991). While small numbers of British and Irish immigrants (many on assisted passages) continued to migrate to New South Wales, South Australia and Victoria, during the 1880s, this was substantially reduced from the migration of the gold rush period. By the depression in the 1890s, migration to the eastern colonies had basically stopped, however, the discovery of gold in the Kalgoorlie goldfields allowed Western Australia to enjoy a small number of migrants. While the Chinese were restricted from working the goldfields, they did seek work as hotel workers and cooks. As the Chinese migrants from all the colonies increasingly moved to the cities, there

appeared to be growing support for the White Australia Movement. Upon its creation as the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, one of the first acts to be passed was the Immigration Restriction Act (later called the White Australia Policy) which effectively excluded all non-Europeans. For the next 50 years there was no migration from countries such as China and India (BIMPR, 1995a).

Fifth period: 1910 to 1930. From 1910 to 1930, the restriction of non-Europeans effectively meant that the majority of immigrants were once again British. While there were some Germans migrating to Queensland, this stopped with the beginning of the First World War. British migration continued to increase until the depression in 1930. The make-up of the later British group was substantially different from the previous groups and concerns about migration emerged. Firstly, the more recent arrivals from Britain were landowners or from the poorer areas of northern England and Scotland. These people tended to migrate to urban areas, particularly around Sydney. Australia's economy was essentially based on agriculture (Australia was said to ride the sheep's back), and some mining labour was required in rural areas. The reluctance of British migrants to go to rural areas was resented. Moreover, those who did go to rural areas tended to be southern European. Rural areas have tended to be more racist than urban Australia (Pederson, et al., 2000) and racial tensions emerged. Concern also grew about the number of Southern European migrants (Greeks, Italians, Yugoslavians and Maltese).

The Southern Europeans were considered by some powerful groups (e.g., unionists, ex war veterans) in Australia to be non-white, despite their European background (Jupp, 1991). From 1930 to 1947 non-British migration virtually

stopped. Australia's population by 1947 had become predominantly British or Irish first generation migrants and an increasing number of Australian born individuals.

Sixth period: 1947 to 1972. The sixth period from 1947 to 1972 was marked by the biggest move away from British migration since 1788. With little immigration for two decades, Australia had become considerably more homogeneous both in ethnic and cultural terms. It was unable to attract British migrant workers during this period because of Britain's desire to hold onto its people following World War Two in order to rebuild its own country. Thus, Australia turned to Europe for its migrants. The Australian government became aware of a growing group of Southern European displaced refugees following the war who were unable to return to their countries; it sought to encourage these individuals to come to Australia. Once this source of migrants had been depleted and because of a growing level of racism towards non-whites, the Australian government began drawing displaced refugees from Eastern Europe (such as the Russian and Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia). Unlike their southern counterparts they were fair skinned and blue eyed. From 1947 to 1954 over 171,000 displaced refugees arrived in Australia.

From this period up until the mid 1970s, almost all immigrants were of British or European descent (including Greeks, Yugoslavs, Maltese) who came to Australia on assisted passages. The numbers of European immigrants, in particular, increased significantly after World War Two, as it became increasingly difficult to attract British migrants (Jupp, 1991). Maintaining its assimilationist policy, the government in 1950 encouraged the Australian public to welcome

these New Australians with such programmes as the Good Neighbour movements, which helped British and European migrants settle and encourage them to adopt an Australian identity and speak English (where necessary). However, as the economies in their home countries improved and with fewer displaced persons left in camps in Europe, immigrants from these countries greatly diminished by the 1970s.

Final period: From 1973 onwards. The final period saw the ending of the White Australia policy by the Labor government in 1973. Since this time, numerous people from a variety of countries have migrated to Australia. By the end of the 1980s, the Department of Immigration claimed that migrants came from over 130 different countries in a range of numbers (Jupp, 1991). Migrants came from regions such as the Middle East, Indo-China, Chile, Uruguay. Table 2.1 shows the top ten source countries of settler arrivals in the period of 1965 to 1996.

This history of Australian migration has clearly been dominated by British migration from 1788 until 1880 and 1910 to 1947. The migration from other European countries occurred predominantly between 1880 and 1910 and from 1947 to the mid 1970s. Increased migration from a range of countries since the 1980s including Asia have occurred. Western Australia appears to have mirrored these experiences in its population make-up but at different times.

Table 2.1

*Top ten source countries of settler arrivals, country of birth/number of persons per selected period*

1965/66	1975/76	1985/86	1995/96	1999/00
United Kingdom 74,749	United Kingdom 16,687	United Kingdom 14,709	New Zealand 12,265	New Zealand 21,889
Greece 15,153	New Zealand 2,921	New Zealand 13,284	United Kingdom 11,268	United Kingdom 9,201
Italy 11,420	Cyprus 2,855	Vietnam 7,168	China 11,247	China 6,809
Yugoslavia 8,081	Chile 1,905	Philippines 4,128	Hong Kong 4,361	South Africa 5,691
Malta 4,298	Yugoslavia 1,804	China 3,138	India 3,700	India 4,631
Germany 3,751	Lebanon 1,519	South Africa 3,132	Vietnam 3,567	Philippines 3,186
USA 2,326	Greece 1,489	Hong Kong 3,118	Bosnia- Herzegovina 3,405	Indonesia 2,943
New Zealand 2,200	USA 1,432	Lebanon 2,757	Philippines 3,232	Yugoslavia 2,356
Netherlands 2,146	Italy 1,365	Malaysia 2,284	South Africa 3,190	Fiji 1,856
Lebanon 1,625	Malaysia 1,201	India 2,135	Iraq 2,617	Malaysia 1,771

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1998b, 2001b.



## Migration to Western Australia

Western Australia has changed from a culturally homogenous population to more ethnically heterogenous population compared to other states (Hugo, 1996). In 1947, 96.1% of the population in Western Australia was either Australian born, British or Irish or New Zealander while in 1991 the proportion of this category was 86.7%, by 2001 it represented 79.1% (ABS, 2002). This change is reported to be due to an increase in migrants from non-English speaking countries particularly from Europe (Italy, Greece, former Yugoslavia, Germany and the Netherlands) in the 1950s and 1960s (it rose from 2.7% in 1947 to 7.2% in 1976).

Western Australia's capital city, Perth, is recognised as one of the most geographically isolated cities in the world. In the Perth region in 2001, 408,029 people were born overseas (32.9% of total population). This had decreased slightly from 1991 when this group represented 33.8% of the total population. 41.2% of overseas born people came from the United Kingdom and Ireland, 18.3% from the rest of Europe, 13.9% from South East Asia<sup>3</sup> and 7.8% from New Zealand (ABS, 2002).

Of the proportion of people from South East Asia (56,682 people), 29.2% were born in Malaysia, 16.9% in Singapore, 16.9% in Vietnam, 12.8% in Indonesia and 9.3% in Burma (Myanmar) (ABS, 2002). Its important to note that

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Perth has the second highest proportion of Asian born migrants in Australia (ABS, 2002)

a significant increase of Asian born residents from 1947 to 1976 had European and Asian ancestry (Hugo, 1996). These people are referred to as being ethnically mixed (for example, the Anglo-Burmese) rather than an traditional ethnic group.

### Defining ethnicity, the ethnic group and the ethnically mixed group

De Vos (1982) defined an ethnic group as a "self-perceived group of people who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by the others with whom they are in contact" (p.6). These traditions can include religious beliefs and practices, language, common ancestry or place of origin. Knobel (1986) noted that ethnicity is a more subjective term rather than an objective ideal. Chapman, McDonald and Tonkin (1989) also added that ethnicity and the ethnic group were less an academic term and more about "one side of a duality, tacit or otherwise, of familiarity and strangeness"(p.40). She also pointed out that positive definitions (e.g., DeVos) frequently ignore the negative component, that the ethnic group label is enforced by others outside through the imposition of stereotypes. The ethnically mixed group can be defined by the same characteristics identified above, but with the added feature of ancestry which is traced to more than one culture.

## Ethnically mixed migration

Ethnically mixed migrants, such as the Anglo-Indians, Anglo-Burmese, Sri Lankan Burghers and South African 'coloureds' have mixed ethnic and cultural heritage, caused by the process of European colonisation. The establishment of the colonisers in the new country through social, economic, and political means, results in the inevitable contact with the indigenous people. This often lead to sexual relations, either through marriage or unconventional relationships. Typically these relations have occurred between the European male and indigenous female. The resulting offspring were usually identifiably different than either of their parents, and a blend of both cultures. These groups frequently occupied positions of status between the dominant colonial group and the indigenous populations. Because of their European heritage, they were given better employment usually serving the needs and purposes of the colonialists and represented the direct link between the indigenous population and the colonial group. For example in India, there arose a group called the Anglo-Indians who were a mixture of the white colonisers and indigenous Indians. These people formed a class (caste) between the British and the Indians.

However, with independence, the colonial empires withdrew from these countries, leaving these newly created mixed groups to fend for themselves. To the indigenous populations they represented both a physical and psychological reminder of the colonial conquest. Consequently, these mixed groups were faced with a number of choices. These were:

(1) to seek refuge by emigrating to the country of the colonial power who they had been encouraged to culturally identify with. To their surprise they were often unwelcome and were seen to be culturally identified with their country of origin; (2) to remain in the indigenous culture and adapt to the indigenous culture; or, (3) to emigrate to societies which are culturally similar to the colonial country (Gist & Dworkin, 1972).

Those who choose the last option may be faced with the added difficulty of similar colonial ideals, which see some migrating groups as inferior to others (Blauner, 1972; Memmi, 1965; Pollak, 1979). Gist and Dworkin (1972) have highlighted a number of groups which have developed in this way and were forced to make one of the above three choices. These include the South African Coloureds, Anglo-Indians, Burghers of Ceylon, Eurasians of Indonesia and Guyanese Coloureds. How we research such groups is important because their experiences differ from the more traditional ethnic groups.

## Post Colonial Theory

Movements towards decolonisation (i.e., movement of colonised countries to independence beginning in the 1950s has led theorists (e.g., Fanon, 1968; Memmi, 1974) with personal experiences of marginalisation to develop a new theoretical perspective known as post-colonial theory. These theories attempt to explain the continued impact of colonisation. Seidman (1998) described three types of post colonial theory:

(1) Social-structuralist or Materialist approach (Emmanuel, 1972; Frank, 1969; Luxemburg, 1968). This approach drew on the works of Marx and argued that colonialism resulted from competition within domestic markets for scarce resources (such as labour). In order to compete, capitalist societies seek out new resources (e.g., cheap labour); political and military forces are used to protect these new markets in foreign countries.

(2) Culturalist Approach (Said, 1978, 1985) This approach argued that colonisation results from cultural assumptions made by the separation between the 'West' and 'East'. Countries like America and Europe see themselves as the 'West' and, as such, superior and achieving social progress. They view their counterparts in the east (e.g., oriental countries like India and China) as inferior and in need of guidance in order to socially progress. Said argues that such cultural assumptions result from a lack of contact with those in Eastern or oriental countries by those in the West. This lack of contact perpetuates the false assumptions about Orientals as feminine, childlike or immature. Based on this belief Western countries feel they have a moral and rational obligation to civilise these people so that they can progress (Said, 1985).

(3) Psychological approach (Fanon, 1968). This approach argues that colonisation necessarily requires a process of dehumanisation. The colonisers see the colonised as less human and in need of control. The coloniser aims to make such "savages" more human. Consequently, the native internalises the experience which sees the coloniser as superior and themselves as inferior and in need of help and guidance by the colonisers. This approach is consistent with the experience of the ethnically mixed group who as a product of relations between the coloniser

and the colonised come to experience the instability of fitting neither role and experiencing marginalisation.

## Conclusion

There are a number of mixed groups such as Anglo-Indians (Chandraratna & Cummins, 1988; Colquhoun, 1996), Sri Lankan Burghers (Chandraratna & Cummins, 1988), and South African Coloureds (Sonn, 1996) who made the choice to migrate to Commonwealth countries like Australia. One group of ethnically mixed individuals which has received little attention both in terms of research and descriptive histories is a community known as the Anglo-Burmese, who began migrating to Australia and in particular, Western Australia, in the 1960s. Independence and a change in social and cultural circumstances had forced them to make one of three choices: either migrate to the colonial country (in this case, Britain) or a Commonwealth country or to stay in Burma. The choice of Australia, in particular Western Australia, could be argued to have had a profound impact both on their subsequent decisions both individually and collectively. It is clear that Australia's history has been predominantly British and this is paralleled in Western Australia. It is also clear that Western Australia is increasingly becoming more ethnically heterogenous. The considerable effect of migration on Australia and Western Australia has highlighted the importance of culture in disciplines like psychology in this state. The psychological approach is useful in explaining the ethnically mixed groups' experience. Understood according to this

approach, the ethnically mixed group, a product of relations between colonisers and the colonised, experience an internal sense of being marginalised (The experience of marginalisation is explored further in the first two studies). The next chapter examines the application of psychology and, in particular community psychology, to understanding cultures.

## Chapter Three

# Understanding Culture within the Substantive Domain

The objectives for this chapter are as follows:

- To describe the historical development of cultural issues in psychology.
- To outline the development of the community research model for communities in Western Australia.
- To describe the model in detail examining six components: Tacit knowledge to theory; the importance of the obvious; the role of the active mediator; the role of the professional; contextualism revisited; and persons-in-relation.



Culture based research within western psychology has been dominated by cross-cultural psychology. Developing from the same positivistic traditions as general psychology, this perspective provided the framework by which cultures were studied in the 1960s and 1970s (Lucariello, 1995). However, as some areas of psychology have moved away from positivism, critics of cross-cultural psychology became increasingly aware of the ethnocentric biases underlying some of the fundamental notions on which cross-cultural psychology is based. More recently, some psychologists have suggested an alternative route, known as cultural psychology (Cole, 1990; Price-Williams, 1980; Shweder, 1990), which challenges notions of culture as external to an individual's cognitions and behaviour. They instead argue that culture, cognitions and behaviour are inseparable, and as such are intrapsychic (Jahoda, 1992; Lucariello, 1995). It has been suggested that this approach is not radically different from cross-cultural psychology (Greenfield, 1997) in that cultural psychology does not reject universal phenomena.

In this chapter, a third approach to culture offered by community psychology is explored. This approach is also culture-specific, but unlike cultural psychology, it seeks meaningful understanding of the cultural experience from the participant's perspective. Also, it does not assume universal phenomena and can entertain the concept of multiple realities or cultural relativity (Rappaport, 1977). A community research model for exploring cultural communities in Western Australia is presented using features from all three perspectives: cross-cultural, cultural and community psychology. This model is both active and process

oriented, in which the research process (and researcher) and community operate hand in hand in order to understand the community.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the historical development of cultural issues in psychology from cross-cultural psychology, cultural and community psychology perspectives. Also described is the historical development of community psychology in Australia and Western Australia which led to the development of a model for investigating communities in Western Australia.. This model is presented in detail in this chapter, drawing on a number of examples. In summary, the model to be described involves six components: Tacit knowledge to theory; the importance of the obvious; the role of the active mediator; the role of the professional; contextualism revisited; and persons-in-relation.

The model is driven by an iterative-reflective-generative process in which knowledge is reflected upon and influenced by the conceptual domain. Over subsequent iterations the conceptual domain develops. The result is a substantive theory. To facilitate this process, the researcher seeks logical and empirical evidence (tacit knowledge to theory). This evidence must be understood from a range of perspectives. This is achieved by the use of the root metaphor method suggested by Pepper (1942) and the worldview frameworks of Altman and Rogoff (1984). The researchers themselves act as active mediators between stakeholders (role of the active mediator) and negotiate the role of exchange with the community (role of the professional).

The fundamental assumptions underlying this model are two fold. First, the world theory adopted is one of contextualism (contextualism revisited) and the

second, the relations between people are understood to be central in determining the modes of community in operation (persons-in-relation). With this in mind the methodology used in this process is one of discovering complex, real-world phenomena, using multiple methods, multiple levels of analysis with multiple interpretations.

As with many of the epistemological debates, the model proposed by Bishop et al. does not provide a methodological framework. In discussing the model, methodological issues will be introduced, and some of the philosophical underpinnings of the methodology, will be raised to operationalise the proposed model. Moreover, there are aspects implicit in Bishop et al.'s model that are not articulated. A final section has been added to the issues raised by Bishop et al. to make explicit some issues necessary to use this model in researching communities. To begin with however, this chapter will explore the historical development of cultural issues in psychology from cross-cultural psychology to cultural psychology and finally to Western Australian community psychology.

## Cross-cultural Psychology

From the early 1960s, increasing concern regarding the impact of culture on research in general psychology became evident. In line with the positivistic thinking of the time, in which psychology was seen as a value free science, culture was conceived as an external measure of behaviour. Cross-cultural psychology was defined as "the scientific study of human behaviour and its transmission,

[which takes into] account the way in which behaviors are shaped and influenced by social and cultural forces" (Segall, Dasen, Berry & Poortinga, 1990; p.6).

Defined in this way, cross-cultural psychologists believed in a decontextualised psychology in which culture was on the periphery (Misra & Gergen, 1993a).

Thus, they interpreted culture as a variable which was both independent and influential on an individual's behaviour.

Reflecting these positivistic traditions, cross-cultural psychology had three important features which made a number of assumptions about this perspective. Firstly, like general psychology, the existence of psychological universals (Segall, Lonner & Berry, 1998; Shweder, 1990) or what Berry et al. (1992) referred to as the basic psychic unity of mankind was assumed. Thus, cross-cultural psychology sought to identify those aspects of culture which were universal or *etic* (Davidson, 1992) to all human behaviour. This suggested that not only was a universal psychology possible but that it was valid for a broad range of cultures (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 1992). Berry and Dasen (1974) referred to this feature as the *transport and test goal*. This suggested that cross-cultural psychologists were interested in using, and applying, their present hypotheses and findings to other cultural settings in order to test their relevance to other groups of human beings. This feature suggested that cross-cultural psychology provided western researchers with a set of perspectives, procedures and methods which were useful in carrying out research in other cultures (Berry, Dasen & Sartorius, 1988). It was implied that cross-cultural psychology not only provided a better contextual

understanding of behaviour in western cultures but that non-western cultures could be just as easily understood using the same techniques.

The second feature of cross-cultural psychology was the existence of specific or *emic* features of culture which moderated an individual's behaviour. While cross-cultural psychologists still believed in existence of universals, they also sought to explore other cultures in order to discover psychological variations not present in any individual's limited cultural experience (Berry & Dasen, 1974; Davidson, 1992). It is this feature which assumed that an individual's behaviour was mediated by the culture to which an individual belongs and could be interpreted as a cultural difference (Brislin, 1990). Encompassing these two features was the final feature of cross-cultural psychology which suggested the existence of a 'universal' psychology, when the results of the first two goals were integrated.

The assumptions made by cross-cultural psychology were based on the positivistic view that culture and the mind were different entities and that culture was independent of an individual's behaviour (Lucariello, 1995). Given this, cross-cultural psychologists had felt justified in developing and validating instruments in western cultures for non-western cultures because they believed culture was an external indicator of all human behaviour. Hence, they felt that the meaning and interpretation would not alter across cultures.

However, as general psychology has moved away from positivism and recognised context and values inherent in psychology, criticisms of cross-cultural psychology have surfaced. Led by the likes of Sarason (1972), this post-modernist

movement suggested that culture was a natural part of a person's behaviour and cognitions. Adopting this post-modernist outlook, Misra and Gergen (1993a) criticised cross-cultural psychology, because they believed the positivistic psychology from which it was derived was ethnocentric and intellectually oppressive to non-western cultures.

Misra and Gergen (1993a) argued that positivistic psychology was basically a Euro-American product, which has remained within the academic arena. Its success, they argued, had been achieved through the perpetuation of a value (culture) free science which had been supported by economic imperialism and colonial rule in a majority of non-western countries. It was the impact of an intellectual climate of progress and modernisation and the ethos of Judeo-Christian values, which had seen western psychology transferred to non-western cultures. They argued that these same beliefs underlay cross-cultural psychology, and as such made it guilty of the same oppressive qualities.

Misra and Gergen (1993a) suggested that the emic-etic approaches which aimed to capture both the specific and universal features of non-western cultures in relation to western cultures were flawed in a number of ways. Firstly, because the notion of universality was based on western notions (or a western yardstick), it implied that a unique set of categories or abstract dimensions in non-western cultures was not possible. Thus, the notion of emic was simply what was different from the set of universals defined by western psychologists. Secondly, in order to understand the meaning of behaviour in non-western cultures, research had to be

translated into a western system of meaning. Once it was reinterpreted, non-western values and beliefs were lost to western values and beliefs.

Despite the criticisms made by Misra and Gergen (1993a), some cross-cultural psychologists believed that their perspective was still justified on a number of grounds. Firstly, Triandis (1993) argued that there was no denying that cross-cultural psychology was a western construction and hence a western perspective even in non-western cultures. But he claimed that cross-cultural psychology was science and the notion of science was also a western construction. He believed that the goal of science was to generalise. Hence, Triandis argued that if there was to be such a thing as science in non-western cultures it would need to be western in construction. He suggested that because non-western psychologies could not conceptualise elements of science using their own methodologies, this did not mean that non-western cultures could not be studied for the purposes of science.

Others, like Poortinga (1993), also argued that it was impossible for western psychologists to see things any differently. He suggested that western psychologists perceive the world based on their own value system. He went further to suggest there were in fact two benefits to cross-cultural psychology. Firstly, that the experimental approach typically used in this research had helped to explain the relationship between cultural context and behaviour. A second benefit of cross-cultural psychology, he argued, was that it was able to make sense of the similarities in behaviours across cultures which a cultural relativist stance could not. He suggested that if psychology is culture specific, then in a sense,

behaviours are culture specific. Poortinga understood psychology to be the study of universal notions of behaviour. He believed psychology was contradicting itself if it was viewed as culture specific.

Another justification came from Lonner (1979) who pointed out that cross-cultural research was expensive. It was this reality which largely dictated where people may be able to travel and live for research purposes. He believed a western construction was a cost efficient alternative. Lonner also suggested that cross-cultural psychologists, were part of a larger professional (psychology) body, this meant that they were required to maintain and reflect the broader trends of a science and current trends in mainstream psychology.

## Cultural Psychology

Misra and Gergen (1993b) felt that such justifications for cross-cultural psychology and principles reinforced their claims that cross-cultural psychology was inherently a western construction which was both ethnocentric and colonialist. They suggested that to believe complexity, relativity or cost efficiency were grounds for cross-cultural psychology, showed clearly the inherent bias and oppressive quality of cross-cultural research and its researchers. Bernal (1991) had also argued that the notion of science and intellectual thought was not uniquely western anyway but had in fact been heavily influenced by the Egyptians and Persians.



It is concerns such as these which have led to the renewed interest in a perspective known as cultural psychology and disillusionment with cross-cultural psychology (Cole, 1995; Eckensberger, 1995). Cultural psychology grew out of the interaction between anthropology, psychology and linguistics (Shweder & Sullivan, 1993). Having predated experimental psychology (Jahoda, 1989), it did not properly enter contemporary psychology until 1979, when Price-Williams (1979) defined it as "the branch of inquiry that delves into the contextual behaviour of psychological processes "(p14). Following his lead, researchers such as Shweder (1990) and Cole (1990) challenged the existence of psychological universals through their research. These psychologists were also concerned with a perspective based on notions of universality and fixed truths. They argued that the cultural psychological perspective was a tool by which to redefine those processes which were context-dependent, local and variable rather than universal. Kim (2000) described cultural psychology as having a contextualist approach which implied that each culture has its own unique set of characteristics which need to be understood from within the culture.

Cultural psychology believed in the intentionality of a person's behaviour and the extent to which this intentionality constructs a person's understanding of the world in which he or she lives (Shweder, 1990). In other words, while cross-cultural psychology saw culture as external to the individual's cognitions and behaviour, culture for this perspective was a part of individual. It was this internalised culture which made individuals behave in a certain way and provide them with systems of meaning (Davidson, 1992).

Central to cultural psychology were three core assumptions. Firstly, cultural psychology involved the study of 'experience near' concepts as opposed to 'experience distant' concepts of cross-cultural psychology. In other words, concepts in cultural psychology were derived directly from the individual's constructions of reality and not from the researcher's reality (Shweder & Sullivan, 1993). Secondly, cultural psychology assumes cultural learning is achieved through one's parents and cognitive schema. Thus, individuals do not come into the world as uniform blank slates but rather they come in with a complex set of ways to interpret their worlds. These interpretations, however, may alter over the lifetime of the individual (Shweder & Sullivan). Thirdly, and most importantly, cultural psychology neither rejects pure universalism nor supports pure relativism, rather it seeks middle ground in which behaviours are not necessarily uniform at a deeper level of human existence. Shweder (2003) and Shweder and Sullivan (1993) argued instead that there exists *universalism without uniformity*. What is universal to all human beings is a whole complex set of inherited psychological processes which are initiated, used and reasoned in a variety of ways by cultures. These processes, when examined as an etic grid, provide information necessary for cultural psychology. Shweder (1991a, b) argued that the notion of psychic unity, is what makes individuals imaginable to one another, and not what makes individuals the same.

Viewing culture, cognitions and behaviour of an individual as a single unit, cultural psychology offers to culture-based research a possible alternative methodology which interprets culture from an individual's system of meaning and

constructs instruments from the insider's perspective. This alternative methodology is, firstly, interested in studying the processes (rather than variables) which occur within a culture. This means the use of 'packaged' variables (independent or dependent) in many quantitative methods are less likely to be used (Greenfield, 1997). Instead the use of qualitative methods plays a more significant role (Kral, Burkhardt, & Kidd, 2002).

Secondly, cross-cultural comparisons involving the same quantitative instrument are unacceptable. Rather, cross-cultural comparisons can be made using quantitative instruments which have been adapted to the respective culture. Also because the cultural process is of primary concern within this perspective, cross-cultural comparisons play a secondary role. This methodology requires an in-depth understanding of the culture of interest. This requirement means that researchers typically: (1) select one culture only, and (2) have some prior knowledge of culture.

### Critical Cultural Community Psychology: A recent development

Emerging from cultural psychology has been a new perspective known as critical cultural community psychology. This perspective draws heavily from the discipline of community psychology. Community psychology is concerned with the relationship between individuals and social groups (Rappaport, 1977). It developed in North America in the 1960s as a reaction to a dissatisfaction with individualistic psychology, the recognition of other levels of analysis, a need for a

community mental health approach, prevention and social intervention and psychology's lack of understanding of the social changes of the 1950s and 1960s (Reiff, 1968). The Swampscott, Boston Conference in 1965 marked its beginnings with several psychologists working in community mental health programs, deciding to educate other psychologists on community health issues and a call by these same psychologists to examine and play a more active role in more general forms of health as opposed to just mental health. This conference led to the development of a division of Community Psychology in APA (Division 27, now the Society for Community Research and Action) and an establishment of a number of journals related specifically to the field. One of the major concerns which was highlighted in a subsequent report of the conference was the need for community psychologists to play the role of social change agent or social activist (Rappaport, 1977).

Thus, one of community psychology's primary goals is with social justice and social change. It addresses three concerns in meeting this value: (1) Science- the practical application of social science to the lives of people within particular environments. (2) Human Resource Development- a focus on the development of primary prevention as opposed to tertiary intervention. (3) Political Activity- in achieving the second concern, the community psychologist must be willing to create change and which inevitably leads to conflict and political confrontations. It is North American Community Psychology's emphasis on social justice (e.g., Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002; Reiff, 1970) which has been most influential in the development of community psychology in Australia and Western Australia.

Community psychology began in Australia in the early 1970s with the influence of two North American community psychologists who migrated to Australia. Its beginnings were slow, with originally only one university in Queensland offering post graduate courses in community psychology (Veno & Gardner, 1979). However, over the next two decades it developed through a recognised college of the Australian Psychological Society and the production of a journal known as *Network* (Bishop, in press). Like the development of community psychology in North America (Bennett, 1965), the Australian version grew out of a discontentment with clinical psychology. However, noticeable differences exist between these two community psychologies because of variations in contextual circumstances (Veno, 1982) and varying social conditions (Bishop & D’Rozario, 1990). The first of these differences is the difference in conditions operating in Australia at the time of community psychology’s beginning. Unlike the Swampscott conference and the social activism of the 1960s in North America (Veno, 1982), Australia in the 1970s until the mid 1980s was in a period of economic boom and government policies were being redirected to integration rather than assimilation of migrants and indigenous peoples (Thomas, 1992). Because of this, the Australian community psychologist spent a considerable amount of time reflecting on the experiences of North America. This reflection also had an impact on theoretical knowledge with the literature of Sarason (1974), Rappaport (1977) and Rieff (1966, 1968) playing a prominent role in the teaching practices of academic staff in the area up until the early 1990s.

Contextually, Australian community psychologists have also faced the implications of geographical isolation. With little direct communication with North America until more recently (with the university financial support for staff and students to attend SCRA and via email), there was a considerable reliance on published articles and books. With this lack of professional knowledge (Schön, 1983), gaps occurred between the North American experience and Australian experience. For example, much research on sense of community (SOC) was operationalised on neighbourhood blocks in the United States. This did not translate easily in the Australian context because of differences in housing problems (Rapley & Pretty, 1996). This required community psychologists in Australia to seek and reflect on experiences directly from the substantive domain (Bishop & D’Rozario, 2002) e.g., migrant communities, indigenous communities, rural communities. This process was very similar to the reflective- generative practice outlined by Dokecki (1992). A third difference is the considerably smaller population of community psychologists in Australia (only three universities currently offer community psychology programs). Many community psychologists and indeed the programs are forced to operate in dual roles e.g., clinical/community sports/community, community/environmental, statistical/community, cross-cultural/community. This impacts on the types of research consultancies sought and the role that community psychologists play in the research. Another difference is the lack of available Australian research funding in comparison to North America. This meant that projects aimed towards social justice are somewhat limited, so researchers have opted for a small but significantly different approach to such projects.

Western Australia (W.A.), in particular, also has additional differences to its South East counterparts. As mentioned earlier, it is geographically isolated. With Perth as its capital city (the nearest capital city is two and half days drive away), it is recognised as one of the most isolated cities in the world. Again the reflection of practice is intensified. Another difference is that South East Australia operates with a more clinical orientation than W.A. W.A. practice also has developed more from a dissatisfaction with social psychology (Bishop et al., 2002), with influences from applied social, cultural and environmental psychology.

These contextual differences and social conditions, namely the geographical isolation, inadequate research funding, limited numbers, limited direct communication, and lack of social activism in the early development of the discipline have created a community psychology which emphasises multi-discipline projects aimed at achieving social justice through small but significant means, and a research process which seeks and reflects on experiences directly from the substantive domain of the community involved.

One of the growing concerns among the Australian community in relation to the North American version has been its lack of critical analysis of programs in North America and their real value in meeting the social justice/ social change goal. It is because of this concern that Australian community psychologists have been drawn to aspects of critical psychology more recently, which emphasise a critical appraisal of psychological theory and research practice. Australian community psychologists have been careful not to be totally drawn into critical

psychology as the total absorption will inadvertently result in a loss of their critical edge between theory and practice in community psychology.

The role of culture has also proved important in the development of this approach. As mentioned above, the contextual conditions have led to a substantive approach to research investigations. The existence of social justice issues from migrants, indigenous and rural communities in Australia are paramount. With a history affected by migration, and a colonial past, and a poor record with indigenous issues, Australia has had to deal with a concept of community which implies instability and tension (Bishop & D’Rozario, 2002). A necessity to understand and interpret the experiences of these communities meaningfully and how they interact and relate to a variety of stakeholders as these changes occur has been critical to the research practice of Western Australian community psychologists and has led to development of what is now known as a critical cultural community psychology.

## Community Research Model

Bishop et al. (2002) presented a model of epistemology for community psychology. This model has developed out of North American models, but has been informed by local experience (Bishop, Sonn, & Drew, in press). It will be argued that this model is appropriate for investigating cultural-community issues. The model will be presented in detail in the following section. While the authors make little claims about methodology, the model presented here will be expanded



to allow the development of methodological approaches. More importantly, it will be argued that this model can be used as a way of investigating communities, with some elaboration.

To put the model in perspective, it is necessary to report the historical development of community psychology in WA. In particular, the developments in epistemology, methods and concepts of community will be highlighted.

While visiting academics such as Susan Kelly and Robert Reiff provided an intellectual basis and the appointment of Paul Jennings and Art Venio provided the early substance, it was the work of Geoff Syme at CSIRO that provided the practical and theoretical impetus. Syme and others have developed an impressive body of work on environmental and resource management from a psychological perspective. Essentially a pragmatist, Syme employed whatever psychology and social science theories were available to deal with a variety of issues. The lack of any systematic theoretical base in psychology moved him to adopt an eclectic approach that adopted theory and practice from a variety of areas. Essential to this approach was his realisation that problems arose from communities or from policy domains. The application of psychological and other theories was informed by the domain of study. Thus, theory informed research and practice, rather than determining it.

An example of his approach was that he recognised that the planning discipline had dealt with social and environmental interventions long before community psychology had emerged. He argued that community psychology, and psychology in general, could learn from the mistakes of planners and develop

theories of social intervention (Syme & Bishop, 1993). Australian psychology has been slow to recognise the importance of his message and a feeling of disenchantment with traditional academic psychology has emerged in his work. This disenchantment is reflected in PhD students he has supervised and/or influenced. Syme's methodology was largely based on applied social psychology with a mixture of qualitative and quantitative research methods. His concepts of community were pragmatic and as much of the research was rural, geographic concepts of community predominated.

The next stage in this brief history is reflected in the work of PhD students. These students were enrolled in a joint centre between CSIRO and Curtin University. Neil Drew<sup>4</sup> was the first community psychology student. His research on social justice and planned community change was steeped in a dissatisfaction with traditional psychology. The crisis of confidence in social psychology (Elms, 1975) was a starting point for much reflection. The need for the development of new approaches was reflected in his approach to research. He based his epistemological approach on the work of McGuire (1983).

Drew (1997) integrated the work of McGuire's (1983) perspectivist (constructivism) approach, Trickett's (1996) contextualist (perspectivist) approach and Cook's (1985) critical multiplism to develop a theoretical framework for his research. He used a contextualist perspective in which the socially constructive nature of knowledge was acknowledged. He argued for a methodology that

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At the time, Neil Drew was employed at Edith Cowan University. Edith Cowan University offers the only community psychology postgraduate program in Western Australia.

involved a process of discovery which sought complex and real world phenomena (McGuire), using multiple levels of in-depth analysis, collaborative research partnerships (Trickett), multiple methods and drawing on multiple interpretations (central to Cook's critical multiplism and Trickett's multiple pluralism).

Drew (1997) argued that the constructivist approach represents one well articulated response to the problems of method in psychology. He sees McGuire as having essentially a realist ontology arguing that knowledge is meant to represent reality but it is only capable of imperfect representations. Drew wrote:

In his description of the approach McGuire (1983) posed a paradox by asserting that because all knowledge misrepresents reality, all knowledge propositions are false. However, because each proposition's contradictory is false, each proposition itself is true, and for every true proposition, its contradictory is also true...The resolution of the paradox is that every proposition is both true and false, true from some perspectives, false from others, depending on the context" (McGuire, 1994, p. 243). The approach also has implications for the development of theory. In the traditional empiricist view the role of research is to test theory. In perspectivism "the purpose is to construct theory by clarifying its meanings and implications, hidden assumptions and limitations and revealing contexts in which it does and doesn't hold" (McGuire, 1985, p. 573). For McGuire the research process is a discovery process that emphasises the complexity and interrelatedness of real world phenomena. The systems

approach re-emphasises description and encourages researchers to develop a style they find 'provocative' (McGuire, 1983) (Drew, 1997, p.61).

Trickett's (1996) review of contextualism is suggested by Drew (1997) to be similar to McGuire's (1983) perspectivism. As such, he saw Trickett's contextualism, with its emphasis on methodological pluralism, multiple levels of analysis, collaborative research relationships and the need to look "deeply rather than broadly" (Trickett, 1996, p. 225) as a basis for community psychological research and theory development.

Two other aspects of Drew's (1997) approach were based on the work of Cook (1985) and Polkinghorne (1983). Of Cook he wrote:

Methodological pluralism is based on critical multiplism which emerged from the critique of the empirical (or mechanistic) world view in traditional psychology. Proponents of critical multiplism (e.g., Cook, 1985) challenged the assumptions of empiricism. Critical multiplism was a response to the pressure to be relevant. Considering the views of the multiple stakeholders is more likely, on the one hand, to lead to more use of research finding in the ongoing debate and on the other, to the revelation of hidden assumptions and values of the stakeholder to inform the research (Cook, 1985). In this context multiple approaches make the most sense. Cook took the view that if multiplism was to supplant positivism it should at least offer some alternatives. Multiplism is focused on the complexity of the subject matter. Social scientists working within the framework are

characterised as 'realist', with an 'operational ontology' consistent with a contextually bound world. Multiple perspectives, multiple tasks and multiple methods are intrinsic to critical multiplism. Researchers are "more concerned with offering defensible interpretations of what is in the outside world" (Cook, 1985, p. 45). Multiple stakeholders imply potentially multiple interpretations, with stakeholders being given the opportunity to review the researchers' conclusions and interpretations (Drew, 1997, p.67).

Finally, consistent with the above arguments, Drew reflected on what Polkinghorne (1983) referred to as Assertoric knowledge, which acknowledges that we come to understand the world from multiple perspectives. In such a framework, the researcher's aim is to provide knowledge claims that are reflective of reality rather than being reality. Knowledge claims are then asserted and are put into the public domain for reaction. Such approaches encourage the use of qualitative methods but not at the expense of quantitative methods. In other words, the former occupying a position of greater and more meaningful status.

While reflecting some of the seeds that produced post-modernism, Drew's research was on the cusp of change and not wedded to it. His methodology reflected a substantial departure from traditional approaches, but still reflected realistic thinking. While espousing Brinberg and McGrath (1985), and, Smithson, Amato and Pearce's (1983) notions of the need for 'pre study' or 'pretheoretical' scoping of the domain of interest, his research design involved mapping social

impacts and then testing justice theories in the domain of the social impacts. The theoretical concept of community was based on the domain of study, which was planned community change. This necessarily reflects a geographic conception of community.

The next development is reflected in Sherie Coakes PhD that provided the move into post-modernism. She dealt with women's participation in rural communities. Her approach was explicitly post-modern. She wrote:

Recently published critiques have revealed a growing dissatisfaction with the ideology that underlies most of our research on complex psychological and social processes (Campbell, 1988; Churchland, 1980; Rorer & Widiger, 1983; Royce, 1982; Salmon, 1973; Weimer, 1979). The positivism paradigm has come under direct attack, and critics of the approach argue that under the 'cloak of science', researchers have assumed or proclaimed the universality of their theories and an almost unlimited generality of findings. Furthermore, research has embraced a single, narrow path for the practice of science, and its claims of value neutrality and objectivity are false and misleading (Wicker, 1989).

The major result of clinging to an outmoded philosophy and methodology of science has led to a restriction in the method of investigation and the range of topics in which psychologists have been engaged. Broadly, topics have been considered inappropriate if they cannot be studied experimentally and objectively, and no-where have the results been more disastrous than in the areas of social, environmental and

community psychology (Sarason, 1976, 1981a). As John (1993) states "There seemed no reason why the methods which were supposed to have brought about these achievements could not be used in the social sciences and psychology to provide technical solutions to even the most perplexing human problems" (p.4). However, one of the most important implications of philosophical analysis, which has arisen as a result of the dissatisfaction with positivism, is that there is no single method of science. The human tendency to think recurring thoughts only limits our theories and research, and therefore in order to advance we must be prepared to pull ourselves out of our conceptual ruts (Wicker, 1985).

This evaluation of, and departure from, the traditional practices of 'hard' science is not unique to the discipline of psychology. As Gergen (1988) states these changes "...are constituents of a much larger and more profound range of intellectual and cultural transformations. They are constituents of what many now view as the post-modern turn" (p.2).

Many theorists have discussed this shift in thought from modernism to post-modernism both within the academic world and in society in general (Dokecki, 1992; Gergen, 1988; 1994; Habermas, 1981; Himmelweit, 1990; Kvale, 1992; Newbrough, 1989; 1992; O'Gorman, 1991). Gergen (1988) outlines that post-modernism affords new ways of conceptualisation and has a number of potentials. These include, acknowledging the importance of value implications in psychological inquiry; reducing the emphasis on objectivity; recognising that our

conventions of discourse are largely dependent on social agreements, and these agreements carry ideological biases; and accepting an active participant role in the construction of culture by offering new theory, interpretation and intelligibility - "telling it not as it is" but "as it may become" (p.10).

Post-modern thought has developed largely through discussions of the philosophy of science. Theorists such as Kuhn (1977) have provided dramatic attacks on empiricist foundationalism, suggesting that knowledge is the result of social processes within the culture of science, and acknowledging that technical questions are merely questions of ideology and value which have been transformed by scientists (Habermas, 1981). Post-modernism thus takes account of historical circumstance, critically questioning the history of the discourse, its limits, and patterns of culture, and adopting a more relational view of language. As Newbrough (1992) states, "The post-modern era is a transition period to a new world; one that transitions from the modern period of certainty through science into a period of uncertainty and confusion" (p.10). Post-modern theorists "accept science to be value-laden rather than being value-neutral, and, thus, to be in pursuit of a new version of the social order" (p.14).

Despite the potentials of post-modernism, the vast share of contemporary inquiry in psychology is still conducted within a modernist framework. However, the emergence of approaches such as substantive theorising illustrate an attempt to develop procedures and



conceptualisations afforded by post-modern theory. (Coakes<sup>5</sup>, 1995, pp xiv-xvi)

Coakes' methodology was a mixed design with both quantitative and qualitative elements. It has been suggested that the conduct and analysis of the qualitative phase of her research led to the development of a greater understanding of community and of post-modernism (Bishop, May, 2000, pers comm.). In her thesis (Coakes, 1995), both qualitative and quantitative approaches are presented separately as essentially different studies. The quantitative research was principally based on modernism, while the qualitative was post-modern<sup>6</sup>. The difficulty of integrating research based on different epistemologies was addressed by presenting them separately as she acknowledges in Bishop, Coakes and D'Rozario (2002). Coakes' notion of community reflected the rural base of her research. While community was seen as being defined geographically, the concept of community was seen in more complex terms. Firstly, the communities she studied were multileveled with sub-communities. Moreover, these communities were evolving, albeit slowly, with changing mixtures of long term residents and newcomers. Community was seen more in process terms and reflected changing local dynamics.

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<sup>5</sup> Permission to quote directly from Coakes, 1995 was obtained from the author.

<sup>6</sup>

While in Coakes' research the qualitative was based on post-modernism and quantitative on modernism it is not true that all qualitative is post-modern and all quantitative research is modern.

Some rural research undertaken by Syme, Bishop and others reflects the next development (Bishop, Pellegrini, Syme & Shepherdson, 1993; Bishop & Syme, 1992; Bishop, Thomas, Pellegrini & Drew, 1998 ). This research reflects development of what they later termed an iterative, generative, reflective approach. The research was based on substantive theory (Wicker, 1989) and grounded theory (Creswell, 1998; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). These approaches provided a rhetoric to an emerging practice that was fundamentally pragmatic (James, 1991/1907). The research was based on the assumption that local communities had a considerable knowledge base (Friere, 1972) and that this needed to form the basis of any intervention. Research had to be located in the local knowledge base and systems of meaning. CSIRO had a strong community reputation for public consultation and this formed the basis of research. The role of the researcher as the 'expert' was questioned and a model was developed in which the researcher had to be able to enter a community with as minimal preconceptions as possible, Bishop and Syme (1992) describe how they came to recognise that the tolerance of uncertainty and ambiguity was fundamental to their research process. They saw that there was a considerable need for theory generation and less of theory testing. They accepted Sarason's (1982) comment that:

“If anybody ever asked me wherein my thinking has any distinctiveness, I would say it was in taking the obvious seriously.

American psychology has had trouble recognising the obvious, perhaps

because so much attention has been given to the distractions of theory.”  
(p. 234).

Bishop et al. (1998) described the basis for their community intervention action research as follows:

The approach developed here is broadly based on naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1885), participative inquiry (Reason & Rowan, 1981), post-modernism (Gergen, 1988; Kvale, 1992; Polkinhorne, 1992), grounded theory (Glasser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990), substantive theory (Wicker, 1989) and qualitative and quantitative research methods (Bickman & Rog, 1998; Cook & Campbell, 1979; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1990; Riessman, 1993; Seidman, 1991). While these approaches are essentially post-post positivist (Harré, 1981), they reflect the development of methods in the CSIRO/Curtin University Centre for Applied Psychology and its students (e.g., Coakes, 1995, Drew, 1997). These methods derive less from the argument between logical positivism and post-positivism and more from Pepper's (1942) 'world theory' approach. It involves the rejection of dualisms (Sarason, 1982) and the recognition that different approaches reflect different epistemologies and ontologies. The conflict generated by proponents of alternative methodologies can be seen more in terms of the failure to recognise the different philosophical bases. Through the process of starting with the epistemology underlying a research context, a

methodology can be developed that is internally coherent. Such an approach can be based on the world theories of Pepper (1942).

Qualitative methods have, for too long been seen as second class methods (Sarason, 1982) and the evaluation of them has presented more problems than for quantitative methods (Tolan, Keys, Chertok, & Jason, 1990). For this reason, qualitative researchers have often been defensive and vulnerable to attack by the 'hard scientist' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Syme, 1997). It is asserted here that adopting a *contextualist* or *selectivist* world theory from Pepper (1942) provides a rigorous framework for research. Pepper argued that these frameworks are equal to, but different from, the more common *mechanistic* and *formistic* framework that underlies much social research. By developing such a method, the researcher can concentrate on developing new questions (Jahoda, 1981) and not to be diverted from the important issues raised by a context. (Bishop et al. 1998, pp. 24-25)

The methodology employed by Bishop and others was almost exclusively qualitative. The epistemology was post-modern and embraced contextualism or pragmatism. The concept of community could be largely based on geography, but must be seen as primarily a process approach. Their concepts, although not well articulated are equally applicable to urban situations with relational communities, as articulated by Heller (1989).

In summary, there has been a development of the approaches to community psychology in WA. These are reflected in the work of staff and students associated with the joint research centre between Curtin and CSIRO, the CSIRO/Curtin Centre for Applied Psychology. The changes are summarised in the following table.

Table 3.1

*Research approaches of selected WA community psychologists*

Researcher(s)	Epistemology	Method	Problem generation	Concept of community
Syme	Modern and pragmatic	Mixed but predominantly quantitative	Policy driven	Simple and geographic
Drew	Sophisticated post-modern realist	Quantitative	Initially theory testing, then grounded	Simple and geographic
Coakes	Post-modern	Mixed	Initially theory driven, then grounded	Complex and geographic
Bishop and associates	Contextualist	Qualitative	Grounded	Complex and process

These developments set the scene for the development of a model of community. This model will be discussed in some detail, as it is central to the approach taken here. The model does not address methodological issues in any great detail. In fact, where methodology is raised by Bishop et al., it was for the conceptual basis behind the methodology, not for the methodology itself (Bishop,

July, 2000, pers comm). The notion of community is also not well developed. It will be argued that with appropriate modification, this model can be used as a model of community. Some approaches raised by Bishop et al. are amplified here and, where relevant, are extended to argue for the point of this being a framework to view community and culture (see Table 3.2).

### 1. Tacit knowledge to theory (What is the research process?)

Bishop et al. (2002) argue that Western Australian community psychology's basic underlying epistemology and approaches have been grounded in a reflection-in-action style approach (John, 1994; Schön, 1983; Stevens, 1998). This entailed the reflection on the local conditions and context as seen by the researchers, which the researcher assumes unique.

#### **Reflection in action**

Reflection on action is where reflection occurs because of an unexpected outcome which alters the actions we perform. Schön (1983) argued that this process occurred without being able to describe verbally what one is doing. Schön reflected on the decline of the positivistic approach to professional education. He

Table 3.2

*The community research model components and associated theories*

Component	Relevant Theories
Tacit knowledge to theory (What is the research process?)	Schön (1983) Reflective practitioner Steven's (1998) Trimodal theory of human action and reflective action Wicker's (1989) Substantive theorizing approach Dokecki's (1992) Reflective generative practice Polanyi's (1967) Tacit knowledge Moustakas et al. (1989; 1990) Heuristic enquiry
The importance of the obvious (How is the research process conducted?)	Dokecki's (1992; 1996) World view studies Altman & Rogoff's (1984) Worldviews Pepper (1942) Root metaphor method
The role of the active mediator (How do the researchers conduct themselves in this research process?)	Throgmorton's (1991) Active mediator
The role of the professional (How do the researcher's conduct themselves in the research process?)	Altman's (1996) Socially responsive knowledge
Contextualism revisited (What are the assumptions on which the research process is based?)	Pepper's (1992;1996) World theories
Persons-in-relation ( What are the assumptions on which the research process is based?)	Macmurray (1961) Persons-in-relation

argued that since the Second World War considerable money has been spent on research in the belief that this research could be directly used to improve society.

He stated that:

.....the production of new knowledge [was largely] promoted on the proposition that the production of new scientific knowledge could be used to create wealth, achieve national goals, improve human life, and solve social problems (p.38).

He added that:

Between 1963 and 1982 however the general public and the professionals ha(d) become increasingly aware of the flaws and limitations of the professions [based on the use of research] (p.39).

He saw the scientific approach to professionalism as 'technical rationality' and argued that it had to give way to professional education that incorporated 'reflection-in-action'. Reiff (1970) also recognised the danger of not recognising the limits of what he called the technique. The professional required a knowledge base that was not only 'professional knowledge' but also one which was based in reflection in action, or recognising the actions of the professional and client contexts. From this reflection in action, the professional can begin to know-in-action, or be aware of consistencies in situations. From this knowing-in-action comes knowledge-in-action or formalising awareness of the consequences of action through a process of theorising.

Bishop et al. (2002) argued that the recognition of knowledge-in-action is important as it indicates that there is more than positivistic-technical knowledge. Professional knowledge is not just important to the professional but provides a way of thinking about the acquisition of knowledge and recognising the importance of reflection on our own experiences as people and as researchers in the research



process. Schön (1983) also allows us to contemplate the fact that there can be multiple epistemologies and that different epistemologies can have different methodologies.

### **Stevens' Trimodal Theory of Human Action**

Stevens (1998) expanded on the notion of multiple epistemologies. He described three modes of human action: biological, symbolic and reflexive.

(1) Biological mode of human action was considered the primary source of behaviour. This human action is based on the action of hormones, operating in the biochemical process and psychophysical processes which underpin behaviour. Changes occur only as a result of evolution and are considerably influenced by genetic inheritance.

(2) Symbolic mode of human action. This form of human action is based on meaning which humans give to actions and situations they are influenced by and is said to emerge from the biological mode. Unlike the biological mode, the symbolic model is influenced by communication and learning rather than genetic inheritance. Change is the result of cultural evolution- communication across and between people over successive generations. The symbolic mode can be further divided into the basis of action derived from society and the basis of action derived from the individual. The basis of action derived from society refers to the beliefs, social norms and practices, values and attitudes which represent a part of language drawn from the subcultures in which we are involved. The other, derived from each

individual, involves meaning drawn from a person's experiences of childhood, from brothers/sisters, parents and other people which represent part of a person's life.

(3) Reflexive mode of human action. This is based on an ability to envisage and act on a range of alternatives and of being self aware and reflective in one's choice of actions; in other words, a reflexive awareness. This mode emerges from the secondary mode, symbolic human action. Unlike the other modes the process which defines this model are more complex and less easily classified. On a cultural level it could involve the effect of books, newspapers, television, radio or travel. While on a personal level it could involve education or psychotherapy.

Stevens (1998) argued that this trimodal theory for human action produced three different kinds of epistemology: nomothetic, hermeneutic and transformational epistemology. (1) Nomothetic approach- occurs at the biological level and is concerned with the establishment of causal laws of effect. It derives its method from natural science and argues that actions are specific to psychophysical and biochemical process. These actions are perceived to be observable and measurable. Psychophysiology is an example of the nomothetic approach. (2) Hermeneutic approach- occurs at the symbolic levels and is concerned with the interpretation of the meaning of one's action and its relation to the underlying influences which shape them. Methods are derived from social or personal sciences. In comparison, to the nomothetic approach, it lacks precision because it cannot be validated by a series of repeatable studies because the actions are not measurable. Examples of this mode are constructionist and psychoanalytic approaches. Both nomothetic and hermeneutic approaches assume determinism, that

is that actions are determined by sources of the particular mode. (3) The third approach, transformational, assumes autonomy; the actions are independent rather than determined by the source of the reflexive action. It is concerned with the future rather than the present considered in relation to the past. Its method is derived from moral science and is concerned with reflecting on ones action's (See Table 3.3).

Table 3.3

*Stevens' Trimodal theory of human action*

Mode	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Basis for action	Biological process	Symbolic process	Reflective awareness
Influence on action	Genetic inheritance	Meanings assimilated from society and childhood	Capacity to reflect on and be aware of actions and their consequences
Assumes	Determinism	Determinism	Autonomy
Kind of epistemology	Nomothetic	Hermeneutic	Transformational
Aim of epistemology	Explain ( in terms of cause- effect laws)	Interpret	Facilitate possibility
Kind of psychology	Natural science	Social or personal science	Moral science
Examples of perspectives within mode	Psychophysiology	Social constructionism Psychoanalysis	Existential psychology. Some humanistic, feminist and Buddhist psychology

The development of an iterative reflective generative approach is based on the work of Stevens's reflective action and Schön's reflective practitioner. This approach draws on the features of a number of approaches including Wicker's (1989) substantive theorising approach, Dokecki's (1992) reflective generative practice, Polanyi's (1967) concept of tacit knowledge, Moustakas and colleagues (1986,1990) heuristic inquiry.

### **Wicker's (1989; Wicker & August, 2000) Substantive Theorising Approach**

Wicker recognised that understanding the phenomena under investigation was essential in the conduct of any research. He devised an approach which he referred to as substantive theorising. This approach had eight features: Firstly, the substantive domain was the essential component of any piece of research and should take priority over conceptual and methodological issues. Secondly, Wicker argues that social relevances should determine which substantive domain is relevant. Thirdly, in order for the research to be effective it should be limited to a particular substantive domain. Fourthly, investigations of this nature should consider the social, spatial and temporal contexts. Fifthly, the use of in depth multiple methods is necessary to investigate properly the substantive domain. Sixthly, substantive theorising needs to be conducted in an open and continuous process based on the domain of investigation. Seventh, the knowledge gained from the substantive domain is only specific to that domain. Finally, the contributions made by theory and empirical findings can be represented in a variety of ways (Wicker, 1989).

### **Dokecki's (1992) Reflective Generative Practice**

Dokecki (1992) developed the idea of reflective generative practice which was a combination of two theoretical positions. These were that knowledge and practice must operate interdependently (Schon, 1983) and that theory development should seek to improve the lives of other human beings according to the value system which is rationally chosen (Gergen, 1978). The former was referred to as the reflective practitioner while the latter was referred to as the generative theorist. Dokecki saw community psychologists operating as a reflective generative practitioner who operates in a field consisting of (a) persons in community, (b) problems in living, (c) intervention, (d) methodology, and (e) societal values.

### **Polanyi's (1967) Tacit Knowledge**

'Tacit knowing' refers to the basic capacity of the self of researchers and gives "birth to the hunches and vague formless insights that characterise heuristic discovery" (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985, p.49). The tacit process is an intuitive process in which elements become clearly defined and as more evidence emerges they become vague and unclear. A process of reflection and additional evidence creates a deeper understanding of the elements involved (Polanyi, 1967). Two types of tacit knowledge are: subsidiary and focal. Subsidiary are the visible and unique elements whereas focal are invisible elements which together give a phenomenon its wholeness.

### **Moustakas' (1990) Heuristic Inquiry**

Heuristic inquiry is a process that begins with a question or problem which the researcher seeks to illuminate or answer. The question is one that has been a personal challenge or puzzlement in the search to understand one's self and the world in which one lives. The heuristic process is autobiographic, yet with virtually every question that matters there is also social-and perhaps universal- significance. Heuristics is a way of engaging in a scientific search through methods and processes aimed at discovery; a way of self-inquiry and dialogue with others aimed at finding the underlying meanings of important human experiences. The deepest currents of meaning and knowledge take place within the individual through one's senses, perceptions, beliefs, and judgements. This requires a passionate, disciplined commitment to remain with a question intensely and continuously until it is illustrated or answered (Moustakas, 1990, p.15). Six phases of heuristic research guide unfolding investigations and comprise the basic research design. They include; the initial engagement, immersion into the topic and question, incubation, illumination, explication, and culmination of the research in a creative synthesis. The heuristic researcher returns again and again to the data to check the depictions of the experience to determine whether the qualities or constituents that have been derived from the data embrace the necessary and sufficient meanings. The heuristic researcher's "constant appraisal of significance" and "checking and judging" facilitate the process of achieving a valid depiction of experience being investigated.

They enable the researcher to achieve repeated verification that the explication of phenomenon and creative synthesis of essences and meanings actually portray the phenomenon investigated.

Although not explicitly describing their methods, some understanding of how this model might be applied can be found in Bishop, Pellegrini, Syme and Shephardson (1993). In a rural research project, they describe the use of a multiple research approach which involves researchers entering a community and investigating the substantive domain (Wicker, 1989) and immersing themselves for a period of time within the community (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985). During this immersion period, the researcher develops tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 1967).

Tacit knowledge is the knowledge of “those aspects of common sense that provide the deep rules and deep substantive or cultural background crucial for understanding a specific utterance or act (Altheide & Johnson, 1994, p.492). This is followed by a period of withdrawal in which the researchers reflect and discuss their experiences and draw on their conceptual knowledge (Dokecki, 1992;1996). During the withdrawal period, the tacit knowledge developed during immersion is reflected upon and this allows for realisations to emerge (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985; Moustakas, 1990). These realisations are evaluated through empirical and logical evidence. In the next period of immersion, the researchers again investigate the substantive domain as well as informing the community of their reflections. Over increasing iterations, substantive meaning is transferred to conceptual meaning and vice-versa. This results in the development of concepts. This process continues until a formalised theory is developed. Bishop et al. describe research which aimed to

obtain an understanding of resilience within a rural community (Bishop & Syme, 1992). It had involved a number of researchers visiting the town on several occasions over an 18 month period. Initially, the researchers had understood the substantive domain to be concerned with dichotomous conflicts between the 'greens' and the 'browns'; however upon reflection, this analysis proved to be superficial. Reflecting on their ideas with the community on subsequent visits, led to a more substantively driven understanding of the situation. Rather than being focussed on the conflict between the 'greens' and the 'browns', the community accepted such diversity. Furthermore this tolerance was the key to its resilience. What had also occurred to the researchers over these visits was the development of conceptual understanding of community resilience. While they had begun with a conceptual domain that communities were positive and homogenous collections of people who were unable to cope with conflict, they emerged with an understanding that communities accept and support such diversity even when the source of conflict changed.

Unlike Moustakas' heuristic approach, the researcher never achieves full immersion; rather the researcher occupies a role of participant conceptualiser (Reiff, 1968) in which the researcher is only partially immersed and as such retains some objectivity. Simmel (1964) also describes this position as 'the stranger' in which the researcher is both near and far at the same time. This position involves and acknowledges the participation of the researcher in the community as well as allowing the researcher the sense of objectivity with which to conduct their research. To achieve this position ultimately and use it effectively requires the researcher to



be able to self reflect on their own experience of being a stranger or a marginalised person (cf. D’Rozario, 1995).

## 2. The importance of the obvious (How is the research process conducted?)

Bishop et al. (2002) also argued that another important feature of the Western Australian community psychology was the ‘importance of the obvious’ (Sarason, 1982). They claimed that a lack of awareness of the obvious hampers the researcher’s understanding of actions and events as well as narrowing the lines of investigation. While they do acknowledge that seeing the obvious is to some extent limited by our own socialisation, they believe this restriction can be avoided by the researchers’ awareness and understanding of the role and function of worldviews (cf. Dokecki 1992;1996).

### **Dokecki’s (1992;1996) Worldview Studies**

Dokecki produced a methodological framework which he described as having four components (see Table 3.4). These four components include: (1) micro-level quantitative (2) micro-level qualitative (3) macro-level quantitative (4) macro-level qualitative. The macro-level qualitative component according to Dokecki is relevant to the examination of worldviews as a study.

In worldview (*Weltanschauung*) studies (pertinent to aspects of the person and community), critical speculative, interpretative and related quantitative methods, often from the humanities, help us understand whole political and social systems. This form of inquiry helps facilitate decisions among competing value claims of ideological, political and ethical worldviews (Dokecki, 1996, p.132).

Dokecki acknowledges that these types of studies are not common in disciplines like psychology. He maintains however, that without world view studies, a full and accurate interpretation of community is unachievable.

Table 3.4

*Dokecki's (1992) framework for human science inquiry*

<b>Level</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Quantitative/Impersonal</b>	<b>Qualitative/Personal</b>
<b>Micro</b>		Experimental and functional studies	Interpretive studies
<b>Macro</b>		Systems-analytic studies	Worldview studies

Unfortunately one of the difficulties in doing this is that unless you know how to look for another worldview, you are typically unable to see it. In the end you resort to your own worldview and reject the other worldview (Sarason, 1981a). Indeed, Sarason has written extensively on the issues of world views and social action. For example, in introducing his book on the creation of settings and future societies, he gives this profound insight that reflects what could be considered as a major issue for psychological theory and practice. He wrote:

A central theme of this book is that the social context from which a new setting emerges, as well as the thinking of those who create new settings, reflects what seems “natural” in the society. And what seems natural is almost always a function of the cultural to a degree that usually renders us incapable of recognising wherein we are prisoners of the culture. Those who create new settings always want to do something new, usually unaware that they are armed with, and subsequently be disarmed by, categories of thought which help produce the conditions the new settings hopes to remedy (1974, p. xvi).

In 1982, he discussed a similar theme:

It is tempting to someone like me, who came into psychology shortly before World War II, to regard new psychology buildings with wonder. But in recent years wonder has been tempered by reflection and finally, submerged by some disturbing thoughts about our capacity to forget (if we ever knew it) that we have been moulded by culture which, because it always does its job well, gives us a selective view of the present and a distorted view of the past-in combination they explain why the future (in our individual and collective lives) always surprises us (Sarason,1982, p.117).

In social research , especially qualitative, the researcher is central to the collection and analysis of findings. The role of the researcher and the researcher’s culture and worldviews are a fundamental factor in the interpretation of data. Sarason tells us that we must be aware of our worldviews as psychologists and as researchers. The role of the researcher needs to be factored in (as in critical

subjectivity, Herron, 1996) rather than factored out or unrecognised as positivistic researchers and professionals tend to do (Gergen 1988; Schön, 1983). Altman and Rogoff (1984) provide a framework for viewing the worldviews of psychologists.

### **Altman and Rogoff's (1984) four worldviews**

Altman and Rogoff (1984) refer to four worldviews- Trait, interactionism, organicism, and transactionalism. Each approach defines psychology differently and makes specific assumptions about the relationship between the person and environment relations, varied conceptions of philosophy and goals of science.

(1) Trait worldview defined psychology as “the study of the individual, the mind, or mental and psychological processes(p9)”. There are a number of key features to this epistemological approach. Firstly, it is concerned with individuals and their psychological qualities. Secondly, notions of change are limited to developmental stages and pre-established teleological mechanisms. Third, internal causes are primary to examining phenomena. Fourth, observers are objective and detached from the phenomena of investigation. Typically, different observers make equivalent observations. Altman and Rogoff argue that the trait worldview is used rarely in environmental psychology and of limited use in modern psychology in its pure form.

(2) Interactional worldview-This approach, they argue, incorporates aspects of Pepper's mechanistic world hypothesis and Dewey and Bentley's (1949) interaction approach. This approach defines “psychology as a field that studies the prediction and control of behavior and psychological processes”(cited in Altman

and Rogoff, 1984, p15 ). There are a number of features to this approach: (1) psychological phenomena are categorised according to discrete elements, and emphasis is placed on relationships between these elements; (2) temporal changes are separate from the given psychological phenomena; (3) investigation focuses around causal relations of elements in systems which are predictable and controllable; and (4) researchers are seen as separate, detached and objective observers.

(3) Organismic worldview- Altman and Rogoff suggest that this approach draws on aspects of Pepper's organicist world hypothesis and Dewey and Bentley's interaction and transaction approaches. They argue that the Organismic approach defines "psychology as the study of dynamic and holist systems in which person and environment components exhibit complex reciprocal relationships and influences." (Altman and Rogoff,1984, p.19). There are a number of features to this approach: (1) this approach separates the person from the environment like the interactionist perspective, but looks at the relationships between these interactions to the context. It also reflects the notion that the whole is more than the sum of its parts; (2) it also recognises that change (resulting from interactions between the individuals and their context) continues until an ideal state is reached. This change occurs according to regulatory mechanisms; and (3) research should be conducted using a number of different people who are not subjectively involved in the study.

(4) Transactional worldview- Altman and Rogoff defined this approach as the "the study of changing relations among psychological and environmental aspects of holistic entities" (p24). There are a number of features to this epistemological approach: Firstly, this approach assumes that the context, time and a person's

behaviours and actions are inseparable. Altman and Rogoff argued that this approach could be metaphorically represented by a 'historical event' which involved behaviour which was purposeful, and meaningful. Secondly, this approach also acknowledges that notions of change in any direction are a continual process of all psychological phenomena. Third, it also focusses on the described and determines the patterns and structure of phenomena. Fourth, it argues for the use of multiple observers who participate in different contexts and investigate the same event.

Table 3.5

*Altman and Rogoff's (1984) Scientific world views*

<b>Worldview</b>	<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>Causation</b>	<b>Examples</b>
<b>Trait</b>	Persons, intra- psychic	Emphasises material causation	Theories with trait like features, e.g., intelligence, aptitudes, some theories of personality
<b>Interactional</b>	Persons and situations treated as separate entities	Emphasises efficient causes; antecedent- consequence relations push idea of causation	Interactionists, social networks and support, some aspects of pathology
<b>Organismic</b>	Holistic entities composed of separate persons and environmental components	Emphasises final causes; i.e., teleology, "pull" toward ideal state	Systems theory, Heider's Balance theory, Bandura's reciprocal determinism.
<b>Transactional</b>	Holistic entities composed of "aspects" not separate parts or elements: aspects are mutually defining.	Emphasises formal causes, i.e., description and understanding of patterns, shapes, and form of phenomena.	Gibson's theory of perception, Piaget's developmental theory, Lewin field theory. Ethnogenic approach of Ginsberg, Harré, Harré and Secord

Assumptions of these worldviews can be argued to limit the choice of methodology. For example, transactionalism can support only qualitative methodology, while the organismic and trait worldviews can support qualitative or quantitative methodology while interactionism supports only quantitative methodology. These worldviews as mentioned are not the answers but simply alternative frameworks by which one can explore communities. To understand the community's world view these frameworks should be coupled with the 'root metaphor' method (Pepper, 1942).

### **Pepper (1942) root metaphor method**

This method basically involves researchers developing metaphors to describe their experiences and understanding of a particular community. Pepper (1942) described the root metaphor method "as a man desiring to understand the world looks about for a clue to its comprehension. He pitches upon some area of common sense fact and tries to understand other areas in terms of this one. This original idea becomes his basic analogy or root metaphor. He describes it as the characteristics of this area, or...discriminates its structure. A list of its structural characteristics [categories] becomes his basic conceptions of explanation and description...in terms of these categories he proceeds to study all other areas of fact. He undertakes to interpret all facts in terms of these categories" (p.91). (cited in Sarbin, 1986, p.8). For example, a researcher may argue that it is as if the community is like a shared sense of history, or like a psychological sense of community or like a series of

interrelated systems. Similarly, adaptation is like acculturation outcomes or like a process.

To develop metaphors successfully, Bishop et al. (2002) put forward two further requirements for understanding the role and function of worldviews. Firstly, Bishop et al. suggest an ability to reflect on one's own worldview and the implications on how it affects one's interpretations of the worldviews of others is essential. As Agar (1996) points out "Before psychoanalysts are considered competent to analyse others, they must first go through analysis themselves. If they do not understand their own personalities, the argument goes, they will not be able to understand others" (p.92). He goes on to argue that the same should be expected of researchers in the field. Secondly, Bishop et al. suggest an ability to see and reflect on macro social changes (e.g., Albee, 1977; Reiff, 1974) (second order changes, Watzlawick, Weakland, & Fisch, 1974, or genotypic changes, Sarason, 1982) as separate from daily small-scale occurrences or changes (first order, Watzlawick, et al., or phenotypic changes, Sarason). Bishop et al., claim that achieving these essential abilities also helps the researcher to understand the significance of grounding their research in the local setting and context.

An example of this type of research was undertaken with the Aboriginal Nyungar community in Pinjarra, Western Australia (W.A.). Contos (2003) examined the oppression of indigenous Australians by the white majority. Symbolic of this oppression was the reframing of a massacre of local Nyungars in 1834. In response to the killing of a white settler by Aboriginal warriors, the Governor of the settlement went with a party of police and soldiers to Pinjarra and killed local Nyungars. The estimate of the number of mainly women, children and elderly



Nyungars was between 20 and 80. Those who had been involved in the killing of the settler were reported not to be in the number killed or injured. During a conversation between a local Nyungar elder and a representative of the W.A. Tourism Commission, the representative made some comment about separating the past from the present because the past, according to him, was different and that Aboriginal people were not being shot anymore. What he failed to recognise with that comment was that while there had been phenotypic change (i.e., the Indigenous community was not being shot anymore), the genotypic change has been much slower. The genotypic change indicates that indigenous Australians continue to have a lower life expectancy and higher infant mortality rate in comparison to non-indigenous Australians.

### 3. The role of the active mediator (How do the researchers conduct themselves in this research process?)

Another feature is the adoption of the “active mediator” (Throgmorton, 1991). This requires the community psychologist to act as a mediator, and communicate between stakeholders in a language which is suitable for each specific party involved.

### Throgmorton's (1991) Active Mediator

Throgmorton (1991) argued that in the policy realm, the community, the politicians and decision makers and scientists often have different jargons and constraints, as they belong to different interpretive communities. In analysing the Love Canal environmental disaster<sup>7</sup> (1978), he argued that there were certain occupational constraints on politicians, who need answers immediately and are accountable to the community for their decisions, and scientists, who require time for experimentation and considered analysis, and who are accountable to professional bodies. He believed these constraints create difficulties for these groups in communicating with the community, who just want something done to rectify the disaster. The occupational constraints lead to differences in jargon, and this creates greater difficulties. The net result is an abnormal, rather than normal, discourse among the parties. Throgmorton argued for the professionals to adopt a role at the interface of the community, politicians and scientists. This role he called the active mediator. It involved learning the language of all parties and being able to facilitate the understanding by sectors of the constraints on others. There is a role for the community psychologist at that interface. The task for the community psychologist is to enable a shift from what Throgmorton called 'experience distant' to 'experience near' to provide the opportunity for the development of a shared understanding or a fusion of horizons (Gadamer, 1989).

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The Love Canal environmental disaster resulted from the dumping of more than 21,000 tons of various chemical wastes in an old abandoned canal on the south-east side of Niagara Falls, New York by Hooker Chemical company.

Simmel (1964) referred to a feature of the stranger as an intermediary between the inside world (e.g., the community) and the outside world (e.g., academia, funding bodies). This role is not achieved automatically; rather, it must be negotiated with the parties concerned. It offers the potential of an exchange which, Drew and Bishop (1997) describe as, not only containing a variety of perspectives but which is substantively driven. The position means that the researcher becomes a 'specialist generalist' (Syme & Bishop, 1993) with an adequate, but not extensive, amount of knowledge in a range of areas.

Lévi-Strauss (1966) referred to such a researcher as a *bricoleur*. The *bricoleur* is a "Jack of all trades or a kind of professional do-it-yourself person" (p.17). The *bricoleur* produces bricolage, which is a solution or outcome based on a variety of methods and approaches (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Such an approach is not limited to social sciences but, for example, has been advocated in environmental problems facing Australia and the world (Yencken, 2000).

An example of a project in which an active mediator role came into play involved a planning study conducted by an Australian city where they had recommended a move towards housing infill (described as the amalgamation of housing blocks to make way for higher density housing) as a cheaper alternative to urban fringe development. A concern with this project was the lack of input from social scientists. One of the difficulties faced by researchers in this project was how to include social data in what represented a predominantly economic report. The decision was made by researchers to collect two types of social data: one type fitted the economic framework (i.e., a time budgeting procedure which allowed participants to attach dollar values to their daily activities) (Bishop & Syme, 1995).

The second type incorporated a more sociological framework which allowed participants to comment on their concern with planning. By playing the role of the active mediator, the researchers were able to satisfy the needs of the two parties concerned. For the economists they showed that social science data are a necessary part of such reports and for the participants, they were able to show that social scientists are concerned with issues as the participants see them and have not as it were 'sold out to the other side'. This role is not limited to practice, it also influences one's research. This may involve the presentation of techniques that other areas of the discipline use on a regular basis e.g., narrative techniques in clinical psychology and historical analyses in the social sciences.

#### 4. The role of the professional (How do the researchers conduct themselves in this research process?)

The professional role, Bishop et al. (2002) also argued, is determined by a process of negotiation between the community, other stakeholders and the researcher. While this may prove difficult for the researcher, it is essential if there is to be sharing of information, ideas, knowledge and understanding. It also helps to create an ability on the part of the researcher to accept communities at face value with all their idiosyncrasies because the researcher is forced to accept uncertainty and diversity of ideas. In a sense it requires one to accept the existence of a community's own "narrative truth" (Wertsch, 1997). That is, the acceptance of the

fact that what ever it is, it works for them and gives meaning for them, and as such it represents their truth and reality. It is always easy for researchers to fall into the trap of seeing truth in traditional positivistic terms i.e., the community reality must fit the statistics for it to be truthful. They also argue, as do Sarason (1982), Freire (1972) and Altman (1996), that the experience of the community as well as theory is vital when working with communities. They suggest that researchers frequently underestimate the expert knowledge that members of a particular community have because of the elitist attitudes which develop on the part of the researcher toward the community. They suggest such knowledge is vital to making sense of the community's experiences from its perspective.

### **Altman's (1996) Socially Responsive knowledge**

Altman (1996) argued for socially responsive knowledge to be paired with professional and foundational knowledge in the training of psychologists. In addition to the conceptual and skills based training imparted through the first two forms of knowledge, socially responsive knowledge requires that psychology attend to the social issues of a particular community; students experience and understand first-hand social issues in their community; and students get the experience and skills to act on social problems (Altman, 1996). In essence it places people in 'real world' settings demanding that researchers develop process skills and understand community and broader level structures and their influences on people's functioning.

This role of the professional is made easier if the researcher has some personal interest in the community being investigated (Moustakas, 1990). An

example of this role was conducted in a project which explored the experience of Indigenous peoples in higher education (Sonn, Bishop, & Humphries, 2000). This project was initiated by the Centre of Aboriginal Studies (CAS) in a W. A. University. Throughout this project the researchers collaborated with CAS. The direction and control of the project was handled by a steering committee made up of three Indigenous delegates from CAS and three non-Indigenous researchers. Wherever possible, the Indigenous researchers participated in the research process (e.g., in collection of data). The acceptance of the researcher's role, as a resource to Indigenous people, ensured that the research produced culturally appropriate results.

## 5. Contextualism revisited (What are the assumptions on which the research process is based?)

Bishop et al. (2002) suggest that if we are to ensure the data gathered comes from multiple perspectives then we need to rethink methodology. In order to do this, community psychologists need to consider moving away from the positivistic epistemology, towards a more reasoned alternative (Gergen, 1994) like contextualism (Pepper, 1942).

### **Pepper's (1942, 1966) World Theories**

Pepper (1942,1966) described four 'world theories' or scientific epistemologies. These world theories include formism, mechanism, organicism and

contextualism. Formism is concerned with the similarities and differences between a series of phenomena. Phenomena which have similar features are grouped together. The formist approach is analytical in nature and is concerned with comparisons and categories occurring within a set of dimensional features of a given phenomenon.

Mechanism is described as the mechanical operations of a machine, in which the specific parts are stimulated and interact within a stable system. It is also analytical in nature and is concerned with identifying the dimensions of phenomena. It is assumed that the phenomenon whether it be physical or psychological, operates and functions on the basis of interactions and co-dependent set of elements. The phenomenon is understood, according to Pepper, by the lawful relationships which underly these interacting elements.

Organicism assumes that the area investigated is described as an integrated organism. This hypothesis emphasises a holistic approach which is concerned with the enduring underlying organic process. The understanding of phenomena from this approach occurs through integration of factual information drawn from the relationship of elements with each other which contribute to the unity of the whole, which are believed to represent underlying organic principles which govern the system. Organicism assumes the teleological predilection, in which the system aims to eventually achieve an ideal end point or state which the achieved state implies changes for the phenomena concerned.

Contextualism is described as similar to a historic event, which is a complex and holistic set of interconnected and inseparable parts located within an inseparable and recognisable context, which changes over time. It assumes that temporal features are an essential part of any event. Understanding phenomena from a

contextualist approach requires examining the whole across a number of different points of view. It requires a description of the changing features and temporal processes. Pepper (1942) suggested that “change goes on continuously and never stops. It is a categorical feature of all events; and since this [contextualist] world theory all the world is events, all the world is continually changing in this manner” (Pepper, 1942, p.243). The contextualist approach allows for the possibility of unique events that unfold or emerge rather than an ideal end point or state in the organicist approach. Also unlike the organicist approach the event is not governed by a set of organic principles.

Table 3.6

*Pepper's (1942, 1966) World Theories<sup>8</sup>*

<b>World theory and its chief philosophers</b>	<b>Root metaphor</b>	<b>Truth theory</b>	<b>Examples</b>
FORMISM Plato, Aristotle	SIMILARITIES and DIFFERENCES	CORRESPONDENCE e.g., maps, pictures, plans, models	Trait theories Person- environment fit Taxonomies
MECHANISM Locke, Hume	The MACHINE lever/ computer	CAUSAL ADJUSTMENT workability, prediction	Scientific management Scientific planning
CONTEXTUALISM (Pragmatism) Peirce, James, Dewey	THE ACT IN CONTEXT	OPERATIONAL qualitative confirmation pragmatic working	Community development Interactive planning
ORGANICISM	HARMONIOUS	COHERENCE	Need theory

8

Pepper (1966) added another world theory, Selectivism, but this has been argued to be either similar to, or a part of, contextualism (Jaeger & Rosnow, 1988; Payne, 1996).



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Hegel, Royce	UNITY timelessness, enduring structures	determinateness absoluteness	Principles of management
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Contextualism represented one of Pepper's four world hypotheses.

Contextualism is described as a "focus on the active dynamic event, and its view of human experience in and of the world as both constructive and reactive, stable and variable, holistic and pluralistic have important implications for the ways and means by which we come to examine and understand human action" (Jaeger & Rosnow, 1988; p.71). In other words, it suggests that knowledge, psychological phenomena, events, actions and behaviour are constantly changing and as such there are multiple truths or realities to every research question asked. A researcher must acknowledge and accept that nothing is truly controllable and information gathered today may be different tomorrow. This does not mean, according to Pepper (1966), that individuals have no say over their actions. Quite the contrary, people are purposeful in their actions (Jaeger & Rosnow, 1988). In other words, the person acts with intention. Given this, the researcher has some say in what a community is at the researcher's point of investigation. This means that the community is always entirely open to criticism and challenge because in reality it is always changing.

It is important to add a word of warning. Unfortunately, one issue Pepper (1942) failed to consider was the impact of the substantive domain (i.e., the experiences of community) on one's ability to recognise and accept all four of his alternative world theories. While a contextualist world theory is promoted as the

most appropriate for the understanding of community, such a theory cannot always be accepted by others for various reasons. For example, if an individual experienced significant hardship or trauma, the organic world theory, for instance, provides an epistemology which offers a sense of hope that there exists an 'ideal' community which is eventually achievable. This world theory provides an understanding of world which makes living, according to this individual, worthwhile.

While contextualism is considered the overarching epistemology, the issues of methodology present problems. Pepper (1942) argued that mechanism, contextualism, formism and organicism were incommensurable. He did believe that on an intellectual level it was important to articulate clearly the purpose and function of each world theory. In practice however, he felt that it could be dangerous to restrict the evidence to one world theory. He instead believed it is important to draw on all evidence regardless of which world theory it represented. He illustrated this argument in the following paragraph:

If a world theory partly developed in one set of categories is broken in upon by a foreign set of categories, the structure of corroboration is broken up and we cannot clearly see how the evidence lies. For intellectual clarity therefore, we want our world theories pure and not eclectic. But for practical application we must be mindful of the judgements of all such rationally justifiable theories. Here each of the four highly adequate theories stands on a par. In practice therefore, we shall want to be not rational but reasonable and to seek on the matter in question, the judgement supplied for each of these relatively adequate world theories. If there is

some difference of judgement we shall wish to make our decision with all these modes of evidence in mind, just as we should make any other decision where the evidence is conflicting. In this way we should be judging in the most reasonable way possible- not dogmatically following only one line of evidence, not perversely ignoring evidence but sensibly acting on all the evidence available (Pepper, 1942, pp. 330-331).

Although he acknowledges the practical need to consider all world theories when gathering evidence, theoretically he opposes the idea of proposing more than one world theory. For example, he wrote on the trends of eclecticism:

There is a very strong tendency for formism and mechanism to combine. They fly to each other's arms for mutual support just as animism and mysticism do, and with comparable results. Formism is strong just where mechanism is weak, and both theories are sympathetically analytical, but, once together, the categories of each theory compete for domination. Bertrand Russell has been such an eclectic and his writings record a history of warring of these two sets of categories in his breast. If ever there were an excuse for eclecticism, it would be here between these two theories; but let anyone try for himself and see if anything is gained by it.

There is also a very strong tendency for mechanism and contextualism to combine. Many pragmatists and some mechanists exhibit this combination in various proportions. The two theories are in many ways complementary. Mechanism gives a basis and a substance to contextualistic analyses, and contextualism gives a life and reality to mechanistic

syntheses. Each is threatened with inadequacy just where the other seems to strong. Yet, mixed, the two sets of categories do not work happily, and the damage they do to each other's interpretations does not seem to me in any way to compensate for an added richness (Pepper, 1942, pp.146-147).

Figure 3.1 indicates how the world theories according to Pepper could be

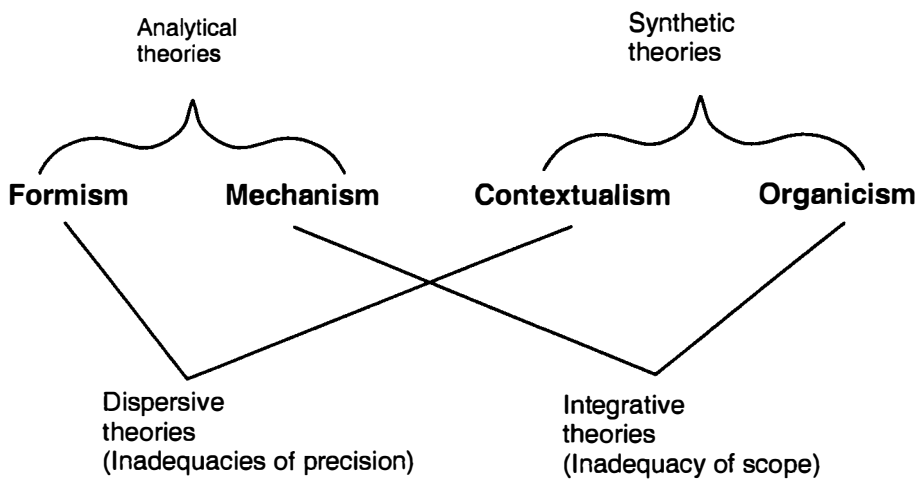


Figure 3.1. Scheme of world hypotheses (after Pepper, 1942, p. 146)

combined.

In psychology, the use of mixed methodologies has gained some acceptance. Qualitative methods have been used to augment quantitative methods to provide a 'richness' or breadth in findings (Breakwell, 1995a; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). As quantitative methods are generally associated with mechanism (or formism) and qualitative methods with contextualism, Pepper's warnings seem not to have been heeded. It is possible not to view research types rigidly in terms of the world theories. For example, Lamiell (1995) reviewed the history of scientific

research in psychology. Using Danziger's (1990) history of methods in psychology, he argued that the positivistic methods in psychology have inappropriately been seen to reflect Wundt's Leipzig research methods. He argues that the Leipzig model was quickly supplanted as the model for research by clinical experimental methods and individual differences models that Cronbach (1957) later saw as the two traditions in psychology. Lamiell argued that both these later models had conceptual problems. He presented a model of quantitative research that is not based in positivism (or mechanism).

This presents the opportunity to rethink methods in ways other than simplistic assumptions that equate quantitative methods with mechanism and qualitative with contextualism. It is argued that by seeing Altman and Rogoff's (1984) worldviews of psychology (and also Stevens' (1998) trimodal theories of human action) as methodological laden worldviews allows a broader contextualist model to be the overarching world theory and to integrate transactional, trait, organismic and interactionist worldviews into it. Thus, one aim of this research is to attempt to incorporate research based on transactional, interactional and organismic worldviews (as defined by Altman and Rogoff) into a contextualist framework, without running into the problems mentioned by Pepper. Thus, a major aim of this research is to examine whether it is possible to use quantitative and qualitative methodologies in a general contextualist framework by keeping within the research worldviews articulated by Altman and Rogoff.

Returning to the model, one aspect that is not articulated by Bishop et al. (2002), is the notion of community. While having met and read the work of Dokecki (1992, 1996) and Newbrough (1992, 1995), Bishop et al. do not discuss

concepts of relationships within community. This failure can be easily viewed as irrelevant to the issues they were addressing, namely an epistemology for community psychology, but in terms of seeing their model as a process model of community, persons-in-relation needs to be addressed.

Persons-in-relation (What are the assumptions on which the research process is based?)

Macmurray (1961) argued that the relationships between people is central to community. He referred to this as persons-in-relation. Others refer to it as 'the one and the many' (Newbrough, 1992, 1995) and persons-in-community (Dokecki, 1992, 1996). While the terms differ, the ideas are basically the same. That is, the individual (the self) cannot exist without relations with other people (the other) and vice-versa. Recognition of this interdependence, acknowledges the fact that we exist in community all the time. What does vary is whether this experience is positive or negative. According to Macmurray (1961), there exist three modes of community: contemplative, co-operative and mutual personal (Kirkpatrick, 1986). He saw contemplative and co-operative modes of community as negative modes in which personal relations are based on fear. This fear is based on the idea that the self will be rejected or ignored by the other. Continual rejection by the other may in some cases, according to Macmurray, lead to personal relationships based on hate. The mutual personal community is the positive mode of community. Macmurray saw this mode as personal relations based on love. This is not love in the sense of

romantic love but love in the sense of personal relationships with the other representing an enjoyable experience and an end in its self. In order for personal relations such as this to be successful, Macmurray argued that the actions of the self towards the other must be morally right (by morally right he meant that there is recognition that one's actions impact on the actions of others in either a helpful or destructive way) and secondly that intentions which underlie people's actions are consistent and unified. Macmurray recognised that all of these modes of community exist in any society. People working towards being effective in helping those disadvantaged by society (e.g., community psychologists) to achieve a 'just community' (Newbrough, 1995) must promote and operate within the mode of mutual personal community (Dokecki, 1992; 1996) and accept that this position means that they are 'strangers' within the larger society. An important component of the developing of mutual personal community is the need for the mutual development and maintenance of trust and reciprocity in the relations (Cox, 1995). If one assumes that trust and co-operative actions develop over longer rather than shorter periods of time, community psychologists as it were must be willing to 'be in it for the long haul' (see also Fyson, 1999, on the transformational community).

## Conclusion

It has been argued that cross-cultural psychology has simply used western constructed concepts and applied them to non-western cultures. It has also been argued that underlying this statement is a deeper assumption that western

psychology is superior to non-western psychology. It is this assumption which created the fundamental debate over the relationship between the culture, cognitions and behaviour of an individual. Lucariello (1995) has suggested that cross-cultural psychology saw culture as external to the individual's cognitions and behaviour. Drawn from positivistic traditions, cross-cultural psychologists felt justified in creating concepts of western orientation for use in non-western cultures. According to these psychologists, because culture was external to an individual, an individual's behaviour could be measured using a uniform set of concepts and instruments developed in western countries.

However, a paradigm shift in general psychology has led authors such as Misra and Gergen (1993a) to criticise the cross-cultural perspective, as an ethnocentric and colonialist approach. Despite these criticisms some authors have defended the cross-cultural perspective and its western constructed methods as a necessary requirement. Others have suggested that such a defence reinforces the ethnocentrism and intellectual oppression already present. They have opted instead for a perspective known as cultural psychology. This perspective sees culture as an integral part of an individual's cognitions and behaviour and seeks to use concepts and instruments developed within the cultures under investigation. Despite this difference, cultural psychology has not rejected the universal over specific. But what it has provided is a less ethnocentric alternative to western psychology. Cultural psychology's methodology which is centred around an examination of cultural processes, places qualitative techniques rather than quantitative techniques as the primary source of data. While not rejecting quantitative techniques, this perspective does require that such measures be adapted



to the culture under investigation. An in-depth understanding required for this investigation means that many researchers opt for the study of one culture and have some prior knowledge of the group.

It has been suggested that the change in thinking from cross-cultural psychology, based on behavioural principles that culture is a series of observable behaviours and actions, to one of cultural psychology, based on cognitive principles that culture is a set of mentally defined features shared by a group, needs to be considered in relation to symbolic interactionist approach to culture. It has been argued that community psychology espouses these principles, which define culture as a continual change process which provides meaning.

Also, in this chapter a brief description of community psychology in North America has been presented, arguing that the main aim and the meaning behind its development was seeking social justice and change for those in need of help. Its history in Australia was also described. It differed from the North American experience on a number of contextual and social circumstances including its geographical location, lack of research funding, limited numbers, limited direct communication and lack of social activism in its early development. These conditions and contextual features have created an emphasis of multi-discipline research projects aimed as much as possible at social justice, seeking small but significant differences. The research process has been one of seeking and reflecting on experiences directly from the substantive domain of the community involved. In Western Australia, these influences are intensified because of its capital city's (Perth) isolation from the east coast. With this isolation has come a slightly different brand of community psychology which has a more environmental and

cultural feel about it in comparison to the clinical focus of the east coast. It is from this that has come a model of community for communities in Western Australia which draws on the ideas put forward by Bishop et al. (2002). It is an active and process based model which acknowledges the role of the research process (and hence the researcher) and the community itself in the eventual substantive theory of a particular community. It is made up of six components: (1) tacit knowledge to theory; (2) the importance of the obvious; (3) the role of the active mediator; (4) the role of the professional; (5) contextualism revisited and; (6) persons in relation. Part of this process involves an investigation of empirical and logical evidence.

The emergence of three approaches to cultural research (cross-cultural, cultural and community) presents some conceptual issues. The epistemology and ontology of each approach is different. The implications of the variety of world theories and research worldviews, and especially Pepper's (1942) comments about the incommensurability of different world theories, indicate that undertaking research in this domain will either be limited, because of adhering to one paradigm alone, or incoherent, because of the use of multiple world theories. There is a broader issue in that this area is bound to lack integration because research based on different approaches will not be able to be translated across boundaries, or at least this will be difficult. Thus, mechanistic research will not be interpretable by those using a contextualist approach, for example. In other words, the mechanistic work of cross-cultural psychology will not be able to inform cultural research, and vice versa. In some ways, this is the implication of Kuhn's (1970) scientific paradigms. The invocation of a new paradigm can be at the expense of previous paradigms. The political nature of the revolution can mean that the merits of the

previous paradigm can be lost. In psychology, the impact of behaviourism meant the loss of previous paradigms and the insights they entailed. This occurred more profoundly in the USA and less so in Britain and Europe for a variety of social and historical reasons (Hayes, 2002). While Kuhn's more recent writings have softened, it has been suggested that there are understandings that are maintained during the process of paradigm shifts (von Dietze, 2001). Von Dietze argued for a 'coherentism', which is a largely unacknowledged set of assumptions that pass from paradigm shift to paradigm shift. As they are generally agreed to, they are not contentious and form part of the basis of the new paradigm.

Part of this research will be designed to examine how research that is based in different paradigms can be understood across paradigms. Thus, research was undertaken that is located in different research worldviews and part of the aims are to look at how this research can be understood. It is suggested that the use of an epistemology such as that outlined above (based on Bishop, et al., 2002) can provide some framework for understanding research from different paradigms. A series of studies on the migrant experience of Anglo-Burmese in Western Australia is presented in the following three studies; a historical narrative analysis (Study one); a regression analysis (Study two); and systems narrative analysis (Study Three). In presenting these studies, each will begin with locating it in its conceptual framework. In the final sections of the thesis, some thoughts about the process of integrating philosophical disparate research will be attempted.

## Empirical Section

In the following three chapters three empirical studies are presented. These are all framed in a general contextualist perspective (Pepper, 1942), but utilize differing research world views (Altman & Rogoff, 1984) and methodologies. The first and third studies are qualitative, while the second study is quantitative. The first study uses the transactional approach as outlined in chapter three. It describes an investigation of cultural and social marginalisation using a historical narrative analysis. The second study uses the interactional approach. It describes an investigation of acculturation, psychological sense of community and psychological well-being using path analysis. The final study adopts the organismic approach. It involves a process of adaptation across a number of levels of community. Like the first study it also involves a narrative approach but as a collective experience rather than an individual experience.

It will be argued that the approach of using different world views does not risk the problem of incommensurability, referred to by Pepper (1942). Rather than using contextualism to augment a positivistic causal analysis, the research is seen as part of a broader description of the context of migration. In this guise, the studies and their attendant research world views provide separate descriptions that are analogous to the facets of a diamond (or maybe some semi-precious stone). The notion of the facets implies that no one facet gives a complete picture, but taken together, a more complete picture can be seen.

# Chapter 4

## Study One

The objectives of this chapter are as follows:

- To describe marginalisation - social, cultural and socio-psychological marginalisation.
- To describe the relationship between psychology and history and the use of the post-modern ethnography
- To explore whether the Anglo-Burmese have experienced cultural, and/or social marginality in Burma and Australia.

Each of the three studies to be presented in the following chapters focusses on different aspects of the relationships between adaptation, psychological well-being and community. The studies differ from one another on the basis of the guiding worldview. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Altman and Rogoff (1984) outline four worldviews: trait, transactional, interactional and organismic. This study will adopt the transactional approach. According to this approach, psychology is defined as the “the study of changing relations among psychological and environmental aspects of holistic entities” (Altman & Rogoff, p.24). The transactional approach has a number of key features: Firstly, this approach assumes that the context, time and a person’s behaviours and actions are inseparable. Altman and Rogoff argued that while in an interactionist worldview approach the elements (e.g., persons, environments, actions and behaviours) are separate and discrete, in the transactional approach there are no discrete entities. Altman and Rogoff suggested “... the transactional worldview does not deal with the relationship between elements, in the sense that one independent element may cause changes in, affect, or influence another element. Instead, a transactional approach assumes that the aspects of a system, that is, person and context, coexist and jointly define one another and contribute to the meaning and nature of a holistic event” (Altman & Rogoff, p.24). For this study, adaptation, community and well-being are inseparable. It is argued in this study that the experience of marginalisation is central to the relationship of these three variables. Secondly, this approach acknowledges that notions of change in any direction is a continual process of all psychological phenomena.

One significant feature of the Anglo-Burmese migrants is the lack of written history. Thus, concern is with examining the marginal situation by examining the historical development of community in relation to the historical development of the contexts. The purpose of this study is to explore the experiences of the marginal situation of Anglo-Burmese migrants living in Western Australia. The marginal situation is understood from the relationship of the experiences of the Anglo-Burmese to their particular contexts.

## Marginality

Marginality is not a new phenomenon. It occurs when groups are excluded from accessing mainstream resources and is maintained by a number of social dynamics such as oppression and discrimination, group cohesion, labelling and stigma. Marginalised groups have long been a focus of community psychology. People with disabilities, ethnic minorities and migrants have experienced marginality. The characteristics of ethnic backgrounds affect the process of migration adaptation, but it can also affect marginality in the country of origin. This could be the case with Anglo-Burmese as they are an ethnically mixed group. While the literature on the experiences of Anglo-Burmese experiences is very limited, there is a broader literature on other groups.

The problems associated with migration are not new. The history of the study of marginalisation began with the study of an ethnically mixed group, 'Coloured' South Africans. Since this time, the study of marginalisation has been

examined in relation to a variety of migrant groups. More recently, Berry and colleagues (1986, 1989, 1992, 1997) have addressed marginalisation with non-mixed migrants from a psychological perspective. For example, Sands and Berry (1993) examined psychological marginalisation and its relationship to acculturative stress and depression in first and second generation Greek immigrants living in Toronto, Canada. They found psychological marginalisation to be associated with more stress and depression in both generations.

Interest in ethnically mixed groups and the contrast between ethnically mixed migrants and mono-culture migrants has given rise to the distinction between psychological and sociological marginality because ethnically mixed migrants appear to experience both levels of marginality whereas one culture migrants typically only experience sociological marginality. Study two will examine the socio-psychological aspects of marginality. This study, however, will focus on sociological aspects of marginality in relation to the ethnically mixed group. It is necessary to begin by reviewing the historical development of marginality beginning with the work of Park (1928).

The concept of marginality was developed by Park (1928) to explain the experience of migration and conflict which results from the inevitable contact between cultures. Park saw the marginal person as a “cultural hybrid” (p.892) and as such felt it was appropriate to talk about the experiences of ethnically mixed groups marginality. Stonequist (1937) codified marginality as the experiences of ‘double consciousness’ which may be translated emotionally in the form of moodiness, ambiguity, a contradictory outlook and extreme sensitivity. In this



position, he argued, they are able to be objective about two cultures to which they have ancestral links. The conflict between the two cultures produces dissonance at both the individual and societal levels. Because of this people seek resolution in one of three ways: (1) to become a part of dominant group through assimilation; (2) to become a part of the subordinate group through assimilation; or (3) to accommodate aspects of both cultures.

Criticisms of these early formulations by Park and Stonequist have come from Goldberg (1941) and Green (1947). Goldberg claimed that they had exaggerated the psychological ramifications of marginality to all marginal situations. He suggested that there were marginal situations in which individuals could be protected from the negative effects of marginality. He referred to this as the 'marginal culture'. Gist and Dworkin (1972) defined the marginal culture as a "...sub-culture or hybrid culture..[which] served to provide meaning, continuity, and normative order to the lives and interactions of individuals who might not otherwise fit into the dominant culture, the subordinate culture of one or the other of their ancestors, or other minority cultures in the same society" (p.11). Green specified three conditions that were necessary for psychological consequences of marginality to result. First, there must be significant cultural differences between groups in a particular society. Second, the persons in the marginal situation attempt to identify with all groups involved (dominant, subordinate or marginal groups). Third, the marginal persons seeks to move from the marginal group into the dominant group. And finally, this movement is limited by social restrictions (Dickie-Clark, 1966).

Other researchers, such as Lewin (1948) and Hughes (1945), claimed that the concept of marginality needed to be extended beyond just ethnically mixed groups. Hughes, for instance, described cases in which a marginal situation results when there were inconsistencies between one's status role and one's social role. Others (Golovensky, 1952; Antonovsky, 1956) claimed that marginality was just an individual experience and not a group experience. Anotonovsky supported this claim with data from Jewish people in New Haven. He found that people in marginal situations may demonstrate a range of symptoms which did not necessarily fit into Stonequist's categorization of the experience. He also added that such a variety of symptoms was in many ways no different from those found in non-marginal situations.

Attempts have been made by a number of authors (e.g., Kerckhoff & McCormick, 1955; Mann, 1978) to measure psychological marginality quantitatively. Collectively, they identified a number of features of psychological marginality which included aspects of one's appearance, the extent to which there were social barriers between groups and their orientation towards their own groups and dominant group (Dickie-Clark, 1966). More recently, Berry (1986) developed and tested a set of psychological components of marginality on a large variety of immigrant groups around the world. His description of psychological marginality is explained in more depth in the next study.

Dickie-Clark (1966) became concerned at the inability of researchers to separate what he claims 'sociological marginality' or 'marginal situations' from 'psychological marginality'. His research focussed primarily on the marginal

situation of Colored South Africans whom he saw as a result of a hierarchy of groups. A group becomes marginal when there is an inconsistency of the individual or group in a regulated hierarchy. He believed that these inconsistencies almost always related to cultural and social dimensions of the hierarchy.

It was also a concern with the marginal situation which led Gist and Dworkin (1972) to develop their three orthogonal dimensions of marginality. These were cultural, social and political. Cultural marginality refers to the relationship between mixed racial groups and the dominant and/or indigenous populations, where there exists an inability or unwillingness for the mixed group to share in the same types of knowledge, beliefs, language, morals, laws, customs and other features of either the dominant or indigenous groups. Social marginality refers to the variation in the treatment of groups of individuals by the dominant and/or indigenous populations. It refers to marginality on the basis of interpersonal relations. It can include exclusion from certain occupational, marital or friendship groups/institutions. Political marginality refers to marginality which results from a restriction of civil rights of a group. It involved some formalisation of social marginality by the restriction of voting rights, inability to hold office or to make decisions within government for equal rights. Gist and Dworkin describe a number of studies which have examined the social, cultural and political marginalisation of a number of ethnically mixed groups. These were South African Durban

Coloureds<sup>9</sup>, Anglo-Indians, Burghers of Ceylon, Eurasians of Indonesia, and Guyanese Coloureds.

Recognising the importance of both social and psychological aspects of marginality, Gist and Wright (1973) offered a modified set of dimensions-social, cultural and socio-psychological marginality. They described their model in relation to the Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indian community claims a cultural ancestry of both European (British, French, Dutch and Portuguese) and Indian. Their history began around the 1500s as a result of Portuguese colonisation of India through the East India company (a spice trading company), and then the subsequent colonial influences of French, Dutch and finally, the British. It was under the British that the Anglo-Indians gained a middle ground social status that was generally above the indigenous Indians but below the British. This status was defined by better employment opportunities than those available to the indigenous Indians. However, when India gained independence from Britain in 1947, the social status and employment opportunities which had been granted under colonial rule were removed. There were increasing moves towards the so-called 'Indianisation' of India. Gist and Wright conducted a retrospective study of Anglo-Indians in India prior to 1947. They found that the Anglo-Indians had experienced cultural and social marginalisation. In terms of cultural marginalisation they were excluded from the caste system by indigenous Indians but were culturally similar to colonial British. They also experienced social marginalisation because they were

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Gist and Dworkin, and more recently Sonn (1996), used the term 'Coloured' as this is how the community refers to itself.

excluded from British social functions and certain jobs. They also voluntarily chose to distinguish themselves from indigenous Indians.

The experiences of cultural and social marginalisation for ethnically mixed groups like the Anglo-Indians have affected their relationship to contexts in which they operate and interact. These interactions can affect the degree to which such groups experience discrimination or forced exclusion as well as the strength with which they maintain strong communal and cultural ties. Many Anglo-Indians migrated and their experiences of migration are more complicated by being ethnically mixed migrants. While much research has been done on non-mixed migrants, little has been done on mixed migrants. In Australia some research has been done on Anglo-Indians (Colquhoun & Sonn, in preparation) and Cape Coloureds (Sonn, 1996). For other groups, such as the Anglo-Burmese migrants living in Western Australia, there appears to be no investigation of their experiences of the marginal situation in the countries in which they have operated in, namely Australia and Burma. The marginal situation is examined along two of Gist and Wright's (1973) dimensions, cultural and social marginalisation. Gist and Wright's two dimensions appear to be the most recent approach for examining the marginal situation. The third dimension, socio-psychological dimension is explored in the second study with the work of Berry (1986,1992,1997).

## Research Question

What, if any, have been the experiences of cultural and social marginalisation of Anglo-Burmese migrants over time?

### **Contextualising Methodology**

In this study, the experience of the marginal situation for this group of migrants will be examined. As there is little empirical evidence about the Anglo-Burmese in both Burma and Australia much of the data must come from the community itself. Two main sources of data will be used: (a) Memory data sources drawn from key informant interviews and informal ethnographic interviews; (b) Representational data sources drawn from available archival information (Lowenthal, 1985). Historical narratives will be developed. These will be described in two parts. In the first part, the contexts for these migrants are described historically. The contexts of Burma and Australia are described as they relate to the experiences of the Anglo-Burmese. The second part describes the development, experiences and changes over time of the Anglo-Burmese which resulted in their current circumstances in Western Australia. In order to facilitate the historical analysis, it is necessary to review the relationships between psychology and history, and the current post-modern development of ethnography.

### Psychology and history

The work of Freud (1947) on Leonardo da Vinci and Erikson's (1958) work on Luther implied a workable relationship between psychology and history. These works represented a genre, which Piker (1998) described as psychohistory. Psychohistory involved the psychoanalysis of important people in history to understand public behaviour as it relates to personality (see McGuire, 1994, for a more comprehensive description of the relationship between psychology and history).

Gergen (1973) argued that social psychology has largely ignored the importance of history in its understanding of social behaviour. He believed that historical and temporal phenomena could not be separated from social behaviour and psychological phenomena in general (Gergen, 1978). He suggested that early psychological thinkers, like Wundt, believed that social psychology should be an historical analysis rather than being restricted by the limitations of the natural sciences (Gergen, 1985).

However, one of the limitations for the growth of historical approaches in psychology has been the failure to acknowledge theoretical structures as psychological. The early classical theories of historical development and social change were dominated by the likes of Marx, Weber, Tönnies and Durkhiem. Marxist theory is based on a theory of progress in which a society develops from classless beginnings into a series of dialectical conflicts between the ruling and subordinate classes. The resulting struggles sees the overthrowing of the ruling

class by the subordinate class. This cycle continues with the new subordinate class rising to overthrow the new ruling class. The end point, according to Marx, is the development of a classless society, where there are no conflicts or revolutions (Etzioni-Halevy & Etzioni, 1973).

Weber's theory is based on a cyclical theory of social development and a linear theory of cultural development. In terms of social development, the old social structures which lack legitimacy result in a new charismatic leader from outside the social structure who rises and, with the help of others, produces a new social structure in place of the old one. What develops is a "routinisation of charisma", in which the new social structure becomes old and eventually lacks legitimacy resulting in a new charismatic leader. In terms of cultural development, this is said to see culture develop in a more rationalised, more internally consistent, and more coherent manner. Weber noted that when these two developments cross paths, the cyclical social development is changed by an increasingly rationalised cultural development (Etzioni-Halevy & Etzioni, 1973).

Tönnies described social organisation. *Gemeinschaft* was a simple structure which features communal aspects of living (i.e., traditional village life). *Gesellschaft* was the more complex, urbanised and increasingly individualistic social structures. Tönnies argued that a simple linear development from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* was occurring. This change from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* is irreversible and not necessarily positive, according to Tönnies. It may bring new freedoms and knowledge but the cost is increased alienation, and more impersonal relations (Etzioni-Halevy & Etzioni, 1973). Newbrough (1992,



1995) extended on Tönnies change from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* by offering a third position of change in the post-modern period. He envisioned a human ecological balance between the 'communal' aspects of *Gemeinschaft* and 'individualistic' aspects together at the same time in some interdependent relationship. He warned that the cost of such a balance may produce also chaos and confusion.

Durkheim's theory, like Tönnies', perceived an irreversible historical trend based on the division of labour from what he called 'mechanical solidarity', where people are homogeneous in their moral and mental beliefs to 'organic solidarity', in which people are individualistic and differentiated and simply operate as a society by a series of interconnections e.g., contractual relations. This change from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity, according to Durkheim, is marked by a change in the 'conscience collective' the common beliefs and sentiments held by all people in a society (Tönnies, 1957).

Two new approaches have developed to describe historical development and social change- the feminist approach and the critical community approach. Feminist theory argues that historical development should proceed along gender lines (like class does for Marx's theory), and as such should be considered in its totality. The totalist perspective, suggests that one needs to consider the historical process in a different way. Those who aspire to this approach argue that gender is both culturally and socially constructed which means that natural differences between masculinity and femininity are really social constructed distinctions.

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Critical community theory argues that historical development should involve critical assessments of what is meant by community. While in the past such terms were used uncritically and inconsistently, this new approach recognises that like gender, community has different meanings for different people. Researchers such as Lowenthal (1985) and Wertsch (1995) also believed that if one is to understand the community in the present, he or she must first understand the community in relation to his or her past. Wertsch (1997) suggested that history served a number of functions for individuals. Firstly, it allowed them to 'imagine communities' (Anderson, 1991). Lowenthal (1985) suggested that "just as memory validates personal identity, history perpetuates collective self-awareness (p213)". It serves to ensure that a community is preserved and in doing so provides a sense of belonging to a defined and articulated social institution. Secondly, it served to develop a collective identity (Lowenthal, 1985). History implies a sharing of experiences about the past, where the past involves a complex state of affairs over a period of time, long enough to establish them as recognisable (Pocock, 1962). For the communication and remembering of the past to be achieved, there must exist a complex and stable series of institutions. As a result, history can only be created through social activity and discussion. Pocock argued that without such a history in the form of text, neither communication nor remembering of the past is obtainable. Therefore, Gergen (1973) argued that social psychology should consider positions of other historically oriented disciplines and investigate social behaviour across time and place, if one is to properly understand the psychological phenomena under investigation. Thus it can be understood in terms of class, culture, religion and/or ethnicity as well as spatial-locational aspects.

### **Post-modern ethnography**

Ethnography emerged from anthropology and sociology as a tool for investigation of cultures different from the researchers own to gain insights into their alternative views on the world, behaviours and value systems. It traditionally involved researchers entering a cultural context and conducting fieldwork within this culture through participant observation, key informant interviews and archival analysis. During this collection, field-notes are recorded by the researcher. Through this process, substantive and conceptual understandings of the cultural changes increases as the researcher engages in a continual process of qualitative data collection and analysis (Denzin, 1989; Fetterman, 1989; Geertz, 1973; Maton, 1993).

The key advantage of this type of approach is that it allows the researcher to gain as near as possible a view to an insider's perspective on the culture and its inhabitants. The researcher achieves this by observing and participating in the cultural community for significant periods of time allowing a more localised understanding of the relationships between behaviours, culture and context to emerge and lead to a 'grounded' theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Maton, 1993). This advantage also creates problems in terms of its reliability, replicability and selection of the sample. The researchers interpretations of the culture may be influenced by their views or biases resulting in either inappropriate or incorrect interpretations. Secondly, the access to all aspects of the culture may be unavailable to the researcher limiting the sample or altering the real

life perspective of the cultural community. Thirdly, the testing of hypotheses with clear variables and relationships is almost impossible in a real life setting. And finally, over-emphasis of qualitative data makes comparisons between researchers difficult to achieve (Berry, 1980; Jahoda, 1982).

Despite its apparent advantage as a qualitative research tool, it has remained underutilised for two to three decades because it is believed to be tainted as a tool for western nations to exert their ethnocentric biases over so-called primitive cultures (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). However, more recently, this research technique has re-emerged in a new post-modern form (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Vidich and Lyman (1994) describe post-modern ethnography as ethnography with a post-modern feel to it. They distinguish it from traditional ethnography in a number of ways:

- (1) The ethnographer acts as Simmel's notion of the 'stranger'.
- (2) The ethnographer adopts the role of both a citizen scholar as well as participant observer.
- (3) The concern is with in-depth descriptions and interpretation rather than valid generalizations and substantive conclusions.
- (4) The written ethnography is open to criticism.
- (5) History is only relevant if it explains how the community operates and functions under current circumstances.
- (6) Bias in the findings are conditional and subject to individual choices.
- (7) There is some awareness of the underlying assumptions.
- (8) It is important to reconsider old ethnographic texts within this perspective.

Vidich and Lyman (1994) however raise concerns about two possible problems. The first problem is associated with the ethnography's difficulty in dealing with social change and social action. To avoid this problem, Burawoy et al. (1992) suggested that researchers should be concerned with the political, social, economic and historical contexts in which observable events are directly related. The context in this case should be argued to have some impact on these events. Denzin (1989) argued for two steps for ethnographers to achieve this:

- (a) Firstly, that they immerse themselves in the lives of their participants; and
- (b) Secondly, once an in-depth understanding of their lives is obtained, it is necessary to interpret and reconstruct these experiences in context. Denzin suggests that the ethnographic text is one which is a mixture of experience and theory. The final theory is used to interpret the experiences of a majority of participants lives from their perspective as well as being open to criticism.

The second problem of the post-modern ethnography relates to the applicability of the ethnography as representation to what is really happening. The problem with post-modernism is that it can easily lose its realism. Van Maanen (1988) suggested that the ethnographer should not observe history, but participate in its search for freedom, in both reporting and playing a role in emotional upheavals, struggles and achievements of the people concerned.

### **Time frame**

Chase (1995) argued that it is important with historical analyses to specify a time frame for the phenomena being examined. For the purposes of this study the time-frame from 1824 to 1999 has been set to examine the history and experiences of Anglo-Burmese. From 1824 considerable inter-cultural contact occurred between the Burmese and British, leading to the eventual development of Anglo-Burmese and their subsequent migration to Australia.

### **Data Sources**

Chase (1995) also recommends defining the sampling frame for historical analyses. Sampling was accomplished using a variety of techniques such as key informants because of the difficulty in finding detailed information on this specific (and often ignored) group.

According to Lowenthal (1985), there are a number of sources from which historical data can be obtained. Two main sources are (1) Memory information- this refers to information which is gathered from participants. Historical data obtained from this source provide information from the past from a current point of view; and (2) Representational information- this refers to information which is

gathered from historical texts, which typically provide information about the past gathered in the past. Chase (1995) argues that personal information and historical texts, together, provide a valuable tool to understanding the socio-psychological processes within a historical context. This study drew on both sources of historical data through key informant interviews, conversational interviews, participant observation, archival analysis and socio-demographic responses from a convenience sample of Anglo-Burmese.

### **Memory Data Sources**

Memory data information was obtained from two sources. Firstly, through a series of key informant semi-structured interviews and secondly, by a number of informal ethnographic interviews.

#### **A. Key Informant Interviews.**

##### *Participants.*

Participants were twelve key informants, recruited through the researcher's networks. This process is not designed to be representative of a broad range of Anglo-Burmese as it is desirable to obtain the most knowledgeable members of the

community<sup>10</sup>. Representative samples are required when attempting to get nomothetic data. As an ethnographic procedure, informed participants are required to best understand the culture.

These twelve key informants consisted of six females and six males between ages of 24 and 83 years old. The majority were first generation migrants who had lived in Western Australia for an average of 27.6 years. Because of the Anglo-Burmese experience as a marginalised group in Burma, many Anglo-Burmese choose not to identify as 'Anglo-Burmese', instead identifying as 'Burmans'. Living in Australia gave the group an opportunity to identify with the dominant group in the country of origin, an experience that was not possible when they lived there. Great care by the researcher was taken to ensure that only Anglo-Burmese were selected. This could be seen to present problems for this study because those people who do identify as Burmese may not be Anglo-Burmese in these procedures. However, this issue is less of a problem in this study because only knowledgeable people are required as key informants to maximise the input in describing the culture. Furthermore, unmixed Burmese migrants would not choose to identify as Anglo-Burmese because Anglo-Burmese were seen by the Burmese as being in lower social status position to themselves.

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10

Frequently, key members of any community are easily identified by members in a community. These knowledgeable members of the Anglo-Burmese community were selected based on information obtained from a number of Anglo-Burmese participants.



*Interviewing structure.*

An open-ended interview guide was developed. The following questions were addressed:

- (1) What was the history of the Anglo-Burmese community in Burma?
- (2) What was the history of Anglo-Burmese community in Australia?
- (3) Describe the community's experiences in Burma? How were they different to Australia?
- (4) How well do you feel the Anglo-Burmese community has adjusted to life in Australia?

*Procedure*

Initial contact was made with the key informants by telephone. All participants were informed about the nature of the research. Beginning with the issues described above, data were collected from all participants by face to face unstructured interviews. Breakwell (1995b) recommends the use of unstructured interviews when the purpose is to allow participants the freedom to describe topics rather than specific questions, as they see fit. At the beginning of the interviews consent was obtained to tape record interviews. All participants were informed that information provided would be confidential. All interviews were in English and lasted 30-50 minutes.

### **B. Informal ethnographic interviews.**

Ethnographic interviews have an informal interview as the main focus and the use of observation as secondary. The purpose of the observation is to help inform the researcher ask what sort of questions to ask and the sort of questions not to ask. It is argued by Agar (1996), that such an approach allows for an ‘experience-near’ (an interpretation of how the participants operate from their worldview) rather than an ‘experience distant’ understanding. This informal style has a number of features. Firstly, the researcher does not have a written set of questions. Instead, the researcher has a set of strategies for asking questions as they seem appropriate in a conversation or discussion. Secondly, because the questions are determined by the information provided by participants, the researcher does not take a lead /primary role in discussion. Rather, his or her position is more secondary, to listen and seek out alternative worldviews for interpretation of information- ‘to test the water’ so to speak. Thirdly, the setting in which an informal ethnographic interview is conducted may vary from discussions over the restaurant table to conversation at a community get-together.

The purpose of this informal ethnographic interview was two-fold: (1) to explain gaps in the researcher’s knowledge (information needed to get the full picture); and (2) to cross-check information gathered from other sources. So in this case the informal ethnographic interview was used to seek out particular types of information. The strategy used to achieve this end was one of ‘frames’. Agar

defines a frame as “simply a statement with a hole in it (p.149)”. Participants are allowed to fill the frame as they see fit.

#### *Participants.*

A total of 82 participants were divided into a number of groups in five different contexts including family dinners, meetings, and restaurants. In these settings, both first and second generation Anglo-Burmese discussed their experiences in a relaxed atmosphere. Thirty seven of these participants were females. Ages ranged from three to late 60s.

#### *Procedure.*

The participants were sampled by convenience. Individuals were interviewed/ observed using a unobtrusive or what Sarantakos (1998) described as *disguised* method. “Disguised methods are indirect methods in which the respondent is aware of being investigated but does not know how and in what context the responses will be evaluated” (Sarantakos, p. 273). This method was deemed appropriate because Shaughnessy and Zechmeister argued that the *undisguised* alternative can restrict the behaviours and conversations of participants’. While this approach appears to raise certain ethical issues of disclosure, the purpose of the disguised approach was to gain insight,

not of the participants personal lives but to gain an understanding of the context in which the participants operated. Written descriptions of behaviours (such as cultural signals) and conversations were recorded immediately after each setting. While Spradley (1979) recommends the recording of notes during the observations, it was believed that this would make the participants aware of the observer and his purpose. To avoid personal bias a field work journal was kept throughout the observations (Spradley, 1979).

### **Representational Data Sources**

Representational data were obtained from archival sources.

#### **C. Archives.**

##### *Sample.*

The sample consisted of books, videos and other literary sources such as newspapers (*The Australian*, July 1997-Dec 1997) which provided a description of the information on Burma's relationship with the British, Anglo-Burmese history and experiences, and Australia's relationship with Asia. Given that the purpose of the literature was to help reconstruct the experiences of the Anglo-Burmese within the contexts of Burma and Australia, a convenience sample seemed most appropriate. The socio-demographic information (represented as figures) from the Community Adaptation and Well-being questionnaire (presented in detail in Study

Two) data of 151 Anglo-Burmese participants also supported this information source.

*Procedure.*

Data were selected by scanning for information relating to the keywords such as 'Burma and Britain' 'Anglo-Burmese', 'Australia and Asia'. These broad categories were increasingly made more specific for the requirements of the narrative, for example, Australia and Asia was further specified into: "the experiences of Asian migrants to Australia". The selected material was then photocopied and later entered into a computer data-base. This collation involved the reading or viewing of each archive and notes about it according to the following fields: author, date of publication, title, publisher, and summary of the content of the archive.

## Findings

### **Narratives and historical interpretations**

The findings from the qualitative research can be presented in a number of ways. Wertsch (1997) argues that the narrative is a useful cultural tool for historical interpretations because such a cultural tool as this, are the means by which we

understand human mentality and human action (he calls this mediated action). Cohler (1982) describes a number of similarities between history and narrative. Like historical interpretation, a narrative or coherent story can be seen as making sense of the past from a number of different perspectives. Also like historical interpretation, narratives developed during one time period can bear little similarity to that collected on another time period.

Rappaport (1994, as cited in Salzer, 1998) identified three types of narrative which describe three levels of perspective (society, community and individual, respectively). The three types of narrative are dominant cultural narratives, community narratives and personal narratives (Salzer, 1998). Community narratives “are the descriptive and historical accounts of life in a particular community, which are accessible to community members. Community narratives are identified through consistent themes present in the personal stories expressed by individual community members. The presence of community narratives is thought to be indicative of shared experiences and shared community identity” (Salzer, 1998: p573). (See Humphreys, 2000; Mankowski & Thomas, 2000; Rappaport, 2000, for examples of community narratives.)

Mishler (1995) described categories of narratives; those interested in the representation of events in some temporal order, those which are concerned with how the events are represented; and finally those which are interested in the functions served by such representations. For this study the primary requirement is to establish a historical narrative, which suggests the representation of events in some temporal order is of importance. These are referred to as temporally ordered

narratives. This type of narrative can be broken down into four types which Mishler separates according to the relationship between what is believed to be the actual sequence of events (the told) and how the events are ordered in their representation of their narrative form (the telling). One of these types, is the reconstruction of the told from the telling. It assumes a link between language and real events. In situations where the interviewer allows a greater degree of responsive freedom for the participant, people's recollections of the past frequently do not represent a temporally structured order of events, instead they represent selected events. Such studies are also usually coupled with several participants and other types of data. The researcher's role under these circumstances is to reconstruct the story from events presented by the interviewees' and other data sources in some chronological order (Mishler, 1995).

### **Collective narrative analysis**

In order to represent the collective responses of the Anglo-Burmese, the results were represented as a vignette. Miles and Huberman (1994) describe a vignette as "a focussed description of a series of events taken to be representative, typical, or emblematic in the case you are doing. It has a narrative, storylike structure that preserves chronological flow and that normally is limited to a brief time span, to one or a few key actors, to a bounded space, or all three" (p.81).

Using the various data sources gathered, the researcher read all the gathered material which included transcripts, field notes, archive summary notes, and

demographic data. Upon reading the data, memo notes were made illustrating the structure/outline of the vignette as recommended by Miles and Huberman. This is followed by revision and editing to develop a cohesive story. Miles and Huberman and Erickson (1986) argued that the researcher alone can write and revise the vignette when the notes obtained represent a good database. While Miles and Huberman have used the vignette as an interim technique, Merrifield (1990) argued that it may serve as useful technique after the data has been gathered.

In this study the sources of data previously described were integrated into a narrative. This research used an iterative generative procedure. The iterative generative procedure is concerned with theory testing and refinement rather than theory generation. The key informant interviews were conducted initially and this provided a basic framework to the historical context. Additional information was obtained from the ethnographic interviews and the archival material. This allowed the development of an overall picture of context of Anglo-Burmese in Burma and in Australia. The process used to incorporate this information involved discovering holes in key informant interviews and using ethnographic interviews and archival sources to fill these holes. So the process was an iterative one in building a more complex picture.

What is presented here is a narrative which is a composite of reference literature and people's experiences. The historical documentation was sparse, so the majority of information came from key informants. In the first section, the historical material is presented in the third person typical in social science narratives as a history. The second is a psychological narrative. It combines the experiences of the



key informants and other sources as a narrative. The narrative links actual quotes with historical text. Where possible this is presented in the first person to emphasise the psychological nature. The use of the first person is done to emphasise that this is how these people experienced these events, but the narrative involves the experiences of very many people. This device of presenting a collective narrative through individual eyes is designed to round the description in the lives of the people. The use of collective vignettes has been used elsewhere (Coakes & Bishop, 1996) as a mechanism to present collective experiences in a meaningful way. Sarason (1974), for example, has employed the personal approach to deal with social dynamic. He used his personal insights as a Jew in the United States Jewish culture to argue powerfully for the recognition of the massive impact culture has on the development of intelligence. This device is not intended to individualise the experience. The analysis was done at the a collective level. Moreover, the designation of this as a psychological narrative is not meant to imply an individualistic approach. Psychology has been heavily criticised by Sarason (1981 a) and others for being too individualistic; for misunderstanding its object of study and by studying the individual in isolation, rather than people in context (e.g., Sarason, 1981a, b; Sampson, 1983, 1989). Even community psychology, with its community level focus has been criticised for maintaining the individual at its centre (Lounsbury, Leader, Meares & Cook, 1980; Riger, 1993; Shinn, 1987).

The psychological narrative presented later on (Chapter 6) has been constructed not to reflect the individualistic bias in psychology, but to reflect collective experiences through the eyes of individual people. It is hoped that the

presentation of the subjective reflects the collective. To emphasise this, direct quotes from people will be shown in italics, rather than APA publication manual style, to indicate that the quote is a representation, rather than a verbatim individual quote.

### **The Context: Setting the scene**

The history of cultural contact between Britain and Burma can be described as beginning with three significant wars: First Anglo-Burmese War (1824), Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852) and the Third Anglo-Burmese War (1885). This third and final war resulted in Burma being lost to the British and taken over by the British. From this period, Burma was under colonial rule until 1947 when the Burmese once again gained control and independence of Burma from the British.

The First Burmese War (1824-26) resulted from attempts by Burmese to expand their territory west to Arakan, Assam, Manipur and Cachar. By 1815 this expansion had been complete (Pollak, 1979). However, when the Chinese annexed Arakan, a large number of Arakan refugees fled to India. The Burmese commanders viewed this situation with anger and saw the refugees as traitors. The Burmese ordered the return of the refugees from the British (who occupied India at the time) and recognition of their king by the Indian governor-general (Harvey, 1946). By 1824, the Burmese military took control of Indian outposts. They were under orders to take the Indian governor-general and the British by force. In retaliation, the

Indian government sent approximately 11,000 troops to Rangoon and so began the first war (Harvey,1946).

The Second Burmese War began in 1852. It resulted from a number of incidents in particular a loss of an English barque through trade disagreements between British India and Burma. These incidents led the Indian governor general to annex Pegu which sparked the war (Harvey,1946).

The Third Burmese War (1885) occurred during the reign of King Thibaw, whose reckless behaviour had brought about the downfall of one of Burma's major trading companies, the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation (an English timber firm which leased Burma's teak forests). The downfall of this company led India and Europe to send an ultimatum to King Thibaw. With his rejection of this ultimatum, Thibaw was taken prisoner in his palace in Mandalay on the 28 November 1885. Despite the efforts of a group of Burmese peasants and disbanded soldiers, this event saw the end of the Burmese kingdom and subsequent control of Burma to the British (Harvey,1946).

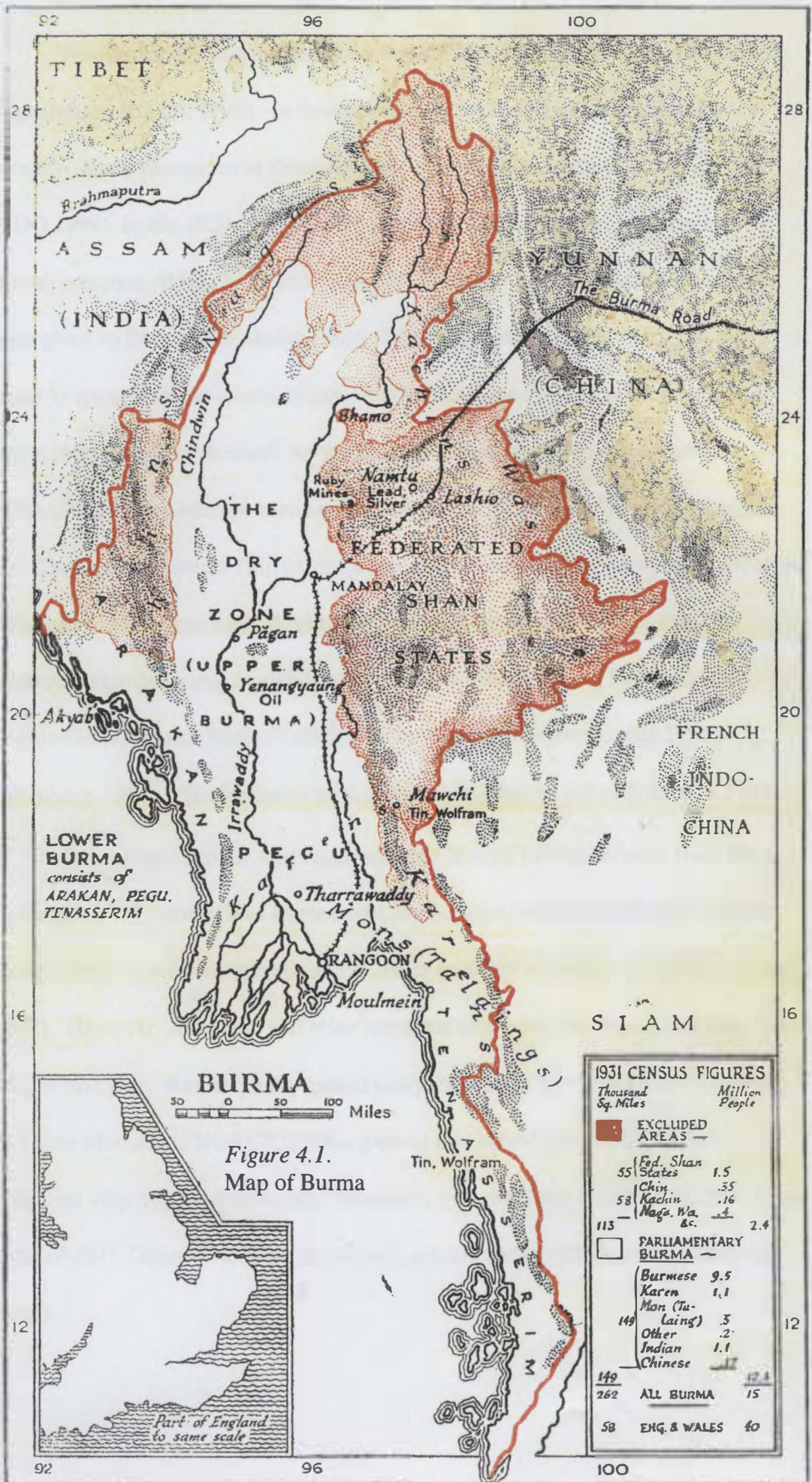


Figure 4.1.  
Map of Burma

From this point Burma became a part of British India (Burmese Democratic Organisation (BDO), 1996). In its colonisation, the British intensified divisions between ethnic minorities in Burma by providing support to only certain groups (BDO,1996). In the 1920s there appeared to be a more organised resistance to the British presence. While India had been allowed to self govern, this option had not been given to Burma (Steinberg, 1982). In 1935, a group of university students under U Aung San and others, began to represent the Anti-British sentiment and began increasingly to demand for Burma's independence (Steinberg, 1982; BDO,1996). In an attempt to ensure independence for Burma, General Aung San, and 29 others (known as Thirty Comrades) in 1941 entered Burma with the Japanese (who had trained them after World War Two). When it became clear that the Japanese were not going to give Burma its independence, Aung San made the decision to relinquish Burma's allegiance to Japan and negotiate with Britain (Steinberg, 1982). The Japanese were subsequently forced out of Burma in 1945.

Increasingly moves were made towards Burma's independence from Britain. In August 1943, cabinet was formed with Dr Ba Maw, as prime minister, General Aung San as minister of defence and U Nu as minister of foreign affairs (Steinberg, 1982). However, Aung San and other members of the cabinet were assassinated in July of that year. Burma finally gained independence in 1948 under the leadership of Prime Minister U Nu (BDO,1996). During this period until 1962, Burma remained very much a democracy. However, with the Coup d'etat by the then Army chief of staff, General Ne Win, democracy quickly ended (BDO, 1996; Steinberg, 1982).

In the following years, Burma has shifted into both political and economic repression. Because of this repression, a number of uprisings against the government have occurred (1962, 1974 and 1988). In the latest of these mainly student based uprisings, in August 8th 1988, the Burmese military killed or imprisoned thousands of civilians. Those not captured or killed went underground or joined the ranks of other ethnic groups fighting for their own independence. In that year, General Ne Win also renamed his government the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC). Under this new government, any resistance meant imprisonment. Freedom of speech has been controlled by the restriction of information to one newspaper and radio station, both controlled by the government. Curfews have also been introduced, public meetings of more than three people have been banned and the university has been closed (BDO, 1996). The effects of these restrictions were felt by Aung San Suu Kyi (the daughter of Aung San) in July 1989, when she was placed under house arrest for speaking out against the SLORC government. Despite winning multi-party elections in 1990, her party, National League of Democracy (NLD), was denied control of the government by the SLORC. She has gained recognition and sympathy from the world for her humanitarian efforts by being awarded a Nobel Prize in 1991. Despite being freed from house arrest in 1995, she continues to remain closely watched and her movements are extremely limited (BDO, 1996). Some hundred thousand Burmese, fearing for their safety, have fled to Thailand in an effort to obtain refugee status into countries like Australia.

### Migration to Australia

Australia's relationship to Asia and Asian migration has not been consistent. Its development has been marked by periods of discrimination. During the mid-1960s, there was a general fear of Asia because of Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War. This was further fuelled by a perceived threat of communism, which had been linked to Asia by both the Australian government and the Australian community in general (Fitzgerald, 1997). Up until 1973, Australia had a White Australia policy in which only migrants who were described or viewed as 'white' could migrate to Australia. In 1972-73, the Labour Government abolished the White Australia policy and replaced it with a non-discriminatory policy of migration (Fitzgerald, 1997; Jupp, 1991).

More recently, in March 1996, a coalition government, under John Howard, came into power. His time in office has been marked by the race debate which began with a statement of "ignorance, bigotry and loathing" (Fitzgerald, 1997, p.161) in Parliament by independent MP Pauline Hanson. One of her statements claimed that Australia was becoming increasingly Asianised at the expense of other Australians. Her opinions appealed to groups of individuals who saw themselves as "disenfranchised whites... who feared that their country was being lost to Asia abroad" (Walker, 1997, p.25). When such claims were initially unchallenged by the Prime Minister Howard and finally two months later qualified in a statement that Ms Hanson had a right to her own opinions, increasingly this has given the impression that the government accepted and agreed with her racist point of view (Fitzgerald, 1997). This impression was increasingly solidified with statements over

his first term in government that Australia is 'not Asian' or 'not a part of Asia'. Despite his change in tack towards the end of 1996 against a number of racist statements, the damage appeared to have been done. Increasingly, Asian countries have become suspicious of Australia's position on these and other issues (Fitzgerald).

### **Anglo-Burmese: Their development and experiences (Vignette)**

The development and experiences of the Anglo-Burmese community have been analysed in the following vignette. As mentioned earlier, the content of this section has resulted from an analysis of interviews and archival sources.

*The Anglo-Burmese came about when the British actually occupied Burma. The result of the inter-marriage between the British soldiers at the time and the Burmese..... As far as I know, how it originated is mostly why its called the Anglo-Burmese. Quite a lot of our ancestors were of European descent and that is how we came to be known as Anglos, because our grandparents particularly or great grand parents were all English settlers who had come out probably during the first world war or came out to work and that is how we became Anglo-Burmese. That is the reason why we are known as Anglos.<sup>11</sup> Being a relatively small community in relation to other mixed communities, like the Anglo-Indians, Tinker (1967) claims they have never had sufficient numbers to establish themselves as a clearly bounded*

11

As has been argued previously these quotes from informants are shown here in italics and not as normal quotations as they are meant to be representative of collective responses and not as individualistic verbatim quotes.



community. Many, he claims, still have very close ties to the British and Burmese ancestry with a majority able to claim a British parent or grandparent (Tinker, 1967). They spoke English as their first language, attended English schools, wore western style clothing and adhered to the Christian faith (78% of this sample surveyed were either Anglican or Roman Catholic). Many, at that time, were employed in government services run by the British such as the railways, the telegraph departments and police force (Tinker, 1967). During the Second World War, many Anglo-Burmese men and women served alongside British forces (for many this involved a trek out to India in 1942). Once the war finished they were given back their government positions (Tinker, 1967). Despite this British connection, this group also maintained some aspects of the Burmese lifestyle. They effectively represented a middle group with a social position which was below the occupying British but above the indigenous Burmese.

*They got on alright with the Burmese but there is always a hatred of the Anglo-Burmese because they were always considered the half-caste. That is something that you live with for the rest of your life anyway being half-caste. They were not however fully accepted by either group because of their status as a group with mixed ancestral heritage. While at times relations with both groups were positive, the indigenous Burmese saw them as a threat because they were given priority to employment in English speaking companies. While the Anglo-Burmese maintained aspects of British lifestyle and customs, socially they were treated as inferior to the British. However, this middle ground position changed gradually beginning with the independence of Burma from Britain. According to the British Parliament's Independence Act "the first schedule permitted persons to retain their*

British nationality if the father or the paternal grandfather was born outside Burma, United Kingdom or the British empire, or had acquired British nationality by naturalisation” (Tinker, 1967, p186). However, one of the problems with this Act was that it excluded some Anglo-Burmese, who had British grandparents but who had been born in Burma of ‘service parents’. Another problem was that many had lost the necessary documents which would legitimate their British ancestry during their displacement in World War Two. As mentioned, many Anglo-Burmese escaped the Japanese onslaught by walking from Burma to India. For these reasons, the British government relaxed some of its restrictions to allow applicants who had a realistic claim to British nationality (Tinker, 1967).

*After WW2 when Independence was granted in 1948, the Anglo-Burmese were promised to be given the same status as the Burmese when the British left. What happened was Aung San was assassinated - he was the one who was very very fair, he was all for the Anglo-Burmese as well. But when he was assassinated, things went into a dictatorship, because they were fighting for power and the Anglo-Burmese were not given the same privileges that they were expecting to get. If things were under Aung San everything would have been normal. The people who were coming into power were fighting for dictatorships and going out and they were taking all the positions and naturally the Burmese generals were put right on top and Anglo-Burmese were put second. That is one reason. The second reason was when Independence was in effect and this happened, everything was Burmanised. Religion was Buddhist, schools were Burmanised there was no English being taught at all. But the Anglo-Burmese, naturally coming from Anglo-Saxon stock, first language was English, everything was English, most of them could not cope with it.*

*Mainly, that's where immigration took place, because of that. First because everything was Burmanised and secondly, they were not getting a fair go.*

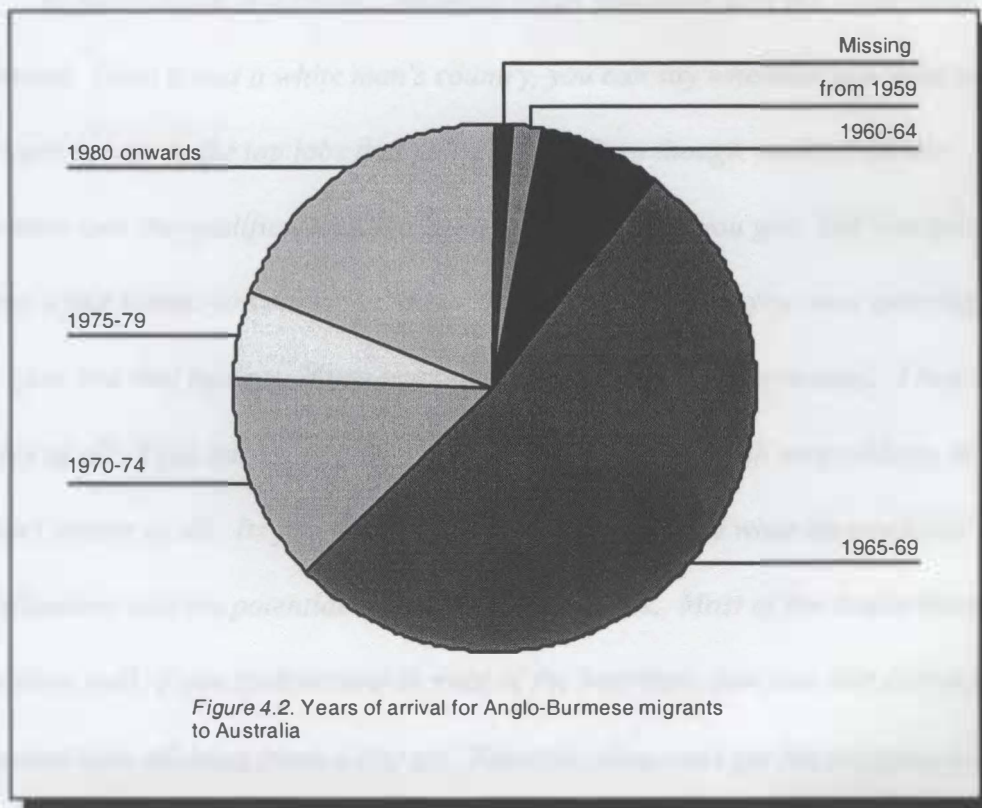
In March 1954, the Burma Parliament required “Anglo-Burmans ....to make a definite declaration of Burmese citizenship and renounce their British nationality before 1 April 1955 or to forfeit their posts in their services and become subject to the restrictions regulating aliens” (Tinker,1967; p.186). It was also decided to prohibit all English in schools and replace it with Burmese, and religious practices were restricted to Buddhism. Despite the fact that many Anglo-Burmese could speak Burmese, less were able to write or read it (Tinker, 1967). Employment that had previously been given to the Anglo-Burmese was now being given to the indigenous Burmese. Increasingly Anglo-Burmese were being required to give up their cultural identity for a national identity which was predominantly ‘Burmese’. Many were unable to cope with these changes. Such action reached its peak in 1962 when a socialist led military government took control of Burma in a coup d’état.

*Up until the time we left Burma, the Anglo-Burmese and Burmese mixed reasonably well. There was always a them and us attitude I suppose between Anglo-Burmese and Burmese. The Anglo-Burmese particularly were always a bit better off post-independence because they spoke English. A lot of English speaking companies would employ more Anglo-Burmese instead of Burmese, so in that respect there was a hatred of the Anglo-Burmese. In 1962 when General Ne Win actually did the coup that they actually stopped the Anglos or the English speaking in Burma. That is how the coup actually started because they wanted to turn Burma back from the Burmese. That is how the Burmese socialist government came about. As much as they lived together there was always a hatred of the fact that the Anglo-*

*Burmese were a little better off than the Burmese themselves.*

*.....Instead of taking that demotion they decided to go away and leave the country. Tinker (1967) reported that of 25,000 Anglo-Burmese living in Burma before the war, at least 10,000 emigrated to Britain and Australia. They were the two countries taking in migrants at the time. A lot of the Burmese went to England because they were entitled to British passports due to the fact that they were born when the British occupied Burma. Almost all Anglo-Burmese people left Burma either with a British passport or a C of I, Certificate of Identity. The majority that left Burma left with a British passport..... We had to find our footing too. We knew that we had to go away if we wanted to continue to live the lifestyle that we were accustomed to. That is why we all started to go away, that's when there was this big division. It only started after independence. Particularly after the revolutionary government took over. That's when the exodus was.....after the 60s. Independence was effected on the 4th of January, 1947, but we were able to continue to live the same lifestyle until the revolutionary government took over in 1960.*

The largest group of Anglo-Burmese migrants who emigrated to Australia came between 1965 and 1969 (See Figure 4.2). ....Then in the early parts of the 1970s it started slowing down, because the Burmese government were giving them a hard time getting out of Burma and not only that, the Australian government started slowing down the intake of the migrants coming from Asia. Up to early 1970s still a fair few families were coming. By the mid 70s the Australian government was only



allowing Burmese migrants on humanitarian grounds to bring their families across. By the mid 80s it was non-existent. Only in the early part of 1990s did they start letting the Burmese migrants in again on humanitarian grounds.

While the first few years were difficult, many Anglo-Burmese who came to Australia believed that it provided a better quality of life than Burma could offer. *For a start there is freedom of speech [in Australia]. It is more free and easy to come and go as you want. In Burma there are restrictions, such as curfews, so there was no choice. Basically more freedom in Australia. In Burma everything was rationed. The basic commodity in Burma was rice, and even that was rationed. The average family was getting a condensed milk tin container of rice per person in the house and one container of oil. Yet oil and rice were the basic essentials of food.*

*In Australia, it is different, naturally when you came here the same thing happened. Here it was a white man's country, you can say whatever you want but you were not given the top jobs that you wanted. Even though you had all the education and the qualifications you had to take just what you got. But you got a fair go and a fair living, you managed, there was no such thing as you were starving, they gave you that fair go. If you worked hard you got what you wanted. I had no trouble at all. I got into a company and went up the ladder with no problems at all, it didn't matter at all. Its just that the boss was fair, he knew what my academic qualifications and my potential was and it was quite ok. Most of the Anglo-Burmese have done well, if you look around at most of the hospitals, you find that doctors, engineers have all been given a fair go. Naturally they can't get the top post, it is obvious, they are migrants, they have come from another country. But they have all got well to do, qualified jobs that gives them enough, that they are better off here than in Burma.*

*Even in Australia, when you come here you are a half-caste. Not pure Burmese not pure Australian..... I guess, the biggest shock that most Australian*

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*people got was the fact that one family could have such different looking children. I mean I constantly get well how can you be sisters when one of you is almost white and the other is black, that sort of thing. And so it did bring a lot of [hardship], it made me want to pretend that I was just an Aussie because I could fit in a lot of the times. Just hide as an European and I tended to do that a lot of the times, because it was just so much easier rather than trying to explain to them that you are not really European background. So the experience is different - but you still felt that you were still looked upon as inferior, there was still that same treatment that you were not quite a pure bred, that you didn't belong to one particular set of people that you were a mixture. From school I got it that I still looked an oddball, so to speak, that I never quite fitted into any particular group. I did veer towards other migrants but I certainly didn't feel at ease with Australian people.*

Involvement in the Burmese community continues through charity shows (to help people in Burma), such as dances and Burmese food fairs. Many of the cultural customs continue like the kissing of the cheek of elderly females and calling unrelated elders 'Aunty' or 'Uncle'. Traditional Burmese holidays such as the Water Festival are also still recognised. *In Australia we have a lot of societies. A lot of charity work involved - once a month we sell Burmese food to the community and that money helps people in Burma. The other is having a social function, dances four or five times a year make a lot of money which is good for people in Burma. We also have the water festival which is another function. We try to help as much as we can....Basically trying to help people in Burma through functions.*

While the Anglo-Burmese continue to maintain close family and friendship ties, the politics in Burma, and the comparative freedom offered by Australia has

fragmented the community internally. For example, there currently exists at least four Burmese associations in Western Australia and there are numerous groups of Anglo-Burmese who maintain no direct ties to any of the associations. .... *I suppose there is about 10 or 12 couples that we know and associate with very closely and spend a lot of time with them. Even to the point when we go on holidays part of us go away together. At the last holiday four couples went to Burma together, yet there were six or seven couples that we met in Bangkok and had a holiday together, that is how closely we associate with each other. In terms of involvement, we spend a lot of time together.*

The second generation of Burmese appear to be less aware of the politics of Burma but continue to adopt some aspects of the Burmese culture such as greetings of elders, although the observance of Burmese customs is not uniform. Despite these connections with Burmese culture, a majority of Anglo-Burmese across both generations continue to identify with Australia (See Figure 4.3).

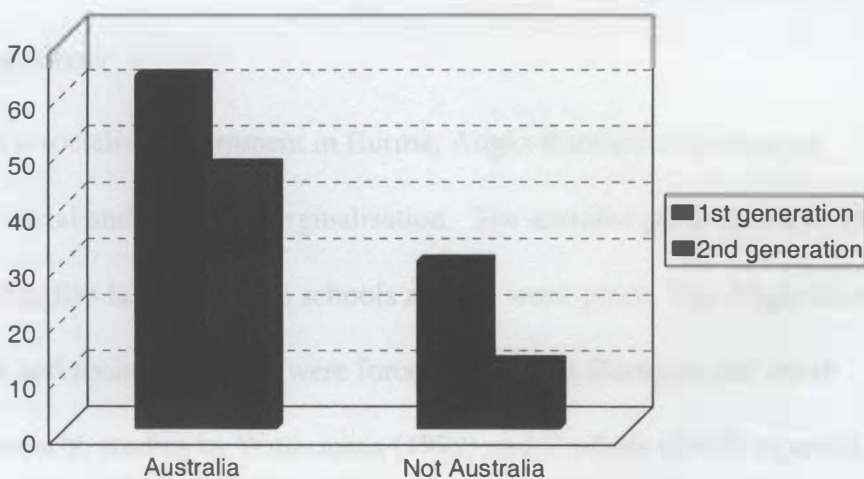


Figure 4.3. Identification with Australia across generations of Anglo-Burmese migrants



## Interpretations

These results are interpreted in relation to three time periods: prior to 1962 (pre-socialism), under a socialist government in Burma and following migration to Australia (after 1965). Prior to 1962 in Burma (pre-Socialism), the results revealed few experiences of cultural marginalisation mainly because Anglo-Burmese were able to speak Burmese as well as speaking English and easily adapt to some of the Burmese customs. However they did experience social marginalisation. The Anglo-Burmese were able to access better employment opportunities (and accompanying status) than indigenous Burmese. But they were treated as socially inferior to the British. Similarly studies of Durban Coloureds (Dickie-Clark, 1972) and Anglo-Indians (Gist, 1972; Gist & Wright, 1973) also report experiences of social marginalisation. The Anglo-Indians were socially distinct from the British because they were denied access to social functions and associations (Gist & Wright, 1973) prior to independence.

Under a socialist government in Burma, Anglo-Burmese experienced considerable social and cultural marginalisation. The socialist government in 1962 removed the English language from schools and the work-place. The Anglo-Burmese lost their jobs and social positions, were forced to dress as Burmese and speak Burmese. Similarly, studies by Wittermans (1972) and Gouveia (1972) reported that both the Eurasians of Indonesia and Guyana Coloureds experienced considerably more cultural, and social marginalisation following independence.

After their migration to Western Australia, the Anglo-Burmese have experienced cultural marginalisation. They were seen as Asians despite British connections. They also, separated themselves from the wider society by having strong ties to the community. However they have experienced little social or political marginalisation. Anglo-Burmese have had equal access to employment and social status as other Australians. They also have equal rights compared to other Australians. In contrast, when the Eurasians migrated from Indonesia to Holland (Wittermans, 1972), they experienced social marginalisation but not cultural marginalisation, due the Dutch government granting equal rights to the group in Holland.

Gist and Dworkin (1972) have separated out political marginalisation from social and cultural marginalisation. They described political marginalisation as the ability of the ethnically mixed group to vote or make political decisions at a government level. However, the political implications of marginalisation is much more about social and cultural marginalisation, as acknowledged by Gist and Wright. In other words, the influence of actions on the actions of the ethnically mixed group occur both on a cultural and social level. For example, the helping of people in Burma by providing financial support represents one action with a political motivation resulting from this type of marginalisation. Another example of actions resulting from cultural and social marginalisation which has a significant political edge is the division of the community in Western Australia regarding support for and against the National League of Democracy (NLD). While there is no strong evidence, there appear to be three camps: those who support the NLD, those who support the military and those who wish no involvement. Those who support the

NLD run the risk of their families being watched in Burma and not being allowed back into Burma. For the other two groups, they have the freedom to return to Burma if they so wish.

In summary, using the iterative-reflective-generative process developed by Bishop et al. (1998), this study drew on three main sources of data, a series of key informant interviews, archival data and informal ethnographic interviews. These three data sources were analysed using historical narrative analysis resulting in a community vignette which described the experiences of the Anglo-Burmese and their relationship to the contexts. Using these findings it has been possible to speculate on the Anglo-Burmese experiences of cultural and social marginalisation in both Burma and Australia. These findings suggest that social marginalisation appears to dominate their experience prior to and during the social government in Burma. On the other hand, cultural marginalisation only becomes significant under a socialist government and continues to be a significant issue for the community once they migrate to Western Australia. The implications of these findings are discussed later on in the final chapter.

This study found evidence of cultural and social marginalisation in the Anglo-Burmese migrant community. In the following chapter, study two reports evidence of socio-psychological aspects of marginalisation in first and second generation Anglo-Burmese migrants.

## Chapter 5

### Study Two

The objectives for this chapter are as follows:

- To describe the two types of adaptation models- ethnic identity and acculturation (in relation to well-being).
- To describe a psychological sense of community and its relationship to adaptation and well-being.
- To re-iterate the historical development of the Anglo-Burmese.
- To explore what relationships, if any, exist between acculturation outcomes, a psychological sense of community and psychological well-being for Anglo- Burmese migrants living in Western Australia.

In the previous chapter, the nature of the questions led to the adoption of an epistemology based on what Altman and Rogoff (1984) called transactionalism. As was discussed in chapter three Altman and Rogoff discussed four world views of psychological research. These were trait, interactional, transactional and organismic worldviews. In the previous study, the use of transactional epistemology led the researcher to see phenomena not as discrete entities, but as a process embedded in a context. In a post-modern ethnography, this approach is appropriate. Adaptation, community and well-being, while conceptually distinct, were highly related when seen in context.

In the first study, the process of marginalisation and migration was seen in its historical and social contexts. In this chapter, the approach common to much of cross-cultural research and psychological research in general is adopted. The questions to be looked at here are how a psychological sense of community, psychological well-being and acculturation outcomes are related. This requires the isolation of these variables from one another. This is the interactional perspective. In the interactionist perspective the variables are seen as discrete elements and it is the interaction between these that is of psychological importance. This perspective also assumes that temporal changes (typically associated with process) are separate from these phenomena. As a result these variables are outcome based rather than process based.

It is important to note that in contrast to previous chapters, that while the phenomena being studied appear to be linguistically equivalent, this not the case. As will be seen the concept of marginalisation is used within a different framework from the previous chapter. The use of different epistemologies allows (and

requires) the concepts to be different from one approach to another. Discrete elements and outcome based research are the hallmarks of positivism. This chapter will begin with a review of adaptation, well-being and community models within this epistemology to examine acculturation, psychological sense of community and psychological well-being of the Anglo-Burmese migrants.

## Adaptation

Migration generally involves a process of adaptation from one culture to another. Taft (1985) defined adaptation as "changes in a person's attitudes and behaviour brought about by the attempt to cope with changes in environment" (p.365). Since the late 1950s, models of intercultural adaptation have been developed and extensively studied (Berry & Kim, 1988; Bochner, 1982; Taft, 1957 cited in Taft, 1985; Tajfel, 1981). Two perspectives have been predominant within the literature. The first was the ethnic identity perspective. It was concerned with the individual's contact experience and how they relate to their own ethnic group and the society at large as they develop an ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990). Authors such as Phinney, E. Smith (1991), Cross (1971) and Atkinson, Morten and Sue (1989) have developed models relating to this perspective. The other perspective focussed on acculturation and was concerned more with group level intercultural contact and how the individual (through their ethnic group) operates in the larger society (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986). Of the two perspectives, acculturation is most often used in describing the adaptation resulting from group level intercultural contact.

## Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity models have been primarily concerned with intercultural contact operating at the individual level. These models have been used to look at the intercultural contact of minority individuals, their ethnic group and majority group within the same society and how this affects their development of an ethnic identity. A large number of studies have looked at ethnic identity in relation to adolescents (see Dixon, 2002; Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002; French, 2002).

Ethnic identity development suggests either one's ethnicity or ethnic group membership may play an equally determinant role in the individual's experience of the intercultural contact and subsequent identity development (E. Smith, 1991).

Some like Phinney (1990) and Smith, have been more concerned with ethnic identity salience. Ethnic identity salience suggests that one's ethnicity is the only important factor for an individual's identity development and experiences of intercultural contact. Associated with these experiences of contact are a variety of psychological reactions. To begin, the two identity development models by Phinney and Smith will be outlined.

### *Phinney's Ethnic Identity Model*

Phinney's model suggests that there is a 3-stage progression to an individual's ethnic identity beginning with (1) an unexamined ethnic identity, followed by (2) a period of exploration, eventually resulting in (3) an achieved or

committed ethnic identity. In the second stage the individual has to deal with a number of ethnic conflicts which can result in a range of different adjustments.

Phinney was concerned mainly with the adolescent's experience of contact with the dominant group in relation to his/her own ethnic group. Her model is outlined below.

### **Stage One: Unexamined ethnic identity**

In the first stage, early adolescents are disinterested with their ethnic identity and associated group. In this stage, the adolescent may prefer the features of the dominant group, though this element is not necessarily characteristic of this stage. Rather, the adolescent may either have no interest in their own ethnic group or may be so absorbed in their parent's attitudes that they see no need to have a preference.

### **Stage Two: Period of Exploration**

In the second stage, there is an active exploration of their ethnic identity. The adolescent is triggered by some significant event or experience, which forces him or her to become ethnically aware. For example, the individual may attend ethnic movies, or ethnic community functions. At this point the migrant must resolve two important conflicts which face ethnic minorities. The first is that ethnic groups are culturally different from the dominant groups and second, that their ethnic group is of lower status than the dominant groups in society. In attempting



to cope with ethnic identity conflicts, adolescents can go through four possible adjustments. First, alienation or marginalisation which occurs when the individual concedes that the negative images determined by society are appropriate. As a result individuals are alienated from their own culture and accepted by the majority culture. This outcome can lead to feelings of alienation, marginality, loss of identity, hopelessness, powerlessness, low self esteem, depression and social isolation. Second, assimilation which occurs when individuals feel a part of the majority culture and do not accept or acknowledge their relationship to their original culture. This outcome can result in a strong sense of social identity but a weak sense of ethnic identity. Third, withdrawal or separation occurs when individuals accept their own culture and withdraw from the dominant culture. This alternative can result in temporarily high levels of self esteem, temporary protection from negative stereotypes but an inability to cope with discrimination outside their own community and high levels of stress. And finally, integration/biculturalism occurs. This pathway occurs when individuals accept both the original and dominant cultures as important when adjusting. This outcome can lead to the lower feelings of social isolation, a high degree of community involvement and a low level of stress.

### **Stage Three: Achieved or Committed Ethnic Identity**

In the third and final stage, adolescents resolve these conflicts and develop a strong sense of who they are and where they were from. At this point the immigrant adolescent is said to have achieved a strong ethnic identity (Phinney,

1990). Phinney suggests that the ethnic identity achieved may vary between individuals and groups due to a variety of different personal and historical experiences. She also points out that this achieved identity was not necessarily based on the adolescent's ethnic involvement. It refers instead to the awareness by adolescents that they have an ethnic identity and that it is important.

### *Smith's Ethnic Identity Model*

Another model by E. Smith (1991) refers particularly to pluralistic societies and suggests that individuals go through ethnic identity conflicts or phases which result from contact with either majority or minority group at different times. These phases, she suggests, are accompanied by different psychological responses. She describes four phases:

#### **Phase One: Preoccupation with self or preservation of ethnic self identity**

Phase One referred to the preoccupation with self or preservation of ethnic self identity. During this phase, an individual is concerned with making contact with the ethnic minority group and identifying with it. This contact may be either negative or positive. The experiences which are negative are more likely to cause havoc to the individual's ethnic identity. A positive contact experience may also affect an individual's ethnic identity making him or her exclude those individuals

who exist outside their ethnic group. An outcome of this phase is denial or displacement and an unhealthy identification.

### **Phase Two: Preoccupation with ethnic conflict.**

In the second phase there is preoccupation with ethnic conflict and the ethnic groups surrounding the individual's traditional group. During this phase the individual is interested in forming contact with individuals, who may also be experiencing ethnic conflicts as negative contact experiences. An outcome of this phase is anger, guilt or remorse.

### **Phase Three: Resolution of Conflict**

In the third phase, resolution of conflict, individuals seek to resolve their salient ethnic identity conflict. At this point the individual makes a conscious decision not to be affected in the future by such negative contact experiences. In order to resolve this conflict they choose one of a number of ways to deal with their minority status. This may involve either assimilating, integrating, accommodating, acculturating, segregating or marginalising. This outcome is associated with a sense of safety and self confidence.

### **Phase Four: Integration**

In the fourth phase, known as integration, the individuals try to integrate their other ethnic contact experiences with their new experience. If the experience has been negative, the individual tries to balance this with his or her other contact experiences. This is also the case if the experience has been positive. If individuals are able to come to some healthy resolution of ethnic conflict experiences, they complete their ethnic identity formation. However, if it is unhealthy (i.e., the individuals are unable to deal with the experience), their ethnic identity could remain confused and vulnerable.

#### *Cross and Atkinson et al.'s Ethnic Identity Model*

There are also two ethnic identity models which suggest that intercultural contact encompasses a more traditional notion of identity development. These two models were described by Cross (1971) and Atkinson et al. (1989). Both models are concerned with intercultural contact experienced as oppression. While Cross's Negro-to-Black conversion model focusses on African Americans and Atkinson et al.'s minority (racial/ethnic) identity model looks at other groups of colour such as Asians and Hispanic Americans, they do share a number of similarities. Because of these similarities the two models will be described together.

Both models describe successive differentiations of the ego called ego statuses. These statuses are not mutually exclusive, rather the statuses that develop

later on are more cognitively complex and handle more racial or ethnic information than the previous statuses. Both models follow a similar pattern of development:

### **Status One: Conformity (or Pre-encounter)**

The first status is conformity (or pre-encounter). In this status the individual rates highly those aspects associated with white society and devalues those related to ethnic group membership. For these individuals, an outcome of this status is the internalisation of unconscious notions of racism, and discrimination directed by the individual towards his or her own ethnic group.

### **Status Two: Dissonance (or Encounter)**

At the second status, dissonance (or encounter), there is confusion with both their ethnic group and their idolised majority group. At this status individuals are unsure about where they belong.

### **Status Three: Resistance and Immersion (or Immersion and Emersion)**

The third status, resistance and immersion (or immersion and emersion), involves the interest and absorption of individuals into their own visible ethnic group and a rejection of 'white' aspects. This process occurs at both a physical and psychological level.

**Status Four: Introspection**

For Atkinson, et al.'s (1989) model only, there is a fourth stage, introspection. At this status there is a search for a more appropriate group identification and a more balanced interpersonal contact. For Cross, this stage is not seen as important to the individual's identity development.

**Status Five: Integrative awareness (or Internalisation)**

The next status for both models is integrative awareness (or internalisation). This involves a positive sense of visible social or ethnic group identification and a greater degree of respect for such groups, as well as recognition of oppression among groups in society and the promotion of change.

**Status Six: Internalisation and Commitment**

The final stage, for Cross's (1971) Negro to Black model only is internalisation and commitment. This involves the awareness of shared oppression among various groups and the promotion of change. For Atkinson et al. (1989), this status is not necessary for identity development. However, both models see the later statuses as bringing with them greater ethnic identification and self confidence.

While these four ethnic identity models by Phinney (1990), E. Smith (1991), Cross (1971) and Atkinson et al. (1989) are mainly concerned with the intercultural contact at the individual level, the acculturation models to follow are concerned more with the intercultural contact at the group level.

## Acculturation Models and Psychological Well-being

Berry (1992) referred to the process of adaptation specific to migration as acculturation, which he believed was accompanied by varying levels of stress. Acculturation is defined as “the culture change which results from continuous, first hand contact between two distinct cultural groups” (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). Williams and Berry (1992) argued that acculturation dealt primarily with the changes in cultural attitudes, values and behaviours that result from contact between distinct cultures. Researchers have argued that this type of intercultural contact can result in a number of acculturation outcomes which may be associated with a variety of social and health related experiences such as hostility, uncertainty, identity confusion, anxiety, feelings of marginality and depression (Berry, 1992). A number of studies have found acculturation to be related to psychological illness (e.g., Berry & Annis, 1974; Blacic, 2002) and psychological distress or discomfort (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Cawte, Bianchi, & Kiloh, 1968; Kaplan & Marks, 1990; Padilla, Wagatsuma, & Lindholm, 1984; Westermeyer, Neider, & Callies, 1989).

Authors such as Berry (1986), Bochner, (1982), LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993) and Tajfel (1981) have developed models from within this perspective. Of these models, Berry's model has been most extensively researched in relation to a range of migrant groups. The acculturation models of Tajfel (1981), Bochner (1982), LaFromboise et al. (1993), and Berry (1986) and the associated outcomes and levels of psychological well-being will be described (see Table 5.1 for a summary). Emphasis will be placed on Berry's model because it includes the group level contact and its effects at the individual level.



Table 5.1

*Models of Acculturation, Associated Outcomes and Psychological Well-being*

Acculturation Model	Outcomes of Acculturation	Psychological Well-Being
Tajfel (1981)	Full Assimilation	loss of ethnic identity.
	Partial Assimilation	discrimination, prejudice & personal conflicts.
	Passing	insecurity and constant fears and threats.
	Accommodation	creation and preservation of self respect.
	Internalisation	feelings of acceptance and satisfaction.
Bochner (1982)	Passing	loss of ethnic identity and self respect.
	Chauvinism	effects of racism and nationalism.
	Marginalism	conflict confusion and over-compensation
	Mediating	personal growth
LaFromboise et al (1993)	Assimilation	unstable cultural identity
	Acculturation	“”
	Alternation	“”
	Multiculturalism	“”
	Fusion	“”
	Biculturalism	psychologically healthy and secure identity.
Berry (1986)	Assimilation	intermediate levels of acculturative stress
	Separation	intermediate levels of acculturative stress
	Marginalisation	greatest acculturative stress
	Integration	minimal acculturative stress

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*Tajfel's Acculturation Model*

Tajfel (1981) suggested a model based on psycho-social categories and influences. His model was reflective of both individual and group adaptation to voluntary and involuntary intercultural contact by the group. He described five types of outcomes- (1) full assimilation, (2) partial assimilation, (3) passing, (4) accommodation, and (5) internalisation. He defined assimilation as a rejection of minority status from both inside and outside the groups. The first type of assimilation is full assimilation. This type of assimilation occurs when the minority group rejects the culture of origin and is fully accepted by the dominant group. Tajfel suggested full assimilation was associated with a loss of ethnic identity.

The second type is partial assimilation, in which negative aspects of minority status remains and the minority group is not fully accepted. Partial assimilation is associated with continued discrimination and prejudice and personal conflicts.

The third category of passing involves a rejection of the original culture but an acceptance of a new culture which is not represented by the dominant group. Passing is associated with insecurities and a constant fear of threat with regards to identity. The fourth outcome is accommodation, where the minority group retains its identity as well as competing and aspiring to dominant group values and goals. Accommodation is likely to be associated with creation or preservation of self respect.

The final category of internalisation involves the acceptance of a minority status by the group. This outcome sees the minority group accept its position of

inferiority in relation to the dominant group. It is associated with feelings of acceptance and satisfaction.

### *Bochner's Acculturation Model*

Bochner (1982) also developed a model which he called the social psychological model of contact situations. This model assumes that the individual operates in a range of behaviour settings and that cultural groups affect the individual to varying degrees. He suggests four outcomes of acculturation-(1) passing, (2) chauvinism, (3) marginalism, and (4) mediation. Passing refers to those individuals who reject their culture of origin and accept the new culture. Bochner believed that passing would have a negative effect on the individual resulting in loss of ethnic identity and self-respect. Second, the individual may have acculturated by adopting a chauvinistic outcome. In this case the individual exaggerates the original culture and rejects the new culture. The chauvinistic outcome is likely to be associated with negative effects on the individual within the minority group such as racism and the positive effects of nationalism, as a result of being part of this same group. A third outcome involved the marginalisation of individuals who simply move between two cultures without integrating. Marginal individuals are likely to be associated with negative outcomes including conflict confusion and overcompensation. The final outcome of mediation represents individuals who integrate into both cultures. Mediation is unlike the other outcomes because it could result in the positive consequences of personal growth.

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*LaFromboise et al.'s Acculturation Model*

Other more recent researchers, such as LaFromboise et al.(1993) have looked at the individual outcomes of acculturation in more detail, focussing in particular on the cultural identity of the individual. They argued that there were six possible outcomes: (1) assimilation, (2) acculturation, (3) alternation, (4) multiculturalism, (5) fusion, and (6) biculturalism. The first outcome, assimilation, sees the individual as absorbed into the dominant culture, securing the identity of the new culture and losing the identity of his or her original culture. Second, the outcome of acculturation (as separate from how the term is used generally) suggests that the individual becomes part of the majority culture but is identified as a member of the minority culture. Third, the outcome of alternation sees the individual identify with two different cultures but is still able to alter his or her behaviour to fit a particular context. Fourth, is the multicultural outcome in which the individual distinctly identifies with each culture while serving the common needs of the nation and its economy. Fifth, the outcome of fusion suggests that the individual's cultural identity is fused together with other identities until it is indistinguishable, forming a new cultural identity. The final outcome is one of biculturalism. This form of adaptation sees the full integration of both cultures by individuals into their identity. LaFromboise et al. felt that biculturalism provided the greatest level of psychological well-being and the most secure cultural identity in comparison to the other outcomes of assimilation, acculturation, alternation, multiculturalism and fusion.

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*Berry's Acculturation Model*

A final model by Berry (1986) differed from previous models in that the acculturation outcomes associated with his model have been extensively empirically tested with a variety of cultural groups. He suggested that group level changes (i.e., experiences in society of origin and society of settlement) influenced the individual's psychological acculturation. Berry (1986, 1992, 1997) argued that an individual's psychological acculturation may result in a number of outcomes: (1) assimilation, (2) separation, (3) marginalisation, and (4) integration. These outcomes are dependent on the immigrant groups' response to two questions: One is with regard to whether they should maintain their own cultural identity, values and heritage; and the other is whether they should be involved in the intercultural contact with the dominant groups of the larger society. These outcomes are accompanied by varying levels of psychological well-being or, in Berry's (1997) terms, acculturative stress. Acculturative stress is stress relating directly to acculturation and is often associated with a particular set of behaviours that occur during acculturation such as a lowered mental health status, especially anxiety and depression, feelings of marginality and alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptom level and identity confusion (Berry, 1992).

Assimilation occurs when groups accept the dominant culture and reject their original culture. This outcome is likely to be associated with intermediate levels of acculturative stress.

Separation occurs when groups maintain their culture of origin but have little contact with the dominant culture. This outcome is also likely to be

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associated with intermediate levels of acculturative stress including some form of discrimination or prejudice which could lead to poor psychological well-being of the group.

Marginalisation refers to when “there is little possibility of or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination)” (Berry, 1997, p.9). This outcome is linked to the greatest level of acculturative stress (Berry, 1994).

Integration results when the individuals or groups retain some degree of cultural integrity and participate in the dominant structure. This alternative would be associated with minimal acculturative stress and is most likely to be psychologically healthy. Berry’s model thus concluded that marginalisation was associated with the greatest acculturative stress, while integration with the least. Assimilation and separation fell somewhere in between the two.

There are several studies which have investigated the relationships between particular acculturation outcomes and psychological well-being. Generally, these findings suggest that integration is associated with the greatest psychological well-being and marginalisation with the least, with assimilation and separation both reporting intermediate levels of psychological well-being (Kim, 1981, cited in Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990; Krishnan and Berry, 1992; Lang et al., 1982; Szapocznik, & Kurtines, 1980). These studies appear to be consistent with Berry’s theoretical argument which suggests that integration will be associated with the greatest psychological well-being, marginalisation with the least and separation and assimilation falling somewhere in between. The impact of these acculturation

outcomes and psychological well-being on an individual's psychological sense of community is discussed in the next section.

## Psychological Sense of Community

For any group of migrants, changes in cultural contexts require a new range of risk and protective factors to deal with stress of a changing environment. One way migrants may cope with these changes is to become a more cohesive community. McFarlane (1989) has argued that the development of a cohesive community acts as a trauma membrane, in which the community develops a psychological wall to protect individuals within the community from external stressors. Researchers such as Sonn and Fischer (1998) have also described this adaptation as a type of community level response to protect and maintain their traditional culture. One major component of this community level adaptation is a concept known as a psychological sense of community (PSC) (Bachrach & Zautra, 1985; see also Fisher, Sonn, & Bishop, 2002). Sarason (1974) defined a psychological sense of community as follows:

...the perception of similarity to others, an acknowledged interdependence by giving to or doing for others what one expects from them [and] the feeling that one is a part of a larger dependable and stable structure-these are some of the ingredients of psychological sense of community. You know when you have it and when you don't. It is at its height when the existence of the referent group is challenged by external events... it is also at its height

for shorter periods, in times of celebration.... Its one of the major bases for self-definition and the judge of external events. The psychological sense of community is not a mystery to the person who experiences it. It is a mystery to those who do not experience it but hunger for it (p.157).

Sarason is recognised as one of the key figures in the development of a psychological sense of community. He argues that a psychological sense of community allows for the individual diversity within the community. It may also have a number of reference points from family, to group, and to nation. He suggests that the absence of a psychological sense of community increases people's feelings of loneliness in their relation to themselves and with others, which may result in inappropriate behaviours and actions and indescribable anxiety. Sarason (1986) suggested that "the lack of a sense of community was extraordinarily frequent ...(and was) a destructive force in living and ... dealing with its consequences and prevention should be the overarching concern of community psychology" (p. 406).

Sarason suggests that the promotion of a positive psychological sense of community is the key to healthy individuals and the basis for community psychology. Sarason (1999) described his reason for venturing into the topic of a psychological sense of community as stemming from his experience suffering deprivation during the Depression and feelings of abject loneliness resulting from a feeling that nobody could help him.

The measurement and development of a construct known as a psychological sense of community has generally followed one of two approaches (Hill, 1996): (1) the factor analytic approach (which uses the factors from a range of scale items to



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indicate measures of psychological sense of community) (Buckner, 1988; Davidson & Cotter, 1986; Doolittle & McDonald, 1978; Glynn, 1981; Riger & Lavarkas, 1981), or (2) the theoretical approach (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Glynn's (1981) scale produced six factors: community security, objective evaluation of community structure, individual involvement in the community, similarity and relationship patterns of community residents, quality of community environment, and supportive relationships in the community. Doolittle and MacDonald (1978) also found six factors. These were family lifecycle, supportive climate, localism, safety, neighbourly interaction, and informal interaction. Riger and Lavrakas (1981) found two factors of community attachment that they labelled social bonding and physical rootedness. Later studies by Buckner (1988) found three factors. These were a psychological sense of community, attraction to neighbouring, and degree of neighbouring. Neighbourhood cohesion was judged by Buckner as the appropriate term to cover these three factors. Davidson and Cotter (1986) identified a psychological sense of community as a single factor.

However, Chavis et al. (1986) and Hill (1996) felt that studies of the factor analytic type provided only a limited explanation and understanding of the construct. The theoretical approach offered by McMillan and Chavis (1986) proposed four elements to this construct: (1) membership, (2) influence, (3) reinforcement, and (4) emotional connection. Membership refers to the feeling of being a part of, or belonging to a community. They suggest that this comprises five features: boundaries, emotional safety, sense of belonging, personal investment and a common symbol system. The second element is influence. This refers to the ability of a member of a community to mean something to that community as well

as the community meaning something to its members. The third element is reinforcement (the integration and fulfilment of needs). This suggests that the individual members will receive what they need by the resources they provide to the community. They suggest that this element is dependent on the degree to which a person-environment fit was fulfilled among the members of the community. The final element, a shared emotional connection, refers to the belief that members within the community will share history, experiences and time together. This element is dependent on two features: a sharing of emotions among individuals and a high degree of quality interaction.

This framework led to the development of a quantitative measure of a psychological sense of community by Chavis, Hogge, McMillan and Wandersman (1986) that was modified to a shortened version of 12 items by Perkins, Florin, Rich and Wandersman (1990). Using this measure, a series of studies have followed which look at a psychological sense of community in relation to other factors such as participation in a variety of environmental contexts (e.g., Bateman, 2002; Chavis & Wandersman, 1990; Kot, 1999; Miers & Fisher, 2002; Pretty, 1990; Pretty, Conroy, Dugay, Fowler & Williams., 1996).

A number of studies have looked at PSC and well-being. Davidson and Cotter (1991) found that the higher the psychological sense of community the greater the subjective well-being (by subjective well-being they were referring to happiness, coping and worrying). Pretty et al. (1996) also found psychological sense of community in the school context was related to subjective well-being in a group of adolescents. While, Sonn (1996) found no relationship between a

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psychological sense of community and psychological well-being in South African “Colored” immigrants to Australia.

In relation specifically to acculturation outcomes and a psychological sense of community, no studies as yet have investigated this relationship. However, Sonn (1996) has looked at the psychological sense of community of adjusted South African immigrants moving to Australia and found no differences in their levels of psychological sense of community in South Africa and in Australia. Other authors have inferred the existence of relationships between adaptation and community (Bachrach & Zautra, 1985; Edgerton, 1992; Sonn & Fisher, 1998).

### History of Anglo-Burmese<sup>12</sup>

As was mentioned in Chapter 2, Australia remains one of the most migrant populated countries in the world with more than 20% of its population born overseas and more than 40% with at least one parent who was born overseas (Shergold, 1984). The net overseas migration from 1966 to 2000 reportedly varied between 13,511 to 149,785 new migrants in any given year (ABS, 2001; Hugo, 1996). While for many migrants there typically exists a correspondence between their ethnic identity and their country of origin which allows them to maintain links with their home culture, for some migrant groups this link is made more complicated because their ethnic identity is not necessarily the same as the country

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12

Given the limitation of available written records this historical account is based on information gathered from a pre-study involving 12 key informant interviews, informal ethnographic interviews and available archival data.

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of origin. For instance, the Anglo-Indians are one migrant group living in Australia who came from India, but do not identify themselves with the mainstream culture of India. They identify themselves as both Indian and British because of their mixed ancestry. This group of migrants are classified as “ethnically mixed” because they are able to claim ancestry to more than one culture. There are a number of groups like this in Australia, such as the South African ‘Coloureds’ (Gist & Dworkin, 1972), Sri Lankan ‘Burghers’, and the Anglo-Burmese.

The first generation of Anglo-Burmese was the offspring of predominantly British soldiers and Burmese women. They spoke English as a first language, attended English schools, wore western style clothing and adhered to the Christian faith. Despite this British influence, this group also maintained some aspects of the Burmese lifestyle. Being a relatively small community in relation to other mixed communities, like the Anglo-Indians, Tinker (1967) claimed they never had sufficient numbers to establish themselves as a clearly bounded indigenous community. They effectively represented a middle group with a social position which was below the occupying British but above the indigenous Burmese. They were not however fully accepted by either group. The indigenous Burmese saw them as a threat because they were given priority for employment in English speaking companies. Many, at that time, were employed in British run government services like the railways, the telegraph departments and police force (Tinker, 1967). While the Anglo-Burmese maintained aspects of British lifestyle and customs, socially they were treated as inferior to the British.

However, this middle ground position changed gradually beginning with the independence of Burma from Britain, and culminating in a socialist coup in 1962.

According to the British Parliament's Independence Act "the first schedule permitted persons to retain their British nationality if the father or the paternal grandfather was born outside Burma, United Kingdom or the British empire, or had acquired British nationality by naturalisation." (Tinker, 1967, p.186). The newly appointed Burmese socialist government decided to prohibit all English in schools and replace it with Burmese. Employment that had previously been given the Anglo-Burmese was being given to the indigenous Burmese. Being pro-western, many Anglo-Burmese were unable to cope with these changes. It was at this point that many Anglo-Burmese decided to leave Burma, with the bulk of them migrating to either England and/or Australia. Tinker (1967) reported that of 25,000 Anglo-Burmese living in Burma before the war, at least 10,000 have emigrated to these countries. The Anglo-Burmese entered these countries easily because a majority of them held British passports.

The largest group of Anglo-Burmese who emigrated to Australia came between 1965 and 1969. While the migration of Anglo-Burmese continued after this period, the numbers have been much smaller because of the Burmese government's restrictions on individuals leaving Burma and the Australian government policy changes for migrants from Asia. Today, there are 10,973 migrants from Burma living in Australia (ABS, 2001a). The 10,973 represents both Anglo-Burmese and indigenous Burmese migrants.

It is argued that for these groups in particular the cultural community serves a vital function in protecting them from adverse stress which may result from adaptation to a new culture. In recent years, a number of ethnically mixed groups have been investigated in Australia, namely, South African Coloureds (Sonn,

1996), Anglo-Indians (Colquhoun & Sonn, in preparation) and Anglo-Asians (Chandratna & Cummins, 1988). One group which has received little attention are Anglo-Burmese migrants. The study presented set out to investigate relationships between acculturation outcomes, psychological sense of community and psychological well-being.

## Research Question

What relationships, if any, exist between acculturation outcomes, psychological sense of community and psychological well-being for Anglo-Burmese migrants living in Western Australia?

## Hypotheses

The hypotheses for this study are as follows:

(1) It was predicted that psychological well-being would be greatest for those who were integrated and lowest for those who were marginalised. Assimilation and separation would fall in between these two outcomes.

(2) It was predicted that a higher psychological sense of community would be associated positively with separation and integration and negatively with marginalisation and assimilation.

(3) It was predicted that psychological well-being would be positively associated with a psychological sense of community.

## Method

### Participants

This cross-sectional study included 121 Anglo-Burmese migrants to Australia, who were older than 18 years old. The sample consisted of 57 males and 64 females. Of this group 72 were first generation migrants, born in Burma while the remainder of the sample were second generation migrants, those migrants born in Australia and who had parents born in Burma. The median age was 40 years. The length of residence in Australia varied from 1 to 43 years. The greatest proportion of migrants came to Australia 23 to 43 years ago. The average length of stay was 25 years. The unemployment of this group dropped from 53.6% in Burma to 27.4% in Australia.. The educational levels of the Anglo-Burmese varied with 26.9% having tertiary education, while the largest percentage had only basic high school education (72.2%).

### Instruments

Three scales were used in the questionnaires: a separate modified acculturation outcome scale for first generation and second generation migrants, psychological sense of community scale and a general health questionnaire. Socio-demographic questions were also incorporated with the other three scales to form

what is referred to as the 'Community Adaptation and Well-being Questionnaire' (see Appendix A).

### **Acculturation**

The acculturation outcomes were measured using an adapted version of Berry and colleagues (1989) four acculturation outcome scales. Berry's scales consisted of (a) an 18 item scale for integration, (b) an 18 item scale for assimilation, (c) an 18 item scale for marginalisation, and (d) an 18 item scale for integration. These scales used a 5 point Likert type scale response format ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). For example, in terms of assimilation a typical item asked: "If I had a choice between Australian and Burmese food, I would definitely choose to eat Australian food because I enjoy it more". The highest score of the four scales for each participant was considered their acculturation outcome. Krishnan and Berry (1992) reported alpha coefficients of 0.81, 0.78, 0.90 and 0.71 for each scale, respectively. According to Berry, Kim, Power, Young and Bujaki (1989) many other studies have reported similarly high reliabilities in a variety of immigrant groups.

Berry (1986) described the outcomes of acculturation in terms of marginalisation, assimilation, separation and integration. The highest score of the four scales for each participant was considered their acculturation outcome. Thus, using Berry's original scale the outcome categories are mutually exclusive in that a person can be categorised as having only one outcome, marginalisation, separation, integration or assimilation. Rogler, Cortes and Malgady (1991) argued that this



technique represented a zero-sum set of scales. A zero-sum acculturation scale is one in which a person is categorised as being either marginalised, integrated, assimilated or separated. Rogler et al. suggested that acculturation may be experienced by all individuals to varying degrees. Furthermore, the highest acculturation outcome may not necessarily be the only acculturation outcome experienced (Sayegh & Lasry, 1992). They recommended the use of continuous measures of cultural variables like Berry's acculturation outcomes. Research conducted by Colquhoun (1996) used this alternative method with Anglo-Indian migrants. Responses from all four acculturation outcomes were used in the analysis of relationships between acculturation outcomes and psychological well-being.

### **Psychological Well-being**

Psychological well-being was measured by a short form of the Cornell Medical Index developed by Cawte et al. (1968)<sup>13</sup> containing 10 items that addressed psychosomatic symptoms relating to mental health problems and another 10 items reflecting the psychological symptoms of anxiety, depression and irritability. These items required a 'yes' or 'no' response. For example, one item stated "Do you usually feel unhappy and depressed?". The overall scale was out of 20. A low score indicated a healthy psychological well-being. Alternatively, a high

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13

Despite the age of the scale, Berry and colleagues have found this scale to be useful in measuring the acculturative stress (or in our case psychological well-being) in a variety of different cultures.

score indicated a poor psychological well-being. Krishnan and Berry (1992) reported a high Cronbach's alpha of 0.88.

### **Psychological Sense of Community**

A psychological sense of community was measured using a short version of the original Sense of Community Index (SCI) developed by Chavis, Hogge, McMillan and Wandersman (1986). This shortened version, developed by Perkins et al. (1990), measured four components of a psychological sense of community (membership, influence, reinforcement and shared emotional connection). It consisted of 12 items scored on a 5 point Likert-type scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). For example, one item stated "I think this block is a good place to live". Perkins, et al. (1990) reported an alpha of 0.80. Similarly high results were achieved by Chavis (personal communication, cited Pretty, 1990). Pretty, Andrewes and Collett (1994) also reported an alpha of 0.78.

However, Pretty (1990, Pretty & McCarthy, 1991) has argued that three out of 12 items is not enough to interpret each component properly. For this reason, it is necessary to describe the PSC scale as a total score of a psychological sense of community rather than as four separate components.

## Procedure

Participants were sampled by convenience given the difficulty of access to both first and second generation Burmese Australians in metropolitan areas. Initial contact was made with the participants by telephone. All participants were informed about the nature of the research and of their rights as participants. Upon agreement to participate, times were arranged in which the questionnaire would be distributed to participants and times which these questionnaires could be picked up. The participant information sheet accompanying each questionnaire clearly stated that the participants had the right to refuse to participate or refuse to answer any questions they deemed inappropriate, as specified by the NHMRC guidelines. All questionnaires were written in English (it was assumed that all Anglo-Burmese have English as their first language). Each questionnaire took about 15 minutes to complete.

## Pilot study

Two phases were carried out to ensure linguistic equivalence of scales to cultural norms of the particular cultural group (Hughes, Seidman, & Williams, 1993). The first phase involved 13 key informant semi-structured interviews which examined the components of the particular scales to participants. While there appeared to be significant relevance with all components in the Psychological Sense of Community scale i.e., membership (boundaries, emotional safety, sense of

belonging, personal investment and a common symbol system), influence, reinforcement and shared emotional connection, there appeared to be a difficulty with a number of components associated with the acculturation scales, namely, music, language, newspapers and magazines. For the acculturation scale to be effective participants need to be able distinguish such items on the basis of what is Burmese and what is Australian. Because of their mixed heritage, typically British, these items in particular proved problematic because they were basically the same as Australian.

The second phase focussed on the actual items within the scales.

Questionnaires were administered to 16 participants. Participants were required to complete the full scaled questionnaire and make any comments they felt needed to be addressed. These related to the overall length of the questionnaire, inappropriateness of particular categories for the second generation (music, newspapers, magazines). The term 'second generation migrant' was seen to be inappropriate for the lay person and finally, the "community" of issue was unclear in the sense of community scale. The issues were addressed in the following ways. Firstly, the overall length of the questionnaire was shortened by removing inappropriate items identified from the acculturation scales. This ensured linguistic consistency across generations. Secondly, second generation migrant was replaced with Burmese-Australian. Finally, clearer indication was made that the community was the 'Burmese' community. This was a particular concern with this study because it was necessary to refer specifically to the referent group. These migrants considered themselves Anglo-Burmese but preferred to describe their community as the 'Burmese' community. This occurred for two reasons. Firstly, until more

recently, Anglo-Burmese were the only migrants from Burma living in Australia. Secondly, they wanted to distinguish themselves from the Anglo-Indians, another ethnically mixed group living in Australia.

## Results

### Means and Standard Deviations

Means and standard deviations for the variables are shown in Table 5.2. Of the means for the acculturation outcomes, integration was the highest in comparison to the other acculturation outcomes ( $M=3.63$ ). It was followed by marginalisation ( $M=2.69$ ), assimilation ( $M=2.65$ ) and finally, separation ( $M= 2.32$ ). None of the scores varied much from their respective means; marginalisation ( $SD=0.61$ ), integration ( $SD=0.50$ ), assimilation ( $SD=0.61$ ) and separation ( $SD=0.45$ ). These findings are consistent with the means reported by Krishnan and Berry (1992) and Berry et al. (1989) who also found the mean for integration to be significantly higher than the other acculturation outcomes in a variety of cultural groups in United States and Canada. For example, the mean for integration for a group of Asian Indian immigrants living in the mid-west of the United States was 4.12 higher than marginalisation at 2.76, separation at 2.67 and assimilation at 2.12.

For psychological sense of community, the average score was 35.62 and the deviations of scores from the mean were small ( $SD= 4.93$ ). By way of comparison, Kelly (1996) examined the means and standard deviations of the psychological

sense of community of Senior Citizens and the University of the Third Age students (a university catering for older persons). The means and standard deviations of senior citizens ( $M=48.48$ ;  $SD=4.99$ ) and University of the Third Age ( $M=47.02$ ;  $SD=6.69$ ) were slightly higher than the Anglo-Burmese immigrants.

Comparisons to other Australian psychological sense of community scores are more problematic. Pretty et al. (1996) and Pretty et al. (1994) used the Perkins et al. (1990) scale but scored the item 1 or 0 thus giving a minimum of 0 and maximum of 12. Psychological well-being was on average 3.22. This appeared to be significantly high (with a maximum score possible being 12 which indicates very poor psychological well-being). The standard deviation of scores about the mean was 3.52. These results match the findings of Krishnan and Berry who reported similarly high psychological well-being (indicated by a low mean score on acculturative stress scale) and minimal deviations of scores from the mean.

Table 5.2

*Means and standard deviations for acculturation outcomes, psychological well-being and psychological sense of community*

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
Assimilation	2.65*	0.61
Integration	3.63*	0.50
Marginalisation	2.69*	0.61
Separation	2.32*	0.45
PSC	35.62**	4.93
Well-being	3.22***	3.52

Note:

\* As the number of items for each acculturation variable differed (e.g., Separation was based on 13 items and Marginalisation had 11 items), the means of the total acculturation scores were calculated to create variables with the range of 1 to 5 (with 5 strongly agree). In other words, the total acculturation scores were divided by the number of items.

\*\* total mean calculated out of 60 with high scores, indicating strong sense of community

\*\*\* total mean calculated out of 20

### Path Analysis

A path analysis was conducted to study the direct and indirect effects of the variables under investigation, where some variables are viewed as causes (independent variables) and other variables are treated as effects (dependent variables) (Wright, 1934; cited in Dillon & Goldstein, 1984). Path analysis provides an initial tool to attempt to systematise the effects of these variables. While path analysis has limitations in that it cannot confirm underlying causal structures (as

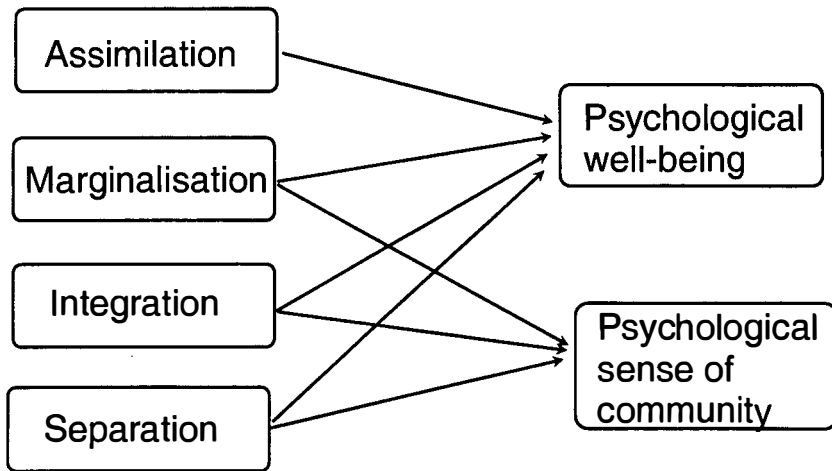
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does LISREL, Hair, Anderson, Tatham & Black, 1992), it has considerable merit in that “it forces the researcher to make explicit the causal structure that is believed to undergird the variables of interest” (Bryman & Cramer, 1992, p. 253). The analysis presented here begins to overcome the lack of understanding of the causal effects in the relationships between acculturation outcomes, psychological sense of community and psychological well-being.

There are three main assumptions that need to be considered in conducting path analysis (Bryman & Cramer, 1992; Dillon & Goldstein, 1984; Klem, 1995; Kerlinger & Pedhazur, 1973). These are: (1) that the measurements are metric and that the relations among the variables in the model are linear, additive and causally related, (2) that all residuals are uncorrelated with other residuals outside the model, and (3) that only a one-way causal flow is considered and non-recursive models are not tested. Because the development of path models was theoretically, rather than empirically driven, aside from the first assumption, the remaining assumptions could be argued only on the basis of theoretical priorities (Drew, 1997; Klem, 1995). The assumption of linearity was tested by examining the scatter plots from the appropriate regression analyses which indicated linearity to be present. All the variables in this analysis were measured on interval scales.

It is important to note that there were no statistically significant differences between generations across any of the variables. As a result, the analyses treated the sample as one group. Figure 5.1 shows the theoretical path model of the causal relationships between acculturation outcomes, a psychological sense of community and psychological well-being.





*Figure 5.1.* A theoretical model of the relationship between acculturation outcomes, SOC and psychological well-being

### **Acculturation Outcomes and Psychological Sense of Community**

A standard regression analysis was used to investigate the relationship between acculturation outcomes and psychological sense of community using the SPSS/Windows package. Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) suggest the use of standard regression when researchers wish to examine unique relationships between a whole set of predictors (IVs) and a criterion variable (DV). They argue that if the independent variables are continuous or dichotomous, as in the present case, a regression analysis could be conducted.

### **Assumption Testing**

Montgomery and Peck (1991) recommended the testing of assumptions to ensure adequacy in the regression model. Hair, Anderson, Tatham and Black (1995) also recommended assumption testing when using multiple regression so that the

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researcher can make any necessary improvements to predictions of the dependent variable. Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) suggested that the following assumptions and practical matters be met before conducting analyses. Firstly, an acceptable ratio of cases to independent variables. Tabachnick and Fidell suggested for either standard or hierarchical regression that ideally 20:1, cases to predictors is accepted for this first analysis there were at least 95 cases to 4 predictors (approximately 23:1)

Secondly, Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) also recommend the checking for outliers and influential points. Norusis (1990) defined an outlier as a data plot “which is suspiciously different from the others” (p. 92). Tabachnick and Fidell further divided outliers into univariate and multivariate. They suggested that a univariate outliers can be detected using the (casewise) plot of standardised residuals. Weisberg (1985) suggested the use of this formula and a table of critical values can determine the significance of the univariate outlier.

Multivariate outliers can be detected using Mahalanobis Distance. This statistical procedure provided a measure of the degree to which a particular case differs significantly from the mean of the predictor variables. A significant departure was determined by Mahalanobis’ critical tables (see Stevens, 1992). If the outliers were significant, Barrett (1994) recommended further investigation to determine their degree of influence. Stevens (1992) and Norusis (1990) recommended the use of Cook's distance to detect influential points. Stevens (1986) argued that Cook's values greater than one ( $>1$ ) indicated the presence of influential points. If the point was influential it was necessary to remove it from the analyses. For the present analysis there were no univariate outliers as detected by casewise

plot. However, case 116 is suspiciously close to significance, however it was not influential (as assessed by Cook's distance) and thus was retained in the analyses.

Thirdly, Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) also suggested the investigation for the presence of multicollinearity. Multicollinearity occurs when there are substantially high intercorrelations between the predictors (Stevens, 1992, p. 76). Stevens suggested two steps in investigating multicollinearity. Firstly, he recommended an investigation of the correlations among the predictors. Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) argued that substantially correlated predictors are those which are 0.9 or higher. In this analysis there appeared to be no evidence of multicollinearity present.

Finally, Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) recommend that assumptions for normality, linearity, homoscedasticity and independence of residuals are met. For normality, they suggested either of two methods. The first used a scatterplot of standardised predicted scores and errors of prediction. A second involved an examination of normal probability plot of residuals in which the expected normal values are plotted against their actual normal values. Because either method appeared to be equally efficient (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996), the second method was used in this analyses. For this second method, normality was indicated by the expected normal values of residuals and actual normal values creating points which fall along a straight line running from the bottom left to the upper right corners of the graph. Any substantial deviation from the straight line indicated non-normality. The normality assumption was found to be satisfactory.

For the assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity, Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) recommend an examination of the residual scatter plots between predicted

dependent variable scores and errors of prediction (or residuals). They suggest that when using the SPSS program it is necessary to standardise both measures. They argue that these assumptions are met when the residuals form a nearly rectangular distribution with a concentration of scores along the centre. In this present analysis the linearity assumption based on the scatter plot of residuals against the predicted values indicated no clear relationship, supporting the assumption of linearity.

The final assumption of independence of residuals could be assessed using the Durbin-Watson statistic. This provided a measure of auto-correlation of errors over the sequence of cases (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Dillon and Goldstein (1984) suggest that the Durbin-Watson values can range between 0 and 4. If the residuals are independent, the value will be close to 2 (Dillon & Goldstein). For this analysis, the Durbin-Watson statistic appeared close to 2.

## Results

The results revealed that the acculturation outcomes (assimilation, marginalisation, integration and separation) adjusted overall accounted for 30.7% (adj.=27.6%) of the variance in a psychological sense of community, . This relationship was significant  $F(4,91)= 10.07, p<0.05$ . The partial test found integration,  $t(4, 91)= 2.50, p<0.05$ ; marginalisation,  $t(4,91)= -2.46, p<0.05$ , and separation  $t(4,91)= 3.92, p<0.05$  significantly added to the predictive power already available from the other predictors in the equation. Assimilation was found to be non-significant,  $t(4,91)= -1.36, p>0.05$  (See Table 5.3).

Table 5.3

*Summary of the standard regression of the acculturation outcomes on psychological sense of community (N=95)*

Variables	<u>BSE</u>	<u>B</u>	$\beta$
Assimilation	-0.11	0.08	-0.14
Integration	0.22	0.09	0.25*
Marginalisation	-0.20	0.08	-0.27*
Separation	-0.37	0.09	-0.43*

*Note.*  $R^2=.31$ , \*  $p < .05$

### **Acculturation Outcomes, PSC and Psychological Well-being**

The analyses looked at the relationship between the acculturation outcomes (assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation) and PSC, this time as predictors, and psychological well-being score as the criterion variable. A standard regression in SPSS/ Windows package was used.

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### Assumption Testing

The practical issues of cases to predictors were roughly met with 19.5:1 (78:4) cases to predictors. There appear to be no significant univariate or multivariate outliers. The assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity were of no concern for each of the steps in the hierarchical regression. The normality assumption, based on the plot of expected and actual normal values of residuals for each step of the hierarchical regression, indicated a non-normal distribution. Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) report that the transformation can substantially improve the results of the analysis, particularly when the data is non-normal. Thus, the psychological ill health score was transformed. In this analysis there appeared to be some evidence of multicollinearity present, given that one of the condition indices exceeded 30 and two variance proportions for these indices exceeded 0.50. In such cases, Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) suggest dropping a variable from the equation to correct for this problem. However, given that Berry (1997) suggested relationships with all four variables, it was decided that this minor violation could not be corrected statistically. Kerlinger and Pedhazur (1973) have also argued that meeting the assumptions for multiple regression is less of a concern when the violations are minor. However, they do recommend caution in the interpretation of the results. For this present analysis the results shall be interpreted with this consideration in mind. The assumption of an independence of residuals was also of concern with the Durbin-Watson statistic reported at 1.69. This problem was again corrected by altering the alpha level to 0.01.

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### Outcomes

The analyses were used to look at the relationship between the acculturation outcomes (assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation) and PSC, this time as predictors. Psychological well-being scores were used as the criterion variable (See Table 5.4). Using a standard regression, the results revealed that the acculturation outcomes (assimilation, marginalisation, integration and separation) and PSC overall accounted for 14.3% (adj.=9.4%) of variance in relation to psychological well-being. This relationship was significant  $F(5,89)= 2.96, p<0.01$ . The partial test found that only marginalisation,  $t(5, 89)= 3.16, p<0.01$  significantly added to the predictive power already available from the other predictors in the equation. Separation,  $t(5,89)= -1.04, p>0.05$ ; integration,  $t(5,89)= 0.34, p>0.05$ ; assimilation,  $t(5,89)= 0.66, p>0.05$ ; and PSC,  $t(5,89)= 1.07, p>0.05$  were found to be non-significant.

Table 5.4

*Summary of the standard regression of the acculturation outcomes, psychological sense of community (PSC) on psychological well-being (N=94)*

Variables	<u>BSE</u>	<u>B</u>	$\beta$
Assimilation	0.00	0.07	0.08
Integration	0.00	0.07	0.04
Marginalisation	0.22	0.07	0.41*
Separation	-0.00	0.08	-0.14
PSC	0.00	0.09	0.13

*Note.*  $R^2=.14$ , \*  $p < .05$

### Trimming the model

The path model investigated the relationships between the acculturation outcomes of marginality, assimilation and separation, psychological sense of community and psychological well being. These variables had been found to be significant variables in the previous analyses reported here. From the path analysis shown in Figure 5.1, it was found that marginalisation predicted psychological ill health (0.30). Also in this model, psychological sense of community was found to be directly predicted by marginalisation (-0.32), separation (0.55) and integration (0.26) (See Figure 5.2.).



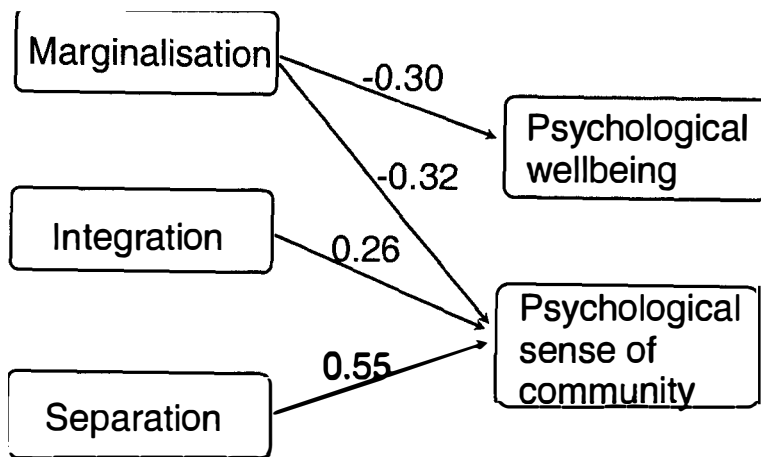


Figure 5.2. Trimmed model of the relationship between acculturation outcomes, SOC and psychological wellbeing

## Discussion

Using a series of regression analyses, the following results were recorded.

Firstly, the hypothesis that marginalisation would be positively associated with the lowest levels of psychological well-being and integration with the highest, and with assimilation and separation in between, was only partially supported.

Marginalisation was found to be the only significant predictor of psychological well-being. This relationship suggests that the more marginalised a person is, the lower their psychological well-being. These results are consistent with findings of Krishnan and Berry (1992) who found marginalisation to be associated with the highest level of acculturative stress in Indian immigrants to the United States. Similarly, a finding by Berry and Kim (1985) also found that marginalised Korean immigrants to Canada reported higher levels of acculturative stress. This finding partially confirms Berry's theory regarding the relationship between acculturation

outcomes and acculturative stress, namely, that marginalisation is associated with the greatest acculturative stress.

Secondly, the hypothesis that a higher psychological sense of community would be positively associated with higher levels of separation and integration and negatively associated with lower levels of marginalisation and assimilation was also partially supported. The results revealed significant positive relationships between a psychological sense of community and separation and integration, and a negative significant relationship with marginalisation. No relationships were found between assimilation and a psychological sense of community. While no studies to date have looked at the relationship between acculturation outcomes and a psychological sense of community, there is support for the relationship between a psychological sense of community and acculturation. For example, Bachrach and Zautra (1985) argued that community adaptation was dependent on a psychological sense of community. Researchers such as Sonn and Fischer (in press) have described the adaptation of migrants as a type of community level response to protect and maintain their traditional culture. Edgerton (1992) also suggested the existence of a relationship between a psychological sense of community and a stable positive adaptation to a new environment. Theoretically speaking, Murrell (1973) has described the relationship between adaptation and the community or the context in which they operate. He described a social system model involving multiple levels. These systems can be seen as analogous to a community. One of these levels, the individual social system network, is concerned with the interaction of the person with a network of social systems. Within these social systems, individuals learn to adapt to the needs and demands of different social systems by finding the best fit.

The hypothesis that a higher psychological sense of community would be associated negatively with a psychological ill health was not supported. While contrary to the findings of Davidson and Cotter (1991), this finding is consistent with the findings of Sonn (1996) who found no relationship between a psychological sense of community and psychological well-being in South African 'Coloured' migrants living in Australia. In support of the no relationship finding, a number of authors (such as McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Sonn & Fisher, 2002) have argued that individuals may be members of more than one community.

The results indicate that the Anglo-Burmese migrants on average scored highest on integration suggesting that they also hold a strong affiliation towards the Australian community. Berry (1986) has also suggested that positive relationships between well-being and group networks are more likely within a multicultural perspective.

The low to moderate variance in relationships between psychological sense of community and acculturation outcomes (adjusted=27.6%) and PSC and acculturation outcomes and well-being (adjusted=9.4%) can be argued to be due to the assumptions made that such variables are observable and external to the individual. It is clear that there are many variables which are not observable in relation to these migrants, which have been explored in the other two studies. For example, Sarason (1996) has acknowledged that there are consequences for those individuals who lack a psychological sense of community. These individuals are likely to be external to a particular community and have a strong desire to be a part of one. Sarason suggests that those who are a part of a community are not concerned with a psychological sense of community as being part of a community becomes

transparent to the members (Sonn, Bishop & Drew, 1999), or part of the unacknowledged assumptions people have about their community life (Sarason, 1981a). That is not to say that it does not exist but rather that it is not as salient or have the psychological immediacy as other features which define their relationship with their community.

In conclusion, this research aimed to investigate relationships between how Anglo-Burmese migrants have adjusted to life in Australia and the extent to which perceptions of their community have helped them to cope with this adjustment. While the findings do indicate a migrant's acculturation is somewhat dependent on their psychological sense of community, these perceptions are not directly related to psychological well-being. In fact, their psychological health is dependent on their acculturation experiences only when they feel marginalised. The implications of these findings on first and second generation Anglo-Burmese migrants are discussed in the final chapter.

## Chapter 6

### Study Three

The objectives for this chapter are as follows:

- To explain the post-modern community.
- To describe ecological approaches in psychology focussing in particular on the setting and systems models.
- To describe the relationship between the ecological context, community and acculturation.
- To investigate what relationships exist between the ecological context of the first and second generation Anglo-Burmese migrants, and their experience of acculturation.

The previous two studies have addressed the relationship between adaptation experiences and well-being and the role of the community for Anglo-Burmese migrants.

In the first study, adaptation, well-being and the community were examined as a process made up of inseparable variables which changed over the course of history. Using a number of data sources, a historical narrative was created to understand the experiences of the Anglo-Burmese from Burma to Australia.

The second study looked at adaptation, community and well-being as a set of discrete outcomes which were related by statistical manipulation. Using regression analysis, the relationships between Berry's four acculturation outcomes and well-being, and psychological sense of community were examined

Like the first, the third study will also examine the process nature of adaptation, well-being and community. However, in line with study two it examines the relationships between adaptation and well-being in relation to the community as discrete units. Narrative techniques will again be used to examine these relationships. Using a major qualitative approach and a minor quantitative approach, this study is based on organicism, one of Altman and Rogoff's (1984) epistemology. As was mentioned in Chapter 3, they suggest four worldviews which guide research in environmental psychology. These are: Trait, Transactionism, Interactionism, Organicism. While the first study was based on a transactional worldview, and the second on interactionist worldview, this study will adopt an organicist approach. This worldview allows for research investigations of relationships between both discrete and inseparable phenomena. The purpose of this study is look at the relationship between the acculturation experiences and well-being as inseparable

phenomena in relation to community. The community for the purpose of this study is understood in the post-modern sense, as a series of nested and discrete levels.

This issue is discussed further below, and in the final chapter.

Cross-cultural psychologists have rarely studied the community in relation to the migration process. Typically, it has been assumed that culture and community were one and the same, so a majority of cross-cultural work looks at the relationship of variables to the independent variable of culture and they subsume it represents community. However, Sonn (1996) looked at the role of community in adaptation process of Coloured South African migrants to Australia from a cultural psychological perspective. He explored the connection between sense of community and migration, but from what Altman and Rogoff (1984) term an interactionist framework. This study did not allow for understanding of how community influences the process of migrant adaptation. In this chapter, these issues are explored. In doing so, the nature of communities in change will be examined.

### Post-modern community

Gergen (1991) argued that traditional communities have become outdated in this period and traditional notions of community have been irrelevant to the present day context. Gergen (1990) describes a post-modern community as highly complex, technologically detailed and unrestricted. Roberts (1979) expressed concern with traditional notions of community which focussed on geographical locality. He believed the redefining of community under such circumstances was essential for

people to find meaning in their lives. For this reason he suggested that community should be defined according to a smaller group of people who form an organisation, or system, within what is traditionally defined as the community. Hunter and Riger (1986) raised similar concerns within the mental health field. They suggested that community may occur as multiple levels which are symbolically defined by those who participate in them (Fisher & Sonn, 2002). They also noted that individuals can exist in more than one community at a time. Hunter and Riger referred to this as “a series of nested communities”(p.64). They argue that if researchers are to understand this sort of alternative approach to community it is necessary to ask those who meaningfully define their existence, interrelationships and the context by which they operate. The development of a theoretical framework for this notion of community to date appears to be lacking. Ecological approaches, however, have in the past adopted the notion of the individual in relation to nested or levels of context. This issue about the nature of community will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7, as the data collected here will inform this notion of community.

## Ecological approaches in psychology

Ecological approaches began in psychology with the early work of Henry Murray (1938) who argued that behaviour was determined by both an individual's needs and the demands of his or her environment. This view was later expanded by Lewin (1951) with his classic formulation of human behaviour as a function of the interaction between the person and environment;  $B=f(P, E)$ . Lewin developed what he called field theory where he considered the importance of a person's lifespace. By



this he referred to the researcher's interpretation of the participant's view of the situation or experience. This was described in terms of what occurred within the social or physical environment or what influenced it within a boundary which was called the lifespace. He also emphasised the role of past experiences goals and milestones of the individual in order to understand the person-in-context. All of these facets formed part of the whole system of an individual. He argued that in order to understand the person or system one needs to take into account all these different sub-systems which impinge upon the individual.

Researchers such as Kelly (1966) attempted to apply ecological theory to community intervention and emphasised the lack of balance between the person and the environment. It is this mismatch which can lead to maladaptation and psychological ill health of the person within his or her context. Kelly proposed four principles from biological ecology which could be useful guides for community intervention. These included interdependence, the cycling of resources, adaptation and succession.

In the first principle of interdependence, Kelly argued that whenever a component of an ecosystem is changed, there are alterations between all other components of the system as well. He related this to community intervention by saying that intervention in one community problem or agency will invariably have an effect on other community problems or agencies. What Kelly implied with his notion of interdependence was that we must take the community as our unit of concern and intervene at multiple levels. In terms of the cycling of resources, a traditional research activity in biological ecology involved the measurement of energy as it is transferred from the sun to plants, and from plants to animals. Kelly and others

suggests that the transfer of community resources (that is the energy) is an important aspect of community functioning. Being aware of community resources, Kelly believed was an essential component of developing intervention strategies to modify the ways resources are distributed.

Adaptation refers to the way individuals alter their behaviour in response to varying environmental situations. Kelly enlarged upon this concept by proposing the idea that it is the habitat in which a person lives that is of the utmost importance. His use of the term *niche* refers to the place where the person lives and can be expanded into the *niche breadth* which incorporates the wider environment. Furthermore, Kelly suggests that in the process of adaptation the wider the niche breadth of the individual the better the adaptation process. For adaptation the individual needs to acquire the necessary competence to cope with what is required in the new environment. His use of the term succession is very reminiscent of Darwin's concept of survival of the fittest where those individuals who are well adapted to the environment will continue to exist whereas less adapted individuals would no longer continue in the present environment. It is not that these people are no longer useful in the environment but that as they become a useful source of information for people who continue to live in that environment, they help delineate the space and help define the niches for other people.

Settings and system models have provided an adequate framework in which researchers can explore psychological phenomena through a ecological paradigm (Orford, 1992). Barker (1968), Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Murrell (1973) have developed approaches which acknowledge the person-in-context. In terms of settings models, Barker's (1968,1978) work has involved identifying environments, looking

in particular at behaviour settings. He defined behaviour settings as the naturally occurring spatial and temporal features that surround behaviour, and the appropriate behaviour match. In other words, he was interested in those settings which linked the physical features of the settings to a person's behaviour. Specific places, the physical objects, the pattern of behaviour, and the events that occur in an environment help to describe behavioural settings. Three points can be made about Barker's stance. Firstly, he believed that there was not necessarily any direct influence of the physical environment on the behaviour. Secondly, he explained that to some extent individuality is lost with behaviour settings. Thirdly and most importantly, when identifying the ecological environment of the behaviour setting, the person is blotted out and the events around him or her are observed (Bell, Fisher, Baum, & Greene, 1990). Barker, however, has been criticised on two points. Firstly, by Heller et al. (1984), who criticised him for not properly considering the impact of change on settings in his theory. Orford (1992) also criticised Barker for giving attention to the person's perceptions and interpretations in his behaviour settings.

The systems models have provided approaches which recognises the role of change across multiple levels. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory of development in context was a set of nested structures which he referred to as the micro, meso, exo and macro systems. He referred to a micro system as any context, such as a child's school, or a person's home, of which the developing person has immediate experience. This included the objects or people with whom he or she interacts with in that setting as well as the complex set of connections between other people there. Bronfenbrenner formulated a number of hypotheses about the meso system which together proposed that development will be enhanced if two settings in which the

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developing person is involved are strongly rather than weakly linked. By including exo and macro systems in his theory, Bronfenbrenner recognised the influence upon human behaviour and development of wider environment and of higher order systems. The exo system consisted of interconnections between those systems the person has direct experience of (the micro and meso systems) and those settings which the person may nevertheless affect within his or her immediate environment. The macro system was concerned with the underlying ideology and social structure common to a particular social class, ethnic group or culture to which the person belongs. Thus, Bronfenbrenner recognised the social-cultural influence and importance of social change (see also Brodsky & Marx, 2001, who explored different levels of community in a student home neighbourhood).

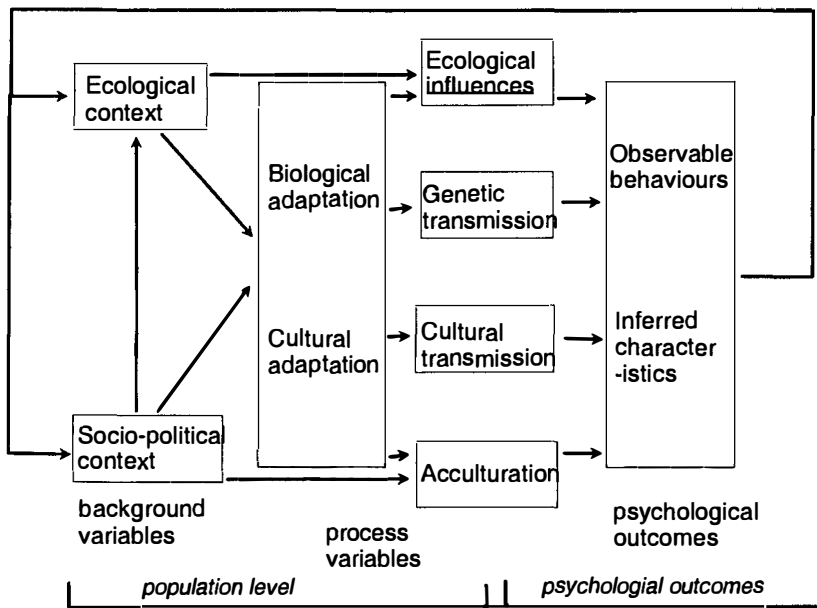
A further nested systems approach was developed by Murrell (1973). He described a social system model involving four levels: intra- and inter-personal level, individual social system network, population social system transactions and the intersystem level. The intra- and inter-personal level is concerned with four forces (affiliation and control, cognitive image, social norms and perceived outcomes) these forces act on the person in relation to his or her particular style of responding in interpersonal situations. Together these forces shape the person's personality or particular way of responding in different situations, in an attempt to get a best fit or adaptation to the social environment. The individual social system network is concerned with the interaction of the person with a network of social systems and how he or she adapts to the different social situations. The person adapts to the demands of different social systems by finding the best fit between the needs and demands of the social systems. The way the person attempts to solve problem areas

is by finding problem solutions (idealised and realised) which fit into the demands of the social environment. The population social systems transactions are concerned with groups of people from within a social system, the interdependence between parts and their transaction with the external environment, and their impact on the adaptation of the person to the environment. This level is concerned with the face to face interaction between people within a social system (family, school, work). The intersystem level examines the relationship between the different population groups (organisation agencies, families, ethnic groups). The relationship is dependent on several variables: information flow, networking, social structures, similarity between the systems and competition of resources, community inputs and systems solutions.

### The ecological context, community and acculturation.

The process of adaptation involves a change in the ecological context. This change is referred to as migration. Migration can be defined as the movement of people from one cultural context to another. Taft (1985) defined adaptation as "changes in a person's attitudes and behaviour brought about by the attempt to cope with changes in environment" (p. 365). Berry and colleagues have developed an eco-cultural framework for the adaptation of migrants (see Figure 6.1).

Underlying this framework is the general belief that all phenomena which are psychological in nature can be seen as an adaptation to specific contexts-cultural or ecological (Mishra, Sinha & Berry, 1996). Mishra et al. describe the framework which involves two levels. The top level deals with those stable cultural and



**Figure 6.1.** Berry and colleagues eco-cultural framework for migrant adaptation

biological features of a particular society which represent the ecological contexts in which interactions occur within the environment. The bottom level deals with changes in culture or acculturational aspects which result through intercultural contact. The model flows from the population to individuals through cultural and genetic transmission of population based phenomena of the cultural, biological and acculturational kind. Population level phenomena are influenced by two sources, the volatile socio-political context and the more stable ecological context. These processes result in an understanding of psychological outcomes of the individual.

According to Lonner and Adamopoulos (1997), this eco-cultural framework is not a theory but an heuristic device for researchers to develop an understanding of the interdependence of culture to ecology and behaviour.

While the acculturation aspects of migration have received considerable investigation, the role of the ecological context, and even more so the role of the community, has been neglected by a majority of researchers. This is even more true

for ethnically mixed migrants, such as the Anglo-Burmese. This study investigates the Anglo-Burmese migration experience using the ecological context and community.

## The Anglo-Burmese migrants to Australia

Phinney (1990) and Smith, Stratton, Stones and Naidoo (2003) noted that the experiences of racially mixed migrant groups have been neglected. While there is a number of these groups in Australia, namely, the Anglo-Indians, South African Coloureds, and Sri Lankan Burghers, the experiences of the Anglo-Burmese in terms of psychological research has yet to be explored.

The role of the community in relation to adaptation has also been neglected by many researchers. Fisher and Sonn (2002) have used the onion metaphor to describe nested communities, or community of communities. This post-modern perspective utilises a nested framework that is consistent with Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Murrell (1973). Ecological approaches, like systems theory, have proved useful in capturing nested systems of the ecological context. The purpose of this study was to investigate relationships between acculturation and well-being experiences of the Anglo-Burmese participants and the role of their community.

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## Methodology

Altman and Rogoff's (1984) concept of organicism, referred to in Chapter 3, draws on aspects of Pepper's (1942) organicist world hypothesis and Dewey and Bentley's (1949) interaction and transaction approaches. Altman and Rogoff argued that the organismic approach defines "psychology as the study of dynamic and holistic systems in which person and environment components exhibit complex reciprocal relationships and influences." (p.19). A significant feature of this approach separates the person from the environment, like the interactionist perspective. It looks at the relationships between these interactions to the context rather than treating the context as irrelevant as the interactionist approach does. For example, the experience of 'culture shock' (Furnham & Bochner, 1986) which results from an inability to communicate or understand others following migration has been described as a stressful experience. It can be argued that culture shock results from changes in the cultural context.

Another feature of the organismic approach is that it recognises that change, resulting from interactions between the individuals and their context, continues until an ideal state is reached. This change occurs according to regulatory mechanisms. Again, using the culture shock example, over time migrants will adapt to the new culture by learning new skills and modifying others. At some point they will reach a satisfactory balance in which the experience is no longer stressful. In terms of this study, the acculturation and well-being are conceptualised as being separate from the levels of community. Thus, using an organismic worldview acculturation and well-being are treated as discrete units embedded in the context of community. As will be



recalled, Altman and Rogoff (1984) argued that the concept of organicism involves seeing events, actions and persons as separate, discrete elements interacting with each other in a specific context. A transactional approach, on the other hand, does not conceptualise elements as discrete rather as related and inseparable. The following methodology is drawn from this type of epistemological perspective.

In this study, systemic interviews (Alchin & Decharin, 1979) were conducted with participants. Systemic interviews are ones in which the interview is guided by a systemic framework, as will be described later. The interviews were transcribed. The analysis involved two steps: (1) The first step involved two stages. The first stage involved categorising the interview data into a number of levels using Nud\*ist (a computer program for coding and analysing qualitative data) and the second stage involved tracing conditional paths to determine relationships, patterns and interactions between levels (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and this will be described in more detail later. The key feature of this step in relation to organicist approach, is to separate the person and their experiences from the context

The second step involved the development of a 'community functional narrative', a story representing the collective experiences of the community. In this step, the key feature in relation to organicist approach is to examine the relationships between the person's experiences and the contexts in which he or she operates.

## Research Question

What relationships exist between the ecological context, of the first and second generation Anglo-Burmese migrants, and their experiences of acculturation?

## Participants

Participants were a total of 20 first and second generation Anglo-Burmese migrants. Ten were first generation migrants and ten were second generation migrants. These migrants were recruited through the Burmese associations in Western Australia, and through the researcher's own networks. A lower limit of 18 years of age was deemed appropriate because it is considered to be the age at which an individual becomes an adult both in terms of political definition in Australia and psychological developmental terms (e.g., Erikson, 1963). It is also important for these individuals to be able to reflect on their acculturation and community experiences.

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## Design

### **Settings measurement.**

There are two types of measures for behaviour settings objective and subjective measurement. Objective measurement refers to events and objects that can be counted in some way by different observers e.g., Barker's (1968) behaviour settings. Subjective measurement refers to the perception, evaluations and opinions of people that may vary considerably depending on who is providing the data. Such information may include people's beliefs about whether the city is a good place in which to live.

In relation to objective measurement, while Barker's (1968) work held promise for ecological psychology, very few surveys of behaviour settings have been conducted on entire communities, aside from those conducted by Barker and his colleagues. The reason for this is that identifying and describing all the behaviour settings in a particular community requires an enormous amount of time and detailed work. For example, Barker's survey procedures required 13 data sheets, approximately 230 data entries, for each behaviour setting identified, and there were more than 800 settings in the Midwest in a single year (Wicker, 1979). In order to make this task more manageable researchers such as Price and Blashfield (1975) attempted to identify the important dimensions to classify settings into distinct types. They analysed 455 settings identified by Barker in the Midwest. Their goal was to isolate major dimensions along which behaviour settings vary, and classify settings based on their similarities and differences on these dimensions. They found 12 distinct clusters or types of settings in the Midwest, such as youth performance

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settings, men's and women's organisations and religious settings. This smaller number of settings helped to simplify the researcher's task considerably.

In terms of subjective measurement, Moos and colleagues (1974) devised a set of scales that measured the subjective perceptions that inhabitants have about an environment. Moos was interested in the concept of perceived atmosphere or climate. By collecting perceptions of a particular setting by those who lived or worked in it or who were taught or treated in it, he was able to provide a profile which represented the participants' consensus about the atmosphere or climate of the setting. He assumed that environments have unique personalities in the same way that individuals have personalities: some were supportive, others competitive and so on. His work demonstrated that broad school, work and family environments can be characterised along three basic dimensions:

(1) The relationship dimension assesses the extent to which individuals are involved in the environment and help and support one another. Examples of the relationship dimension are involvement, affiliation and peer support.

(2) The personal growth dimension assesses the opportunity afforded by environment for self-enhancement and the development of self-esteem as reflected in, for instance, autonomy and achievement orientation.

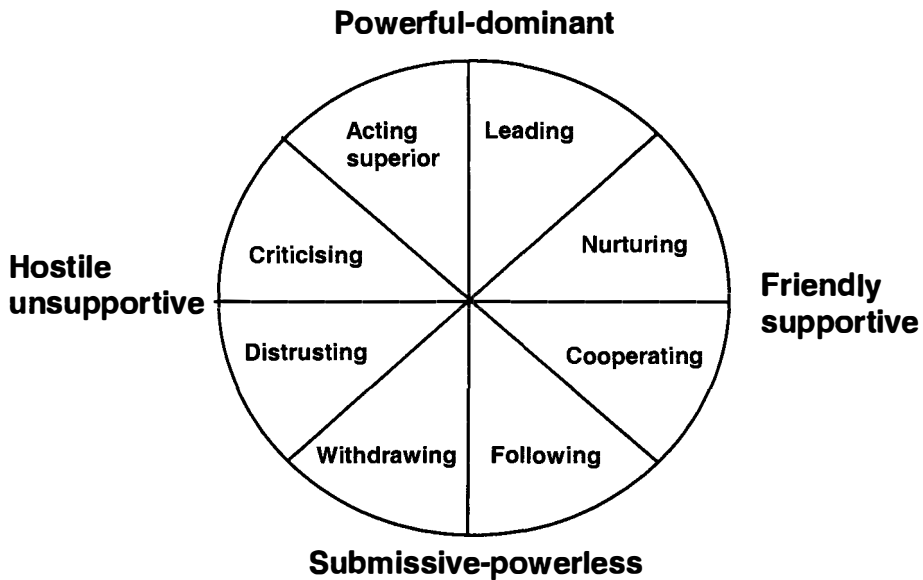
(3) System maintenance and system change dimensions reflect the degree of structure, clarity of expectations and openness to change that characterise the organisation. Examples of this dimension are order and organisation.

**Nested Systems measurement.**

The measurement of interpersonal systems was achieved through what is termed in interpersonal theory as a circumplex. There have been a number of these interpersonal circumplexes produced in the last 35 years. Strong and Hills' (1986) version can be observed in Figure 6.2.

Basic to all of these circumplexes is the arrangement of codeable or rateable types of interpersonal behaviour around a circle. Underlying this arrangement is the belief that there are two fundamental dimensions to human social behaviour, most commonly referred to as Dominance-Submissiveness and Hostility-Friendliness. These two dimensions are believed to describe most people's interpersonal behaviour in a variety of contexts.

This circumplex was used as a framework to record, utterance by utterance, the interactions that were taking place within microsystems such as husband-wife and teacher-student interactions. The coding procedures for these interactions were derived from this model.



*Figure 6.2. Strong and Hills' (1986) circumplex model*

Another available technique was developed by Alchin and Decharin (1979).

This technique specifically incorporates a systems approach into a comprehensive community development research methodology. Alchin and Decharin recommend the use of key informant interviews. These interviews are conducted using a series of critical variables and probes, namely social values (the way they conceptualise or make sense of their world), social organisation and structure (what individuals perceive to be their social positions within a defined social structure), institutionalisation (how individuals perceive change and to what degree is it accepted), and conflict (how individuals perceive intergroup, intercommunity conflicts).

A series of prompts were used to ensure that a range of information was covered. The following areas were addressed:

- Positive and negative experiences (in Burma) and Australia

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- Coping strategies in relation to negative experiences
  - Role of other factors such as social status, in the adaptation process
  - Role of a variety of social institutions (e.g., church, family , workplace) in helping to cope
  - Changing value systems (or worldviews)
  - Ability to change one's life in the future

The in-depth semi-structured interview schedule was deemed appropriate for this research because it ensured some degree of consistency (and hence reliability) in the questions asked, and at the same time gave individuals the opportunity to elaborate on questions as they saw fit. In other words the interviewer attempts to understand the world from the interviewee's perspective (Berg, 1995). This has been suggested by Brislin (1993) as an essential requirement when conducting culturally based research. This approach does present tradeoffs however. In some sense having prepared prompts makes some presumptions about the nature and range of information that will be obtained. A truly substantive approach (Wicker, 1989) would try to minimise any influence of the interviewer's values and culture. What was attempted was a tradeoff between the minimum range of information likely to be obtained, as indicated by the prompts above, and the freedom of the interviewee to talk about a range of information not limited to these prompts.

To ensure face validity of interview guidelines, four people (two Anglo-Burmese people and two non-Anglo-Burmese people) independently assessed the legitimacy and appropriateness of discussion items for the Anglo-Burmese subjects. Recommended changes were implemented before conducting the interviews. An example of a recommended change included the question, "What effect has the

experience of migration had on the way you conceptualise the world in which live?” to “Having migrated, do you feel that you view things in a different way compared to before you migrated?”. Another example of a question change was “Looking back over your life how would you describe your adaptation experiences to the Australian context? This was changed to two questions “ Looking back over your life in Burma, what are your memories?” and “ Looking back over your life here in Australia, how would you describe your experiences in adjusting to life in Australia?”. The guidelines remained consistent across participants (see Appendix B).

## Procedure

Key informants were identified by a number of first generation Anglo-Burmese migrants. Contact was made with the key informants by telephone. All participants were informed about the nature of the research. Using the interview guide, data were collected from all participants through tape recorded face to face interviews. All interviews were in English and lasted 30-50 minutes. Confidentiality was assured.

## Analysis

The analysis of the interview data occurred in two steps. The first step dealt with the creation of a variety of levels of analysis. The interviews were transcribed and the text analysed with the aid of the qualitative computer package, Nud\*ist



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(discussed in more detail below, Richards, 1998). This step involved two stages. In the first stage, the data were allocated to particular categories (e.g., action/interaction, community, national and international) outlined in the conditional matrix developed by Strauss and Corbin (1990). In the second stage, conditional paths were traced between the action/interactions and a number of conditional levels. The second step was concerned with developing a collective representation of experiences in relation to the levels of community (identified by conditional levels). This involved the analysis of data using a functional community narrative approach, in which a story is created by seeking to understand the meaningful connections between the data as they relate to the collective experience.

### **Step One- Creating and integrating a series of contextual levels**

#### *Nud\*ist*

Nud\*ist is a qualitative data research tool developed by Qualitative Solutions and Research in Melbourne, Australia. The acronym stands for 'Non-numerical Unstructured Data \* Indexing Searching and Theorising'. It was developed as a way of analysing qualitative data by allowing data to be coded and searched, as an aid to the development of theory (Richards, 1998). Coffey and Atkinson (1996) have described Nud\*ist as one of the best known and used of all the computer packages for the coding of qualitative data. They described the code-and-retrieve program as follows: "Code-and-retrieve programs are designed to allow the analyst to mark segments of data by attaching code words to those segments, and then to search the data, retrieving and collecting all segments identified by the same code....." (p.170).

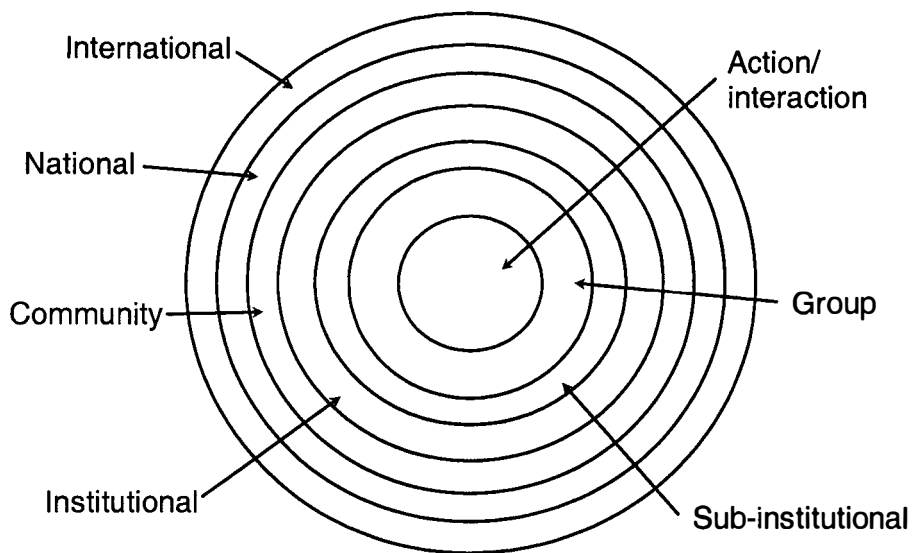
Weitzman and Miles (1995) suggested that this method replaces the traditional paper and scissors method of qualitative data analysis.

While Stanley and Temple (1996) question the effectiveness of such tools for simple data analysis functions, and comment that either the use of a good word-processing package (e.g., Word Perfect) or a qualitative research computer package such as Nud\*ist should be limited to a specific purpose. Miles and Huberman (1994) acknowledged that managing qualitative data involves more than a cut and paste function but also entails a considerable amount of formatting, which qualitative data packages incorporate into their programs.

### *Conditional Matrix*

The conditional matrix was developed by Strauss and Corbin (1990). It involves a complex transactional system of interrelated conditions, interactions and consequences relevant to the issues under consideration (see Figure 6.3). It is made up of a system of circles (international, national, community), one inside the other, each representing different contexts in which interactions may occur. All levels are equally relevant to the study, however, the closer to the centre a level, the more direct the action/ interaction is to the individual.

The generalisability of this matrix is maintained by keeping the requirements of each level abstract. The researcher is required to define the exact conditional features for each level depending on the topic under investigation. Conditional features are dependent on the literature, experiences and the research itself. The levels are connected to one another as well as between each other. The conditional



*Figure 6.3. Conditional matrix*

matrix is operationalized by tracing conditional paths. The paths are created by focusing on a specific event and tracing the path of interaction/actions across the various levels used to achieve it. These levels are as follows:

- **International level:** the outermost level which includes features such as values, philosophies, governmental regulations, international politics, culture, economics, history.
- **National level:** the next level includes culture, history, values, economics, national politics, governmental regulations, problems, and issues.
- **Community level:** this level includes both the features of national and international levels but in relation to the community.
- **Organisational and Institutional levels:** which includes the structure, rules, problems, histories relevant to organisations and institutions.
- **Sub-organisational and Sub-institutional levels:** which can include the sectors within an institution or organisation e.g., block within a city. This situation is usually representative of where the study is conducted.

- Collective, group, and individual levels: which includes features of groups such as biographies, philosophies, knowledge, and experiences of persons within them.
- Interactional level: which includes the direct communications between people. This interactional level may include the self reflections of individuals which are typically caused by the communication of ideas from another person.
- Action level: the centre of the matrix which represents the actions performed in relation to the interactions occurring.

For example, Strauss and Corbin (1990) described a simple example in which they traced the conditional paths of the action/ interaction in being unable to obtain proper sized hospital gloves for a medical procedure at a particular time. At the individual level the doctor could choose or not choose to wear oversized gloves (in this case, the doctor chooses not to wear oversized gloves); At the sub-organisational levels (the hospital ward) the nurse finds out there is a short supply of gloves so goes to the central supply office; At the organisational level (e.g., the central supply office), she finds the gloves of the hospital to be in short supply so they are kept under lock and key held by hospital staff who are unavailable at the time of the medical procedure; At the community level, the nurse also finds out that the supply of gloves is limited by national guidelines which ensure that all medical services within the community receive an equal quota supply of gloves.

In community psychology, authors such as Reiff (1968) have written about the importance of human action occurring across a number of different levels from societal to community to individual. Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Murrell (1973) described the importance of interconnections between the various levels. Using the

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conditional matrix it is possible to classify these contextual levels as they are relevant to the migrant's acculturation experiences. Tracing the paths of connection in this conditional matrix, it is possible to outline how these different contextual levels (family, community, national, international) are embedded within each other in relation to the specific action/interaction of acculturation.

Thus, the interview data were analysed in two stages:

Firstly, they were separated into the categories of the conditional matrix namely, action/ interaction, family, community, national and international level using Nud\*ist's, code and retrieve strategy. For example, a quote for the action/interaction level was:

“The first job I had, I was doing clerical work and I was the only Asian ever employed there. They were quite respectful, people were respectful, they didn't know how to treat me, they think that I was something fragile, that's how they were treating you. But I didn't really feel any discrimination but you always felt that when you go somewhere else that you feel different.”

An example of a quote from the community level

“I don't associate that much with the Burmese Association or anything like that, but if they had little shows I would go there and I would support them. I would go to it to show that I am still part of the community.”

Another example, this time at the national level was:

“You can mix with anyone you want. That's what this country is all about and that is why we are here. You have all kinds of religions, castes and creeds mixed together and that is why we are so unified with different

groups. This country allows you to do that. There is more freedom in every sense of the word.”

An example of the international level for the first generation only was:

“What stands out most is that I can see both sides of the countries, I can see the point of view of those people who have come out from Burma and the point of view that Australians have and I can link the two and find a middle ground.”

Two additional independent researchers examined the selection of quotes to the respective categories. An example of a quote which was consistent across examiners as an action/ interaction included:

“It was not all that easy but it was easier than what it is now I suppose. I, in particular, I can only speak about myself I had to go back to TAFE and study a few subjects and get a license here and improve myself and after some studies I got my A grade Electrical licence. That helped in my career. The other difficulties might have been a few racial remarks, but that was few and far between, one will have a wise crack and we let fire, we take so much and then we would retaliate back with a little bit of a wise crack but that’s all. We were in the minority and most people accepted us.”

Another example of agreement this time at the community level was:

“In the last 30 years we have been here the cultural community of the Burmese we have always maintained, even in our homes we maintain the Burmese culture, even outside where ever we go we try and carry on the

same cultural community. We speak the same, we eat the same foods, we never went away from the food, although we eat Australian, we are Australians. We've adapted the whole Australian attitude of life but we've maintained our Burmese culture in every fashion no matter what. In families, friends, culture, sports and language, we've still maintained that, we never diverged from that."

Secondly, the conditional paths connecting these identified contextual levels to the action/interaction were traced. It is necessary to do this step because the use of the conditional matrix allows analysis of separate levels but these are heuristic devices only and the implied levels must not be reified. The conditional paths reunite the data. While Reiff (1968) asks community psychologists to look at human action on a number of different levels, he also implies that to do this alone risks going back to the debate on what is sociology and what is psychology. A central theme in psychology is that human action occurs at all levels simultaneously. The levels themselves are useful for helping to understand the full range of influence on behaviours but the analysis removes the understanding at the experiential level. The implications of Bronfenbrenner (1979) with nested systems is that you do not have separate levels but a set of interacting levels so that the final analysis of human action cannot be left as a set of themes at a variety of levels but the levels need to be reintegrated.

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## **Step Two-The development of a collective representation**

Narrative techniques have been widely used by psychoanalytic psychologists for many years. Both the academic discipline and clinical psychology dominated by positivism has in the past been wary of such techniques, fearful of their subjective quality and abstractness. More recently, however, psychodynamic techniques like narratives have re-entered the academic domain (Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn & Walkerdine, 1998; Papadopolous, 1999). Rappaport (2000) has suggested narratives as a central methodology for community psychology. Creswell (1998) believes narratives are useful in bringing together a study and completing the full picture. Creswell believes capturing the full picture can be achieved by considering alternative worldviews.

Writing and composing the narrative report bring the entire study together. Borrowing a term from Strauss and Corbin (1990), I am fascinated by the 'architecture' of a study, how it is composed and organized by the writer. I also like their suggestion that writers use a 'spatial metaphor' (p.231) to visualise their full reports or studies. To consider a study "spatially" they ask the following questions. Do you come away with an idea like walking slowly around a statue, studying it from a variety of interrelated views? Like walking downhill step by step? Like walking through the rooms of a house? (p.167).

A narrative is basically a story which has a beginning, middle and an ending, made up of a particular representative set of plot(s) or events (Sarbin, 1986).



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Mishler (1995) described three categories of narratives: (1) Temporal or historical narratives, interested in the representation of events in some temporal order; (2) Structural Narratives, which are concerned with how the events are represented and (3) Functional Narratives, which are interested in the functions served by a set of representations. These narratives are concerned with the interactions between events and their relationship to the context.

Miles and Huberman (1994) offer the vignette technique as a suitable vehicle for presenting narrative stories. A vignette is described as “a focussed description of a series of events taken to be representative, typical, or emblematic in the case you are doing. It has a narrative, story-like structure that preserves chronological flow and that normally is limited to a brief time span, to one or a few key actors, to a bounded space, or all three” (p81).

Coakes (Coakes, 1995; Coakes & Bishop, 1996) used vignettes as a means to describe the experiences of rural women in their communities. The vignettes were constructed to represent the experiences of a number of women. Each vignette was a composite of a group of women’s lives. The initial motivation was to construct representative narratives that validly reflected the women’s experiences yet did not identify any one woman. Because of the low population density and the efficient rumour mill, Coakes feared her reporting of the research might have had undesirable consequences for her participants. One unintended consequence was the recognition that it was possible to construct narratives that represent the experiences of groups of people. Thus, rather than a vignette being a narrative of an individual, it can be used to represent the experiences of the collective. This is not just collective experiences (i.e., the amalgamation of individual stories) but by recognising the variety of levels

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of experience (macro, exo, meso, micro) it is possible to construct a vignette that reflects central and common cultural adaptations to migration.

Similarly, Miller et al. (1997) used vignettes to record the experiences of drug takers and their families. They resorted to the use of vignettes as they wanted to look at how families were involved in the development and maintenance of drug taking. They were concerned that an outcome of their research might be to create an environment of blame. They cited the “emphasis on ‘co-dependency’ and on ‘women who love too much’, implying yet again that the co-dependent woman is also suffering from a ‘personality disorder’ which led her unconsciously to select a partner who would then develop an addictive problem (p. 201)”. They pointed out that vignettes are not frequently used, and where they are, they tend to be used with professionals, to maintain anonymity. They argue that vignettes can be used when the issues are sensitive.

It is argued here that vignettes can be used more broadly to describe collective experiences. Miller et al. (1997) also made the following point that is very relevant here, that in their research “... the term ‘vignette’ was used to describe the researcher’s account of the relevant or core elements and recurrent themes of a relative’s experience” (p. 207). In this research, the centrality of the researcher is paramount in developing accounts (Coakes & Bishop, 1996).

McMillan and Chavis (1986) and McMillan (1996) have argued for the importance of sense of belonging as derived from shared emotional experiences or shared “social economy” (McMillan, 1996, p.321). McMillan focussed on self-disclosure as the median of the social economy of a community. While accepting this proposition, the notion of shared emotional experiences needs to be seen in

broader terms. To allow the sharing of emotional experiences, there need to be common symbolic meanings. These can operate on the mythical realm with common archetypes and at the banal level of common understanding of rumours and gossip. Thus, taken at a community level, there is not necessarily an emphasis on individual experience, *per se*, or a veridical reporting of experience but rather on the report of experience in the broader social and symbolic context.

The data were read and memo notes were made along the way to develop a structure/outline of the vignette. The vignette was revised and edited until a cohesive story develops. Miles and Huberman (1994) and Erickson (1986) argue that the researcher alone can write and revise the vignette when the notes obtained represent a good database. The following results for each generation are presented with interpretations first, followed by narrative.

Rappaport (1994, as cited in Salzer, 1998) identified three different levels of narrative: dominant cultural narratives, community narratives and personal narratives. Later, Mankowski and Rappaport (1995) distinguished between narratives and idiosyncratic stories. They described idiosyncratic stories as individual stories and narratives as collective stories. Dominant cultural narratives are the stories which occur on a societal level, and represent societal views which are consistent across people and contexts. These narratives are understood and transmitted through conversations and mass media. In comparison, personal stories are the narratives which occur on an individual level and represent descriptions of how one interprets the meaning of one's own life and purpose and makes observations of the world around oneself. Community narratives represent descriptions of life in a selected community and were represented by the consistent

themes in the participants' stories. These consistent themes were believed to be representative of the shared experiences of particular community. These stories are available and understood by other members of the community primarily through conversation or community writings (Salzer, 1998).

What has been done in step one has been to take individual experiences from the data and categorise them into a series of different levels outlined by the conditional matrix, and then to take these contextual levels and search for links/patterns or interconnections between the different level by tracing conditional paths. For instance, there appeared to be meaningful links between a first generation participant's experience of acculturation, in which he reported few experiences of discrimination (action/interaction). This can be connected to his ability to compare and contrast his positive experiences of Australia. Australia offered political and social freedoms and economic prosperity. In comparison, Burma suffered the negative consequences of military dictatorships and a poor economic position (international level). This step involves using these interconnections and providing a representative experience of members of community by developing a community functional narrative. The narrative is created from the migrant's worldview. For instance, there appeared to be a consistent collective experience of the above example among a majority of first generation participants.

The narratives presented here consist of statements from individuals that are selected and presented in such a fashion as to look like the experiences of one individual but in reality are collective experiences. They are not the experiences of any one person, but represent the collective experiences of the community. In this sense, the experiences may be direct or vicarious. As the unit of analysis is at the

community level, individuals' vicarious experiences are important, as well as their direct experience.

### *Constructing narratives*

The narratives were constructed by: (1) firstly selecting representative statements that were common to the people and not idiosyncratic. For example, discrimination was experienced and acknowledged in some form by all second generation participants. However, only in one case was the discrimination extreme. A more consistent theme was the uncertainty attached to discrimination, in other words, whether it was real or not. For example, this quote was excluded:

....well there was only one time when we were living at home, we had a couple of white Australians roll up outside the front of the house and start taunting us outside the house and we started defending ourselves from inside the house thinking this is it and you go outside and ask them to leave or which ever all of a sudden they are on you and you find yourself starting to fight literally. That was the only worst time where I have had someone coming into my own personal space.

While the following comment was included:

.... I didn't deal with... [discrimination] very well but then again as a child how do you deal with that, I mean what can you do about it. I can remember telling a teacher at school and I remember a teacher laughing, that was my memory about it. From my memory of it, at school it wasn't dealt with in a

way that made me feel any better, for all I knew she may have been laughing about something else. From memory as a child she was laughing at what he said.

And (2) the next criterion for including information was whether it fitted a general pattern of relationships between events or in other words, whether it flowed.

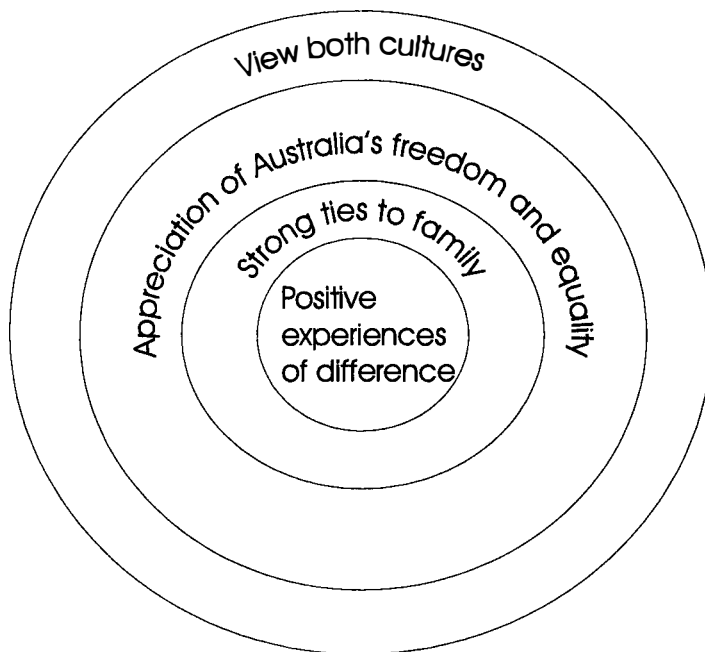
As the experiences of the first and second generation Anglo-Burmese are vastly different, two narratives were constructed, one for the first generation and a second one for the second generation.

### **First generation**

In adapting to the Australian context, participants reported that aside from the general expectations of hardship because of the new culture they generally reported positive experiences. These positive experiences were occasionally interrupted by experiences of discrimination by some participants.

The conditions operating at the community level which facilitate experiences of adaptation to the Australian context above, are that participants continue to maintain contact with traditional community ties such as the family predominantly but also through religious, educational, occupational and social networks, which act to support and buffer any negative experiences. Even for the few who have actually chosen not to be involved in maintaining all community ties, there still typically remains some sort of link whether it be just through the family and some friends.

The conditions operating at the national level which have created these actions/interactions include a sense of freedom, a good standard of living both now and in to the future. The conditions operating at the international level which have created the action/interactions refer specifically to the migrants' worldview which acknowledges and operates as the existence of two different contexts and the current circumstances in Burma (see Fig. 6.4).



**Figure 6.4.** A summary of the conditional levels operating in relation to the experiences of the first generation Anglo-Burmese migrants

As in study one, a distinction needs to be made between direct verbatim quotations and personal quotations that have been brought together with other peoples quotations to generate a narrative. The following narrative is italicised to indicate that it is a construction. Normal quotation marks are used as boundary markers of specific comments. The narrative of first generation Burmese follows:

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*“It was not all that easy but it was easier than what it is now I suppose. I, in particular, I can only speak about myself, I had to go back to TAFE and study a few subjects and get a licence here and improve myself and after some studies I got my A grade Electrical licence. That helped in my career. The other difficulties might have been a few racial remarks, but that was few and far between. One will have a wise crack and we let fire, we take so much and then we would retaliate back but with a little bit of a wise crack but that’s all. We were in the minority and most people accepted us” “There was no negative experiences, the moment I got here I started working and got offered so many different jobs. So my life started [off] good in fact everything was perfect.” “It was pretty easy because we didn’t experience any discrimination we found that people didn’t mind how you dressed and we could get all the food that we were used too, like rice and oil. So we didn’t actually have any problems, maybe because I had a good command of the English language”. “The first job I had, I was doing clerical work and I was the only Asian ever employed there. They were quite respectful, people were respectful, they didn’t know how to treat me, they think that I was something fragile, that’s how they were treating you. But I didn’t really feel any discrimination but you always felt that when you go somewhere else that you feel different”*

*“Fortunately for me, I had a lot of friends and supportive families we were very fortunate. Because coming out as a migrant from any country as a single person without having any friends or relations, it’s a very tough life but I was fortunate to have travelled already knowing the ins and outs of foreign countries, so there was no problem for me apart from adjusting to working with these people over here and adjusting to that”. “In the last 30 years we have been here the cultural*



*community of the Burmese we have always maintained, even in our homes we maintain the Burmese culture, even outside where ever we go we try and carry on the same cultural community we speak the same, we eat the same foods, we've never went away from the foods, although we eat Australian, we are Australians. We've adapted the whole Australian attitude of life but we've maintained our Burmese culture in every fashion no matter what.*

*In families, friends, culture, sports and language, we've still maintained that, we never diverged from that". "I don't associate that much with the Burmese Association or anything like that, but if they had little shows I would go there and I would support them. I would go to it to show that I am still part of the community". "In the time that we came out to Australia, there was a lot of people leaving Burma and coming here, so subsequently we ended up with a lot of friends coming here and meeting up with them. So we mixed with them , we spent time with them , we went to parties and dances and things like that" ". James Hardie...were taking all of them, the Burmese migrants even the older ones, an old friend of ours got a job as a cleaner there but they all got jobs". "We still have fairly good family ties. Even though my daughter lives away from us, she still comes here at least once or twice a week...my son lives next door with his wife". "You can mix with anyone you want.*

*That's what this country is all about and that is why we are here. You can have all kinds of religions, castes and creeds mix together and that is why we are so unified with different groups. This country allows you to do that. There is more freedom in every sense of the word". "Considering that my family background was not professionally oriented,... I would say that the education system [in Australia] allows me to better educate myself and have some sort of social mobility". "When*

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*we left Burma we decided to come over here and we don't find anything wrong with this country and having given us a chance to resettle here, everybody needs to owe allegiance to some country and Australia happens to be our choice". "I think I have a good future in Australia because now I am a pensioner and I have nothing to worry about financially. So I really have no worries at all, I am happy, I have no regrets in coming to Australia than in Burma, this is my home my loyalty is to Australia."*

*"[Because of my experience as a migrant] I am certainly a lot more lenient, understanding, I think it gives me that ability to see things from a multiple perspective. Like instead of being very fixed in the way I view things because I come from two cultures, it gives me the ability to be able to stand back and actually view things from a much more educated, distant or objective viewpoint. So I can see things from a much lesser emotional stance than before". "What stands out most is that I can see both sides of the countries, I can see the point of view of those people who have come out from Burma and the point of view that Australians have and I can link the two and find the middle ground". "I think being born in Burma is one thing but having to be educated in Australia has provided that background because you can understand the culture you have come from. So by understanding the culture of people from Burma and then by understanding the government services and the departments in Australia's culture, you have the support mechanisms there. So you can say this is my cultural background and this is what the government departments require, [this] how is I adapt". "I appreciate freedom, sense of human rights, freedom of speech, freedom of democracy which was lacking in Burma for a few years before we came out and your life was threatened every time, we*

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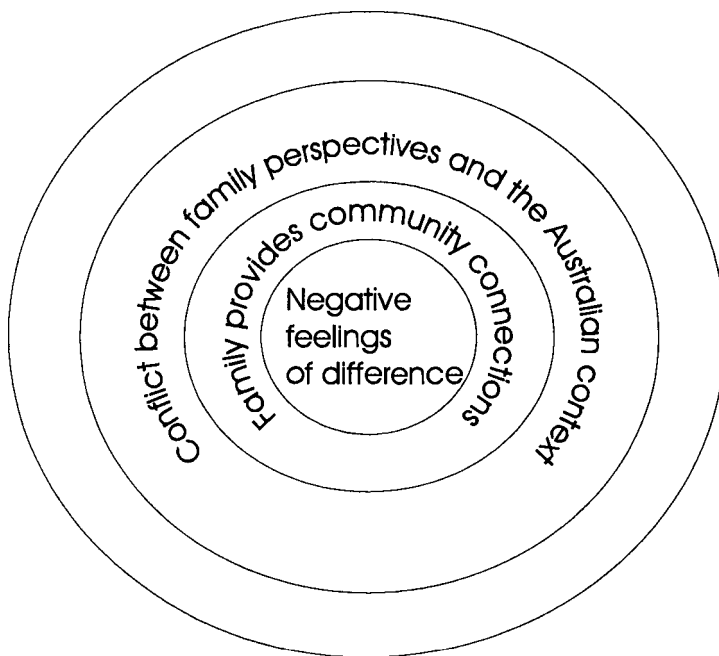
*appreciate it more, Australians don't know how lucky they are being in this country, it's a birthright to them. We Asians don't have that, and I can't see them abusing, some Australians abuse the system, such a beautiful system that they have here, freedom and the economics system that we have here, where we look after the poor and its such a shame to see it being abused because in other [Asian] countries people have to fight for one meal a day. I value that, most Australians may not because of coming from that background".*

*"There is a lot of fear in the [Burmese] community, mostly they are more anti-politics than anything else because they all want to go back and visit Burma. It is a political issue in that they don't want to be seen as going to any political areas because if you are connected politically then they might not provide you with a visa to Burma. Also because we are working with a lot of refugees a lot of people do not mix with or want to be affiliated with us because if they are linked with us they may be refused a visa to Burma. Its the people here who have not been able to get a visa back to Burma for a holiday who are afraid to become politically involved. Especially those people who came out in the sixties"*

## **Second Generation**

In adapting to their current context, participants in the second generation reported mainly interruptions of negative experiences including discrimination and racial abuse, particularly in their school years, which reinforced their feelings of difference. The conditions operating at the community level which have created these actions/interactions suggest that the extended family and not work and school

ties provide community connections. These community connections are loose given the lack of information available to participants about the past. While providing support it also creates restrictions of its own. The conditions operating at the national level which have created the actions/interactions, is the recognition of conflict between the family (community) perspectives and the Australian context. Despite this recognition there is a hope for a better future which is more Australian in its outlook (see Fig.6.5).



**Figure 6.5.** A summary of the conditional levels operating in relation to the experiences of second generation Anglo-Burmese migrants

*“I suppose not being white, I suppose as a child you experience some forms of discrimination from other kids but not really so much as an adult. As an adult I don’t see myself as someone with brown skin, if you know what I mean, I just am and I don’t actually see myself like that. But probably more as a child I did.”*

*“Personally, I guess the stressful aspect would be knowing that I am not your average Australian child growing up in Australia. So my thinking is of course different however, to other peoples.....and that is a bit conflicting sometimes because you would like to do what your friends do but you know in your mind that it is not the right thing because of how you have been brought up.” “Well I guess the first part of my life, right up until I was 15 it was difficult. In the sense that you always had your racial abuse or whatever, like I don’t know, I guess kids are also cool at that age and having to put up with that and having to go to school through all that was probably the most difficult times. Probably the majority of it was [at the] start of high school it’s not only trying to fit into the high school but also trying to do your normal school and plus trying to gain friends, trying to relate to them and trying to make them known that just because of the colour of your skin doesn’t make you different, you are the same person on the inside”*

*“I suppose one of the main experiences as a child that I remember is when we took food to school, the lunch or whatever, that was obviously traditional Burmese food..... The other kids at school would look at you weirdly and think that you are weird for eating that sort of food. That still even happens now as an adult. I mean most people that I mix with or deal with still think that some of the things that I eat are weird and it’s hard to explain what it is.....it did make you self conscious and it made you feel different.” “The majority of them were open minded Australians, because I also had the opposite, you don’t mind dealing with the kids but you also had to deal with parents who also gave you a hard time. I find that if their parents didn’t mind then the kids were open minded. If the parents were closed minded or brought up with war things and Asian differences, no matter what actual*

*background you're from, whether you are Philippine or whatever, you are always going to get the same racial abuse, there is no distinguishing, you are going to get the same thing whether you're Chinese or whatever, they seem to relate the tanned skin to Asian." "..... I didn't deal with it very well but then again as a child how do you deal with that, I mean what can you do about it. I can remember telling a teacher at school [about my experience] and I remember a teacher laughing, that was my memory about it. From my memory of it, at school it wasn't dealt with in a way that made me feel any better, for all I knew she may have been laughing about something else. From my memory as a child she was laughing at what he said."*

*".....As I got older, people would compliment me on the colour of my skin and things like that. That didn't happen as a child but as an adult it happened. So those sorts of things as they happen more frequently or whatever and as you meet more and more white people who are accepting of different cultures I suppose it gives you a more positive view and self image. You tend not to go out and mix with people who you know are particularly prejudiced"*

*"What can you do to avoid that happening {discrimination}, I mean it just happened as you were walking down the street, just walking up to the shops, you see white kids down the end of the street and they would say something to you and there was nothing you could do to avoid it. It was upsetting at the time and it would still be upsetting to me if someone did it to me now, especially if it was as an adult. As you get older you learn not to let it get to you so much. In some ways you probably have quite an elitist attitude because you actually feel quite sorry for those people when they think like that. They are the people you feel sorry for because they are*

*ignorant, so you make yourself feel better because they are actually the stupid ones for thinking like that, that's a way of dealing with it."*

*"My cultural community would be my family basically, which is a very extended family.....we're just not close to our mum and dad and brothers and sisters, we are also close to our aunties, uncles and cousins. So there is a much further extension there, so that would basically be my community, I suppose." "I guess there is one point about the culture, the families are very close knit.....it has always been the focal point of the culture and how close the family is." "I would say that in the Burmese culture I was always brought up to respect your elders and I guess I do that when I'm in my family environment....". "When we do have problems we tend to be closer to each other, helping each other out and that." "I think that having a Burmese background has helped instill those values and qualities that help you to cope with things in everyday life, especially having the close knit family, having the bigger support group helps you deal with things a lot better, and it's good to know that you have people to turn to, I think." "I suppose always knowing that your family will be there for you is a very reassuring thing. I think that .....[it] helps you get through difficulties or whatever because you have got that strong network, whether you use it or not is not the point, the fact that you know it's there if you did ever need it helps you get through." ".....I don't have any Burmese friends that I mingle with or hang out with."*

*"I guess the down side is the obligation to the Burmese community. Your obligation to have to show yourself and be part of the Burmese extended family, knowing that just because your parents have Burmese people over, you have to show yourself, your face, because this is their daughter. You have to be obliged to sit*

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*down and be a good role model. That's the biggest downside for me because I find that hard. I am not one who wants to be put on show as much as they want to put me on show....." "I think even...when you're with your Burmese relatives, I tend to put on a plastic appearance and you tend to pretend to be a real good person and that, so it is really hard. Even though you are trying to show them your rules of respect, you're not really because that's what's expected." "My parents really haven't been that communicative in telling me what happened before I was born, I could only imagine that it would have been difficult for them when they first arrived here obviously. In the beginning the traditions would have been difficult to bring across here living the Burmese way of life, but coming from Burma they were also very western in their thinking and the way they lived over there, so the transition would not have been that difficult." "[So I guess] I would say that in the Burmese community, in dealing with my family, I guess the obligation of always being there for your parents ..... is a downside because it can be a bit too overwhelming. An upside I guess that [it] reinforces our closeness." "I think the culture itself, it's the same.*

*"Of course theirs is a lot stronger because they're born in Burma. That is their way of thinking always - as is mine but to a lesser extent." "...I guess I am more westernised than they are in the sense of what the grasp of the Australian language is and how ocker you can be and I guess that is the only change. Australian wise a little bit more laid back where as my parents haven't grasped totally that concept." "If I think about it, of bringing up my kids in terms of the way we were brought up, I don't think there is any thing wrong with it I was quite pleased with it, I am quite impressed with their style and tactics, but I know that I*



*would be a little more aware of an Australian upbringing too because I know all the things I rebelled against, it was so much from an Australian attitude, so you've got to look at both sides. But there was definitely nothing wrong with...mum and dad's culture."*

*"Well, I only hope that it's going to get better [in Australia], currently there is an uproar and a bit of racial discrimination coming back again. I guess if that is getting a little bit of backing and if it comes back again I guess I have a positive thought for the future because multiculturalism is moving forward, it's getting better, etc. As ...my kids are going to be mixed skin or mixed colour I can only hope it's going to be easier for them instead of harder." "[In the future] I guess I will be just an average Australian in society, with a family. ....I don't think I would put the same pressure on my kids or family. I guess what I'm saying is really that I would be just like any other average Australian person."*

## Concluding Remarks

One important consideration with narrative analysis is that the narrative is the analysis. The narrative represents the researcher's interpretation and the creation of the narrative is the analysis. In this sense it runs contrary to the traditional structure of a written report in psychology which is dominated by quantitative analyses. In this study, an examination of the relationships between acculturation and well-being experiences of the Anglo-Burmese first and second generation migrants and the role of community was conducted. The community was understood from a post-modern

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perspective which involved nested levels of community. Nested systems approaches of Murrell (1973) and Bronfenbrenner (1979) provided a useful theoretical framework. Systemic interviews were conducted with participants. This approach was developed by Alchin and Decharin (1979). Data analyses involved two steps. The first involved creating and integrating acculturation and well-being experiences to levels of community using Nud\*ist and the Conditional Matrix (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The second step involved the development of a collective representation of relations between acculturation and well-being and various levels of community. This was achieved using a community functional narrative analysis.

The issue of validity is a significant one. The distinction between ontological validity and procedural validity is important. Where possible it is necessary to use multiple sources to corroborate the evidence. But in this research that does not make sense. In this type of research, the researcher is the only one knowledgeable about all the information. Ontological validity is thus difficult to establish because this community narrative is unique. Therefore establishing validity presents problems. It is necessary to find other ways to validate findings. What needs to be done is to establish truth through corroboration with other sources.

Pepper acknowledges that multiplicative corroboration (truth established between scientific corroboration) is the way to establishing scientific truth. There are a number of ways in which one can achieve multiplicative corroboration. Denzin (1978) suggested four methods of triangulation that can be used to help establish authenticity or validity of research conclusions. These were data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation. While others have suggested variants of this (e.g., Janesick, 1998), Pepper's (1966)

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concept of quality could be seen as a strong method for investigating validity or authenticity with narrative analyses. It is suggested here that the validity of the narratives can be examined here using the following four methods.

(1) Other research. While this source is generally reliable and valid, it likely to be totally inappropriate. That is, another study of this nature conducted with a different migrant group may contribute little to the understanding of the Anglo-Burmese community in this study.

(2) Theory. Like other research, theory is also reliable and valid but it too may be totally inappropriate. That is, another study may adopt a theory of community which may have little relevance to this study.

(3) Literature. The use of literature as a means of understanding people's behaviour in different contexts is gaining some recognition in psychology e.g., Baumeister used historical novels to examine past and current emotions of the individual. Gergen, Sampson and Walkerdine have been heavily influenced by the critical theorists in cultural studies. The advantage of this is that there is material available. The disadvantage is in terms of the extent to which stories are idiosyncratic and not necessarily representative of the community they speak of.

(4) Establishing quality. Pepper described quality in terms of whether the narrative resonates. In other words, does it have implicit meaning and understanding for the reader. Creswell (1998) described this as:

A level of detail that makes work come alive (verisimilitude comes to mind [Richardson, 1994, p.521]), a criterion for a good literary study where the writing seems "real" and "alive," transporting the reader directly into the world of the study, whether this world is a cultural setting of principals

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discussing the specifics of candidates they interviewed (Wolcott, 1994a) or women expressing emotion about their abusive childhoods .... (p. 170)

Pepper (1942) wrote of 'qualitative confirmation'. This theory simply stresses the basic contextualist principles that the meaning of a symbol is found in the quality it leads to and that quality of a strand takes up the quality of the content.

The advantages of that are that it draws on people's experiences as members of a community to make these judgements. The disadvantage is the extent to which we are able as people to differentiate between the personal and the collective in our own experiences.

Smedslund (1995) has taken these issues further. He suggested that psychology should make much more of common sense. He wrote that people are excellent psychologists. In living their everyday lives, people behave in ways that they understand and generally are able to find explanations of their actions. More importantly, Smedslund suggested that language has developed over time, and it reflects our behaviour and the explanations of our behaviour. He suggested that psychology should study 'psychological common sense' through language as a mainstay of the discipline. With this in mind, a narrative should represent psychological common sense and thus should make sense to the reader. Thus, the 'superficial is the real'; texts are valid if the story 'rings true'. Reading a narrative as a human being, not as a psychologist is a measure of how effective the narrative is in reporting the events and explaining the action.

What follows is an attempt to establish the validity of the findings through the accumulation of diverse sources. It is acknowledged that each source provides

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only weak validation in the hope that, rather than a chain being as strong as its weakest link, the accumulation of a number of weak sources provides a stronger statement of validity.

In terms of this study validity in relation to the four types of sources- other results, theory, literature and quality- is described.

(1) Other results. Colquhoun and Sonn (in preparation) looked at the experience of Anglo-Indian migrants in Australia. They examined relationships between the acculturation outcomes and well-being. Marginalisation was found to be the only predictor of psychological well-being. Sonn (1996) reported no differences in the levels of psychological sense of community of adjusting South African immigrants to Australia from South Africa. These studies don't directly relate to this study's findings but they do show that in the case of Colquhoun and Sonn, the experience of acculturation is related to other aspects of the Anglo-Indian migrants lives and in the case of Sonn, the indirect relationships between aspects of community to adaptation experiences in the 'Coloured' community.

(2) Theory. Berry's and colleagues (1996) eco-cultural framework indicates that there exist relationships between the ecological context and a person's experience of acculturation. This present study illustrated in the community narrative through conditional paths links the context and the acculturation experiences.

(3) Literature. As has been mentioned in Chapter 2 and elsewhere, little has been written on the Anglo-Burmese, and less has been written on their migration experience. A book edited by Allbrook (1994) contains a collection of oral histories of family migration to Western Australia between 1937-1968. This book details the

migration narratives of people from a variety of countries of origin. One chapter deals with the experiences of migrants from Burma. In order to provide some validation, the analyses and conclusions drawn from the experiences of those reported in this study will be compared with similarities and differences explored from the oral histories. The histories are of a Burmese family, the Piggott family, Sam, Estelle and Geraldine (first generation), and Janelle and Natasha (second generation).

The following extracts reflect the experiences of first generation migrants. The extracts were selected to be representative of some of the key issues reported in the first generation narrative. These are the global evaluation of migration, impacts on the community and family functioning, and the differences in the political situations in Burma and Australia.

The first generation migrants reported generally positive experiences. Similarly, Sam described his experiences in W.A as follows:

We arrived at Perth Airport very early in the morning and were very happy that our relatives came to meet us. We had already made arrangements with my niece, who helped find us accommodation and work when we first arrived. I told her that whatever job I could get, I would take. I was fortunate: there was a vacancy where her husband was working so, three days after arriving, I was working in Chamberlains's factory making tractors and equipment for the farms. It was a good job but there was talk of retrenchment, so I looked in the newspapers and got a job as a stores officer in another firm. I was very lucky. (p.162)

In the Piggott family, community ties were maintained mainly through the family

For the Burmese people, our social structure is based on the family and the head of the family has a great say. We pay great respect to our elders because they have more experience of life. When we meet people, we pay respect by addressing them as uncle and aunty, or grandpa or grandma if they are older than our parents. We do not call people by their first or second names if they are older. Our children and grandchildren do this automatically because they have learnt from us. Here, many people used to ask us how we came to have so many nieces and nephews, or aunts and uncles!

In Australia our social life is still more or less based on the family. Some time ago I read that a family who works together and plays together, stays together. So I said to my family when we arrived here that if we want to stay together in Australia, we must stick together, talk to each other and support each other. We came to Australia for their future and we are now 'New Australians'. That means we must be totally committed to Australia.. Whatever we've got that is good, we must share with Australians and what ever is good from the Australians, we must take. In every society there is good and it's up to us all to weigh it up and decide. The unity and strength of the family is one of the good things we have brought from Burma.

Our family always comes to visit us at weekends for shared meals. We go out together sometimes for picnics. Now that we are living apart, we don't stay together and talk and eat the whole day and night, so sometimes we go camping to Guilderton together. There we go swimming, we fish, we

cook, we sit down together after dinner and talk. I would like our children to maintain our culture for their children. I would like them to talk in Burmese at home sometimes so that the children will be able to understand our language. I would like them to eat Burmese food. There is no doubt Australian food is good, but it is important to also try and maintain our ways and to teach the children (p.167).

Their sense of freedom in Australia is reflected in a statement by Estelle.

We must teach our children they must vote. We lost the freedom to vote in Burma. It's essential that the children take the opportunity they have to vote in Australia. Many people here wonder why we should vote. My grandchildren and great-grandchildren have the right to vote in this democratic country. They should use that democratic right (p.170).

In general, these comments are consistent with the issues reported in the narrative. These comments could well have been included in the narrative. As such, they suggest that there is some consistency in the stories recorded by two different researchers, the oral historian and the author.

The recognition of the world view which understands two contexts is illustrated by Sam. He said:

I believe we should always look from the other person's point of view. As the saying in Burma goes: "There's always two sides to a coin. To clap you need two hands because you cannot clap with one hand." That's what we tell our young people. We've come here as migrants, but to integrate and promote friendship and understanding we should share our culture, our food,



our way of life with other migrants and other Australians. Our community activities should not be big shows on a large scale, as long as we are doing something for the community and getting some people involved. We should try to be humble. I came across a Burmese person saying that our approach to life and peace of mind should be to live simply, dress simply, eat simply and be a good citizen. I agree with that (p.169).

And the current circumstances in Burma, Sam said: “When we hear people talk about Burma, and when we read about it in the newspapers, we feel very sad and concerned. The situation also has an effect on our community here in Perth.” (p.168).

For the second generation they reported negative experiences of difference. Janelle also described that “A lot of my friends look like they’ve come from different countries. I have one friend who is very dark. Everyone teases her about how dark she is, but she’s an Australian just like the people who tease her about her colour. That’s not very nice. When I was in year five, this boy who was darker than me teased me. And there was this boy at assembly who called us ‘Burmanese’. He didn’t know how to say it. He goes: ‘Are you Burmanese?’ I said: “No. My mother is Burmese, but I’m an Australian.” (p.185).

Also the family plays a key role of this generation in maintaining connections. Illustrated throughout their histories are references to aunts and grandparents. From the study, little is known about the past. To illustrate, Janelle says “ I don’t really know why our family decided to come to live in Western Australia but I’m glad they did because I’ve got good friends here”. (p. 184)

Because of the age of these second generation migrants (13 years old), the conflict between family (community) perspectives and the Australian context is limited. All second generation participants involved in this study were older than 18 years old.

(4) Quality. The assessment of quality is in the eye of the reader. I would contend that the narratives give a rich and meaningful story that is coherent. The interpolation of many people's experience into a coherent whole is a statement of its quality. The narrative needs to be assessed to the extent to which they are a reasonable work of art and this must be for the reader. Polkinghorne (1983) talked of 'assertoric knowledge', knowledge to be asserted in a public forum for comment. These narratives are offered in that context.

## Chapter 7

# Conclusion

The objectives for this chapter are as follows:

- To re-iterate the role of the substantive domain and its relationship to the community research model and iterative-reflective- generative research process
- To highlight two key features of the iterative- reflective generative research process: (1) the relationship between world views and cultural research (2) the use of contextualism in understanding communities.
- To present a substantive theory of the Anglo-Burmese community in Perth, Western Australia based on the findings from the three studies.

A model of “community” for communities in Western Australia, developed from the initial ideas of Bishop et al. (2002) , was used to investigate the experiences of the Anglo-Burmese migrants living in Western Australia. The model consisted of six components: (1) Tacit knowledge to theory; (2) The importance of the obvious; (3) The role of the active mediator; (4) The role of the professional; (5) Contextualism revisited; and (6) Persons-in-Relation. The first five components are drawn from the work of Bishop et al.. The sixth component was added to the model.

The research is operationalised by way of an iterative-reflective-generative process, in which the substantive domain of the community is explored by the researcher, which leads to the development of tacit knowledge. This tacit knowledge is reflected upon and influenced by the conceptual domain and visa-versa. After subsequent iterations and reflections with the community involved, a substantive theory of community is developed. This is again presented below.

This research process is facilitated by the researcher’s investigations of logical and empirical evidence. This evidence must come from a range of perspectives including the community’s because the researcher acts practically to (1) actively mediate between the stakeholders involved, and (2) negotiate an exchange of information with the community. The range of perspectives is achieved by seeking alternative world views. Pepper (1942) and the worldview frameworks offered by Altman and Rogoff (1984) can be used to help achieve this. Methodologically, the use of a process of discovering complex, real-world phenomena, using multiple methods, and multiple levels of analysis with multiple interpretations helps also to facilitate the development of a range of perspectives.

Two fundamental assumptions underly the model. The first, is the belief that the world operates according to contextualism. And the second, that the relationships between people are central to understanding the community. The three studies presented in this investigation represented the empirical and logical evidence; a historical narrative analysis, a regression analysis and systems analysis which used a range of methodologies addressing different levels of investigation. Each also adopted aspects of one of the worldview frameworks developed by Altman and Rogoff. The substantive theory to be presented is the end result of the iterative-reflective-generative process.

## Understanding the substantive domain

Traditionally, as can be seen from the historical development of culture in psychology, the adoption of only one definition in research investigations has been the norm. This has occurred for a number reasons including time and financial constraints, or a lack of appropriate knowledge of other areas. However, one of the problems with doing this is that it is easy to miss something important because you become limited by the definition. Gergen (1998) suggested that academics should not be concerned with debating, for instance, pros and cons of social constructionism versus realism, as they are only as relevant as the domain in which they are said to occur. In other words, researchers should be primarily concerned with substantive domains. It is in relation to the substantive domain that we are able to see how other domains, conceptual, epistemological or methodological, relate.

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Concern with the substantive domain has been an issue of concern for a number of authors such as Wicker (1989). He recognised that understanding the phenomena under investigation was essential in the conducting of any research. Wicker devised an approach which he referred to as substantive theorising. This approach had a number of features: (1) The substantive domain is the essential component of any piece of research and should take priority over conceptual and methodological issues. (2) The decision of which substantive domain to investigate is determined, according to Wicker, by its social relevance. (3) In order for the research to be effective, it should be limited to a particular substantive domain. (4) Investigations of this nature should consider the social, spatial and temporal contexts. (5) The use of in-depth multiple methods are necessary to investigate the substantive domain properly. (6) Substantive theorising needs to be conducted in an open and continuous process based on the domain of investigation. (7) The knowledge gained from the substantive domain is only specific to that domain. (8) The contributions made by theory and empirical findings can be represented in a variety of ways (Wicker, 1989).

While Wicker's substantive theorising approach has proved useful in addressing the issue of the substantive domain, there still remains one significant problem- exactly how to go about an investigation of the substantive domain which is limited by the epistemology.

The iterative-reflective-generative research process used in this investigation highlighted two key features which allowed for a complete examination of the substantive domain at the same time recognising the limitations associated with the particular epistemology. It involved isolating the relationship between the

worldviews/epistemology and the different approaches of cultural research in psychology. It also involved the adoption of the contextualist approach to understanding communities. These two features are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

## Worldviews and Cultural Research

The approach taken in this research suggested that it is possible to examine the process of migration using different worldviews. To do this, it has been argued that there are different worldviews that underlie the way culture has been conceptualised. These different definitions or operationalisations of culture dominate the approaches taken in cross-cultural psychology, cultural psychology and community psychology. Three different definitions include behavioural, cognitive and symbolic interactionist approaches, respectively.

Cross-cultural psychology adopts essentially a behaviourist definition. The behavioural definition defines culture as a series of observable behaviours and actions. Understood from this approach, culture is social or shared. These behaviours may include particular traditions, customs, and cultural norms. The behavioural approach is concerned more with actual behaviour rather than why it has happened or under what conditions it occurs. Krishnan and Berry (1992) used this approach in their examination of Indian immigrants to the United States.

Cultural psychology adopts a cognitive definition. The cognitive definition suggests a set of mentally defined features shared by a group. It is concerned with

understanding the worldview and accepts that culture operates as a process.

Petchkosky (2001) used this approach in his examination of indigenous peoples in central Australia. Finally, community psychology adopts a symbolic interactionist definition. This definition suggests that culture is a continually changing process which provides meaning (Ferguson, 1991; Robinson, 1985). Sonn and Fisher (1996) used this approach in their examination of Cape 'Coloured' South African community.

In order to consider a range of approaches to culture, which to date has not been attempted, this research acknowledged what drives actions within each approach, namely the worldview. A number of epistemological traditions have been described, such as Stevens (1998), Pepper (1942, 1966), and Altman and Rogoff (1984). While Altman and Rogoff's worldviews were used for this research, work of Stevens and Pepper also relate to the three cultural approaches suggested above (See Table 7.1a).

The three epistemological approaches of Pepper, Stevens, and Altman and Rogoff have similarities. The nomothetic approach of Stevens is consistent with the mechanistic approach of Pepper and the interactional approach of Altman and Rogoff. Stevens' hermeneutic approach appears to be consistent with the organismic approaches of Pepper and Altman and Rogoff. And finally, Stevens' transformational approach appears to be consistent with contextualism of Pepper and the transactional approach of Altman and Rogoff.

Definitions of culture also appear to apply to one of the similar set of approaches. The behavioural definition is consistent with nomothetic, mechanistic and interactional approaches. The cognitive definition with the hermeneutic and



organismic approaches. And finally, the symbolic interactional definition with the transformational, contextualism and transactional approaches.

Despite the similarities, each author places different emphases on the following set of features: unit of analysis, temporal features and sources of action (See Table 7.1b). Altman and Rogoff and Pepper have examined the units of analysis. They describe what is considered the symbolic interactionist approach, as concerned with holistic entities, inseparable parts or elements. The behavioural approach views the unit of analysis as discrete elements in which the context is separate and excluded. And finally, the cognitive approach also separates discrete elements from the contexts but includes them both as a part of the holistic entity.

Altman and Rogoff and Pepper have also gone into considerable detail to describe the role of temporal features. For the symbolic interactionist approach time is variable, and as a result research is concerned with process. Whereas for both the behavioural and cognitive approaches, time is held constant and research is concerned with outcome.

In terms of sources of action, Stevens has spent time examining the issues. For the symbolic interactionist approach, reflective action is the key to action. For both the behavioural and cognitive definitions, the source of action is considered to be deterministic. In the case of the behavioural approach, the source is the biological features and for the cognitive mode, communication and learning.

Table 7.1a.

*Relationship between definitions of culture and epistemologies*

<b>Definition of Culture</b>			
<b>Epistemology</b>	<b>Symbolic Interactionist</b>	<b>Behavioural</b>	<b>Cognitive</b>
Stevens (1998)	Transformational	Nomothetic	Hermeneutic
Pepper (1942;1966)	Contextualism	Mechanistic	Organismic
Altman & Rogoff (1984)	Transactional	Interactional	Organismic

Table 7.1.b.

*Key features of each approach to culture*

	<b>Symbolic Interactionist</b>	<b>Behavioural</b>	<b>Cognitive</b>
<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	Holistic entities; inseparable parts or elements	Discrete elements; context separate and excluded	Separation between discrete elements and context; relationship treated as a holistic entity
<b>Temporal Features</b>	Variable	Constant	Constant
<b>Source of Action</b>	Reflective action	Deterministic	Deterministic
<b>Examples</b>	Krishnan & Berry (1992)	Petchkovsky (2001)	Sonn & Fisher (1996)

This research recognised the relationship between a number of approaches to culture and their underlying worldview to make a more complete interpretation of the substantive domain of the Anglo-Burmese. This produced a broader and more valuable understanding of the culture and cultural changes occurring.

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## Contextualism and Understanding Community

One of the problems with defining community is that it is easy to generalise. The tendency is for researchers to define it based on their own experience and generalise it to all communities. A review of the theories of community has been left to the end rather than its typical place in the introductory literature review. This is to stress the point that understanding the substantive domain is the key to truly understanding the community under investigation. To freely articulate and understand the complex nature of the Anglo-Burmese community, this research adopted a contextualist approach to understanding the substantive domain. To understand this process more clearly, it is necessary to firstly consider a number of examples of research which exemplify the different interpretations of community.

Tönnies (1957), for instance, had been interested in the dichotomy between community and society which he referred to as 'Gemeinschaft' and 'Gesellschaft' (Bell & Newby, 1974). Gemeinschaft was seen as groups with a commitment to a common good achieved through traditional ways and a sense of obligation to work and participate for the community's well-being. Gesellschaft, on the other hand, referred to groups with the set of more or less agreed upon rules and conventions which if isolated could have serious consequences for any individual within a social organisation (cited in Mann, 1978). These groups are sustained by an instrumental goal. The experience of Gesellschaft, it was suggested by Mann (1978), threatened to upset and destroy the psychological balance of Gemeinschaft.

Like Tönnies (1957), Durkheim (1933) developed a social systems approach in which society was divided into two types. The first was a mechanically solidarity

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society which referred to the common and shared beliefs of people, which implied communities were “uniform and non-atomized” (Tönnies, 1957, p.13). He argued that these similar beliefs represented a conscience collective. In contrast, a organically solidarity society referred to the opposite, that is, a society which is heterogenous rather than homogenous and the beliefs of the people encourage differentiation. For this society to operate effectively, it required an interdependence of the parts and a weakening of the conscience collective (Tönnies,1957).

Sarason (1974) argued urbanisation and industrialisation has been accompanied by increased alienation, social isolation and disintegration of community. For example, Sarason (1981a) argued that the increased mobilisation that was afforded by the massive road infrastructure in the United States has been the most significant factor in the destruction of community. As such, this social change should be essential to psychological theory and he advocated that psychological sense of community should be central to understanding community (Sarason, 1974).

As mentioned earlier in Chapter Five, Sarason believed that a psychological sense of community referred to “...the perception of similarity to others, an acknowledged interdependence by giving to or doing for others what one expects from them [and] the feeling that one is a part of a larger dependable and stable structure.....”(p.157). Without a psychological sense of community, Sarason argued that people experience feelings of loneliness and alienation. By developing social networks, these experiences, he argues, can be avoided.

Hunter and Riger (1986) outlined three approaches to community: (1) types and dimensions of community; (2) the community of limited liability; and (3) the social construction of community.

(1) Types and Dimensions- there are three common types of community: (i) *Demographic types* generally focus on social aspects of individuals who reside in local communities which distinguish local areas. (ii) *Dynamic housing and land-use types* focuses on changes that occur in neighbourhoods as a result of land use and housing. (iii) *Organisational and institutional types* which focus on institutional and organizational characteristics of communities e.g., churches, schools (see also Colombo, Mosso, & DePiccoli, 2001, who challenge these idealised concepts of community and society dichotomies).

In terms of dimensions, researchers (Bernard, 1973; Hunter, 1975) have suggested three critical dimensions: (a) ecological and sustenance dimension; (b) the social interactional and institutional dimension; and (c) the social psychological and cultural dimension. The ecological and sustenance dimension referred to the organisation of people, typically formed to achieve one's daily requirements of food, shelter and employment. The social interactional and institutional dimension referred to the structured social relationships supported by formal and informal institutions which helped to meet the individual and community goals. The social psychological and cultural dimensions are those elements of symbolic identification which are connected to and with individuals of local communities. This dimension is recognised most typically as a psychological sense of community. The dimension perspective, unlike the types perspective, recognise multi-dimensionality.

(2) Community of Limited Liability. This theory argues that an individual's participation in a local community is dependent on the ability of the community to provide something of value to the individual. If this does not occur the individual will provide limited commitment to that community.

(3) **Socially Constructed Community.** This perspective, derived from symbolic interactionism, argues that the community is defined by those individuals who participate in it. It involves the continuous interactions and routines of individuals which create a shared understanding of the world in which they live. It is these interactions within “communication networks and information flows that serve to structure and restructure the definition of community” (Hunter & Riger, 1986, p.64). These interactions may occur within formal or informal networks (Hunter, 1974; Janowitz, 1952). This perspective also recognises the existence of multiple levels of community in which individuals symbolically define according to the context, time, and place, their interactions and interests. Hunter and Riger (1986) refer to this as “a series of nested communities”(p.64).

McMillan and Chavis (1986) propose four elements to this construct: (i) membership; (ii) influence; (iii) reinforcement; and (iv) emotional connection. Membership refers to the feeling of being a part of, or belonging to a community. They suggest that this is comprised of five features: boundaries, emotional safety, sense of belonging, personal investment and a common symbol system. The second element is influence. This refers to the ability of a member of a community to mean something to that community as well as the community meaning something to its members. The third element is reinforcement (the integration and fulfilment of needs). This suggests that the individual members will receive what they need by the resources they provide to the community. They suggest that this element is dependent on the degree to which a person-environment fit was fulfilled among the members of the community. The final element, a shared emotional connection, refers to the belief that members within the community will share history, experiences and

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time together. This element is dependent on the two features: a sharing of emotions among individuals and a high degree of quality interaction. This framework led to the development of a quantitative measure of a psychological sense of community by McMillan et al. (1986).

Dunham (1977, 1986) has argued that a community can also be a process as well as a place. He has even gone further to suggest that a psychological sense of community can be a process (Dunham, 1986). He argued that changes in society had allowed this alternative perspective, namely, increasing mobility, improved international communication and greater social freedoms.

Newbrough's (1992, 1995) model for community is made up of three components: (1) *Solution of the "One"*, in which the community serves a unifying function and encourages dependence. (2) *Solution of the "Many"*, in which community acts to support the individuals in it and encourages independence; and finally, (3) the *Solution of the "One and the Many"*, in which the community acts to achieve independence and dependence. Each solution, according to Newbrough, had problems. The solution of the "One" held that individual responsibilities and freedoms are lost for the community well-being. While the solution of the "Many" had the problem that social supports are meaningless and detached. The solution of the "One and the Many" attempts to achieve both, which ensures that neither alternative is fully achievable or successful, which creates feelings of uncertainty.

Heller (1989) also argued for a multi-dimensional community based on three attributes: local attachments, relational ties and the degree of collective action.

Locality dimension recognised community as a geographical area i.e., a neighbourhood, town or city. The relational dimension described community on the

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basis of the relationships between people. The final dimension defined community as a collective political power i.e., a community formed as a result of some fight for political action.

Pretty (1990; Pretty & McCarthy, 1991; Pretty et al., 1994; Pretty et al., 1996) has investigated her notions of community through a number of correlations with psychological sense of community in a work, school and university settings. In all cases there appeared to be links (to varying degrees) between psychological sense of community and social support.

Puddifoot's (1995,1996) notion of community has involved dimensions of community identity. He drew on research from psychological sense of community, social cohesion and community satisfaction as well as community identity research in the United Kingdom to develop six broad elements of community identity, namely locus, distinctiveness, identification, orientation, evaluation of the quality of community life and finally, the evaluation of community functioning. These broad elements are broken down further into 14 dimensions.

Sonn and Fisher (1996, 1998) conceptualised community according to McMillan and Chavis' (1986) psychological sense of community concepts of membership, influence, reinforcement and shared emotional connection. They recognised shared emotional connection as central to community. Referring to oppressed communities, in particular, he suggested that communities can be understood in terms of shared criteria such as language, history and symbols. This he believed contributed to one's shared emotional connection.

The theories of community outlined above represent varied views of community. It is argued that the differences between the theories arise, in part, from



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the grounding of those theories. That is, each theory reflects the context in which it arose. For example, Sonn and Fisher's (1996) concept of community reflects the social and political context of the Cape Coloured community. This does not represent a problem, but the lack of recognition of the grounding of the theories can present a problem. The concept of community is evolving from traditional notions of village communities to complex relational communities and this reflects the need to recognise that the time and place that a community exists needs to be understood in conceptualising community. The development of theories of community reflects a sense of 'grand theorising' in which the importance of the substantive domain is not emphasised. Through reviewing this literature and from the substantive research on the Anglo-Burmese community, it is suggested that research on communities needs to be substantively based. In developing a theory of community, it is essential that the researchers ground themselves in the local understandings of community. A contextualist approach to the notion of community is fundamental to achieving this end because it accepts the complex nature and the process of change operating in communities.

Thus, the understanding of the substantive domain using a contextualist approach and the use of multiple approaches to culture allowed for an examination of the substantive domain which is less hampered by the limits of a particular epistemology. The research process involved in a substantive approach to community is subtle. It involves a process that is sensitive to the context. In this thesis the research model of Bishop et al. (2002) has been used to underscore the thinking of community. It is argued that it is necessary to use an approach which requires the research to interact with community with minimal influence from theory

(Sarason, 1982). Theory enters at the end of the research process as a tool to validate findings and inform the theory. Using a contextualist approach, the research process is able to make sense, as well as being influenced by the local context under investigation (Pepper, 1942). Tacit knowledge is gained through the gradual building of substantive knowledge using an iterative, reflective-generative process (Bishop et al., 2002; Dokecki, 1992, 1996). The result of this research process for the Anglo-Burmese experience is presented below.

Before presenting the conclusions from the three different studies which are each guided by a different worldview, it is important to re-iterate that the purpose of this investigation was to examine practically the experiences of the Anglo-Burmese. As mentioned in chapter three, Pepper (1942) recognised that practically all worldviews may play a role in understanding the world of the individual. Thus, the use of the transactional, interactionist and organismic approaches in the three studies. Theoretically, however, he did acknowledge that only one world theory can be used at any particular time. The research approach used in this investigation, namely, iterative- reflective-generative process adopts contextualism exclusively as the relevant world theory.

## A substantive theory of the Anglo-Burmese community in Perth, Western Australia

Experience of the Anglo-Burmese migrant living in Perth, Western Australia can be understood in terms of three concepts; marginalisation, adaptation and community. These concepts can be broken down into a number of abstract levels.

### Marginalisation

Marginalisation can be divided into social, cultural, and socio-psychological marginalisation. Cultural marginality refers to the relationship between mixed racial groups and the dominant and/or indigenous populations, where there exists an inability or unwillingness for the mixed group to share in the same types of knowledge, beliefs, language, morals, laws, customs and other features of either the dominant or indigenous groups. Social marginality refers to the variation in the treatment of groups of individuals by the dominant and/or indigenous populations. It refers to marginality on the basis of interpersonal relations. It can include exclusion from certain occupational, marital or friendship groups/institutions. Socio-psychological marginality refers to the attitudes and values associated with the recognition and acceptance of differences between groups. Because of the difficulty in assessing health issues with cultural and social marginality, a majority of research (by Berry and others) has been conducted with socio-psychological marginality.

In this research, study one investigated the Anglo-Burmese migrants' experience of social and cultural marginalisation. It found that prior to the establishment of the socialist government in Burma, these individuals experienced considerable social marginalisation, and minimal cultural marginalisation. The Anglo-Burmese were able to access better employment opportunities (and accompanying status) compared to indigenous Burmese. But they were treated as socially inferior to the British. Under the socialist government (1962 onwards) they reportedly experienced both social and cultural marginalisation considerably. The socialist government in 1962 removed the English language from schools and the workplace. Anglo-Burmese lost their jobs and social positions. They were forced to dress as Burmese and speak Burmese. Their experience in Western Australia, since migration has been one of cultural marginalisation but with little social marginalisation. They were seen as Asians despite their British connections. They also voluntarily separated themselves by strong ties to the community. However, they have experienced little social marginalisation. The Anglo-Burmese have had equal access to employment and social status as other Australians. They also have equal rights compared to other Australians.

Study two investigated the relationship between acculturation outcomes including socio-psychological marginalisation experienced by both first and second generation migrants and their psychological well-being. The experience of socio-psychological marginalisation provided the only indication of well-being for the Anglo-Burmese. The greater the Anglo-Burmese migrant's sense of socio-psychological marginalisation, the more likely they were to experience poorer psychological well-being.

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## Adaptation and Community

Adaptation and community can be divided into the outcome level-acculturation and psychological sense of community, and the process level-adaptation and community (defined as the systemic community). The tendency within psychology has been to conduct outcome based research. This has led to the development of concepts such as acculturation and a psychological sense of community. Acculturation was defined as “the culture change which results from continuous, first hand contact between two distinct cultural groups” (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936; cited in Berry, 1992). A psychological sense of community (PSC) was defined as “the perception of similarity to others, an acknowledged interdependence by giving to or doing for others what one expects from them [and] the feeling that one is a part of a larger dependable and stable structure” (Sarason, 1974). There also appears to be a number of researchers (Colquhoun & Sonn, in preparation; Dunham, 1986; Hunter & Riger, 1986) who argued that concepts such as PSC and acculturation need to go further.

Hunter and Riger (1986), Dunham (1977) and Berry (1994) argued that community and adaptation can be processes as well as outcomes. Hunter and Riger refer to this as “a series of nested communities”(p.64). Roberts (1979) and Heller (1989) also argued that with increased mobility (which migrants experience) it is difficult to rely on geographically located definitions of community. Instead, Roberts argued for a community defined according to a smaller organisation of individuals or a system. Taft (1985) defined adaptation as the “changes in a person’s

attitudes and behaviour brought about by the attempt to cope with changes in environment” (p.365).

Study two investigated the relationship between acculturation outcomes and a psychological sense of community. It found marginalisation, integration and separation to be associated with a psychological sense of community. The greater a person’s psychological sense of community, the greater his or her experiences of separation and integration and the lower his or her experience of marginalisation.

Study three investigated the Anglo-Burmese migrants’ experiences of adaptation within a set of interdependent systems (socially constructed community). It found that adaptation experiences varied between the first and second generation migrants. For the first generation, their experiences were more positive, with only the occasional negative experience like discrimination. The conditions operating at various levels which had created this experience were the maintenance of traditional ties, Australia offering a good standard of living and sense of freedom and finally, their worldview operated in terms of two contexts and concern for the current circumstances in Burma. For the second generation their experience of adaptation was more negative with experience of discrimination and racial abuse in their school years reinforcing feelings of difference. The conditions operating at various levels to create this experience included the maintenance of only extended family ties, and conflict between family (community) values and Australian values.

These three studies have examined marginalisation, adaptation (acculturation) and community at both the process and outcome levels using both qualitative and quantitative methods. The relevance of these findings are discussed in the following section. Before preceding with this, the theory presented has

contributed not only to the experience of the Anglo-Burmese but also to community psychology's development in Australia and in particular Western Australia.

Traditionally, community psychology has tended to be focussed on primarily outcome based research within context. The notion of context is clearly defined. The mechanistic /organismic worldviews fit neatly within this type of community psychology. Terms such as socio-psychological marginalisation, acculturation outcomes and psychological sense of community in study two fit within this framework. Academic research tools of analysis, such as statistics, also fit neatly with the framework. While some of these notions may be considered applied social psychology. It is important to acknowledge that Australian community psychology unlike its American counterpart came from applied social psychology.

The development of post-modern community psychology in Australia has been a more recent experience. Post-modern community psychology has been defined by process based research and works well with the transactional worldview. Studies one and three both address post-modern notions of community psychology. Terms such as social and cultural marginalisation, socially constructed communities and adaptation experiences fit within this approach. The use of narratives (historical and community narrative analysis) operates to interpret the process of experience in which the Anglo-Burmese operate.

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## Practical, Theoretical and Methodological Relevance

In terms of practical relevance, this series of studies has helped to explain the experiences of community, at least partially within their own terms. The incorporation of a variety of approaches and methods to understanding the Anglo-Burmese migrants' experience gives much more opportunity for the participants to make sense of their own experience and to inform the researchers more effectively about what they had experienced. Secondly, it gives the community some recognition and/or understanding of their experiences. For the Anglo-Burmese very little is written about their experiences. Unlike other mixed groups, such as the Anglo-Indians, the Anglo-Burmese have struggled to sustain their mixed identity in Australia beyond the confines of the community e.g., they refer to themselves as Burmese. This research allowed the Anglo-Burmese experience to be heard and interpreted. In terms of theoretical relevance, it provides a complex understanding of what are effectively the theoretical concepts central to the community experience. The complex nature of the three different studies and the use of theories which are appropriate for each particular approach allows for a more complete understanding of the Anglo-Burmese migrants experience. Finally, in terms of methodological relevance, it explains the role of the researcher in research and the use of multiple methods to give a more comprehensive picture of what is happening. The traditionally distant research approach which assumes that the researcher is unaffected by the research is challenged by Bishop et al. (2002). The approach used in this series of studies produces a more effective understanding of the Anglo-Burmese because it allows for the researcher to immerse him or herself as well as



maintaining professional objective distance. The use of both quantitative and qualitative methods allows for a more detailed examination both across a large broad sample of the community as well as a detailed understanding of their experiences.

## Limitations

There are a number of limitations with this research:

(1) One of the real difficulties with academic research is its inability to recognise and accept the fuzziness of the lived experience. The researcher, even in the position of the stranger, often gathers information which does not represent part of the formal research investigation. Through conversations and observations information is gained which has not been systematically collected nor supported and may not make any logical sense. While this represents part of the lived experience, it is considered within academia to be irrelevant and not true knowledge (Harré, 1990). The model of community developed for this study represents a practical approach for the researcher to understand the lived experience of this community. But for it to be acceptable as academic knowledge it must be transferred into testable studies. The three studies that have been presented in this thesis are the researcher's best attempt to gain an understanding of the lived experience within the confines of academia. It is possible to argue that a certain part of the lived experience is missing because they essentially do not make sense to the researcher or to a potential reader. Two alternatives seem worth addressing with respect to this limitation. Firstly, academic research must attempt to change its concept of what is considered data and accept the fuzziness essential to gathering a complete picture of what is happening in a research

investigation. Or secondly, it must be accepted that academia and the knowledge it creates may have limitations in understanding and interpreting the total lived experience.

(2) There was limited access to the sample for two reasons. The first reason was because of identity choices of participants. The majority of Burmese living in Australia prior to 1990s were Anglo-Burmese. When they began coming to Australia they no longer used the label Anglo-Burmese but referred to themselves as the Burmese. This had occurred for a number of reasons: (a) Australians at the time and in many cases still do, fail to acknowledge differences between Asian countries. They are often described as being indistinguishable from one another. Hence are often referred to as Asians rather than Cambodians, Thais, Burmese, Vietnamese or Chinese. In view of this tradition of gross categorisation, cultural differences with these countries would also be ignored; (b) The Anglo-Burmese community also wished to distance itself from Anglo-Indians who were greater in number in Australia. Ongoing conflict between the Anglo-Burmese and the Anglo-Indian community had originated in Burma. This however changed with the influx in the number of Burmese; only refugees in 1990s who spoke Burmese rather than English as a first language, practised predominantly Buddhism rather than Catholicism. This influx reintroduced the separation of Burmese and Anglo-Burmese groups which had begun in the country of origin.

The second reason for the limited access to the sample resulted from the politics in Burma and its effect on the community here in Western Australia. The Burmese military government had put out threats to people living outside of Burma that they would be denied access to Burma and their families in Burma would be

watched if they were seen to be connected to any democratic movement in Australia. Individuals within the community were fearful of this threat and for this reason kept their distance from the political groups of Anglo-Burmese operating in Australia. This had considerably divided the community into those who were involved in the democratic movements, those who supported the military government and the majority of those who wanted nothing to do with the politics. In this reality the mere mention of research was construed by some members of the community as a move by the Australian government to identify those who opposed the Burmese military government. These groups were not accessible to the researcher.

## Future Research

The findings from the first study indicated that the Anglo-Burmese had experienced social marginalisation prior to and after the socialist government came into power in Burma. However, there was very little experience of social marginalisation once they migrated to Australia. On the other hand, their experience of cultural marginalisation only began after the socialist government came to power in Burma at which point many migrated to Australia only to once again be confronted by cultural marginalisation in Australia. The results from this study suggest that it was the new experience of significant cultural marginalisation which forced the Anglo-Burmese to migrate to Australia. The experience of social marginalisation remains fairly consistent for them over the different time periods and events. Future research may wish to explore the experience of cultural marginalisation by examining the influence it has on other mixed groups' decisions

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to migrate. A cross sectional study examining a variety of mixed groups and their experience of cultural marginalisation may also be useful to provide insight into the effect of cultural marginalisation of different groups. A comparison of the level of social marginalisation at different times may also provide new information on how migrants differ in their behaviours over time. Further investigation of the interaction between cultural and social marginalisation is also worth examining further, to determine whether it is the independent effect of social or cultural marginalisation influencing migrants or the interaction between the two. Clinical research may wish to investigate how to help mixed groups alleviate the effect of cultural marginalisation or social marginalisation, or to find a better way to deal with marginalisation altogether. Further investigation of the differences in experience of cultural marginalisation between Australian-born Burmese and their parents and the effect on their experience may also be beneficial in coming to terms with the reality of each generation. A path analysis may be a useful tool toward the resolution as it allows the researcher to examine and display the causal relationships between a range of variables. In this study it appears that the historical context is a major influential factor in the experience and type of marginalisation. An examination of the historical context on the experiences of children and their parents may also be warranted.

The results from study two also found socio-psychological marginalisation to be the only significant predictor of well-being with the relationship being negative, indicating that the more marginalised the individual the lower his or her psychological well-being. It would be useful to investigate whether the levels of marginalisation are similar. Similar levels of marginalisation could indicate that the

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experience of marginalisation is the key factor and not the extent in relation to well-being. Future research may need to examine the effects of marginalisation on larger samples of first and second generation migrants. The interventions for both generations will also need to be examined thoroughly. These interventions will need to look carefully at the experiences of the second generation as their experience of marginalisation appears to be different from the first generation according to study three. The means for psychological well-being appeared to be very low ( $M=3.22$  out of a possible 20) for both first and second generation migrants. A similar study by Colquhoun (1996) with Anglo-Indian migrants also reported a comparatively poor level of psychological well-being for first generation migrants. Future research may wish to examine more carefully the reasons for low levels of psychological well-being in mixed migrant groups.

The third study reported differences between first generation and second generation migrants in their experiences of adaptation in relation to different contexts. The first generation experienced more positive experiences in comparison to the second generation. This study examined the adaptation with a static period of time which was set to present day. However, the context and the experiences of adaptation associated with it may vary over different time periods due to different socio-political circumstances, age, longer length of residence, children etc. Future research may need to examine their experience of adaptation at different time periods. Further examination of the second generation may be needed with a longitudinal study as their experience of adaptation and relationship to the community is likely to change between young adulthood and middle adulthood as their priorities change.

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The second study also found an individuals' psychological sense of community to be very affected by the experiences of separation, integration and marginalisation. The finding that a stronger psychological sense of community results in stronger attitudes to maintain separation from the dominant group appears to be logically consistent. However, the finding that it results in stronger feelings of integration and less experience of marginalisation warrants further investigation. There appears also to be a need to examine this effect across generations more carefully. Second generation migrants may suffer more psychological consequences of their well-being from marginalisation than their parents. An exploration of the intervention tools to minimise the psychological effects of the migration process for the individual and the family needs further investigation.

The results from this series of studies appears to indicate that migrants need support to deal with the negative effects associated with adapting to a new context. Many clinicians, however, are not adequately equipped to deal with these experiences. In countries like Australia, which have many migrants, such knowledge and skills are vital. Research into culturally appropriate clinical interventions needs to be examined more carefully. It is important that the existing level of knowledge of the practitioner (are they migrants themselves?); their area of specialisation (some areas of psychology are more suitable to the understanding the community nature often associated with migration); and a thorough understanding about the psychotherapeutic process of migration needs to be considered in this research.

Finally, some comments needs to be made with respect to practical application of future research efforts. One of the areas where information regarding migration would be very useful would be in the clinical and counselling domain.

Australia is after all a country of migrants with many who come from mixed backgrounds. Psychology has in many ways continued to see the issues and problems of migration as being a side rather than a central issue. As this thesis has shown both first and second generations in the Anglo-Burmese community continue to suffer issues related to the migration process. Research could look at the number of psychologist's clients who are migrants and where the migration process continues to impede their personal development and passage into the experience of being a member of this multicultural community.

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APPENDIX A



**EDITH COWAN  
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Telephone (08) 9400 5555  
Facsimile (08) 9300 1257

## **GROUP MIGRATION AND WELL-BEING QUESTIONNAIRE**

Dear Participant,

As part of a PhD project, I am interested in exploring how migrants from Burma have experienced life in Australia, and what lessons can be learnt from these experiences for future generations in Australia. Being of Burmese descent myself and having been born in Australia, I am also very interested in learning about these experiences for both first and second generation migrants and to what extent perceptions of their cultural community have influenced these experiences.

Attached to this information sheet are four sections to be completed by yourself. It is expected that the information you provide through these questionnaires will go some way towards identifying what have been the key experiences for you as a first generation migrant and how these experiences can help future generations in Australia.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and if you choose not to complete this questionnaire, there will be no consequence to you. Please be aware that the information you provide will be entirely confidential and make sure you leave no identifying marks to ensure anonymity.

Yours Sincerely,

Simon Colquhoun

This study has been reviewed by the Ethics committee at Edith Cowan University. Should you wish to discuss the study with someone not directly involved you may contact Dr Moira O'Connor on Ph. 9400-5593.

This Group Migration and Well-being Questionnaire consists of four sections: *Section A* refers to your background characteristics, *Section B* refers to your experiences in Australia, *Section C* refers to your general health and well-being and *Section D* refers to your own perceptions of your cultural group/s.

**Section A: Background Characteristics**

The ten questions to follow ask about your background characteristics. Please answer *all* questions as accurately as possible.

1. Date of Birth \_\_\_\_\_
2. Place of Birth (city & country) \_\_\_\_\_ (City) \_\_\_\_\_ (Country)
3. Gender (*please tick*): Male \_\_\_ Female \_\_\_
4. Marital Status (*Circle the appropriate category*)  
Married      Defacto      Single      Divorced      Separated
5. What is your religion? (*Circle the appropriate category*)  
Anglican      Roman Catholic      Buddhist      Other: \_\_\_\_\_
6. What was your occupation in Burma (*if applicable*) ? \_\_\_\_\_
7. What is your occupation currently? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Highest level of education completed \_\_\_\_\_
9. What year did you arrive in Australia (*if applicable*) ? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Which of the following countries do you identify **most** strongly with?  
(*Circle the appropriate category*)  
Australia      Burma      No Particular Place      Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**Section B: Your Experiences in Australia**

In the following pages you will find a list of statements. After reading each statement please *circle* a number that fits closest to your view on the accompanying five point scale. Please answer *all* questions.

1 -*Strongly Disagree* 2 -*Disagree* 3 -*Neutral* 4 -*Agree* 5 -*Strongly Agree*

1. Most of my friends are from Burma because I feel very comfortable around them but I don't feel as comfortable around Australians. 1 2 3 4 5

2. There's no such thing as ideal mate, marriage only creates problems. 1 2 3 4 5
3. These days its hard to find someone you really relate to and share your inner feelings and thoughts. 1 2 3 4 5
4. If I had a choice between Australian and Burmese food, I would definitely choose Burmese food because only it can satisfy my taste buds. 1 2 3 4 5
5. Cities are becoming more violent, we should live in a place away from all the violence and confusion. 1 2 3 4 5
6. Australian society will not look after the interests of Burmese in Australia; Burmese must stick together and help each other. 1 2 3 4 5
7. Burmese dance is an aspect of Burmese culture that we should be proud of and introduce it to other Australians 1 2 3 4 5
8. If I were a parent, I would adopt the Australian way of child rearing by encouraging independence and individuality and discouraging the Burmese way of child rearing. 1 2 3 4 5
9. Because we live in Australia, we are always presumed to assimilate to Australian lifestyle. Thus, we must emphasize our distinct Burmese identity and restrict our association with Australian society. 1 2 3 4 5
10. I would teach children mainly Burmese values and customs so that they will not become assimilated, but remain as Burmese. 1 2 3 4 5
11. I would adopt the Australian way of child rearing by encouraging independence and individuality while also teaching them the Burmese virtues of obedience and respect. 1 2 3 4 5
12. Taking a course in history is a waste of time since it does not help you to learn anything practical or to get a job. 1 2 3 4 5
13. Because we live in Australia we do not need to know the Burmese language, we should focus our attention on speaking English fluently. 1 2 3 4 5
14. Events such as the Burmese Festival is another event supported by governments to keep minorities quiet. 1 2 3 4 5
15. To be successful we must participate fully in various aspects of Australian society, while maintaining our Burmese culture and heritage. 1 2 3 4 5
16. If I had a choice between Australian and Burmese food, I would definitely choose to eat Australian food because I enjoy it more. 1 2 3 4 5
17. Australians cannot appreciate Burmese culture as shown by their misunderstanding of Burmese dance. It is best to keep our culture to ourselves. 1 2 3 4 5
18. While living in Australia, we can return to our Burmese cultural heritage and lifestyle, and yet participate fully in various aspects of Australian society. 1 2 3 4 5

19. Teaching children Burmese values and customs only creates a barrier with other Australians. Therefore, I would encourage them to be just like other Australians. 1 2 3 4 5
20. Living in Australia as a migrant from Burma, I would want to know how to speak both Burmese and English. 1 2 3 4 5
21. If I had a choice, I would marry an Australian who thinks like me and who enjoys the same things. 1 2 3 4 5
22. To be a successful Australian, we must give up our traditional Burmese lifestyle. 1 2 3 4 5
23. I would encourage children to be educated and to participate fully in various aspects of Australian society, while teaching them the Burmese values and customs. 1 2 3 4 5
24. Realistically speaking, migrants from Burma must stick together and help each other to be successful rather than assimilating into Australian society. 1 2 3 4 5
25. If I had a choice, I would marry someone who was brought up in Burma who knows the Burmese values and customs. 1 2 3 4 5
26. For students who were raised in Australia, I would encourage them to take a course in Australian history, but not in Burmese history since it has no utility or value in Australia. 1 2 3 4 5
27. If I had to name a child, I would give only a Burmese name because it is important that the child maintains his/her identity. 1 2 3 4 5
28. Enjoyment of food is a luxury that I cannot afford when I have so many other problems. 1 2 3 4 5
29. If I had to name a child, I would choose only an Australian name because a Burmese name would only emphasize his/her difference with other Australians. 1 2 3 4 5
30. Migrants from Burma should live together as a cluster to reduce the association with Australian society. 1 2 3 4 5
31. We're living in Australia and that means giving up our traditional way of life and adopting an Australian lifestyle, thinking and acting like Australians 1 2 3 4 5
32. The kinds of relationships that I have with Burmese are valuable, while the kinds of relationships with Australians are also worthwhile. 1 2 3 4 5
33. For students who were raised in Australia, I would encourage them to take both Burmese and Australian history because its important for them to know the history of both countries. 1 2 3 4 5
34. Burmese festival is an important event where migrants from Burma can share their rich cultural heritage with other Australians. 1 2 3 4 5

35. Present society is changing so fast that it's hard to teach children how to live and be happy. 1 2 3 4 5
36. If a parent adopts the Australian way of child rearing the children will become spoiled and disobedient. I would adopt the Burmese way by teaching them the virtues of obedience and respect. 1 2 3 4 5
37. If I had to name a child, I would give him/her both an Burmese name and a Australian name. 1 2 3 4 5
38. As a parent, it's best to keep the children away from learning all the violence and corruption that the present society has to offer. 1 2 3 4 5
39. Encouraging migrants from Burma to stay as a group only hinders our assimilation into Australian society. 1 2 3 4 5
40. Burmese dance is not worth learning when there are so many other acceptable classical Australian dances. 1 2 3 4 5
41. Migrants from Burma should join together and form organisations to represent Burmese interests in Australia, and also actively participate in Australian organisations. 1 2 3 4 5
42. Burmese dance is just another example which reveals the decadent nature of human beings. 1 2 3 4 5
43. To maintain our Burmese cultural heritage in Australia, we must concentrate our efforts in maintaining and teaching the Burmese language rather than English. 1 2 3 4 5
44. I don't like my name because it creates too much problems for me. 1 2 3 4 5
45. Success only depends on being in the right place at the right time. 1 2 3 4 5
46. Having a Burmese festival only emphasizes our difference, and it hinders our acceptability to other Australians. 1 2 3 4 5
47. Australians are not genuinely interested in Burmese culture, we should promote Burmese culture only amongst ourselves. 1 2 3 4 5
48. Migrants from Burma benefit by living together in a cluster and it does not hinder our adaptation in Australia. 1 2 3 4 5
49. It's hard to work with other people since most people are interested only in their selfish gain. 1 2 3 4 5
50. If I had a choice, I would marry an migrant from Burma who has a similar experience of having lived in Australia like me. 1 2 3 4 5
51. Politicians use national pride to exploit and to deceive the public. 1 2 3 4 5

52. It is ridiculous for migrants from Burma to live together in a cluster we should learn to live like Australians. 1 2 3 4 5
53. I enjoy the taste of both Australian and Burmese food. 1 2 3 4 5
54. Most of my friends are Australians because they are enjoyable and I feel comfortable around them, but I don't feel the same way with migrants from Burma. 1 2 3 4 5
55. I often feel helpless because I can't seem to express my feelings and thoughts with words. 1 2 3 4 5
56. For students who were raised in Australia, I would encourage them to take a course in Burmese history but not in Australian history since there isn't much worth learning about. 1 2 3 4 5

### **Section C: Your General Health**

**On the following list of health-related questions, please answer *yes* or *no*. Please answer *all* questions (*tick the appropriate category*).**

1. Do you have pains in the heart or chest? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
2. Do your muscles and joints constantly feel stiff? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
3. Is your skin very sensitive or tender? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
4. Do you suffer badly from frequent severe headaches? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
5. Do you often have spells of severe dizziness? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
6. Do you usually get up tired and exhausted in the morning? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
7. Do you wear yourself out worrying about your health? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
8. Do you usually have great difficulty in falling asleep or staying asleep? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
9. Do strange people or places make you afraid? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
10. Do you wish you always have someone at your side to advise you? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
11. Do you usually feel unhappy and depressed? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
12. Do you often wish you were dead and away from it all? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
13. Does worrying continually get you down? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
14. Are you extremely shy or sensitive? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
15. Does it make you angry to have anyone tell you what to do? Yes\_\_ No\_\_



16. Do you usually belch a lot after eating? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
17. Do you constantly suffer from bad constipation? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
18. Do people often annoy or irritate you? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
19. Do you often shake or tremble? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
20. Do you often break out in a cold sweat? Yes\_\_ No\_\_

**Section D: Perceptions of the Burmese group/s in Australia**

**These questions to follow ask you about your perceptions of the Burmese group/s in Australia. After reading each statement please *circle* a number that fits closest to your view on the accompanying five point scale. Please answer *all* questions.**

**1 -*Strongly Disagree* 2 -*Disagree* 3 -*Neutral* 4 -*Agree* 5 -*Strongly Agree***

1. I think these Burmese group/s are good group/s for me to belong to. 1 2 3 4 5
2. People in these Burmese group/s do not share the same values. 1 2 3 4 5
3. Other members and I want the same things from these Burmese group/s. 1 2 3 4 5
4. I can recognise most people who are members of these Burmese group/s. 1 2 3 4 5
5. I feel at home with these Burmese group/s. 1 2 3 4 5
6. Very few of the Burmese group members know me. 1 2 3 4 5
7. I care about what other Burmese group members think of my actions. 1 2 3 4 5
8. I have no influence over what these Burmese group/s are like. 1 2 3 4 5
9. If there are problems in these Burmese group/s, people who belong can get them solved. 1 2 3 4 5
10. It is very important to me to belong to these particular Burmese group/s. 1 2 3 4 5
11. People in these Burmese group/s generally don't get along with each other. 1 2 3 4 5
12. I expect to belong to these Burmese group/s for a long time. 1 2 3 4 5

**Thank You For Your Participation.**



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Facsimile (08) 9300 1257

**GROUP MIGRATION AND WELL-BEING QUESTIONNAIRE**  
**(For Australian-born Burmese only)**

Dear Participant,

As part of a PhD project, I am interested in exploring how Burmese Australians have experienced life in Australia, and what lessons can be learnt from these experiences for future generations in Australia. Being of Burmese descent myself and having been born in Australia, I am also very interested in learning about these experiences for both first and second generation migrants and to what extent perceptions of their cultural community have influenced these experiences.

Attached to this information sheet are four sections to be completed by yourself. It is expected that the information you provide through these questionnaires will go some way towards identifying what have been the key experiences for you as a Burmese Australian and how these experiences can help future generations in Australia.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and if you choose not to complete this questionnaire, there will be no consequence to you. Please be aware that the information you provide will be entirely confidential and make sure you leave no identifying marks to ensure anonymity.

Yours Sincerely,

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This study has been reviewed by the Ethics committee at Edith Cowan University. Should you wish to discuss the study with someone not directly involved you may contact Dr Moira O'Connor on Ph. 9400-5593.

**This Group Migration and Well-being Questionnaire consists of four sections: *Section A* refers to your background characteristics, *Section B* refers to your experiences in Australia, *Section C* refers to your general health and well-being and *Section D* refers to your own perceptions of your cultural group/s.**

### **Section A: Background Characteristics**

**The ten questions to follow ask about your background characteristics. Please answer *all* questions as accurately as possible.**

1. Date of Birth \_\_\_\_\_
2. Place of Birth (city & country) \_\_\_\_\_ (City) \_\_\_\_\_ (Country) \_\_\_\_\_
3. Gender (*please tick*): Male \_\_\_ Female \_\_\_
4. Marital Status (*Circle the appropriate category*)  
Married      Defacto      Single      Divorced      Separated
5. What is your religion? (*Circle the appropriate category*)  
Anglican      Roman Catholic      Buddhist      Other: \_\_\_\_\_
6. What was your occupation in Burma (*if applicable*) ? \_\_\_\_\_
7. What is your occupation currently? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Highest level of education completed \_\_\_\_\_
9. What year did you arrive in Australia (*if applicable*) ? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Which of the following countries do you identify **most** strongly with?  
(*Circle the appropriate category*)  
Australia      Burma      No Particular Place      Other: \_\_\_\_\_

### **Section B: Your Experiences in Australia**

**In the following pages you will find a list of statements. After reading each statement please *circle* a number that fits closest to your view on the accompanying five point scale. Please answer *all* questions.**

**1 -Strongly Disagree 2 -Disagree 3 -Neutral 4 -Agree 5 -Strongly Agree**

1. Most of my friends are from Burmese because I feel very comfortable around them but I don't feel as comfortable around just Australians.

1 2 3 4 5

2. There's no such thing as ideal mate, marriage only creates problems. 1 2 3 4 5
3. These days its hard to find someone you really relate to and share your inner feelings and thoughts. 1 2 3 4 5
4. If I had a choice between Australian and Burmese food, I would definitely choose Burmese food because only it can satisfy my taste buds. 1 2 3 4 5
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14. Events such as the Burmese Festival is another event supported by governments to keep minorities quiet. 1 2 3 4 5
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16. If I had a choice between Australian and Burmese food, I would definitely choose to eat Australian food because I enjoy it more. 1 2 3 4 5
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18. While living in Australia, we can return to our Burmese cultural heritage and lifestyle, and yet participate fully in various aspects of Australian society. 1 2 3 4 5

19. Teaching children Burmese values and customs only creates a barrier with other Australians. Therefore, I would encourage them to be just like other Australians. 1 2 3 4 5
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21. If I had a choice, I would marry an Australian who thinks like me and who enjoys the same things. 1 2 3 4 5
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37. If I had to name a child, I would give him/her both an Burmese name and a Australian name. 1 2 3 4 5
38. As a parent, it's best to keep the children away from learning all the violence and corruption that the present society has to offer. 1 2 3 4 5
39. Encouraging migrants from Burma to stay as a group only hinders our assimilation into Australian society. 1 2 3 4 5
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46. Having a Burmese festival only emphasizes our difference, and it hinders our acceptability to other Australians. 1 2 3 4 5
47. Australians are not genuinely interested in Burmese culture, we should promote Burmese culture only amongst ourselves. 1 2 3 4 5
48. Burmese Australians benefit by living together in a cluster and it does not hinder our adaptation in Australia. 1 2 3 4 5
49. It's hard to work with other people since most people are interested only in their selfish gain. 1 2 3 4 5
50. If I had a choice, I would marry a Burmese Australian who has a similar experience of having lived in Australia like me. 1 2 3 4 5
51. Politicians use national pride to exploit and to deceive the public. 1 2 3 4 5

52. It is ridiculous for Burmese Australians to live together in a cluster we should learn to live like Australians. 1 2 3 4 5
53. I enjoy the taste of both Australian and Burmese food. 1 2 3 4 5
54. Most of my friends are Australians because they are enjoyable and I feel comfortable around them, but I don't feel the same way with migrants from Burma. 1 2 3 4 5
55. I often feel helpless because I can't seem to express my feelings and thoughts with words. 1 2 3 4 5
56. For students who were raised in Australia, I would encourage them to take a course in Burmese history but not in Australian history since there isn't much worth learning about. 1 2 3 4 5

### **Section C: Your General Health**

**On the following list of health-related questions, please answer yes or no. Please answer all questions (tick the appropriate category).**

1. Do you have pains in the heart or chest? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
2. Do your muscles and joints constantly feel stiff? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
3. Is your skin very sensitive or tender? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
4. Do you suffer badly from frequent severe headaches? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
5. Do you often have spells of severe dizziness? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
6. Do you usually get up tired and exhausted in the morning? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
7. Do you wear yourself out worrying about your health? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
8. Do you usually have great difficulty in falling asleep or staying asleep? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
9. Do strange people or places make you afraid? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
10. Do you wish you always have someone at your side to advise you? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
11. Do you usually feel unhappy and depressed? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
12. Do you often wish you were dead and away from it all? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
13. Does worrying continually get you down? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
14. Are you extremely shy or sensitive? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
15. Does it make you angry to have anyone tell you what to do? Yes\_\_ No\_\_

16. Do you usually belch a lot after eating? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
17. Do you constantly suffer from bad constipation? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
18. Do people often annoy or irritate you? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
19. Do you often shake or tremble? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
20. Do you often break out in a cold sweat? Yes\_\_ No\_\_

**Section D: Perceptions of the Burmese group/s in Australia**

**These questions to follow ask you about your perceptions of the Burmese group/s in Australia. After reading each statement please *circle* a number that fits closest to your view on the accompanying five point scale. Please answer *all* questions.**

**1 -*Strongly Disagree* 2 -*Disagree* 3 -*Neutral* 4 -*Agree* 5 -*Strongly Agree***

1. I think these Burmese group/s are good group/s for me to belong to. 1 2 3 4 5
2. People in these Burmese group/s do not share the same values. 1 2 3 4 5
3. Other members and I want the same things from these Burmese group/s. 1 2 3 4 5
4. I can recognise most people who are members of these Burmese group/s. 1 2 3 4 5
5. I feel at home with these Burmese group/s. 1 2 3 4 5
6. Very few of the Burmese group members know me. 1 2 3 4 5
7. I care about what other Burmese group members think of my actions. 1 2 3 4 5
8. I have no influence over what these Burmese group/s are like. 1 2 3 4 5
9. If there are problems in these Burmese group/s, people who belong can  
get them solved. 1 2 3 4 5
10. It is very important to me to belong to these particular Burmese group/s. 1 2 3 4 5
11. People in these Burmese group/s generally don't get along with each other. 1 2 3 4 5
12. I expect to belong to these Burmese group/s for a long time. 1 2 3 4 5

**Thank You For Your Participation.**



**APPENDIX B**

### **First Generation Migrants**

- Looking back at your life in Burma, what are your memories? How did you deal with these experiences?
- Looking back over your life here in Australia, how would you describe your experiences in adjusting to life in Australia? How did you deal with these experiences?
- Has the experience of other migrants from Burma been different in anyway from your own personal experiences?
- Have there been any other factors which have occurred before you migrated to Australia which may have made adjusting here easier or more difficult?
- In the long term, how do you feel your life will be in Australia in the future?
- Can you describe the cultural community to which you belong?
- Can you describe your family in terms of structure?
- Do you feel that your family reflects the culture from which you have come from? How?
- What restrictions has the Australian context placed on your family network? Why?

- Do you work with other migrants from Burma? How often? Where? Do you mix with them socially?
- Having migrated do you feel that you view things in different way compared to before you migrated? Why?
- Does the Australian context allow you to move socially and economically, if you so choose? Why?
- Are there any upsides or downsides to the community to which you are a part of?
- Do you feel that the Australian context discourages you from making contact with people other than Burmese migrants? Why? How? Examples?
- Do you think your cultural community has helped you to deal with your experiences in Burma and here in Australia?

## **Second Generation Migrants (Australian-Born)**

- In terms of your Burmese background, looking over your life, how would you describe your experiences of living in Australia? Examples? How did you deal with these aspects?
- Has the experience of other Burmese-Australians been different in anyway from your own personal experiences? How?
- Have there been any factors which have occurred before you were born which may have influenced your life here?
- In the long term, how do you feel your life will be in Australia in the future?
- Can you describe the cultural community to which you belong?
- Can you describe you family in terms of its structure?
- Do you feel that your family reflects the culture from which you have come from? How?
- What restrictions does the Australian context place on your family network?
- Do you work with other Burmese-Australians? How often? Where?
- Do you see cultural differences between you and your parents? Why?/ Why not?
- In terms of your Burmese cultural background, does the Australian context allow you to move socially and economically, if you so choose? Why?
- Are there any upsides or downsides to the community to which you are a part of?

- Do you feel that the Australian context discourages you from making contact with people other than Burmese Australians? Why? How? Examples?
- Do you think your cultural community has helped you to deal with your experiences here in Australia?