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**A transitional study of migration, alcohol use and concept of alcohol drinking
behaviours amongst Chinese migrants
in New Zealand**

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Abstract

Migration is a complex and stressful life changing event. Resettlement process can cause tremendous stress for Chinese migrants, due to the huge differences between China and New Zealand. Alcohol use behaviours among migrants are complex and likely influenced by many factors, including social norms, mental health and acculturation. The drinking culture among Chinese migrants may alter due to acculturation.

This research was conducted as a preliminary study to explore the factors that shape the alcohol consumption patterns, beliefs and the factors that could influence alcohol consumption related aspects from migration, acculturation and social adjustment amongst 12 Chinese migrants in New Zealand. A qualitative research design using one on one interviews and focus groups was utilised in this research. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data.

The study revealed Chinese migrants' cultural norms, beliefs and attitudes towards the use of alcohol and the way they have been acculturated to a more westernised drinking culture with widened choices of multicultural alcoholic beverages in New Zealand. However Chinese migrants still maintained some traditional Chinese drinking customs and also integrated oriental and western drinking culture together in their drinking occasions in New Zealand. Adapting to the New Zealand drinking culture in a problematic way, or using alcohol as a coping mechanism to deal with negative emotions or loss due to migration can lead to harmful drinking behaviours, e.g., drinking and driving, excessive alcohol consumption. The initial migration period, homestay and family living in New Zealand were identified as the protective factors to prevent excessive alcohol consumption and risky drinking behaviours among Chinese migrants in New Zealand. The research indicated further studies of drinking culture among Asian migrants are needed in New Zealand.

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Chapter One: Thesis Introduction

Introduction

Alcohol consumption trends and patterns, as well as consequences of alcohol use, vary greatly across various ethnic groups. The cultural background, migration experience, social adjustment, level of acculturation and socio-economic status are all important factors in understanding the attitudes towards alcohol use in diverse ethnic communities (McDonald, 2006). Greater changes in norms, beliefs and health behaviours are associated with the increased time in a new country (Nash, Wong & Trlin, 2006). Acculturation and integration of old drinking customs into new contexts may cause the change of drinking patterns, which could become more frequent and problematic (Presley, Cheng, & Pimemel, 2004). Resettlement is stressful regardless of motivation to migrate, ability to plan the move, and networks in place at the new host country. When individuals have contacted with new host society, they face many challenges, such as adjusting to a new language, different customs and norms for social interactions, unfamiliar rules and laws, and in some cases extreme lifestyle changes, e.g., rural to urban (Wong & Wong, 2006).

The concept of resettlement is interpreted into a range of alternative words. Terms commonly used include 'acculturation', 'biculturalism', 'multiculturalism', 'marginalisation', 'assimilation', 'integration', 'segregation', and 'settlement' (Fosados et al., 2007; Frey & Roysircar, 2006; Hahm, Lahiff, & Guterman, 2004). Acculturation is a process of adjusting to the changes of language, attitudes, values, and roles of the new host society. Adapting to new host society successfully can strengthen the individual, as he or she develops bicultural skills and effectively integrates the two cultures (Berry, 2006). However, the demands of adaptation can often lead to increased stress, which can be called acculturative stress. Acculturative stress tends to be at its peak during the initial months of contact with the new culture and may contribute to poorer mental health status (Bell, 2005). Difficulties that may increase acculturative stress include learning a new language and problems seeking employment. Several studies indicate that pre-migration trauma; time of migration, acceptance from the dominant host society, cultural orientation, and prejudice may be involved in determining levels of acculturative stress and mental health

status (Wong & Wong, 2006).

Acculturation introduces challenges that can be associated with a number of problems during the life span, including depression, anxiety, exposure to and use of alcohol and drugs, behavioural problems at home, school and work, perceived discrimination, and negative expectations for the future (Frey & Roysircar, 2006). While some findings suggest that some acculturated Asian immigrants have greater prevalence of mental disorders, most studies reveal that Asian immigrants' length of staying in a western country is negatively correlated with rates of mental health disorders (Kuo, & Roysircar, 2004). That is the longer Asian migrants stay in a western country, the less likely they are to have mental disorders or emotional problems. Study indicated that among Asian immigrants, those who moved to an English speaking country at an earlier age exhibited fewer adjustment difficulties (Uba, 2003). Therefore, acculturation may play a role in the decreased rates of mental disorders of distress in the Asian population over time (Kurasaki, Okazaki, & Sue, 2002). For Asian immigrants, acculturative stressors include the lack of English language proficiency, knowledge of resources, etc. As Asian immigrants became accustomed to the new language, customs, and social structure of their new host society, acculturative stress may decrease, causing a reduction in rates of psychological problems (Chung, 2001).

Furthermore, cultural values are important because they help determine how one evaluates mental health and mental disorders, what kinds of symptoms are displayed when one has a mental disorder, what kind of help and remedies are sought to reduce mental distress, and what kinds of cultural resources are available in the promotion of mental health (Hovell, Wahlgren & Adams, 2009). Research highlighted that an individual's mind and behaviour are largely influenced by the contexts that he or she is in, which may vary dramatically from culture to culture (Loewenthal, 2007). For example, study showed the differences between the interdependent and independent construal of self. Especially, East Asian views of the self versus European American views of the self. European American self-construals are characterized as being somewhat more autonomous or independent of context, whereas East Asian self-construals are described as more communal, interdependent, or embedded in social relationships. These cultural construals of self have been shown to affect people's

cognitions and behaviours (Kurasaki, Okazaki, & Sue, 2002). Migrants from East Asia-China can experience challenges to adjust their values of self from interdependent to an independent construal, when migrated to a European dominated country (Tseng & Wu, 1985).

Chinese in New Zealand are a diverse group, the majority of who originate from Mainland China (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Levels of mental health issues among Asian migrants are similar or lower to those of other New Zealanders, but significant risk factors associated with migration, cultural differences and racism are identified by some studies including lower access to mental health services (Chen & Long, 2008). It is found no specific information relating to New Zealand born Chinese and many of the studies used the broader category of Asian (Scragg & Maitra, 2005).

Background Information on Alcohol Use

Alcohol is full of contradictions, it can produce a strong feeling of happiness, confidence, or well-being, and it is also a depressant; it is a poison and a medicine (Phillips, 2014). For these reasons, discussions of alcohol and its place in society and culture often lead to debate and disagreement. Although alcohol is ultimately consumed, it plays an important part in the construction of social norms. Alcohol can be an identity marker that indicates status, cultural capital, or gender differences. Rituals that focus on alcohol are often associated with cultural ceremonies and celebration of life stages (Phillips, 2014).

Alcohol production, trade, consumption, and regulation have helped shape the cultural, social, political, and economic areas in China (Heath, 1995). The earliest evidence of international brewing has been found in China between 7000BC to 5600BC (McGovern et al., 2005; McGovern 2009). Alcohol has played an essential role in the most important social and cultural ceremonies, especially the celebration of important life stages such as births, funerals and marriages. It has also been a vital part of feasts, magic rites, worship, and hospitality (Gately, 2009). Alcohol has shaped traditional medicinal remedies in China and has continued to be used in that way into the twenty-first-century (Tamang, 2010). The meanings and uses of alcohol have affected gender roles, social hierarchies, and ethnic

identities. Governments have regulated alcohol production, sale, and consumption to gain power and money. And economics have flourished because of its trade (Gately, 2009). China now recognises 56 ethnic minorities, and 80 languages, although nearly 90% are Mandarin-speaking Han People (Grant, 1998); drinking appears to play important roles in terms of hospitality, sociability, and medicine for all of them (Heath, 1995).

Alcohol arrived in New Zealand with the first European explorers and since that time it has remained an important feature of the New Zealand culture (Donaldson, 2012). From the liquor shops to the wineries of contemporary times, alcohol has been important to the economic and social development of the nation (Don, 1995). Alcohol has brought pleasure, economic growth and social problems to New Zealanders in many areas. Today, alcohol is available for sale in grocery stores, supermarkets (Booth et al., 2008) and numerous suburban liquor outlets (Cameron et al., 2013); alongside pubs, bars, cafes and restaurants (Cameron, Cochrane & Simon, 2013). The production, sale supply and marketing of alcohol is currently estimated to be a \$4-5 billion dollar market in New Zealand (Cagney & Dalmer, 2007). Historically, most of the intoxicated drinkers were adult males and drinking was typically separated from family, food and entertainment (Boillinger, 1967). With the significant social changes in the 1960s and 1970s, women and young people increasingly engaged with alcohol (Chapman, 2005). A growing proportion of these groups have joined men in a culture of binge drinking and intoxication (Kypri et al., 2007). New Zealand has been affected by alcohol abuse related negative effects (ALAC, 2009), but alcohol has also been seen as the social lubricant in many social functions and other occasions (Collins, & Vamplew, 2002). New Zealand has depended on migrants for its economic development and growth. New Zealand is one of the highest migrant-receiving countries in the world (Sin et al, 2014). Immigrants' health became an important component in New Zealand health system (Chapman, 2005). New Zealand society is rapidly increasing in diversity. Refugees and migrants from a variety of cultural backgrounds now comprise a distinct, significant, and very visible component of the country's demographic profile (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Therefore, the drinking culture in New Zealand also displays diverse themes.

There is no doubt that migration can be a complex and stressful experience. Some

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literature on alcohol use suggests a correlation between problematic drinking and a perceived level of stress, which is mediated by coping skills and social supports (Ham & Hope, 2003). According to Lazarus and Folkman (1984), stress occurs when individuals of any age perceive environmental demands that exceed their resources. These researchers indicated two coping styles to deal with stress: problem-focused, leading to problem-solving strategies, and emotion-focused, leading to control of negative emotions. Based on this model, someone seems to be particularly vulnerable to alcohol misuse are those who consider the environmental demands as challenging due to a lack of internal and external resources and a lack of problem-focused coping skills. Vulnerability may increase if they believe that alcohol provides benefits for emotional change from negative feelings to positive feelings (Cooper, 1994).

Although many Asian and other international students come from social, cultural, and religious backgrounds that do not consider drinking as an acceptable custom, a study of 428 Asian American college students showed that acculturation and drinking behaviour were significantly related (Hendershot, et al., 2005). Given challenges due to acculturative stress, which Berry (2006) defined as "a stress reaction in response to life events that are rooted in the experience of acculturation" (p. 294), international students in higher education have been recognized as a high-risk population, vulnerable to stress (Frey & Roysircar, 2006). The American college experience makes them vulnerable and leads to the use of emotion-focused coping strategies (Kuo, Roysircar, & Newby-Clark, 2006). Nonetheless, there is little literature on alcohol use related to acculturative stress among international students (Hendershot et al., 2005).

According to National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism [NIAAA] (2002), factors indicating higher alcohol use were the 18 to 24 age group, not living with parents, and having none or few off-campus responsibilities (e.g., employment or family). Additionally, if Asian students have shorter length of stay in an English speaking country, it may leave them in social isolation due to a lack of English language proficiency and leaving social networks in home countries (Frey & Roysircar, 2006). These students may turn to drinking as an escape or as a way to fit in. However, research showed less alcohol consumption among Asian students was reported than in a national study of 2-year

institutions (Presley, Cheng, & Pimenel, 2004). This finding was consistent with the literature on college drinking in which racial/ethnic minority students consumed alcohol less than their White peers (NIAAA, 2002).

Although the level of knowledge about problems associated with alcohol use appear to be lower within Asian communities, community-based studies found generally an inadequate knowledge of the harmful effects of alcohol and other drugs amongst this group (Chen & Long, 2008). However, epidemiological studies suggest not participating in sports; and frequenting bars or nightclubs increases drinking among Korean women (Weatherspoon et al., 1994). Evidence further shows that Asian communities have a much lower rate of participation in health promotion, prevention and treatment programs and are less likely to receive needed care than the general population (Scragg, 2010). In 2006 the Chinese population of New Zealand produced the second biggest birth percentage for overseas born migrants. Little is known about the correlates of alcohol use among Chinese migrants (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Little research has been done to investigate the alcohol use patterns amongst Chinese communities in New Zealand (Chen & Long, 2008).

Research Purpose

This research was conducted as a preliminary study to explore the factors that shape the alcohol consumption patterns, beliefs and the factors that could influence these alcohol consumption related aspects from migration, acculturation and social adjustment amongst Chinese migrants in New Zealand.

Brief Overview of Research Process Taken

Due to the exploratory nature of the study, a qualitative research design using one on one interview and focus groups was employed to address the research purpose. Recorded data were transcribed fully in Chinese and then translated into English. Thematic analysis has been applied to analyse the data gathered. Translated transcripts were summarized into both content and thematic analysis. Special attention was paid to the correlation between the change of alcohol using patterns, the concept of alcohol consumption, acculturation

process, and risk factors and protective factors of harmful drinking behaviours. Finally, the findings were compared and contrasted with existing literature and recommendations for further investigations on migrants.

The Structure of This Thesis

There are five chapters in this thesis. The structure of this thesis is organised as following. Chapter Two explores the literature review on alcohol use amongst migrants. Firstly, how immigration affects mental health status is discussed. The factors that affect migrants' mental health through different stages of migration are demonstrated. It also explores the different coping mechanism between male and female migrants in Australia and New Zealand. The common presentation of migrants to public health system, due to the distress from migration experiences is discussed at the beginning of the chapter. Then a brief review of the history of alcohol use in China is demonstrated. This is followed by reviewing the historical and contemporary alcohol drinking culture in New Zealand. After that, some alcohol drinking related issues amongst migrants are explored. It displays a few studies of migrants regarding their drinking patterns, discusses a range of biological, social and psychological factors that influence the migrants drinking culture between different genders and generations in western countries. At the end of the chapter, limitation of existing research and the research aim are addressed.

Chapter Three demonstrates the process of designing and investigating the research. It discusses how the research methodology was decided and the reasons for choosing the current research methods. The explanation for choosing a qualitative research and utilizing thematic analysis to analyse the data is addressed. Then it explains participant selection process, how the focus groups and individual interviews were delivered. The rationale of how the individual interviews and focus groups set up is addressed. The ethnic consideration and approval is discussed by the end of the chapter.

Chapter Four focuses on discussing the findings of the research. Thematic analysis approach has been utilized to analyse the data. Three main themes and two additional findings are revealed. The three main themes are: 1) cultural norms, beliefs and attitudes

towards the use of alcohol, 2) the type of alcohol options and 3) the means to drink alcohol – how to drink. Two additional findings that defined across all the three themes are: risk factors leading to alcohol abuse and protective factors preventing harmful drinking behaviours. Detailed data analysis of the subthemes of each main theme is displayed in the chapter. A brief conclusion of the findings is summarized at the end of the chapter.

Chapter Five- the final chapter, a brief summary of the main findings is illuminated at the beginning of the chapter. The summary demonstrated the findings in a slightly different angle. Future research directions are explored afterwards. Recommendations for health professionals who work with Chinese migrants presenting alcohol drinking issues are discussed at the end.

Chapter Two: Alcohol, Culture and Migration: A Chinese Perspective

Introduction

This Chapter explores the literature on alcohol use amongst migrants. Firstly, how immigration affects mental health status is discussed. The factors that affect migrants' mental health through different stages of migration are demonstrated. It also explores the different coping mechanism between male and female migrants in Australia and New Zealand. The common representation of migrants to public health system due to the distress from migration experiences is discussed at the beginning of the chapter. Then a brief review of the history of alcohol use in China is demonstrated. It demonstrates the functions of alcohol and the drinking patterns in China throughout the timeline from ancient civilization, classical civilization to late twentieth- and early twenty-first-centuries. It is followed by reviewing the historical and contemporary alcohol drinking culture in New Zealand. It addresses the alcohol drinking history from 1770s, Captain Cook brought the first English beer to New Zealand; mid 1900s, alcohol use became increasing liberalisation, not just of liquor law, but also the attitudes to drinking; until contemporary drinking culture and patterns in New Zealand. After that, some alcohol drinking related issues amongst migrants are explored. It displays a few studies of migrants regarding their drinking patterns, discusses a range of biological, social and psychological factors that influence the migrants drinking culture between different genders and generations in western countries. At the end of the chapter, the limitation of existing researches and the research aim are addressed.

Immigration and Mental Health

Migration is a complex process and a stressful life event that is capable of putting an individual's mental wellbeing at risk. Some important factors that can affect a migrant's wellbeing are the different cultural understanding of mental health and the individual's pre-migration, migration, and post migration experiences, especially in relation to adverse events and trauma (Bhugra, 2004). Due to the enormous differences between China and New Zealand, the migration journey for Chinese migrants can be stressful, which can

affect their mental wellbeing

In the pre-migration stage, how well an individual prepare for the migration journey plays an important role in his or her mental wellbeing. The important factors include having adequate social skills, being aware of one's bio-psycho-social vulnerabilities to the change and fairly good self-knowledge (Claassen et al., 2005). The resettlement process starts once a migrant has arrived in the new host country. Additional factors such as negative or positive life events, bereavement and losing social support network may become relevant. Not only these factors but also the responses from an individual and the people around the individual affect a migrant's mental wellbeing in the new country (McKey, Macintyre & Ellaway., 2003). The voluntary or forced nature of migration influences all of these factors, and the geographic travel distance between the country of origin and the new host country contributes to the stress of resettlement. Research indicates that the longer the distance, the greater the environmental change that occurs (Gushulak, 2010). Distance and motives for migration make the migration process complicated. China has the biggest population (approximately 1.39 billion) and has the third largest geographic area as a country in the world, and is also one of the most ancient oriental countries in the northern hemisphere (Weightman, 2011). On the contrary, New Zealand is a relatively small country with a population of approximately four and half million; it is one of the youngest western countries and is the closest country to the South Pole (Jackson, 2011). The environmental and cultural differences between China and New Zealand are tremendous.

Some key losses that many migrants face due to relocation are: loss of home, mobility, employment and income, life roles, primary and social supports, security, autonomy, choices, cultural environment and citizenship. This complexity in the migration process demands adjustment for both the new migrant and the receiving host countries (Claassen, et al., 2005). These are also the key resettlement losses for many Chinese migrants once they have migrated to New Zealand. New migrants have various degrees of preparation for their new environment. Some of them have limited English-language skills such as many Chinese migrants, and face adaptation problems regardless of previous economic and social status. Challenges include learning a new language; finding affordable and appropriate housing; learning local cultures and how to adapt family or personal ways of

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behaving; finding employment with current overseas qualification and work experiences; understanding the new health system; facing discrimination and barriers to services; and accessing needed service for psychological problems such as anxiety or depression (Nash, Wong & Trlin, 2006). The impact of these challenges is considerable. It affects the overall health and well-being of the migrants and their families, as well as the health of resettlement communities in general. The complexity of the issues that migrants face requires increased efforts by host countries in order to ensure that resettlement and mental health service delivery meet migrants' needs, and that professional cross-cultural understandings of social, emotional, and economic distress are enhanced. (Claassen, et al., 2005). Therefore, in order to provide a sufficient health care system to Asian immigrants, their backgrounds and experiences have important implications for the provision of health care in New Zealand.

The post-migration stage is where acculturation and adjustment are processed. The acculturation and adjustment that Chinese migrants make can be considerably big due to the huge differences between China and New Zealand. It is important for both the new migrant and the new host country to consider the adjustment and the stages of resettlement and acculturation. 'U-curve of adjustment' explains the stages of acculturation process. It starts with excitement and eagerness to go to the new (and anticipated better) country and culture. The second stage is the 'honeymoon' stage. It occurs when the new migrant has arrived in the new country, and it appears everything in the new culture is considered favourably. In the third stage, everything in the new culture can feel terrible before adjustment begins. In stage four, the new migrant begins to feel comfortable and takes steps to become more familiar with the culture. In stage five, the new migrant adapts to the culture and in some ways begins to embrace it as their own (Black & Mendenhall, 1991).

The acculturation is a complex process. Many internal and external aspects of a migrant's life need to change to adapt to the new host country, which include changing roles in the family dynamic; changing the family structure in the new country; ongoing assistance to support the families left behind to reunite in the new country; children adapting the new culture faster, becoming more westernized than the parents that may cause intergenerational conflicts in the future (Abbott, 2000). These are just some of the

everyday issues that refugee and migrant families deal with on a daily basis. These social and cultural issues can escalate the level of psychological distress, which can enhance the feelings of hopelessness, helplessness and loss of purpose. Combined with social isolation from extended family and friends, this can lead to low mood and alcohol and drug abuse. In a community survey of 271 Chinese over the age of 15 it was found that although the overall prevalence of mental disorders appeared to be similar to that of the general population, there were also significant risk factors identified including unemployment, low English communication skills, regrets about migrating, being female and young (Abbott, et al., 2000). This view is supported by Chen and Long (2008) who argue that very little research has been done on migrant mental health and substance abuse in New Zealand, particularly in the area of assessing the most suitable and effective approaches for mental health promotion and understanding.

Mental health is a state of well-being in which the individual realises his or her own abilities, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively, and is able to make a contribution to his or her own community. Mental illness on the other hand, is seen as a syndrome that combines low levels of emotional, psychological, and social well-being, and includes a mental illness, such as depression. Somewhere in between there is a condition in which individuals with mental health problems do not necessarily meet the criteria for 'mental illness' but have low levels of emotional, psychological, and social functioning (World Health Organization [WHO], 2004). Such feelings are common among refugees and migrants, including Chinese migrants in western countries, and can leave the individual feeling demoralised. The 2002-2003 Asian Health in Aotearoa survey indicates slightly higher rates of self-reported nervousness amongst Asians (Scragg & Maitra, 2005). In relation to young New Zealanders, the 2006 publication Youth 2000, the National Survey of the Health and Wellbeing of Secondary School Students in New Zealand, found there was some evidence of slightly higher levels of anxiety and depression amongst Asian youth but suicidality was similar to non-Asian youth (Adolescent Health Research Group, 2006). Lack of quality family and social support, and avoidance coping have been identified issues for refugees and migrants. Therefore, it is important to consider the individual's ability to feel pleasure and the absence of ability to feel pleasure when working with refugee and migrant clients because it appears to have theoretical and

clinical importance (Briggs & Macleod, 2006).

Between 2005 and 2008 a quantitative study was undertaken to explore the level of psychological distress and the factors that may affect individual's resettlement outcome among 100 resettled New Zealand and Australian refugees and migrants. The result showed that in general women revealed more depressed and feeling more hopeless and helpless than men. The psychological distress level was higher among females than males. Similar results were found in general population as well. Women in the general population tend to present to health services more frequently than men, as well as refugee and migrant women tend to present more frequently than refugee and migrant men. However, compared to the general population, migrants and refugees' presentations are more complex. Ninety per cent of the studied participants presented physical problems like headaches and stomach pains in their initial contact with the health service; 80 per cent of them identified mental health symptoms like low mood, anxiety and depression in their follow-up psychiatric assessment. Hence, physiological discomfort symptoms were commonly reported by refugees and migrants at the beginning of their presentations to the health services, however, the health professionals need to pay extra attention on identifying the underline psychological distresses and mental health problems like feeling hopeless and helpless, particularly among refugee and migrant clients from non-Western cultural backgrounds (Briggs, Talbot & Melvin, 2007).

Overall, immigration is an uprooting experience, which causes tremendous changes in many aspects of a migrant's life. Many losses occur during resettlement, such as loss of valued social status, employment, familiar physical environment, familiar language, solid family and social support network and more. Not only the marginalized migrants but also the well-educated and skilled migrants experience the psychological distress from immigration, especially the youth and elderly immigrants experience significant distress and the distress continues over time, even when they return to the home country (Ritsner & Ponizovsky, 2003). The tremendous changes that immigration involves are: physical environmental changes (a new type of residential choice, a new country, a place with different population etc.); biological changes (new type of diet leading to new type of nutritional status, new diseases); political changes (becoming minority in the new political

environment can cause some loss of autonomy); economic changes (moving away from traditional form of employment to adapting the new form of employment); cultural changes (new language, religion, educational system); social relationships (new family dynamics, new community structures and new social networks); and psychological changes (adapting new values, changing of individual identity and attitudes). All the changes above happen during the process of acculturation. Chinese migrants have faced or are facing the above changes to various degrees after they have migrated to New Zealand. Accumulated psychological distresses can lead to pathological symptoms during acculturation. Serious problems can lead to problematic drinking behaviours. However, these problems can be managed and improved relationships between the new migrant and the new host country by sufficient intervention (Gushulak, 2010). Due to these changes, the alcohol drinking culture is also altered in the acculturation process among Chinese migrants in New Zealand.

Alcohol Use in China

Alcohol virtually embedded in all areas of the civilisation in ancient China (Heath, 1995). Alcohol contributed to the early settlement and agricultural civilization. It helped define the social hierarchy and gender identities. Alcohol was widely used in religious and political rituals. The regulation of alcohol helped form and maintain governments, moral and laws in the society. People used alcohol with their daily meals and for medical practice purpose as well (Gately, 2009).

Evidence shows that China was the earliest country in the world to start the relationship with alcohol. Chinese started producing and drinking wine around 7000BCE (McGovern, 2003). One very important trading route between China and Mediterranean- the Silk Road, is recorded to be the earliest barley beer trading rout in the world (McGovern, 2009). Alcohol became essential for religious, political and social rituals (Heath, 1995). Two stories of the start of alcohol in China were documented in Xia Dynasty (2140-1711 BCE) (McGovern, 2003). One recorded drinking story was about a female named Yi Di. She accidently drank fermented grain and felt joyful afterwards. The she gave the alcohol to Emperor Yu. Yi Di was exiled by Emperor Yu after he drank the alcohol, because the

potential sickness that alcohol could affect his kingdom. Another drinking story was about a male named Du Kang. He was a shepherd. One day he forgot his lunch of cooked and husked sorghum in the mountain as he rushed to herd his sheep home to avoid a rainstorm. His lunch had fermented, when Du Kang returned to the mountain a few days later. He tasted the fermented lunch and felt joy as well. Du Kang and his family duplicated similar method to produce alcohol and spread the method to others for alcohol production as well. Therefore, Du Kang was regarded as the “God of alcohol”. These two stories display how differently Chinese viewed men and women with alcohol. Yi Di was punished but Du Kang was highly regarded and rewarded, which reflected how alcohol shaped the different characteristics of gender hierarchy in ancient China, which still influences the current drinking culture in China (McGovern, 2003).

Alcohol was essential for religious and cultural ceremonies in ancient China (Gately, 2009). Some of the drinking rituals remain in the contemporary drinking culture in China. Alcohol was regarded as a medium to assist people to communicate with the spirit world (the deceased and the gods). Excessive alcohol consumption commonly occurred in sacrifices to honour the ancestors (McGovern, 2009). The other cultural celebrations such as wedding and adulthood also structured around alcohol drinking (Heath, 1995). In the wedding ceremony, both parents needed to drink the alcohol that groom and bride offered to them to symbolize their acceptance of the marriage. Part of the adulthood drinking rituals was to offer alcohol to the ancestors, the mother, and the other relatives and guests. Alcohol became very prevalent in ancient China. However, some argued that the emperor's alcohol addiction might be the cause of the downfall of Shang Dynasty. Alcohol pushed the evolution of Chinese medicine as well (Tamang, 2010). The ancient Chinese believed that alcohol had the power of healing. Mixing alcohol with animal organs and variety of herbs to cure apoplexy, induce abortion, ease a difficult labour and to stop a heart attack are recorded in Chinese medicine. Using alcohol to heal sickness or for the purpose of enhancing wellbeing is still widely used in China (Read, 2000).

Alcohol's influence spread further in the Classical Period of China. The production, consumption and trading of alcohol continued influencing the development of Chinese medicine, characteristics of gender identities and social hierarchy. Furthermore, alcohol

regulation helped form and maintain the civilization of governments in the society (Heath, 1995). In Tang Dynasty, Chinese social and economic development reached a peak period in history. The development of bureaucracy and social class became more important for the society (Ebrey, 2010). Alcohol contributed to the civilization of the government's role and social mores. Alcohol continued playing vital role in the cultural and political rituals and ceremonies (Heath, 1995). The techniques of making grape wine were spread to China in Tang Dynasty. There are still arguments about if Chinese were the earliest to distil alcohol, however some Chinese documents record information about distillation from 116 BCE (McGovern, 2003). Alcohol shaped some of the cultural customs in Classical China. For example, serving alcohol to guests was an essential ritual for Chinese to show their respect to the guests, which has been remained to the twenty-first century in China (Gately, 2009). Furthermore, wine drinking also separated the elite, privileged class from the low social class. Due to the prevalence of wine drinking among artists and poets, many talented famous poets, like Wang Ji, Li Bai, expressed their appreciation of wine drinking via their poems.

Alcohol also structured the celebration rituals for Chinese festivals, and worship procedures for religious activities (Paper, 1995). For example the drinking rituals in the celebration of the Spring Festival and the alcohol house in the Festival of the Dead parade. Alcohol played an important role in many of the celebrations for life changing events as well, such as wedding and celebration for new-borns. Drinking ritual also appeared in war field to bless the victory and prevent future battles due to the invasion from evil spirits (Paper, 1995).

Chinese started to notice the negative consequences of alcohol abuse as early as 200 BCE (Gately, 2009). Therefore, Chinese regulated the use of wine and spirits, both legally and socially. For instance, the prohibition of producing a certain type of alcohol was documented in 147 BCE. Alcohol related negative physical and behavioural impacts were also recorded in *Nei Jing*, which is a well known Chinese medical book in Han Dynasty (206 BC to 220 AD) (Read, 2000). Alcohol was prohibited by Buddhists. Excessive alcohol consumption appeared to decline as the result of the prevalence of Buddhism in China (Blackburn, 2009).

The drinking culture has changed dramatically in late twentieth- and early twenty-first centuries, since the Chinese government opened their door to the international market (Zhang, 1982). More foreign liquor and larger amount of alcohol were purchased by Chinese. The production, consumption and trade of alcohol increased tremendously in China since 1990s, especially for beer. By the end of twentieth century, China became the second largest beer producing country in the world just behind America. In the late 1990s, almost twenty percent of the advertisements on TV were about liquor and drinking, which can be the contributor to the significant jump in the production, consumption and trade of domestic and international alcoholic beverages in China in late twentieth- and early twenty-first centuries (Gately, 2009). Due to the globalization, more foreign liquor sold in China since 1990s. However, some traditional Chinese alcoholic drink, like baijiu, still maintained its popularity in China. Alcohol still played a crucial role in cultural festivals, important celebrations even in the contemporary Chinese drinking culture. For instance, using Tusu-an alcoholic drink in the most important festival for Chinese-the Spring Festival to wish prosperity, good health and luck in the new year. Another example is drinking alcohol in wedding ceremonies to symbolize groom and bride's families merging into one big family. So some traditional Chinese drinking rituals still remain in the current Chinese drinking culture, even under the influence of western drinking culture (Paper, 1995).

Chinese drinking patterns also changed due to the political development and the globalization of Chinese market. Alcohol consumption has increased dramatically since the Cultural Revolution ended in 1976 (Zhang, 1982). By the end of the twentieth century, alcohol consumption doubled in China, compared to the figure in 1976. It became more prevalent among the new elite, businessmen to consume expensive and large amounts of liquor to show off their social and economic status (Berger, 1985). Drinking games that encouraged binge drinking became fashionable for them. Therefore, it was not uncommon to see these new elites display public drunkenness after some drinking sessions. However, traditionally public drunkenness was despised. Therefore, the social norms of displaying drunkenness in public domains have shifted to be acceptable among the privileged new elite class (Zhang, 1982). The rapid growth of Chinese economy has led to the enormous

rise of the alcohol consumption in China. One fifth of the world's liquor was consumed in China by 2006. Chinese favour high alcohol content liquor, consume the most spirits in the world – 3.6 billion litres annually. Furthermore, consuming expensive spirit to indicate one's economic ability became prevalent among the new elite class (Gately, 2009).

Alcohol drinking related problems rose as the result of the increase in alcohol consumption in China. It appeared harmful drinking behaviours occurred more often among males than females, so more men had drinking problems than women in China. Evidence showed that alcohol drinking related mental health and addiction problems increased dramatically in the late twentieth century (Gately, 2009). Traffic accident caused by drinking and driving rose significantly as well. “Alcohol clubs” that are like Alcohol Anonymous, were set up to support Chinese who were recovering from their drinking addiction. Chinese government raised alcohol tax, intending to minimize alcohol consumption in early twenty-first century. The price of alcohol, especially imported foreign liquor became expensive and less accessible to the general public (Heath, 1995). However, it perpetuated the gap between the new elites and the lower class in China (Gately, 2009).

However, not all contemporary Chinese drinking culture involved risky alcohol consumption behaviours (Blackburn, 2009). Many Chinese are accustomed to slowly sipping alcohol while dining. Social drinking is more prevalent in China than solo drinking, which can be considered less likely to develop alcohol dependence (Tamang, 2010). Some Chinese are genetic deficiency and cannot break down alcohol, which could cause a flushing of the face or neck after drinking alcohol. This can be a protective factor to prevent bingeing alcohol (Luczak et al., 2004). Moreover, there is still a large number of Chinese, who do not drink alcohol at all (Blackburn, 2009).

In summary, the production, consumption and trade of alcohol is embedded in all areas of the civilization and culture in China (Heath, 1995), for example classifying the social hierarchy, shaping the gender identities (McGovern, 2003) and developing Chinese medicine (Read, 2000). The regulation of alcohol helped form and maintain governments, moral and laws in the society. The contemporary Chinese drinking culture retained some of the traditional drinking values. However, the globalization in China modernized and

westernized the contemporary drinking culture in China (Zhang, 1982). A new drinking trend of binging on expensive liquor among the new elite businessmen to exhibit their economic status became prevalent in China. Chinese also faced the alcohol abuse related problems due to the significant increase of alcohol consumption since the end of the Cultural Revolution and the open trade market to the world. Therefore, the westernized social support organizations started appear in China (Gately, 2009).

Alcohol Use in New Zealand

Beer is the most popular alcoholic beverage and one of the earliest alcohol drinks for New Zealanders. The first New Zealand beer was made in 1770s (Donaldson, 2012). Captain James Cook brought the civilised English culture and products, including the English beer, before fermentation was fully understood in New Zealand. In the following 60 years, alcoholic beverages were commonly used by whalers, sealers and various adventurers to deal with their loneliness, anxiety and boredom. Beer for the English was as important as wine for the French. Due to the dramatic increase of the English migrants to New Zealand, the popularity of beer increased dramatically in the new colony. Beer was regarded as the ideal “thirst-quencher” as its low alcohol content and bitterness. Neither spirit nor wine quenched the common thirst as efficiently as beer. Therefore, beer was to be the most popular drink among workers in physically demanding occupations. Even in the contemporary New Zealand drinking culture, beer’s popularity among the labour works is still inevitable (Boillinger, 1967). However, the Irish and Scottish favoured their whiskey tradition, the aggressive behaviours induced by whiskey binging affected the reputation of whiskey drinkers in the new colony. Beer on the other hand, had lower alcohol content and less likely to cause the severe disordered behaviours than the high alcohol content spirits. So beer was also more socially accepted by the community than the other alcoholic drinks. Beer was normally associated with masculinity and became the blokes’ drink because of its bitter taste and the mass quantity required to drink, which was not suitable for females. Beer drinkers were perceived as lacking in intellect and often in lower social economic class, so the society looked down the beer drinkers (McLauchlan, 1994). Whiskey was the most popular alcoholic drink among working men until early 1900s. People drank whiskey neat or with soda water. Some migrants used whiskey-the high alcohol content drink to get

intoxicated to escape from boredom and loneliness in the new country (Boillinger, 1967), which is still not uncommon among migrants in the twenty-first century (ALAC, 2012). As the development of alcohol industry was growing, the government implemented a whisky tax. Because of the increasing problems due to the excessive alcohol consumption, especially whisky induced aggressive behaviours in the community, the New Zealand government set up alcohol legislation in an attempt to minimize negative impacts of alcohol abuse (Don, 1995).

Wine drinking and viticulture was not mainstream Kiwi drinking culture in the early stage of colonisation in New Zealand. As the majority of the new settlers in New Zealand were English, where beer was far more prevalent than wine, wine was perceived as the elite's choice of drink and most of the wine was imported from overseas rather than locally made wines. After World War II, the returning soldiers brought a new trend of wine drinking to New Zealand. Followed by the increasing migrants from Greece, Italy and Yugoslavia, where wine was an integral part of their lifestyle, New Zealanders started appreciating wine and became more passionate about viticulture. The production and consumption of wine prospered in the next 20 years (Courtney, 2003).

The legislation of alcohol did not start smoothly in New Zealand. The government implemented temperance in order to minimise drunkenness and alcoholism in the society. However, the laws were so broad, and the administration of the laws heavy-handed enough, that moderate and law-abiding citizens were also penalised (Boillinger, 1967). The prohibition of alcohol and temperance eventually became a failure, although some argued that it raised some awareness of the pitfalls of alcohol for New Zealanders. The prohibition of alcohol was officially removed for New Zealanders in 1987 (Don, 1995). A few new drinking trends appeared during the temperance such as "six o'clock swill". In 1917, public drinking domains such as pubs and bars were forced to close at 6p.m. A strategic marketing plan advocated by the alcohol providers was heavily promoting fast alcohol drinking in the "golden hour" between 5 and 6p.m. It became many Kiwi working men's daily routine-heading to the pub straight after a hard working day, consuming alcohol to chill out and guzzling hard and fast a few more drinks just before the six o'clock legal closing time, then going home with mild to moderate intoxication. Beer was the most

popular drink in pubs and bars (Donaldson, 2012). Due to its low alcohol content, the effect of alcohol would not be noticeable until a fair big volume consumed. Also beer is the blokes' drink. Speed became the essence of the beer drinking culture. However, New Zealanders voted to allow the public drinking domains to open until 10 o'clock in 1967, some traits of the "six o'clock swill" still remained to the current Kiwi drinking culture (McLauchlan, 1994). The "six o'clock swill" was male dominated. Back then, women seldom drank alcohol in public domains. It was still socially unacceptable for most Kiwis that females drank alcohol like blokes in public. Remaining the characteristics of the traditional gender role was still important around that time. The drinking culture among youth was affected by the swill as well. Their role model parents enjoyed the "six o'clock swill" –binging alcohol fast in the "golden hour". It was not uncommon to see youth sneaking alcohol into alcohol prohibited venues like theatres to declare their rebellious spirit to the authority in 1960s (Donaldson, 2012).

The swill also enhanced one of the characteristics of the Kiwi lifestyle – egalitarianism, which is almost the total opposite of the collective oriental culture (Boillinger, 1967). Therefore, huge culture adjustment occurred among Chinese migrants, including their drinking culture as well. In 1960s, as it was limited to one or two hours to enjoy the drink before the legally required closing time, time was precious, so establishing social hierarchy and drinking rituals dropped to the least important thing. It was common to see a mix of people from different social-economic classes mingling and exchanging different views while drinking in public venues like pubs and bars. It was perceived as good manners to listen and consider other people's point of views, which reinforced Kiwis' openness to diverse opinions (Boillinger, 1967).

In 1960s, the revolutionary changes of liberation and freedom spread widely in the western world including New Zealand (Chapman, 2005). Youth celebrated their liberation by gathering in the pubs and drinking more alcohol than younger generations had in the past. Experimenting drugs recreationally commonly occurred among youth. Underage alcohol drinking became more prevalent than before. Drinking wine became legal in restaurants in 1961. Alcohol was allowed to be served until 10 o'clock in public domains in 1967. The legal drinking age remained 21 years old. Young women became more rebellious in the

era of freedom and liberation. Beer and cider started appearing in women's gathering and parties. However, wine was the most desired alcoholic choice for females and beer remained his popularity among Kiwi males. The production and consumption of whiskey was pushed to a next stage for New Zealanders as well. The New Zealand locally made whiskey was born on 22nd of February 1974. Whiskey tasting became fashionable for Kiwis to show off their sophistication (Don, 1995).

In the next two decades, New Zealand drinking culture changed tremendously. Females started drinking in public, of course in a more sophisticated manner, such as drinking a glass of wine in a restaurant. It started becoming more socially accepted seeing female staff working in pubs or bars or females drinking beer in pubs or bars (Casswell & Bhatta, 2001). However, due to the popularity of wine and Kiwi's excitement of tasting locally made whiskey, beer consumption in New Zealand dropped from 4.8 litres per head in 1989 to 3.2 litres in 1999 (Stewart, 2002). At the sametime, alcohol drinking related social problems such as drinking and driving and pub violence increased in New Zealand (ALAC, 2009). Being a nation that was well-known as having do-it-yourself ethic, home brewing was one of the important features of Kiwi drinking culture, especially in the post war period. Inviting a few friends with the same DIY passion and sharing some home brewed liquor together was very prevalent in New Zealand in 1950s. Sundays became the most common day to celebrate the achievement of home brewing with friends (McLauchlan, 1994).

Wine industry flourished rapidly in New Zealand in the 1990s and early twenty-first century. It was fashionable to invest in vineyard and wine production in the 1990s. The number of vineyards in New Zealand almost doubled in the last decade of the twentieth century. In 2002, approximately 23 million litres of New Zealand wine was exported overseas. New Zealand wine became one of the best quality wines in the world. Kiwi drinking culture also transformed to a new era in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century (Howland, 2014). Wine tasting brought enormous attraction from overseas tourists as well as local Kiwis. Excessive alcohol consumption from wine tasting tours became prevalent in New Zealand. Moreover, wine drinking was regarded as a symbol of sophistication. Wine became one important feature in business and political celebrations.

Drinking expensive wine to indicate one's high social-economic class was the new trend among the new elites (Courtney, 2003).

In current era, alcohol drinking became more liberal in New Zealand. In 1999, the legal drinking age dropped to 18 years old (Cagney & Dalmer, 2007). Kiwi youth started drinking at a younger age (ALAC, 2009). Youth drinking related social problems, such as youth wandering around liquor stores and alcohol related youth crimes, started getting attention from New Zealand public (Ameratunga et al., 2011). Especially the considerable increase of alcohol related traffic accidents among youth since 1999 (CYMRC, 2011). In the new century, it was not uncommon to see teenagers drinking spirits; however, it was very rare prior to 1999. The risky drinking behaviours among youth became more extreme; youth consumed higher alcohol content liquors and teenagers had longer and more frequent drinking sessions in the twenty-first century. In addition, evidence showed that New Zealanders' alcohol consumption rapidly increased in the twenty-first century as well (Cagney & Dalmer, 2007). Alcohol has flooded the Kiwi society. Alcohol is almost accessible everywhere in New Zealand (Cameron et al., 2010), for example liquor shops (Cameron et al., 2013), bars, pubs, night clubs, supermarkets (Booth et al., 2008) and restaurants (Cameron, Cochrane & Simon, 2013). Showing drunkenness in public became more common in the new century, for example, after a binge drinking session, the vomiting venues shifted from private places to public places. Moreover, it became more socially accepted that females drink alcohol in public venues (Kypri et al., 2007). And as the result of the equal human rights and the liberation of feminism in New Zealand, drunkenness among women is not uncommon either (Lyons & Willott, 2008). Another alcohol drinking related phenomena was the increasing harmful drinking behaviours among college students such as prolonged drinking sessions and alcohol binging provoking drinking games (Cousion et al., 2008).

In conclusion, alcohol is an integral part of New Zealand history and lifestyle. From when Captain Cook brought the first beer to New Zealand to the mid-1900s, alcohol use became increasingly liberal, not just of liquor law, but also the attitudes towards drinking; until the contemporary Kiwi drinking culture of freedom; alcohol contributed to the civilization and development of New Zealand socially, culturally and politically.

Alcohol use, Mental Health and Immigration

New Zealand has depended on migration for its economic development and growth. New Zealand is one of the highest migrant-receiving countries in the world (Chapman, 2005). The 2006 Census data showed migrants as an increasingly significant proportion of New Zealand population. One of five New Zealanders is born in another country, compare with one in eight people in the United States of America and one in fifteen in Europe. New Zealand society is rapidly increasing in diversity. Refugees and migrants from a variety of cultural backgrounds now comprise a distinct, significant, and very visible component of the country's demographic profile. Therefore, the contemporary drinking culture in New Zealand also displays diverse themes.

Alcohol use behaviours among migrants are complex and likely influenced by many factors, including social norms and mental health. Acculturation is one factor that has been most frequently studied in relation to alcohol and other substance use disorders among immigrants (Presley, Cheng, & Pimenel, 2004). Importantly, the level of acculturation is strongly associated with socio-demographic factors (e.g., gender and age), and socioeconomic factors (e.g., education and family income) (Chung, 2001). Immigrants face a variety of problems upon arrival in a new society. For example language difficulties, cultural differences, ethnic discrimination, family separation, and loss of social networks, valued social roles, identities, and occupational position are the common challenges for new migrants (Claassen, et al., 2005). According to the acculturative stress model, the stress that caused by cultural conflicts and lack of social economic resources may lead to alcohol use and alcohol abuse disorders (Wong & Wong, 2006). Studies of immigrants suggested that the psychological distresses caused by acculturative stressors were related to alcohol and other substance use disorders. For example, the tremendous psychological distress that Southeast Asian immigrants and refugees face can trigger their increase of alcohol and substance use in western societies. Furthermore, alcohol and substance abuse is commonly related to underlying mental health problems in both general and clinical populations (Helzer & Pryzbeck, 1998). In contrast, according to assimilation model, as the result of acculturation, migrants have adapted the culture and customs from the new

host country, their patterns of alcohol and substance use begin to parallel those of their new environment (Zamboanga, et al., 2009). A study of drinking behaviours among Asian college students indicated 15 per cent of them were considered to be heavy-moderate to heavy drinkers (O'Hare, 1995), as the norms among these Asian students were to advocate "American style" drinking (Kitano et al., 1989). Moreover, studies indicated that the alcohol abuse behaviours have increased considerably in the second generation of Asian immigrants and refugees, which identifies as the consequence of acculturation to the mainstream drinking norms in western societies (Brown, et al., 2005). In addition, getting stuck while assimilating is also stressful and a risk factor for alcohol-use disorders (Brown, et al., 2005).

There is a research gap in understanding alcohol use behaviours among migrants with different migration experiences, especially for migrants who are members of minority ethnic groups (e.g., Chinese migrants as one minority ethnic group in New Zealand), who may be more socially isolated than mainstream communities, and their risky drinking behaviours may be different. A study explored the association between migration related factors, including duration of living in the new host country and risky alcohol consumption. The findings indicated that international immigrants were at higher risk to have risky drinking behaviours within the first 5 years living in the new host country, however, domestic migrants tended to have risky drinking behaviours after having lived in the new place for longer than 5 years (Loue, & Sajatovic, 2009). The findings above can assist health professionals to identify risky drinking behaviours among migrants, who may be more marginalized from the communities than mainstream population. However, gender specific findings were not identified in this study, more research of female migrants' drinking behaviours are needed to understand the female immigrants' drinking patterns in more depth.

Asian immigrants are commonly regarded as the "model minority" due to the low rates of alcohol and substance abuse among this ethnic group (Uba, 2003). For example, 1992 National Health Interview Survey [NHIS] found that approximately a quarter of Asian-American youth (12 to 20 years of age) consumed alcohol at least once within the past 30 days (vs. 43.8% whites). In New Zealand, the Chinese population in general presented

better than Europeans on many health indicators: life expectancy, avoidable mortality and hospitalisation, surgical intervention rates, alcohol and substance abuse rates, child and women's health (Ministry of Health, 2000). The 2002-2003 Asian Health in Aotearoa survey indicates that Asian immigrants are less likely to gamble, smoke, drink or use cannabis than the overall population (Scragg & Maitra, 2005). However, evidence indicated the increased risky drinking behaviours among Asian immigrants even with a drop of total alcohol consumption level, compared to their pre-migration stage (Ames & Bennett, 1985). Asian is the fastest-growing ethnic group in the United States, therefore, the etiology of alcohol and substance use in this group becomes more important (Varma & Siris, 1996). However, Chinese migrants comprise the fastest-growing ethnic minority population in New Zealand; few studies have been done to understand the etiology of drug and alcohol in this group.

Evidence revealed cultural specific factors can significantly influence an individual's alcohol and substance use, especially in ethnic minority population (Unger, 2007). Therefore identifying the cultural specific factors and understanding the mechanism of how these factors influence the individual's alcohol and drug use are essential (Zane & Sasao, 1992). Collective culture such as interdependence, moderation and interpersonal responsibility are considered to be the protective factors to prevent alcohol and drug abuse in Asian population (Au & Donaldson, 2000; Chi et al., 1989). However, immigrants' traditional values and behaviours will be modified over time (Kitano, 1989), which can influence their alcohol drinking beliefs, norms and behaviours (Li & Rosenblood, 1994). The factors that can affect the immigrants' drinking patterns include length of time in the country, availability and cost of alcoholic beverages, and the amount and quality of interaction with mainstream culture (Kitano, 1989). Studies showed that assimilating into mainstream culture contributed to the increasing alcohol and drug consumption among Asian immigrants in the western society (Hahm et al., 2004). Acculturated Japanese and Chinese students, for example, drink more than less acculturated peers from the same ethnic background (Sue et al., 1979). However, it does not mean the level of acculturation process always equals to the level of increased alcohol consumption among Asian immigrants (Kitano et al., 1992). For example, a study showed that the alcohol consumption of Chinese American first-year college student was 4 times greater than those

in China. However, the risk of increasing alcohol bingeing did not appear among Korean American first-year student. The findings of this study can be explained as the result of acculturation. Males in Korean display higher rates of alcohol abuse and dependence than males in the United States (Helzer et al., 2004). Acculturation for Korean American can lead to reduced risky alcohol drinking behaviours (Hahm et al., 2004). However, acculturation had the opposite effect to Chinese migrants' drinking patterns in the United States due to the lower alcohol consumption and alcohol abuse and dependence ratios in China compared to America. This finding contributed to the more in depth study of the particular cultural factors among Asian subpopulations. However, the mechanism of how the acculturation process affects Asian migrants' alcohol and drug use are still unclear, e.g., which specific acculturation factors are the main influential factors that contribute to the change of Asian alcohol drinking patterns (Beauvais, 1998).

As alcohol and drug use often initiated and escalated during adolescence (O'Malley et al., 1998), studying alcohol and drug use behaviours among Asian youth can explore the possible cultural specific factors and how these factors influence Asian youth's substance use. However, the data exhibited low prevalence of alcohol consumption and alcohol abuse among Asian-American youth, research indicated the increasing risk of excessive alcohol use while more acculturation processed into American drinking norms (Uba, 1994). One study demonstrated that a small proportion of Asian high school students who drank heavily actually consumed more than their heavy drinking non-Asian peers (Barnes & Welte, 1986). Studies showed psychosocial factors played significant roles in influencing Asian adolescents' alcohol and drug using patterns (Hahm et al., 2004; Hahm et al., 2004). An American national survey of Asian adolescents revealed that parental alcohol drinking patterns significantly affected male adolescents' drinking beliefs and behaviours not only during their teenage period but also had a lifetime influence (Hahm et al., 2004). However, limited research has been done to explore the risk and protective factors of alcohol and substance use among Asian youth (Harachi et al., 2001). Furthermore, there is lack of studies to identify the specific alcohol and substance use patterns among Asian subpopulations (Wong et al., 2004). Even though many epidemiology reports revealed that Asians had lower alcohol and substance use rates than other ethnicities (Kitano and Chi, 1989), evidence exhibited different alcohol and drug use patterns across Asian subgroups

(Wong et al., 2004). Failure to identify the specific alcohol and drug use factors among different Asian subgroups can lead to underestimating the prevalence of alcohol and substance abuse issues among Asian population (Wong et al., 2004). Studying the cultural specific factors that relate to alcohol and drug use among Asian youth can broaden the existing knowledge of substance use issues among this population. Both Asian youth and youth from other ethnicities share some common alcohol and drug using related factors (Harachi et al., 2001), including psychosocial factors such as perceived norms among adult and peer groups regarding alcohol and drug using issues (Chi et al., 1989). However, studies revealed the correlation between the acculturation process and alcohol and drug use behaviours among Asian youth (Hahm et al., 2004), in depth investigation on how the acculturation process affects Asian's alcohol and drug use culture is limited (Au & Donaldson, 2000).

Very limited studies exist that examine genetic difference in substance use by racial and ethnic groups and most have focused on alcohol and nicotine dependence (Hahm, Lahiff & Guterman, 2004). The strong correlation between genetic factors and the development of alcohol dependence is well studied (Luczak et al., 2004). Asians and Jews were found more commonly having alcohol dehydrogenase (ADH2*2) to reduce risks of alcoholism. It was reported that north-east Asian (Chinese Japanese and Koreans) commonly carry aldehyde de-hydrogenase (ALDH2) gene, which is the ALDH2*2 allele that leads to impaired metabolism of acetaldehyde (Goedde et al., 1992). Those who carry ALDH2 gene have allergic reactions to alcohol, such as hot flush on the face and neck (Peng et al., 1999). Therefore, presence of ALDH2 gene has proved to be a protective factor to prevent alcohol abuse (Sun et al., 2002) and alcohol dependence (Luczak et al., 2004). Although some study did not show significant correlation between ALDH2 and decreased alcohol consumption and risky drinking behaviours (Hahm et al., 2004).

Evidence suggested that Southeast Asian immigrants, refugees and their children in the U.S. are at increased risk for abusing alcohol and other drugs. A study of Vietnamese immigrants reported that almost half of the Vietnamese participants used alcohol to deal with their loss and emotional distress and almost 12 per cent reported using drugs for the same purpose (Yee & Thu, 1987). Another study of 120 Cambodian female immigrants in

the U.S revealed that more than half of the participants reported using alcohol or other substances to cope with the stress due to resettlement; almost 7 per cent reported a family member to have a drinking problem; using street drugs were more prevalent in adolescents than other age groups; and Cambodian female immigrants were more likely to abuse prescription drugs than illicit drugs (D'Avanzo et al., 1994). The factors that may cause the increased substance use among Southeast Asian are the traumatic experiences from war, separation from homeland, close family and friends, and stress from resettlement in the new society (Claassen, et al., 2005). High level of distress induced by those factors can lead to mental health problems with co-existing issues increased alcohol and substance use (Briggs, Talbot & Melvin, 2007). Stress related theories were suggested to explain the causation of the alcohol and drug use among Southeast Asian immigrants and refugees (Gushulak, 2010). For example stress caused by change (e.g., change of country; change of social communities); stress due to bereavement (e.g., loss of valued social roles, loss of close family and friends); stress caused by trauma (e.g., war and torture); stress due to acculturation (adapting to the new culture, learning a new language). All the stress due to reasons above can last for years (Briggs, Talbot & Melvin, 2007).

Moreover, evidence suggested the increased alcohol abuse behaviours are the result of acculturation among other Asian ethnic groups in America as well. Compared to China, easier accessibility to alcohol in western societies contributed to the increased alcohol consumption and alcohol drinking associated problems among Chinese male migrants (Chi et al., 1998). Chinese male immigrants have higher risk to develop risky drinking behaviours if they experienced family conflicts and social isolation due to immigration (Chin et al., 1991). Furthermore, Excessive alcohol consumption and risky drinking behaviours appeared to be more prevalent among Japanese females than Chinese, Korean and Filipino females in the U.S. (Kitano & Chi, 1989).

Little research has done to investigate the alcohol use patterns amongst Chinese communities in New Zealand. The proportion of ethnic groups within New Zealand's population has increased dramatically over the last decade. Asian is the third largest ethnic group in New Zealand, and Asian population almost doubled since 2001(Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Data from 2013 census reveal that 25.2% of the population is foreign

born, and the number of ethnic groups has exceeded 170. Asian countries were the most common place of birth for migrants in New Zealand in 2013. Amongst New Zealand population, the People's Republic of China was the second most common birth place in 2006 and 2013, moved dramatically from the fourth most common place in 2001 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The level of knowledge about problems associated with alcohol use appeared to be lower within Asian communities. Some argued that may be because of the genetic differences in alcohol response between Asian and other ethnicities. Studies showed some Asian have a physical “flushing response” to alcohol due to genetically determined impaired metabolism of acetaldehyde (Sun et al., 2002). However, Koreans demonstrate “low response” to alcohol and therefore present fewer physiologically noxious symptoms that might otherwise deter drinking (Duranceaux et al., 2008). Nevertheless, community-based studies found generally an inadequate knowledge of the harmful effects of alcohol and other drugs among this group (Chen & Long, 2008). Evidence further shows that Asian communities have a much lower rate of participation in health promotion, prevention and treatment programs and are less likely to receive needed care than the general population due to systemic and service barriers which include language and cultural factors, discrimination, stigmatizing attitudes and mistrust of mainstream service providers (Phan & Fitzgerald, 1996). Little is known about alcohol use among Asian migrants in New Zealand.

A number of factors justified the lack of investigations on drinking behaviours among Asian women. Women, who consume similar amounts of alcohol as men, after adjusting for body weight, are more vulnerable to poor health outcomes (Rahav et al., 2006). For example, moderate alcohol consumption may be associated with breast cancer, although some evidence suggests otherwise positive effects for cardiovascular disease (O'Byrne, 2009). Women are also more socially vulnerable to alcohol, such as increased risk of intimate partner violence than men (Rahav et al., 2006). Asian female migrants may have greater social risks for drinking than other women due to their dual immigrant minority status and a traditional culture that supports patriarchal culture (Min, 2001). Very little was known of drinking behaviours among Asian women because their minority status blocked their inclusion in most health services.

Research Aim

Migration is an uprooting, stressful and complex experience. The interaction between bio-psycho-social factors can affect immigrants' experiences of resettlement, acculturation and their coping mechanism in their migration journey. The differences between China and New Zealand are enormous politically, culturally, systematically and socially. Migrating to New Zealand can put Chinese migrants at a higher risk to have social, health and psychological problems, which can contribute to alcohol abuse and alcohol related problems. However, Chinese population has rapidly increased in New Zealand in the last decade; little research has been done to investigate the alcohol use patterns amongst Chinese communities in New Zealand. This research was conducted as a preliminary study to explore the factors that shape the alcohol consumption patterns, beliefs and the factors that could influence these alcohol consumption related aspects from migration, acculturation and social adjustment amongst both male and female Chinese migrants in New Zealand.

Chapter Three: Research, Design and Methods

Introduction

This Chapter demonstrates the process of designing and investigating the research. It discusses how the research methodology was decided and the reasons for choosing the current research methods. The explanation for choosing a qualitative research and utilizing thematic analysis approach to analyse the data is addressed. Then it explains participant selection process, how the focus group and individual interviews were delivered. The rationale of how the individual interview and focus group set up is addressed. The ethics consideration and approval is discussed by the end of the chapter.

Research Methodology

From a pragmatic point of view, the aim of research is not to gain access to an abstract truth independently from human experience, but rather generate understanding that will be useful to us. It is designed to answer our questions, hence research designs, methods of data collection and analysis cannot be in themselves 'wrong' but they can be more or less appropriate to the question (Madill & Gough, 2009). Therefore, due to the exploratory nature of the study, a qualitative research design using one on one interviews and focus groups was utilised.

Qualitative research has been widely used in studies in social work, health and sports field, especially in the last 20 years (Madill & Gough, 2009). Qualitative research is a form of social study that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live. One of the most common traditions for qualitative research is to understand the social reality of individuals, groups and cultures, and explore the behaviours, perspectives and experiences of people in their daily lives. Charmaz (2004) points out that we discover what is significant from perceptions and actions of people, who experience it in relation to time, place context, situation and people. The task is to learn the logic of the experiences we study and not simply to apply our logic on it. The goal is to understand the participants' logic of the meanings, the perceptions and the actions through

the process of learning. It is common that qualitative researchers do not define the variables before the research process begins. This is because they are interested in studying the participants' contribution to the meanings of events. Using predetermined variables would affect the participants' response, which could lead to the imposition of respondents' own ways of making sense of the phenomenon that is under investigation. A major concern and strength of qualitative research is its ability to illuminate the dynamic of process. A commitment to studying social life in process, as it unfolds, is a key feature of qualitative research. Qualitative researchers extend their analyses of the qualities of the phenomenon. They analyse not only the social processes but also how they form everyday life (Madill & Gough, 2009). The aim of this study was to explore and understand a social process among purposely selected samples. Qualitative research suits the explorative needs of this study. Qualitative research can lead to various outcomes, which is considered to be a major strength of this approach, which is something that experimental and survey research is often poor at identifying (Charmaz, 2004). This research was conducted as a preliminary study to explore the factors that shape the alcohol consumption patterns, beliefs and the factors that could influence these alcohol consumption related aspects from migration, acculturation and social adjustment amongst Chinese migrants in New Zealand. Therefore, qualitative research was selected to design this study.

Thematic analysis is one of the fundamental methods in qualitative research. It unwraps a series of themes; it identifies and analyses 'patterns of meaning within a data set' (Marks & Yardley, 2004, p. 209). It is 'some level of patterned response or meaning' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82) within a data-set. It is not a simply pattern counting of the collected data. It analyses the obvious and unspoken but hinted subtle ideas in the data (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012). Thematic Analysis is widely used in psychology, health and social research (Braun & Clarke, 2013). There are two ways to identify and analyse themes in thematic analysis: the theory-driven way and the data-driven way. In the theory-driven approach, the researcher uses a pre-conceptualized specific theoretical model to identify and analyse themes and patterns. In the data-driven approach, the researcher does not have a predetermined theoretical model to code and analyse collected data, the themes can be organically emerged from the raw data, which gives the researcher more flexibility to code and analyse themes and patterns (Joffe & Yardley, 2004). Therefore, the data-

driven approach was used in this study for data analysis. In a theme, it can contain declared obvious content (termed semantic theme) and unspoken subtle content (termed latent theme). Further interpretation is required to analyse subtle meanings from the obvious themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Both semantic and latent themes were identified and analysed in this study.

Research Methods

The research method selection depends not only on the research questions, but also on the actual research situation and on what will work most effectively in that situation, to give the researcher the data needed (Charmaz, 2004). Based on this consideration, semi-structured interviewing and focus groups were utilised in this study. Semi-structured individual interviewing was used in the first phase of the data collection. One of the advantages of individual interviewing is it can provide a confidential environment for the participants. Talking about alcohol drinking related issues can lead to some sensitive topics e.g., unsafe sexual activities while intoxicated, drink and drive behaviours. Participants may feel more comfortable to reveal these sensitive issues in an individual interviewing session than other settings. Focus Groups were used in the second phase of the data collection. The questions in the focus groups were to elicit further and richer discussions on the findings collected from individual interviews. One of the advantages of using focus groups is more diverse perspectives and more in depth discussions tend to be drawn out from focus groups.

The research questions formulated what the researcher wanted to understand; the interview questions were what the researcher asked people to gain that understanding. The aim was to find out whether the procedure for collecting data suited the procedure for interpreting them. Moreover, the researcher assessed the compatibility of the procedure for collecting data with the method of sampling cases, also checking the compatibility with the theoretical background of the study and the understanding of the research process as a whole.

Development of good interview questions requires creativity and insight, rather than a

mechanical conversion of the research questions into an interview guide or observational schedule (Willig, 2013). It depends fundamentally in the researcher's understanding of the context of the research, including the participants' definition of this, and how the interview questions and observational strategies will actually work in practice (Reinharz & Chase, 2002). While developing the interview questions, the researcher tried to avoid either concealing the research questions from participants, or treating them simply as subjects to be manipulated to produce the data that the researcher needs. The researcher emphasized the value of asking the interviewees real questions, which were the ones that the researcher was genuinely interested in, rather than deliberately design the questions to produce particular sorts of data. Doing this creates a more balanced and collaborative relationship between the participants and the researcher. The participants are also able to use their knowledge to respond to the questions in ways that the researcher might never have anticipated (Miles & Gilbert, 2005), which fitted the explorative purpose of this research. Therefore, semi-structured interviewing was applied for the first phase of the data collection in this study.

Semi-structured interviewing is the most widely used method of data collection in qualitative research in psychology (Leavy, 2014). This is partly because interview data can be analysed in a variety of ways, which means that semi-structured interviewing is a method of data collection that is compatible with several methods of data analysis including thematic analysis (Reinharz & Chase, 2002). The other advantage of semi-structured interviewing is there may be fewer logistical difficulties in arranging a series of semi-structured interviews with a small number of volunteers. There were 12 participants in this study, which is a relatively small sample size. Semi-structured interviewing was the compatible method to use for this research. Interviewing can be ideal for sensitive issues (Miles & Gilbert, 2005). Talking about alcohol consumption could lead to some sensitive issues, e.g., risky drinking behaviours, personal conflicts due to alcohol abuse. The individual interviewing provided a confidential and safe environment for the participants to talk about these issues. The researcher controlled over the data production, which increased the likelihood of generating useful data. Furthermore, the individual interviews explored more in depth of individuals' views and experiences that the participants would not have chances to explore in the focus groups.

Two important implications were considered while the interview questions were designed. First, the researcher anticipated how people would understand the interview questions, and how the participants were likely to respond. The researcher tried very hard to imagine how the participants would react to these questions, and got feedback from others on how they think the questions and interview guide as a whole would work. Second, the researcher pilot-tested the interview guide with people that as much like the participants as possible, to determine if the questions work as intended and what adjustments the researcher needed to make.

Focus groups were chosen to collect the second phase of the data in this research. Although focus groups have their limitations, they are considered an excellent tool for gaining insights into people's shared beliefs, cultural values or group norms (Willig, 2013). It is a particularly useful method for exploring understanding of illness and of health behaviours and is widely used in cross-cultural research and work with ethnic minorities (Phan & Fitzgerald, 1996). This study explored the factors that shape the alcohol consumption patterns, beliefs and the factors that could influence these alcohol consumption related aspects from migration, acculturation and social adjustment amongst Chinese migrants in New Zealand. Focus groups were one of the compatible methods for this study.

Focus groups have the potential to access forms of knowledge other methods cannot and generate completely unexpected or novel knowledge. They can provide an open, supportive environment in which participants talk in-depth on often quite sensitive issues – such as sex (Frith, 2000) or alcohol and drug addiction (Toner, 2009) and the interaction between participants can produce elaborated and detailed information. Focus groups are excellent method to produce a wide range of views, perspectives, or understanding of an issue (Underhill & Olmsted, 2003). There are few researches done on alcohol drinking culture among Asian migrants in New Zealand. Focus groups can be a useful exploratory tool to start looking at under-researched areas, because they do not require any prior empirical knowledge about the issue (Frith, 2000). They can also be good for accessing the views of underrepresented or marginalised social groups (Wilkinson, 1999). One of the

reasons can be speaking with others, who have lots in common with them, may be less intimidating than speaking just to a researcher (Liamputtong, 2007). Focus groups also offer a potentially useful method for social change or activist related research. Taking part in a group discussion about a topic can have a 'consciousness-raising' effect on individuals, and lead to some kind of individual change (Wilkinson, 1999). Being part of research, in a group context, thus potentially results in a different consciousness among participants, and so research can become a tool to foster social change. Focus groups discussion might have raised the awareness of the change of drinking culture due to acculturation among Chinese participants. Focus groups can also be experienced as empowering – with sharing of views, which means that people can realise they are not so isolated in their experience or perspective. For these reasons, focus groups are noted as particularly suitable method for conducting research with people from less privileged and more marginalised communities (Liamputtong, 2007); they have been employed with participatory action research frameworks, to produce change (Chiu, 2003; Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). Due to the reasons above, focus groups were utilized to collect part of the data.

In the data collection process, the participants met with the researcher in two different occasions. In the first occasion, it was an individual interview. In the second occasion, it was a focus group discussion. It took approximately 1.5 hours for each occasion. The researcher and participants met at a time and place convenient to both researcher and the participants (first occasion-individual interview) and all the other members of the group (second occasion-focus group). The researcher is bilingual. Under the consideration of the potential English difficulties among the Chinese participants, the individual interview and focus group was conducted in the first language of the participants-Chinese, so people who were not fluent in English were heard. Tape recording had the advantage of capturing data more reliably than written notes; both of the sessions were tape recorded.

Participant Selection

Participant selection which is also called sampling, is the representation of individuals and subsets making up the population group from which results can be generalized or transferred (Light et al., 1990). Decisions about where to conduct the research and whom

to include in it were an essential part of the research methods. If the research is talking about one kind of information, the researcher needs to consider why this kind of information is important, and, from there, which other people should be interviewed. This is a good bias-controlling exercise (Palys 2008).

Qualitative methods texts typically recognize only two main types of sampling: probability sampling (such as random sampling) and convenience sampling (Light et al., 1990). This research utilized a third method of participant selection- purposeful selection (Light et al., 1990) or purposive sampling (Palys 2008), which is a typical way of selecting settings and individuals in qualitative researches. In this strategy, particular settings, persons, or activities are selected deliberately to provide information that is particularly relevant to the research questions and goals, and that can't be gotten as well from other choices. Weiss (1994) argued that many qualitative interview studies do not use samples at all, but panels- “people who are uniquely able to be informative because they are expert in an area or were privileged witnesses to an event” (P.17); this is one form of purposeful selection. The researcher was mindful that selecting those times, settings and individuals that can provide the information to answer the research questions is the most important consideration in qualitative selection decisions.

As the participants would be interviewed individually and have focus group discussions as well. The researcher was aware of their collective nature, as well as the individuality. Two key dimensions were considered in relation to participants: first was how similar they were, second was whether they knew each other (Liamputtong, 2011). All the selected participants in this study were Chinese drank alcohol in China and New Zealand, and they all had lived in New Zealand for a period of time. Furthermore, all of the participants had been seeking help from New Zealand Health Professionals (CADS-Community Alcohol and Drug Services) for their drinking related issues. They all met each other in an alcohol psycho-educational group, which made them acquaintances to each other. The advantages of having acquaintances for focus group discussions were the group discussion could lead to really rich and complex data; and readymade interactional familiarity already existed amongst the participants, which means the focus group could potentially run more ideally, with participants talking amongst themselves, discussion and (dis)agreeing with each

other, rather than just responding to the group facilitator.

The researcher was the interviewer for the individual interviews and the group facilitator for the focus group discussions. The researcher was aware of the 'dual relationship' with the participants. The researcher was mindful of not using their pre-existing relationship to pressurise the participants to participate in the research or to disclose information in the interview or the focus group. Due to the pre-existing hierarchical relationship (the researcher was the participants' counsellor). The participants were selected from discharged clients to prevent the potential coercion. Reinharz and Chase (2002) argued that some participants feel more comfortable disclosing sensitive information to someone who is broadly similar to them, meaning that for an effective interview, it is important to 'match' the major social characteristics of the participant and the interviewer (Shuy, 2002). The researcher was mindful of that. Therefore, the researcher and the participants are all Chinese migrants; originally from mainland China; mandarin is their first language; and all currently living in New Zealand.

Research showed that often only a small number of participants are needed to generate adequate data for qualitative research (Chase, 2002). Therefore, a small sample size of 12 participants was selected for the research. As the purpose of this research is focused on finding the influential factors for Chinese migrants' drinking pattern changes since they have moved to New Zealand, the country of origin for all of the participants is mainland China. The research covered a big range of migration period amongst the participants. The length of living in New Zealand amongst the participants is from 3 years up to 21 years. The age range for the participants is from 21 up to 61 years old. 5 participants were in their 20s, 3 were in their 30s, 3 were in their 40s and 1 was 61 years old, which reflected the nature of Asian migrants in New Zealand. The census in 2013 showed Asian people in New Zealand are youthful population: the median age of Asian people was 30.6 years. Three females and nine males participated in this research.

Consent for Interviews and Focus Groups

At the beginning of the individual interview, the researcher introduced herself to the

participant; appreciated the participant's willingness to take part in the project. The researcher also provided some light refreshment for the participant to enjoy during the interview.

Then the researcher thoroughly explained the Information Sheet to the participant, which includes:

- The purpose of the research
- The structure of the individual interview and focus group
- The explanation of the confidentiality of the data collection and client details.
- Participants rights
- The contact details of the researcher, the supervisor of the research.
- Professional Alcohol and Drug Treatment Services for participants' consideration, if they are concerned about their drinking issues, and would like to seek professional help for that.

The researcher gave the participant opportunities to ask any questions regarding the research. After the researcher had clarified the participant's questions, the Individual Interview Consent Form and the Focus Group Consent Form were brought up to the participant. The researcher explained to the participant about the terms of agreeing to the research. Also the researcher clarified the participant's questions about the Individual Interview Consent Form and the Focus Group Consent Form. Then the participant signed the form and gave the researcher his or her contact details if the participant was interested in receiving the findings of the research. The Information Sheet, the Individual Interview Consent Form and the Focus Group Consent Form were provided in Chinese and English versions. The English and Chinese version of the Information Sheet and Chinese version of the Individual Interview Consent Form and the Focus Group Consent Form were given to the participants for their reference. The researcher kept the signed English version of the Individual Interview Consent Forms and Focus Group Consent Forms.

Interviews

The researcher was mindful that it is not the whole person who was the focus of the interview, but rather a specific kind of knowledge or expertise that the interviewee was expected to have. The participants were seemed to have some particular knowledge about a particular issue or experiences (Leavy, 2014). The goal of the interview was to capture the range and diversity of participants' responses, in their own words. Good preparation is the key to the successful use of interview in qualitative research. A good interviewing guide, which is the series of questions that will guide the conversation with the participants, will enable the researcher to build trust or rapport with the participant, which is a key component in interactive data collection (Reinharz, 1993). The researcher tried to make the participants feel comfortable disclosing personal information to the researcher. The researcher was aware that rapport and well-planned questions were important for generating rich and detailed accounts relevant to the research questions. The interview questions were just guidelines for the interview structure. As they were qualitative interviews, the structure and questions were flexible and responsive to the participants. The researcher followed on unanticipated research relevant issues. Some unplanned questions were asked by the researcher spontaneously at times. Open-ended questions were widely utilized to encourage participants to provide an in-depth and detailed response. Moreover, linguistically appropriate questions and non-assumptive questions were utilized for interviewing as well. The researcher was very mindful of being empathetic, non-judgemental while delivering the interview. The researcher avoided questions that overtly or covertly criticise or challenge participants, and questions that can be perceived as threatening. (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The researcher played an active role in the interviews, co-constructing meaning with the participants. The researcher also reflected on how the researcher's practices and values might have shaped the data produced as well.

The process of delivering individual interviews is demonstrated below:

The interviews were delivered in a safe, comfortable and confidential place. After the participants signed the consent forms, the researcher then turned on the tape recorder to start data collection. The interviews were conducted in semi-structured ways. The

participants were asked the questions regarding their drinking patterns (how much alcohol consumption in one occasion, drinking frequency), drinking associated activities (friends' social activities, work related functions or drinking alone at home), drinking buddies (friends, family, workmates, random strangers or none others), socially accepted alcohol consumption, drinking norms, drinking beliefs (in China, after coming to NZ, any changes, how the changes happened). By the end of the interview, the researcher briefly debriefed with the participant from the interview, turned off the recorder, appreciated the participant's input again and lastly checked the participant's preference for the focus group time. Furthermore, as the researcher was bilingual, the participants were possibly more comfortable with communicating in Chinese than English. The individual interviews were carried out in Chinese. Recorded data were transcribed fully in the original language-Chinese and then translated into English.

Focus Groups

Focus groups are flexible in exploring unanticipated issues (Bloor, et. al., 2001). Due to the exploratory nature of this study, focus groups were utilised in the second half of the data collection. A mix of heterogeneous and homogeneous focus groups were used in this research. The first focus group was aimed for some homogeneity within the group. The participants were all mature Chinese businessmen. The purpose was to create an easy and familiar social environment, make participants feel comfortable, start from similar place, and to provide a shared basis for discussion. The second focus group is a more heterogeneous focus group (young males versus young females-aged early to late 20s) to bring more gender specific, different views, and produce a more diverse discussion. Of course the participants all carried multiple and intersecting personal, social and political identities, which hold salience for us at different times. Liamputtong (2011) recommended smaller size groups (three to eight participants) work best in terms of generating a rich discussion and are easier to manage. Smaller group sizes can be better for more sensitive topics, where there is more risk of distress or intense responses. Therefore six participants formed each focus group in this study.

The researcher was aware that the questions in a focus groups guide act as prompts to elicit

general discussion, the questions that could stimulate participants to respond and to agree and disagree with each other, rather than just answering the facilitator. Questions which 'open out' the conversation were good ones, more specific questions worked best to produce particular points. The researcher also reviewed the guide after conducting the first group. Ensuring that the researcher knew the guide really well was always important; it also assisted the facilitator-researcher to manage group dynamics more fully.

The researcher was aware that the arrival of participants was not without a few anxious moments, as they arrived, some refreshments were offered, and small talk was engaged. In Addition, the researcher was mindful that running a focus group involved both interviewing skills and group management skills. It involves being acutely attuned to the dynamics of groups, and the unstated processes that can go on in groups (such as power and silencing). Moderating involves a range of tasks, and the researcher's main one is to get people talking, and to gently steer the conversation to cover the sorts of issues the researcher wants to hear about, the job is facilitating, not control (Bloor et al., 2001). Ideally, the facilitator's involvement is quite organic, where the facilitator interjects at certain points to follow up on or seek clarification about something that's been said, or raise a new issue for consideration. The researcher's facilitation style was making minimal interventions to keep the discussion flowing and on target.

The expectation of the focus groups was that the data produced from the group discussion to go beyond what a series of single interviews would have provided. The participants were asked to share their views of the change of their perceptions of alcohol drinking. The questions were based on the findings from the first interview. Semi-structured focus group discussions were facilitated by the interviewer. The bilingual interviewer-the researcher delivered both of the focus group sessions. Both sessions lasted about 2 hours and were conducted in the first languages of the participants-Chinese, so people who were not fluent in English were heard. Tape recording has the advantage of capturing data more reliably than written notes; both of the sessions were tape recorded (Bloor, et. al., 2001).

The process of delivering focus group discussions is demonstrated below:

At the beginning of the focus group, the researcher introduced herself to the participants; appreciated the participants' willingness to take part in the project. The researcher provided some light refreshment for the participants to enjoy during focus group discussion. Then the researcher briefly reminded the participants about the purpose of the research, the structure of the focus group, the confidentiality of the data collection and client details, participants rights, the contact details of the researcher, the supervisor of the research and some professional Alcohol and Drug Treatment Services for participants' consideration, if they concerned about their drinking issues, and would like to seek professional help for that; then thoroughly explained the confidentiality issues of the focus group and the terms of agreeing to the focus group. The researcher gave the participants opportunities to ask any questions regarding the research and the focus group. The participants were asked to sign the Focus Group Consent Form and gave the researcher their contact details if they were interested in receiving the findings of the research. The Chinese version of the Focus Group Consent Form was given to the participants for their reference. The researcher kept the signed English version of the Focus Group Consent Form. Then the researcher turned on the tape recorder to start data collection.

The researcher encouraged the focus group members to briefly introduce themselves to the group before the start of the discussion. Then the participants were asked to share their views of the change of their perceptions of alcohol drinking. The questions were based on the findings from the individual interview. Semi-structured focus group discussions were facilitated by the researcher. Questions were designed to elicit information related to the following issues:

- Cultural norms, beliefs and attitudes towards the use of alcohol.
- Drinking patterns, including the most common kinds of alcohol beverages consumed, the size of glasses/ containers in which they are usually served, and the socially acceptable amount of alcohol consumed on one occasion.
- Differences in drinking patterns between the country of origin and New Zealand.
- The process of changing drinking related aspects since the migration (how did it happen?)

By the end of the focus group discussion, the researcher briefly debriefed with the participants from the focus group discussion, turned off the recorder, and appreciated the participants' input again. Furthermore, as the researcher was bilingual, the participants were more comfortable with communicating in Chinese than English. The focus group discussions were carried out in Chinese. Recorded data were transcribed fully in the original language-Chinese and then translated into English.

Data Analysis

Recorded data was transcribed fully in the original language-Chinese and then translated into English. Translated transcripts were summarized into both content and thematic analysis. Special attention was paid to the correlation between the change of alcohol using patterns, the concept of alcohol consumption and acculturation process. Finally, these themes were integrated into narrative descriptions.

The data collected from the individual interviews were the initial material for the project, the follow up focus group discussions explored more in depth information on top of the initial material collected from individual interviews. Therefore, the researcher did not ask the participants to edit the transcripts from the individual interview. In terms of the transcripts for focus group, in order to maintain the consistency of the information explored in the focus group discussions, the researcher did not ask the participants to review the transcripts, as it was impossible to repeat the same focus groups with the same participants in the same set of mind. The researcher did not gloss over relevant information that the researcher had known due to their previous relationship. Only the audio recorded information counted as data, not the things the researcher happened to know about the participant from other sources.

In working towards the final analysis, the researcher was mindful that it is impossible to completely analyse every detail of the large amount of data. The researcher only explored some aspects of the themes according to the research question. Therefore, the researcher defined the themes first, to state what was unique and specific about each theme. The researcher wrote theme definitions, which are considered a useful discipline to engage at

the beginning of the data analysis, as it forces the researcher to define focus and boundaries of the themes, to form a core statement what each theme is about (Leavy, 2014). For example, after the researcher had carefully and thoroughly read the transcripts several times, three main themes were identified from the data. Then the researcher defined the main definition of each theme. They were 1) cultural norms, beliefs and attitudes towards the use of alcohol, 2) the type of alcohol options and 3) the means to drink alcohol – how to drink. These definitions were the frameworks that lead the researcher to categorize the findings to the related themes. The researcher considered the external (e.g., environmental factors) and internal factors (e.g., group dynamics, client's demographic information) that could influence the interpretation of the data. Each theme was developed from selected aspect of the transcripts; which has a clear focus and purpose, is relatively independent, although the themes are related, and the subthemes in particular build on the previous analysis, and together the themes provide a rich, coherent and meaningful picture of dominant patterns in the data that address the research question. The researcher has carefully read through the transcripts and listened the recorded audio data several times; interpreted the data in context. The researcher was mindful that the explanation should be most reasonable, if there were other possible interpretations, these were considered and evaluated.

From all the coded and collated data for each candidate theme, the researcher selected the extracts that could be used to illustrate the different facts of each theme, and wrote a narrative around those extracts, which tells the story of each theme. The researcher was aware that the analysis had been described as a “deliberate” and “self-consciously artful creation” by the researcher (Foster & Parker, 1955). The data the researcher selected to quote and analysis were vital in convincing the reader of the analysis, so it is important to select these carefully. Ideally, the researcher needs quotations that are vivid, and strongly support the analytic point the researcher is making about the data (Foster & Parker, 1955). The researcher was mindful to identify the quotations across all data, which showed the core statement of a theme; other than just taking the quotations from some particular participant(s), whose statement was more appealing to the researcher.

There are two main ways data quotations can be treated in qualitative analysis. One is to

treat the quotations as illustrative examples; the other is to actually provide an analysis of the content of the quotation itself. In the illustrative approach, the researcher provides a rich and detailed description and interpretation of the theme, and data quotations inserted throughout the analysis as examples of the analytic points (Foster & Parker, 1955). The combination of both types was utilized in treating data in this research.

The data analysis moved from initial descriptive beginnings to more interpretative endings. While the researcher was analysing the data, the researcher was mindful of developing the analytic points beyond just summarizing the analysis of the data, and integrating literature into the analysis. The analysis interpreted the data, connected it to the research question and utilized related existing literature to support the data analysis. Linking the analysis to the literature is a vital part of any analysis, for both qualitative and quantitative research. Therefore, the researcher tried to locate the analysis in relation to what already existed, and showing how the researcher's analysis contributed to, developed further, or challenged what we already knew about the topic. For example: one finding from Focus Group 2-young adult group is easier accessibility to alcohol contributed to the increase of alcohol consumption among Chinese young adult migrants in New Zealand. The researcher linked this discussion with drinking related research in New Zealand among young adults' drinking patterns (Kypri et al., 2008) and some research in other western countries among Chinese male migrants' drinking patterns (Chi et al., 1998) to support these existing findings.

Ethics and MUHEC Approval

Research ethics are an important issue in planning and doing both qualitative and quantitative research. All social research involves ethical issues, but the character and importance of these varies (Mertens & Ginsberg, 2009). Qualitative research is often planned to be very open to, and adaptable to, what happens in the field. Methods used in qualitative research are less canonized than in quantitative research (Allmark, 2002). Therefore, the researcher was very mindful to protect the interests of those who were ready to take part in the study.

The researcher explained to the participants thoroughly about the interview and focus group procedure in the recruitment stage. Also the participants were notified clearly that they could decline to talk about any particular topic and withdraw themselves from the study at any time under the understanding that the information they provide would be retained. Furthermore, some information of professional alcohol and drug treatment services was provided to participants, if they were concerned about their drinking issues, and would like to seek professional help for that. Moreover, the researcher gave and explained to all the participants the research Information Sheet and Participant Consent Forms, which included the purpose of the research, the procedure of the data collection, participants' rights, confidentiality information, researcher and supervisor's contact details, and useful information for professional alcohol and drug services. Participants had opportunities to ask any questions relating to this research. The researcher clarified participants questions. Participants could also contact the research supervisor for further clarification if they wished. Both of the information sheet and the consent sheet were provided in Chinese and English versions. The original copy of signed English version was kept by the researcher. A copy of signed English version and a copy of Chinese version were given to the participants for their reference.

Furthermore, some of the participants might have had some therapeutic relationship with the researcher in the past. Therefore, the participants might be aware of the researcher's occupation and workplace. The researcher might be aware of the participants' clinical data regarding their alcohol drinking issues further than just contact details. Therefore, the researcher ensured that all the participants recruited for the project were discharged clients from CADS, which meant they had no further therapeutic relationship with the researcher, it was only simple researcher and participants relationship in the process. The researcher explained to the participants thoroughly about confidentiality, purpose of the research, the role of researcher and participants and participants' rights. The participants were also informed that they did not have to re-engage with the researcher if they were willing to seek further professional help regarding their alcohol drinking related issues, more information of alcohol and drug treatment service was provided to the participants at the end of the Information Sheet. The researcher was mindful of her role throughout the whole research process. No therapeutic strategies were provided by the researcher in the research

process. The findings of the research were only based on the data collected from the individual interviews and focus group discussions. The researcher had regular supervision with her supervisor to prevent any potential ethical issues.

Moreover, the researcher ensured that the participants' names were kept confidential, and they were not identified in the transcripts or any report from the research. Pseudonyms were used in any written information. The tapes which contained personal information were locked away and only accessible to the researcher and the supervisor. The consent forms, tapes and transcripts were stored securely for five years and then disposed of by the researcher's supervisor. In addition, the researcher was aware that the result of this research might reveal some information, which could stigmatize alcohol drinking related issues to Chinese migrants in New Zealand. The researcher ensured using objective and neutral wording to document the findings of the project. Also the researcher had regular supervision with the supervisor to prevent any potential discomfort to Chinese communities in New Zealand.

Approval from MUHEC to proceed with the study was revised in May 2013.

Chapter Four: Research Findings and Discussion

Introduction

This chapter focuses on discussing the findings of the research. A thematic analysis has been utilized to analyse the data. Three main themes and two additional findings are revealed. The three main themes are: 1) cultural norms, beliefs and attitudes towards the use of alcohol, 2) the type of alcohol options and 3) the means to drink alcohol – how to drink. Two additional findings that defined across all the three themes are: risk factors leading to alcohol abuse and protective factors preventing harmful drinking behaviours. Detailed data analysis of the subthemes of each main theme is displayed in the chapter. A brief conclusion of the findings is summarized at the end of the chapter.

Chinese migrants moved from a fast pace lifestyle, collective oriental culture, and an almost mono ethnicity country with few international migrants, to a more relaxed lifestyle, individualism dominated western culture and a multi-ethnicity country with a wide range of international migrants. Due to the vast differences between China and New Zealand, the drinking culture among Chinese migrants has changed in various ways.

Cultural norms, beliefs and attitudes towards the use of alcohol

Due to the cultural differences between China and New Zealand, Chinese migrants have changed some of their norms, beliefs and attitudes towards the use of alcohol, after they have lived in New Zealand for a period of time.

Firstly, it appears in China, alcohol is a crucial tool for bonding, networking and negotiating business in the commercial sector. However, as the trading cultural in New Zealand is very different from China, the need for drinking to establish good relationship is not as critical as in China. Therefore, the importance of Chinese business drinking ritual has lost its status in New Zealand. The conversation below demonstrates how a few Chinese businessmen expressed the different drinking cultures between New Zealand and China, and some changes they have made to adapt to New Zealand drinking norms.

The names of the participants have been altered. Words in brackets are the interviewer's responses. The data collected from Focus Group 1 and Focus Group 2 are indicated as (FG1) and (FG2). The data collected from individual interview are indicated as (Int).

Joe: *“Doing business in China, the margin of the profit they make is a grey area. The range can be quite big (yeah). Pre-negotiation drinking sessions are like a test for the two parties, in order to learn about the other company in more details, and figure out how big their profit range can be. (Yes) Therefore, establishing a good relationship is essential for cutting down the other company's profit margin” (Ok)*

John: *“Yep, definitely! It's a grey area, a big range of movement. Therefore, establishing a good relationship is essential.” (FG1)*

The conversation above explained the importance of drinking rituals in the Chinese commercial sector. Alcohol plays a very important role of bonding and negotiating for businessmen. Both Joe and John focused on the “grey area” of “the margin of profit”, emphasized drinking sessions are crucial to get to know more background information about the other company and establish a good relationship, in order to cut down the cost of the goods and services.

In the individual interview, Joe talked about more reasons of drinking rituals for Chinese tradesmen.

Joe: *It's very common that you have to gan bei a shot of Mao Tai in one go to start with, to show your sincerity of doing the business with the other company. (Ok) It's impossible to negotiate business without drinking in China”. (Why is that?) Well, doing business in China takes a lot higher risk than in New Zealand, as some businessmen may try to cheat, rip you off. So we have to be very cautious. (Of course) It's crucial to maintain good and strong social networks when doing business in China. Therefore, drinking, socializing for work is needed, and essential.*

Communal drinking is a social activity that strengthens culture bonds. These bonds

indicate positions of power and influence, thereby, establishing a social order within a community (Ames & Bennett, 1985). As Joe said “*It’s impossible to negotiate business without drinking in China*”. It indicated that drinking rituals have been established in the Chinese trading industry. These drinking rituals are marked by the level of consumption of alcohol during the activity, and as a whole, a particular body of rituals form together to determine the social networks required for the maintenance and perpetuation of a culture. As Joe referred “*It’s crucial to maintain good and strong social network to do business in China*.”. It showed the function of drinking ritual is to establish and maintain a good business network, in order to prevent being ripped off by dishonoured businessmen, which is “*essential*” in China. There are precise rules about ritual behaviour that are often non-verbally recorded, so they can only be learned either through lengthy exposure and involvement in a culture, or under the sponsorship and guidance of a member in the drinking ritual society. These rules are fluid over time, only remaining static until a particular event or change in the group requires a consequent change in the rules (Barr, 1999). The rule in this case is to drink a shot of an expensive Chinese spirit first to “*show your sincerity of doing the business to the other company*”. Sometimes a drinking ritual following a toast can involve draining a drink in a single draught, symbolising boldness and strength of character, such as “*gan-bei*” in China, which means “*dry glass*.” (Gately, 2009). Based on the conversation above, the “*gan-bei*” ritual rule can be very common in Chinese trading culture.

Drinking alcohol can also represent one's ability to spend disposable income on leisure activities (Courtney, 2003). It thus became a visible way to separate the middle- and upper-classes from the lower-class. Joe casually mentioned “*Mao Tai*” - an expensive Chinese spirit, which has high alcohol content (50% to 65%) in the conversation, subtly indicated his middle to upper socioeconomic class. In the earlier conversation, Joe mentioned: “*Pre-negotiation drinking sessions are like a test for the two parties*”, drinking expensive spirit indicated his company’s capability to afford the luxury alcoholic beverages, which indirectly showed his company’s socioeconomic status in the industry too. Evidence showed in the contemporary Chinese drinking culture, it became more prevalent among the new elites, businessmen to consume expensive and big amount of liquor to show off their social and economic status (Berger, 1985).

As the trading culture in New Zealand is very different from China, work related drinking sessions have lost the function of testing another company's socioeconomic status in the industry. Hence, Chinese migrants have to change their drinking rituals for New Zealand businessmen.

Joe: *“Relationship in the trading industry is simpler in New Zealand. (Yes) Businessmen in New Zealand have their criteria for the products. If you can't provide the service up to their standards, they will look elsewhere and won't have to get it from you. The criteria are very clear.(Yes) They hardly move their criteria even if we have a good relationship. Westerners business trading culture is very different from what we do in China.”*

Mark: *“New Zealand Business men are very clear with the product procedure, criteria, and do not have much room to negotiate on the margin of the profit. (So it does not make much difference, with or without the pre-negotiation drinking sessions when dealing with New Zealand businessmen) Yep.” (FG1)*

In the individual interview Alan also mentioned:

“It's a lot safer doing business in New Zealand. (Yes) Tradesman do not have to be concerned too much. The business system is much better developed in New Zealand. It's very easy for me to check a business' background and if their reputation is reliable. (Yes) For a business meeting, you have to accompany the Chinese businessman from the beginning to the end of the visit. However, Westerner's business meetings are a lot simpler. They will keep on doing business with you as long as they think your service is good. (Tell me a bit more about this please)

Doing business with New Zealanders is simple: negotiating business first, no drinking is needed; then drink alcohol to celebrate after the deal is done.(Yes) It's very simple to negotiate with New Zealanders, you don't have to arrange many entertainment activities to develop the relationship either. However, ren qing wei is a lot less though.”

“Simple” “simpler” occurred a few times in the conversation while talking about doing business in New Zealand. It indicated that due to the well-developed trading system in

New Zealand, it can be a very clear and straightforward procedure for Chinese to invest in New Zealand business. Chinese business migrants can feel safer doing business in New Zealand too. As Alan referred “*It’s a lot safer doing business in New Zealand*”. Also due to the well-developed trading system, there is no need to drink in order to check on the other company’s background information and capability of production. Therefore, the Chinese business drinking ritual lost its function of testing another company’s status. Hence, in New Zealand, personal relationship does not influence the margin of profit as much as it does in China, as Mark stated. Furthermore, according to Alan’s individual interview, there is no need to build up strong personal relationship with the New Zealand businessmen, as long as they are happy with the quality of your service, they will keep on working with you. However, work related drinking functions are a New Zealand tradition (ALAC, 2012). They play slightly different roles in New Zealand than in China. Usually such functions are an effective means of bonding with workmates and bosses, it is more about celebrating other than testing each other. As Alan referred no alcohol drinking while negotiating business, however, more alcohol drinking to celebrate after the deal is done. Work related drinking functions in New Zealand have their own protocols, based loosely on sensible consumption, but sometimes there are extenuating circumstances. On the other hand, Alan mentioned “*ren qing wei*”, which means personal bonding in Chinese, “*is a lot less though*”. It indicated some sadness. It showed losing the Chinese business drinking ritual can impact on lessening the feeling of bonding and belonging to a certain group of people for Chinese businessmen, despite the benefit of simpler business investigation in New Zealand than in China.

Secondly, as the result of simpler drinking rituals for businessmen in New Zealand, Chinese businessmen’s drinking friends have taken simpler roles as well.

Mike: Majority of the friends that I am drinking with in China are business related. (Yes). I need to keep in touch with them, because they can help link me within certain business networks. (What about friends to drink with in New Zealand) Hm... My friends here are very simple, mainly just friends, only a few are business related. And when we drink together, we merely talk about business or work. (Int)

Due to the multifunction that alcohol plays in Chinese businesses industry, the Chinese businessmen's drinking friends can be more complex in China than in New Zealand. Mark stated that majority of his social drinking occasions occurred with businessmen. The friends they drank with in China played dual or even triple roles for them (business partner, friends, and key person for networking). As Mike mentioned that they "*merely talk about business*" indicated that the friends that Mike drank with, did not seem to play multi-roles for him. Therefore, it indicated a simpler relationship between drinking friends and Chinese migrants in New Zealand.

Thirdly, New Zealand lifestyle can be perceived as more laid back and relaxed compared to fast-paced Chinese lifestyle. Therefore, Chinese migrants have learnt to slow down their pace, adapt to New Zealand lifestyle, and use alcohol more for relaxation other than work related socializing and networking.

The conversation below demonstrates some participants' views of different attitudes when drinking in China and in New Zealand.

Mike: In China, my brain is always busy, life is always busy. I always think of work even when I am out drinking. (So your brain never stops thinking about work?) Yep. That's true.

Alan: Back in China, I have a lot more business/work related drinking occasions. I still think about the strategies of negotiating business, even at a drink binging session. (So how often would you drink just for relaxing or socialising with friends and family?) Hmm very rare, I don't have time to do that. Maybe only 2-3 times a year, just during the big holidays, like Chinese New Year, and the Moon Festival.

Wayne: Exactly, there is no time to stop or pause in China. You go, go, go all the time. (How about the lifestyle in New Zealand? Any changes with regards to drinking for relaxation?)

Mike: Well, my lifestyle is definitely more relaxed in New Zealand, and I have more time to drink for relaxation. (Yep) Lifestyle here is more relaxed, less pressure from work. You don't have to work too hard to drink to network all the time.

Mark: "Yep, my mind can be empty here for a while. So I can have a drink just to chill out" (Yes)

Lee: "Also I am not worried if the phone is not with me all the time. I can just enjoy a drink without any disturbance (Yes) as the lifestyle is more laid back, slow, relaxed, not like in China, my phone is always ringing, I have to have my phone with me all the time."
(FG1)

Mike, Alan and Wayne even spoke in a faster speed when they talked about the lifestyle in China, which could also partially reflect their views of Chinese lifestyle. Alan mentioned it was very "rare" that he would have time to drink for relaxation in China, Wayne stated it was "go, go, go all the time" in China. Mike never stopped thinking about work in China. The above all indicated the fast pace working circumstances and stressful lifestyle in China. Alcohol merely plays a relaxing role for them in China. They started talking in a slower speed, when the conversation changed to New Zealand lifestyle. Mike emphasized "relaxed" a few times in his short statement. Mark concurred that he can "empty" his mind for a while in New Zealand. Mobile phones are a very important tool in the modern society to connect people with each other, either for socializing or for work related networking. Lee's phone rang all the time in China, which reflected that it was very rare that he would have time to just be by himself to relax, as he always needed to be alert. However, he could live without his mobile phone for a while in New Zealand, which indicated that the New Zealand lifestyle gave him more personal space. Therefore, drinking alcohol has become more of a relaxing activity for Chinese migrants, since they moved to New Zealand.

Fourthly, another result of adjusting from fast paced busy lifestyle in China to slower paced, more relaxed lifestyle in New Zealand is that Chinese migrants can use alcohol to cope with boredom, which very rarely occurs when they are in China.

The conversation below is from Chinese migrants in the age range of the late 30s to mid-60s:

Mark: When I am in China, business is the main purpose for drinking rather than relaxation. It really rarely happens that I drink because of boredom. (What about in New Zealand?) Well, because I have a lot more free time here, sometimes I drink when I am

bored and have nothing to do.

Joe: Yes, here in New Zealand, it's common that we drink in order to kill the boredom.
(FG1)

Both Mark and Joe talked about a common feeling -“*boredom*”, which they both experience when they are in New Zealand, which rarely happens in China. This indicated that using alcohol to deal with boredom can be one of the coping strategies for Chinese migrants in order to adjust their lifestyle from their country of origin-China to the new host country-New Zealand.

A similar theme is also found in the younger migrants group (early to late 20s – FG2) where alcohol plays a more important role within their social activities since moving to New Zealand.

Min: When I'm in China, I don't feel like drinking, also everyone else is busy. It's not very easy to find a suitable time for everyone anyway. (What about in New Zealand?) Here in New Zealand, everyone has lots of free time. I also have some extra cash from my part time job. And during the weekend, there is not much to do here. I just give my friends a call to see if they want to go out for a drink. (Yes)

Nick: And I can't recall any occasions in China where we just gathered for purely drinking however, it is very common here.

Abby: yes, when I hang out with my friends in China, it's always due to a reason like someone's birthday party, or graduation. Alcohol certainly helps make the atmosphere livelier; however, we don't really get together just because we are bored and only for the reason of drinking (Hmm)

Clark: Yes, exactly! When we were in China, the most common question asked for going out is “where are we going for food today” and in New Zealand, we normally ask “Where are we going for some drinks?” (FG2)

Min mentioned that “*everyone is busy*”, hard to find a “*suitable time for everyone*” when indicated a busy lifestyle in China. “*Lots of free time*”, “*nothing to do*” and “*bored*” occurred in the conversation, which reflected the relaxed New Zealand lifestyle and young

Chinese migrants trying to adjust to the more laid back lifestyle. They can easily get bored, and finding activities or other interests to fill up their free time is a challenging exercise. Alcohol has taken a greater role in their social activities since moving to New Zealand. Alcohol was only a small part of their gathering in China, never to be the main focus of the socialization. However, drinking becomes an important part and one of the main activities in their leisure time for socialization in New Zealand. Clark's statement reflected that drinking is one of the main social activities for younger Chinese migrants in New Zealand.

The conversation below explains some of the reasons that caused the shift of focus on social activities with younger Chinese migrants.

(Why do you think alcohol drinking became a more important part of your social activities since coming to New Zealand?)

Yong: Hm, I think in New Zealand drinking facilities are everywhere, like bars, clubs even around schools and business areas.

Eddy: yes, there is a liquor store, a supermarket and 2 bars, within 3 blocks of our school, which would never happen in China. (Yes)

Dave: Just look at any supermarket here, wine and beer covers a large percentage of the floor space. But in China, the alcohol section only takes up a very small part of the supermarket."

Jen: Also, we have night markets for eating everywhere and every night in China. In New Zealand, most of the eating places close quite early. Only the drinking places are open late at night. Everything else is closed. (FG2)

Easy access to alcohol appeared to be one main reason for raising the importance of alcohol for younger Chinese migrants' socialization. Eddy specifically described how many alcohol related facilities were around his school, indicating the convenience of obtaining alcohol in New Zealand, which is a lot less accessible in China. David talked about his observation of the supermarket, comparing the proportion of alcohol sections, which indicated for general public, alcohol may take a slightly more important role in New Zealanders grocery shopping than for Chinese. Research showed that the geographic location of alcohol outlets in New Zealand does affect young Kiwis social preference

(Kypri et al., 2008). As part of the acculturation that younger Chinese migrants may gradually adapt to more of a New Zealand social style rather than a Chinese social style. According to Jen's statement, it appeared that eating places are more accessible in China than in New Zealand "*eating everywhere and every night*", hence making the focus of Chinese gatherings more about eating out in China, however, it is more about alcohol drinking in New Zealand. Similar result was found in Asian American immigrants' studies, which suggested the increased alcohol drinking behaviours are the result of acculturation among Asian ethnic groups in America as well. Compared to China, easier accessibility to alcohol in western societies contributed to the increased alcohol consumption and alcohol drinking associated problems among Chinese male migrants (Chi et al., 1998).

Fifthly, alcohol drinking occasions create more opportunities for Chinese migrants to meet new people and expand their social support network.

The conversation below reflected some Chinese migrants' view of their alcohol drinking.

Vel: New Zealand is a foreign country for me. I am new here. Many people are strangers to me. I don't have very clear boundaries between friends and strangers. Not like in China, which is the environment that I'm familiar with. I have my own social network, social circle of friends; I have very distinct ideas about friends and strangers.

Nat: Certainly, in China, we already have solid social support, and a big circle of friends. There is no need to create opportunities to meet new people, or make new friends. Drinking occasions have never been an important tool to meet new people, as we have many other ways to make friends.

(How about here in New Zealand?).

Mel: Hm, here in New Zealand it's a foreign environment for me. The more people around me the more secure that I feel here. So I need to create a new social network for myself, I need to make more friends, and drinking to me, is a fast way to meet new people and make new friends. (FG2)

As the result of immigration, Chinese migrants lost their natural social support network in the new host country-New Zealand. "*new*" "*foreign*" appeared a few times in the

conversation, which indicated that having moved to New Zealand –a different, unfamiliar country has raised their needs to build up a new social support network, which was not needed in their country of origin-China. Vel mentioned there was not much noticeable differences for her, in terms of “*strangers*” and “*friends*” in New Zealand, which also emphasized on “*new*” and “*unfamiliarity*” again. Mel found drinking is a “*fast*” way to meet people and make new friends, which indicated her eagerness to build up a better social support network in a short period of time to cope with her anxiety and insecurity due to the lack of social support in New Zealand. Alcohol can be considered as a social lubricant for people interacting with each other. Drinking together indicates a connection to the social world and connections between people. Therefore, alcohol drinking became a more important tool for Chinese migrants to meet new people and being able to make more friends in a shorter period of time since they arrived in New Zealand. However, excessively using drinking as a tool to meet people and fill up insecurity and emptiness can lead to problematic consequences. More discussion on this issue will be explored in the later part of the thesis (Problematic drinking behaviours).

The conversation below explored some reasons that Chinese college students choose to meet new people in drinking occasions over other means in New Zealand.

Mel: In China, most of the papers are the same, if you study the same major in university. We would go to the same classes with the same group of classmates all the time. It's very easy to make friends like that. (Yes, studying in New Zealand is very different from China).

Jen: Yes, everyone chooses different papers and goes to classes at different times here, it's not really that easy to make friends among classmates.

Mel: Once I felt very sad that I couldn't find anyone to ask assignment related questions. (How about the social clubs in the university?) Hm, I am not really interested in any of the university social clubs. And I found in New Zealand, it's very common for college students to make friends in bars and night clubs. Also it's easier to make friends after a few drinks too.

(how about for you boys, do you feel the same?)

Nick: Hm, in China, for us boys, it's possibly more common to make new friends via online games than in bars or night clubs. We normally team up to play online games in internet

cafes, then we become friends later on. However, there are not many internet cafes here. (Hm) If there were as many internet cafes as bars and night clubs in New Zealand, possibly we would choose internet cafes to meet people rather than through drinking. I guess this is more the case for boys, rather than for girls. (FG2)

There are lots of differences between the educational system in China and New Zealand. In China, a group of tertiary students, who are doing the same program, form a class. All the students in the same class have the same schedule for their lectures and labs. However, in New Zealand, college students have more flexibility to choose their papers and lecture time, even when they study the same program. Therefore, the classmates of each university student can change frequently in New Zealand, which can cause fewer opportunities for students to know each other well enough to establish friendships. “*Same*” appeared a few times in Mel's statement about studying in Chinese universities, “*different*” appeared a couple of times in Jen's short statement. This reflected the steadiness of classmates for a college student in China and the nature of changing classmates all the time in New Zealand. Both Jen and Mel found it was more challenging to make friends among their university classmates in New Zealand. University social clubs may not be good attractions for some Chinese students, as Mel stated “*not interested*”. Alcohol drinking in social occasions may speed up the bonding process for some Chinese students in New Zealand. As Mel said it was “*easier*” to make friends “*after a few drinks*”. Nick's statement reflected the popularity of online games amongst young Chinese males, which lead to meeting new people and friends in internet cafes via online games in China. However, it appeared to him internet cafes are not as prevalent in New Zealand as in China. It may lead some Chinese young adults to seek friendship in more popular local venues -bars, pubs and nightclubs. According to Nick, alcohol in New Zealand may serve a similar function as online games in China for socialising among college male students. Bars and nightclubs in New Zealand may play a similar role as internet cafes do in China to create venues for young Chinese students to meet new people and make new friends.

Sixthly, the conversation below reflects some of the participants have acculturated themselves to this type of drinking culture, under the influence of New Zealand wine and alcohol tasting culture, which is very rare in China.

Henry: It's very rare for me to learn the art of enjoying alcohol socially, or to attend alcohol tasting in China. The way we drink alcohol is more like drinking water, skull it. I remember once in China, we all gathered to taste a very expensive alcohol. Two of us used mugs to drink it, and we finished it so fast, without even enjoying it that much. Now I think back. It was such a waste of good alcohol. (Hm)

Jerry: In China, It's very rare for us to get together just for alcohol tasting, we all have other purposes. Alcohol is just an accessory to the main purpose, like a birthday party, wedding reception or business negotiation.

Joe: Yes, It's very common in New Zealand for people to get together just for alcohol tasting, especially for wine tasting. There are so many wine tasting tours and venues here in New Zealand. (Yes)

Eddy: Yep, they even use proper tasting glasses, for wine or other alcohol tasting. (Yep)

John: I did not care about the taste of the drinks when I went to bars or pubs in China. However, I started noticing the different taste of each drink, and became more mindful of the taste of the drink, after being in New Zealand for all these years. (FG1)

It appears that alcohol tasting is not a very common drinking activity in China. Alcohol tasting is a more popular activity in New Zealand than in China. According to Henry and Jerry it was very “rare” for them to gather friends for the purpose of alcohol tasting. However, alcohol plays a very important role for social connection and networking, Chinese are not focused on enjoying the texture of alcohol in social situation. Henry casually mentioned a drinking session of an “expensive” alcohol with a friend. Subtly reflected his middle to upper social-economical class in China. Using “mugs” to drink expensive alcohol in China indicated that it is not a very popular culture for alcohol tasting even in the higher social economical hierarchy in China. “Many wine tasting tours here” and “very common” reflects that alcohol tasting sessions are a popular culture activity for appreciating the quality of alcohol in New Zealand. Therefore, there are specific facilities and routines for alcohol tasting in New Zealand, according to Eddy. As the result of the acculturation, some Chinese migrants have accustomed to pay more attention on the taste of alcohol, as John stated.

The results showed similar impression in the female group.

Min: In China, no one cares about the brand of the alcohol, like Hennessy, John Walker Black Label, or some cheap whiskeys, for us they are all the same. However, in New Zealand, many people pay careful attention to different types of alcohol. (So it's like alcohol tasting here is more prevalent, on the other hand, it's not the same in China.) Yep, in China, alcohol is mainly for making the atmosphere livelier. It's pretty much; any alcohol is the same, not too much difference for us.

Eva: Since I have been in New Zealand, I now even care about the type of cocktails I drink and how my body reacts to different ingredients within the cocktail.

Sarah: I became more interested in wine tasting since residing in New Zealand. It's quite interesting to know the differences between different wines and how they are made. New Zealand is a great place to learn about this. It's also handy to have some knowledge of wine in social situations too. (FG2)

Min talked about a big range of whiskey, from lower level to high class level, normalised that across all social hierarchy in China, alcohol plays an important role for creating fun atmosphere in social situations. However, the quality and texture of the alcohol is not the main focus for many Chinese. Cocktails are perceived as a very feminine alcoholic beverage. By talking about cocktails, Eva subtly emphasised her feminine alcohol drinking choice. Eva's statement also reflected that Chinese females may learn more about the taste of the alcohol and observing the effect of different alcoholic beverages once they have assimilated to western drinking culture. Drinking wine can demonstrate a certain degree of culture capital: wine is generally associated with upper-class culture, and displaying knowledge of wine can be a class identity marker (Gately, 2009). How beverages are “read” as an identity marker can often depend on the context. As Sarah mentioned having “*some knowledge of wine*” can be “*handy*” in social situations, which indicated that to some degree a certain level of wine knowledge can reflect a person's socio-economical class in a social situation. Sarah, raised her awareness of this indicator since migrating to New Zealand. It indicates that wine tasting can be a common activity for New Zealanders during social occasions. Evidences showed that New Zealand, wine tasting is one popular Kiwi activity especially in business, political (Courtney, 2003) and tourist events

(Howland, 2014). Young Chinese females can gradually accustom to this type of western social activity under the influence of the New Zealand wine tasting culture.

One reason that Chinese migrants learned to acculturate to western wine and alcohol tasting culture is that the cost of accumulating a vast range of western alcoholic beverages in New Zealand at more affordable level to the general public than in China and the quality of western alcohol in New Zealand is better than in China.

Del: The quality of the alcohol in New Zealand is lot better than in China. In China there are not many affordable western spirits. They seem to mainly be the high end expensive brands, and there are so many fake western spirits available on the market. It's not like here in New Zealand. As you know you are buying genuine western spirits.

(Do you think the price of alcohol is cheaper in New Zealand than in China?)

Del: The price of alcohol is a lot cheaper in New Zealand! Normally it's about hundreds up to thousands of dollars for a bottle of western spirit in China. However here in New Zealand, the price range of western spirits varies more. There are expensive spirits, however most of them are still affordable. (Int)

Due to the high tax rates on imported spirits, the price of western spirits have raised dramatically in China. “Hundreds up to thousands of dollars for a bottle of western spirit” indicated a drastic comparison to the locally made Chinese spirits; western spirits become a luxury expense in China. New Zealand being a western country means that western spirits become a general local alcoholic drink, so they are more affordable and easier for the general public to access in New Zealand (Booth et al., 2008). According to Del's statement, due to the high profit in selling western spirits, it is not uncommon to find replicated western spirits in China. All the factors above make it challenging to find genuine western spirits in China, which is one reason causing Chinese to have decreased interests in western spirits. However, in New Zealand, due to the well-developed trading system, the quality of goods has to meet certain standards enable to be provided to the general public. Therefore, Chinese can trust the quality of western spirits in New Zealand.

Seventhly, the conversation below indicates the result of immigration, the change of

lifestyle, loss of natural social network and the different working styles in New Zealand, Chinese migrants may gradually become accustomed to drinking alone, compared to mainly social drinking in China.

Dave: I don't think I have ever gone out drinking alone in China, I always drink with friends, business related colleagues or somebody. However, here in New Zealand, I sometimes go to a bar just to have a drink to chill out by myself after work, which I don't think has ever happened to me in China.

John: Here, in New Zealand, sometimes after mowing the lawn, I sit down quietly by myself to have a nice cold beer, which would never of happened in China.

(what do you think made you change?)

Chris: Hm. I hardly attend any social drinking occasions in New Zealand. I also don't have to drink to negotiate business here, so do not have many work related drinking occasions either. Also most of my friends are in China, and I only have a few friends to drink within New Zealand anyway.

Jerry: The opportunities for us to have a social drink in New Zealand are very limited. I only have a small circle of friends here, and sometimes I cannot find anyone to drink with. Sometimes it's easier just to drink by myself. (FG1)

Both Dave and John mentioned that the occasions for them to drink alone are very rare when they are in China. As discussed early on, the busy, fast pace lifestyle in China can be one of the reasons why it's not too common for Chinese to pause and drink for relaxation. The conversation indicated that Chinese migrants can acculturate themselves to a solo drinking style after they have been in New Zealand for a period of time. According to Chris' statement, due to the different working styles in China and New Zealand, there is less demand for businessmen to engage in social drinking while in New Zealand. Having limited friends in New Zealand can be one of the reasons that Chinese migrants have limited social drinking opportunities and get used to drinking alone. As Jerry mentioned that “Sometimes it's easier just to drink by myself.” This reflects that finding friends and creating social gathering occasions in New Zealand can be challenging for Chinese immigrants at times. Chinese culture is a community focused culture, connections within and between the communities are highly emphasised (Tseng & Wu, 1985). Activities that

do not involve interaction between people may not be encouraged in Chinese culture. On the other hand, individualism is the prevalent cultural in New Zealand. Therefore, enjoying personal space, solo leisure activities are perceived normal in New Zealand (Kurasaki, Okazaki, & Sue, 2002). Drinking alone is an activity that does not involve any interaction with others, purely individual focused activity, which Chinese migrants picked up from New Zealand.

In Eddy's individual interview, he mentioned:

A friend introduced wine tasting to me. I quite enjoyed it. So sometimes I like to have a glass of wine, sit down and just to relax by myself. It's also a nice feeling too. Under the influence of the local New Zealand wine tasting culture and the relaxed lifestyle, Eddy learned that sometimes having an alcoholic beverage can be a way of relaxing just by himself without interacting with anyone else. Therefore, Chinese migrants can be accustomed to an individual focused relaxation activity -drinking alone under the influence of New Zealand culture.

Eighthly, having lived in New Zealand for a period of time, Chinese young females can be gradually acculturated to the New Zealand western drinking cultural. Their way of consuming alcohol can become different to when they were in China.

Nick: It seems Chinese girls in New Zealand are more likely to learn smoking, drinking or even drug use, compared to the girls in China.

Tylor: Yeh, I also found Chinese Girls here consume a larger amount, and in a more aggressive way, while also mixing more varieties of alcohol, hm...much more 'daring' than the girls in China.

Min: It doesn't mean that the girls here have bigger tolerance to alcohol; however, they take bigger risks by drinking more.

Liz: Back in China, girls are more cautious with self-protection, more concerned about the negative consequences of binge drinking.

Boyd: Hm.. I think the Chinese girls here are more open and don't really think too much about the negative consequences. Sometimes the purpose of drinking is to get drunk, and

they don't really care about the consequences. The reason for drinking may be that they just want to release some pressure, or tension from relationship issues or work issues. Therefore, the purpose of drinking is mainly to get drunk.

Chen (male): Girls in China are possibly more cautious and think more. They get together just to relax not to get drunk.

Eva: I am more cautious in China. I am very careful not to put myself in dangerous situations. However, when I am in New Zealand, I am less cautious. I guess it's possibly because it's safer in New Zealand, therefore, I am less concerned about the safety. The result is that I possibly drink more in New Zealand. (FG2)

Many social situations in Western contexts involve drinking and nonpregnant women are generally supported to drink in social situations (Bloomfield et al., 2001). Alcohol plays an important part in many women's social lives, especially in western society. Certain type of alcoholic drinks are also advertised as gender specific drinks. For example, sipping Chardonnay from a wine glass is often viewed as more feminine than having beer from a big plastic cup (Bloomfield et al., 2001). Under the influence of the New Zealand drinking culture, it is socially acceptable for females to drink in public (Casswell & Bhatta, 2001). And as the result of the equal human rights and the liberation of feminism in New Zealand, drunkenness among women is not uncommon either (Kypri et al., 2007). Both Tylor and Min mentioned that young Chinese females drink alcohol in a “*daring*” way, compared to the same age group of Chinese females in China. This indicated that young Chinese women can be assimilated to a more masculine way of drinking manner, e.g., drinking more aggressively; wider range of drinking preferences- “*mixing more varieties of alcohol*”; not being too concerned about showing drunkenness in public. Similar results were found among Korean women in the United States. Study showed Korean women often initiate risk behaviours, like smoking after acculturating to the United States and drinking followed a similar pattern becoming more acceptable among acculturated versus traditional women (Hofstetter et al., 2004).

Women's consumption of alcohol has not always been viewed in a positive way and was generally socially controlled in China. For example, women who spent time in these male-dominated drinking situations were generally thought of as “loose women.” At the same

time, it is this type of social control that limited women's public drinking and shaped gender stereotypes drinking behaviours in China (McGovern, 2003). As Boyd mentioned, Chinese girls do not seem to worry much about the negative consequences of getting drunk in public. One reason can be that there is less social pressure for females to maintain the traditional female image in New Zealand than in China. Women were expected to remain in control, and alcoholism was interpreted by psychologists and medical practitioners as far more abnormal in women. Alcoholism was largely seen as a failure of femininity, especially in conservative oriental culture (McClellan, 2004). Both Liz and Chen mentioned that Chinese girls are more cautious in China, which could indicate that young Chinese females are more concerned about the negative consequences of drunkenness in public in China. However, in western societies, some girls think that binge drinking is a statement of becoming a woman, in addition, what drinks are consumed, how, and with whom have an impact on gender status and can be perceived as the difference between being a girl and being a woman (Lyons & Willott, 2008). In many ways, young women's binge drinking is also a challenge to gender roles, to push boundaries and to challenge accepted male/female social stereotypes (Lyons & Willott, 2008). Furthermore, drunken women are far more vulnerable to rape and to having unprotected sex (Keyes et al., 2008).

Women metabolise alcohol at a slower rate than men. For this reason, women are more likely to get drunk more quickly than men, which can have destructive health effects when binge drinking (Rahav et al., 2006). In New Zealand, women are now generally free to drink where they like, The gender gap between women and men about alcohol abuse and dependency may be shrinking as well (Keyes et al., 2008). Furthermore, New Zealand is one of the safest countries in the world. Fairly secure environments are also a factor that contributed to the carelessness among young Chinese females in New Zealand, therefore, they are less worried about their safety in drinking occasions, which could lead to drinking a larger amount of alcohol in New Zealand. It appeared that pursuing the effects of intoxication to "*release some pressure, or tension from relationship issues or work issues*" among young Chinese females occurred more often in New Zealand than in China. Reasons that may contribute to this issue will be discussed in more details in the later section "Problematic drinking behaviours".

The type of alcohol options

Firstly, there are over 30 Chinese ethnicities within China; migrants from overseas are still not a common occurrence in China. Therefore, there are limited varieties of international food and drink in China. Due to the high tax rates for imported alcohol, only a few options of western alcohol are available in China. The conversation below addresses that Chinese locally made alcoholic beverages are hugely dominant in the drinking market in China.

(So when you were in China, what kind of alcohol did you drink?)

Kevin: Chinese spirit only. I am from Beijing. I think Chinese spirit is the most popular alcohol choice.

Jerry: Yes, I am the same. I am from Ha Er Bin. A typical northern Chinese guy. We rarely drink other alcoholic beverages. It's mainly Chinese spirits.

John: well, I am from Shang Hai, I see myself as a Southern Chinese. In winter, I drink Chinese spirits and Huang Jiu-a type of Chinese rice wine, maybe about 14-16% of alcohol. Beer for summer.

Kent: I am from Guang Zhou and I am also a southern Chinese. It's very hot all year around, so we mainly drink beer. We maybe only drink Chinese spirits in a formal business occasion or a big family gathering. Well, home-made Chinese rice wine is very common in Guang Zhou too.

(Is most of the alcohol you drink in China locally made?)

Alan: Yes. I mostly drink Chinese beer, Huang Jiu, and Chinese spirits. I only drink western spirits in a western style bar, which is not that often.

Jerry: I can't even remember if I have drunk any western alcohol in China.

Kent: I think I only drink western alcohol either in a Karaoke bar, whiskey mixing with green tea, honey tea or coca cola; or in a western-style bar or pub. Well I like the taste of Chinese spirit better, so I drank Chinese spirit more often in China. (FG1)

Chang Jiang is the longest river in China, which runs across the middle of China from east to west. It divides China into two different parts-North and South (Weightman, 2011). The eating and drinking culture between northern and southern Chinese can vary. It appeared that northern Chinese drink higher alcohol content beverages than Southern Chinese. As

both Kevin and Jerry are from northern China, Chinese spirits are the “*most popular*” alcoholic drink for them. However, for Kent and Alan, who both identified as “*southern Chinese*”, stated that beer and Chinese rice wine (low to medium alcohol content beverages) are common drinks for them. Chinese spirits (high alcohol content) is mainly used in “*formal business occasions*” or special occasions “*a big family gathering*”. Some Chinese ethnic groups are more alcohol-tolerant and drink various kinds of fermented beverages (Grant, 1998; Gately, 2009; Tamang, 2010). Evidence suggests that a slow-acting ADH enzyme allele is dominant in certain Chinese ethnic groups, in contrast to the faster rates of alcohol metabolism in the population of eastern and central China (Heath, 1995). Jerry could not recall if he tried any western alcohol in China, which indicated that western alcoholic beverages can be very foreign for local Chinese. Drinking western style alcohol may not be very common in China. However, western style alcohol drinks can be provided in some entertainment venues like Karaoke Bars, western style pubs and bars in China, Chinese locally made alcohol may still be the preference for some Chinese, as they are used to the taste of locally made alcohol. The other reasons for Chinese to prefer locally made alcohol over western-style imported alcohol can be the high price and the difficulty to find good quality western alcohols in China, as discussed earlier.

Secondly, the conversation below indicated that having lived in a multicultural environment, giving Chinese migrants more opportunities to explore a big range of alcohol selections from different countries and ethnicities. Chinese migrants tend to broaden their selections of alcohol drinks from Chinese alcohol only to more varieties of alcoholic beverages in New Zealand.

(How about drinking in New Zealand?)

Kevin: well, I certainly drink more beer in New Zealand, maybe because it's warmer here. Also it is harder to find quality Chinese spirits here.

(So mostly Chinese beer or local New Zealand beer?)

Kelvin: Mostly western beer, like Corona, Heineken, or Lion Red. They are easier to get here than Chinese beers.

Jerry: I drink more western spirits here too. I remembered when I just got here 20 years ago, it was very rare to find Chinese spirits in New Zealand. So I started trying vodka and

whisky, also tried gin and rum. I didn't like them at the beginning. However, I'm used to their taste now but I still like Chinese spirits like Mao Tai, Er Guo Tou better. (FG1)

Both Kevin and Jerry are from the north part of China, high alcohol content beverages are their preferred alcoholic choices. Due to the lack of availability of Chinese spirits, they have changed their choices of alcohol to more western style drinks, more local alcoholic beverages. Kevin identified the easy access to common local drinks was one of the reasons that he shifted his preference of alcohol drinks. Similar findings were showed in studies in the United States (Barr, 1999). The warmer climate in Auckland also made Kevin change to a lighter alcohol content drink like beer. Kevin's choices of beer had broadened to several selections of western beer: “*Corona*”-Mexican beer, “*Heineken*”-Dutch beer, “*Lion Red*”-New Zealand beer. However, Jerry stayed with high alcohol content drinks, his choice of drink had widened from Chinese spirits to a variety of western-style spirits “*vodka*”-Russian spirit; “*whisky*”-Irish and Scotch spirit; “*gin*”-Dutch spirit and “*rum*”-Caribbean spirits. Jerry emphasised that his preference was still Chinese spirits over the western ones. It indicated some resentment about the limited resources to source Chinese spirits in New Zealand, and also missing the taste of familiar alcoholic drinks from his hometown. This can lead to homesickness, which can become problematic if using alcohol to deal with these unpleasant feelings. More discussions will be addressed in the later session “Problematic drinking behaviours”.

Thirdly, the widened variety of alcoholic drinks is not only limited to western style drinks, but also to other Asian style drinking options, as Min stated in her individual interview.

Min: There are so many varieties of international food and drinks here. For example, we normally have wine with western food; beer or Chinese spirits with Chinese food; Sake for a Japanese dinner; beer with Chinese steamboat; and mix Korean beer and Soju, if we are going to a Korean restaurant.

(How about in China.)

Min: Well, it is not so common to find so many varieties of food and drinks from other countries in China. And most of them are very expensive, not like here, in terms of the prices; there are not huge differences between the different types of food and drinks.

Having moved to a multicultural environment, the availability of multicultural dining and drinking selections broadened Chinese migrants' experiences of tasting a great range of food and alcoholic beverages, including selections from Asian countries too. As Min mentioned that “*Sake*”-a popular Japanese spirit for Japanese dining, mixing “*Korean beer with Soju*”-one of the most popular Korean alcohol drinks with Korean food, all indicated their wide range of Asian food and drinking options in New Zealand. The easy access to international food and drinking-“*common to find*”, and the affordable price for those options- “*not huge differences*”, appeared to be the reasons for Chinese migrants to explore a wider variety of food and drink. Drinking “*beer*” and “*Chinese spirit*” while having Chinese food also reflected that Chinese migrants still maintained some of their traditional dining and drinking customs of their country of origin, despite experiencing a wider range of dining and drinking options in New Zealand. Some studies of migrants in America also found similar results. Research showed that many recent migrants still hold their “*traditional*” eating and drinking norms, whereas ethnic groups many invent their own food-and-drink order based on the availability of abundant food and drink in the United States. (Barr, 1999)

Fourthly, according to the conversation below (data were collected from FG1), wine drinking has become more prevalent among mature Chinese males (age 30s to 60s) since they immigrated to New Zealand.

(What about wine?)

Kevin: well, it's more of a woman's drink in China. I rarely drink wine in China. However, since I came to New Zealand I started enjoying wine more. (Yeah)

Terry: I heard that drinking a little bit of wine every day is good for your health. Also we have so many varieties of good wine here. It's not too expensive either. I definitely drink more wine in New Zealand.

Jerry: Well, back in China, I think it's more common for women to drink wine. Our guys drink more manly drinks, like beer or Chinese spirits. However, here in New Zealand, it seems wine is popular for everyone, both males and females.

Shane: In China, I drink Chinese rice wine. It's not very easy to find Chinese rice wine in

New Zealand. The alcohol content between Chinese rice wine and New Zealand wine is similar. So I switched to drink wine here. (FG1)

According to Kevin, and Jerry, wine is associated with female alcoholic beverage- “*a woman's drink*”, beer and Chinese spirits represent more masculinity -“*men's drinks*” in China. Therefore, drinking wine is an uncommon activity in Chinese male social situations. So what drinks are chosen in what context can also be gendered choice (Bloomfield et al., 2001), for example, white or rose wine is often seen as female drinks (McClellan, 2004). Beer advertising is almost exclusively targeted toward men (McGovern, 2009). Men drink the most beer in the United States. Although women have historically been marginalised from the beer world, and beer drinking among women is less socially accepted than among men, women currently account for one quarter of the beer consumers in western societies (Wenner, & Jackson, 2009). Whether at a cocktail party or at dinner in a restaurant, gender norms and social expectations can heavily influence what people choose to drink (Lyons, & Willott, 2008). However, drinking wine is not strongly associated with specific gender role in New Zealand, according to Jerry; wine is “*popular for everyone, both males and females*”. Moreover, evidence showed that both wine and beer are equally popular in New Zealand (Howland, 2014). Two-thirds of New Zealander drinkers consume both of these products (Courtney, 2003). Therefore, wine is a mutual alcoholic beverage for New Zealanders, drinking wine does not minimise any masculinity for Chinese males, so it is more common for Chinese male migrants to drink wine in their social occasions. In Many cultures, alcoholic beverages are considered from a nutritional perspective. Studies showed that drinking small amount of red wine regularly can reduce the chances of getting cardiovascular diseases (O'Byrne, 2009). “*Good for health*” is one of Terry's reasons to drink wine. It reflected that in terms of alcoholic beverage choices, health consciousness started getting into account in the mature Chinese male migrants group (age between 30s to 60s). Wine can be their preference due to its content of nutrition. Due to the difficulties of getting Chinese rice wine, and the similarity between wine and Chinese rice wine, Shane shifted his drinking choice to a common local wine. Furthermore, easy access and affordable prices also contributed to the increase of wine drinking among Chinese migrants in New Zealand, as Terry mentioned. Similar findings are found in other studies (Booth et al., 2008).

The means to drink alcohol – how to drink

Firstly, Chinese migrants changed their venues of drinking from public places to their homes.

Most Kiwis drink alcohol in the home. Research showed that more than two thirds of New Zealanders drink alcohol in the home, for adults mostly drinking at their home and teenagers prefer drinking in someone else's home. Over 90% of Kiwis drink with other people. (ALAC, 2012) The conversation below demonstrates that under the influence of the alcohol drinking culture in New Zealand, there are more chances for Chinese migrants to invite friends over for drinking occasions in New Zealand.

Tom: I rarely drink at home in China. Most of the time I go out to eat and drink. Hm, I hardly invite friends over for drinks at home. However, here in New Zealand, I sometimes invite a few friends over for a barbeque and drinks at home.

(Why is that?)

Tom: Well, I lived in an apartment in China. However, it's a three bedroom apartment, fairly spacious; it's still too small to have a party at home. I have a house here, a lot more space to have friends around.

John: Also, it's too much hassle to cook at home. In China, it doesn't cost much more to eat and drink out rather than at home, also you don't have to clean up afterwards either.

Terry: In China, I mostly drink with business people to talk about work. It's not really very convenient to drink at home. Here, in New Zealand, I mostly catch up with friends for some drinks; it doesn't really matter where it is. (FG1)

“rarely drink at home” reflected that home is not a common venue for Chinese to gather with friends to drink. Due to the huge population in China, apartments are the most common residential choice for Chinese. As Tom mentioned even for a “spacious” apartment, having a home party is still restricted. Houses are the most common residential choice in New Zealand. According to Tom, houses can provide “a lot more space” for home parties. A more spacious residential option in New Zealand can be one reason that

Chinese migrants were more open to invite friends home to drink. Due to the differences between New Zealand and Chinese trading culture, there is less pressure to drink for business networking in New Zealand. Terry said, he “*mostly catch up with friends*” for drinking in New Zealand. Therefore, home - a relaxed and informal venue became more prevalent for Chinese migrants to choose to drink with friends. It is fairly common for New Zealanders to have a barbecue at home (ALAC, 2012). It can be a group activity and is easy to prepare the food. Chinese immigrants tend to assimilate this mean of gathering friends and cooking together, as Tom mentioned sometimes having “*barbecue and drinks at home*” with a few friends. John said Chinese cooking can be a hassle at home, which can stop Chinese from inviting friends home for food and drink. Barbecue is a simpler way of cooking, which makes Chinese migrants more willing to open their home to their friends to drink and eat.

In the individual interview, Mike mentioned “*most of the time I have dinner at home now, as I don't have to go out working all the time. And sometimes, I drink a little bit of wine with my wife at home, which rarely happened in China*” Nick reflected “*Most of the home parties that I organize involve family as well. So I actually spend more time with my family in New Zealand than in China*” “*Having dinner at home*”, having more time to “*drink a little bit with my wife at home*” and more open to “*home parties*” indicated that Chinese migrants spent more time at their homes in New Zealand. As the result of changing the drinking venue from the public places to home, there is a more relaxed lifestyle in New Zealand. Chinese migrants ended up spending more time with their families, which allowed for more leisure activities as a family in New Zealand.

Secondly, Chinese changed to buy their own drinks or split the bill in New Zealand, compared to shouting everyone's drink or taking turns to pay the whole bill in China.

John: In China, we always get the same drink to share, either beer, Chinese spirit or others. It's always one person that pays the bill by the end. Of course we take turns to pay the bill, but we hardly split the bill and most of the time I am the one that pays the bill.

Mark: Yes, we never split the bill in China, it's just not something we do. And we all share the same type of drink each time.

(Why is that?)

Mark: Hm, it feels like we are splitting up our group, if we drink different drinks and pay separately. It doesn't feel like a group as a whole, you know. It can be rude in some occasions to order a different drink than the others.

(How about in New Zealand?)

Lee: Well, quite often here, we just order our own drink; I don't feel like I have to order for others here. And it doesn't feel strange if people order different drinks in a group. I guess it's common for New Zealanders to do that. We feel like it's a normal drinking custom here.

Mike: Most of the time, we split the bill. It's really only for birthday parties, the person who is having the birthday party pays for the whole bill. On other occasions we pay our own share. (FG1)

According to Mark's reflection, they “*never*” split the bill, it can be perceived “*rude*” if the group members do not do things as a group during drinking occasions. It indicated that being a community, unit based culture, individualism is lessened in China. Group activities and shared experiences are encouraged in China (Kurasaki, Okazaki, & Sue, 2002). Sharing the same type of alcohol and only one bill per group is a drinking tradition for Chinese, as “*always*” occurred a few times in John's statement. It is deemed good manner for the one who pays the bill for the group. And it can also indicate one's socio-economic status, if someone has the ability to shout drinks for the group members. John added that he paid the bill “*most of the time*”, which emphasised his good manners for following the drinking traditions, it also indicated his financial capability to buy drinks for the group as well.

According to Lee and Mike, “*order own drink*”, “*most of the time*” splitting the bill, and feel “*normal*” and “*common*” in New Zealand, indicated that under the influence of western individualism, Chinese migrants assimilated their social drinking custom to more individualised experiences.

However, Chinese migrants still maintain some of the traditional Chinese drinking customs. Joe mentioned in his individual interview that “*it's still very often that we share the same type of alcohol*” in some social drinking occasions. Due to the rich resource of

western alcohol and limited availability of Chinese alcoholic beverages, Chinese migrants modify their Chinese drinking traditions by mixing western alcohol drinks with common Chinese soft drinks in their social drinking occasions. In both individual interviews and focused group discussions, mixing vodka or whiskey with “green tea” or “honey tea” is a common drink for Chinese migrants to have in Karaoke bars in New Zealand. And very often they share the same mixed drink with the other group members. Similar results were found in other western countries among migrants too (Barr, 1999)

Thirdly, compared to China, Chinese migrants stay longer in one venue for drinking, visiting less venues, and overall drank less alcohol in a single drinking outing in New Zealand.

Lee (FGI): Well, there are many more varieties of eating and drinking places in China than in Auckland. I can choose a different place every day in China. However, here in Auckland, there are only limited eating and drinking spots. So I stay in one place longer, as I am not in a rush to get to the next one anyway. Every time we go to the same restaurants, same karaoke bars and night clubs. Every time the drinking routine is the same. It gets boring after a while.

(Why is that?)

Mark: I think I'm that familiar with the availability of alcohol drinking facilities and services in Auckland, so I don't know where else to go, other than a few locations that I already know.

Alan: Also, the atmosphere is very quiet at night here. Not like in China, which is still very busy at night. Shops are still open at midnight. However in New Zealand, most of the shops are closed by 5pm or 6pm. So my motivation to go out drinking is not as high in New Zealand.

(So overall, do you find that you have a lower or higher alcohol intake during a single drinking night out in New Zealand?)

Mark: Hm, I think I drink less and in shorter time during one drinking night here than in China.

Lee: the same for me. I always have places to drink and play in China, and I never run out of options, However, here in New Zealand I only have limited options, and I often get

bored of going to the same places. I would prefer to stay at home. (FG1)

When talking about drinking occasions, the conversation focused more on the night-life in New Zealand. This indicated that the majority of the drinking sessions happened at night among Chinese migrants in New Zealand. “*A lot more varieties*” for places to drink; “*different places everyday*” “*never run out of options*” all indicated a wide range of drinking places in China, compared to New Zealand, “*limited spots*”, “*same*” restaurants, karaoke bars and night clubs, “*every time the drinking out routine is the same*” all addressed the limited options in New Zealand for Chinese migrants to choose for drinking venues. The restricted circumstances and unfamiliar environment “*not very familiar with the available services for alcohol drinking*” in New Zealand, caused Chinese migrants to stay in one venue longer, and visit less places when having a single night out drinking in New Zealand. “*very quiet at night here*”, services closing early, indicated the more relaxed lifestyle in New Zealand, compared to the fast pace and longer trading hours in China “*busy at night*”, “*shops are still open at midnight*”. Therefore, Chinese are less excited with the idea of going out drinking to try and enjoy the night life in New Zealand. “*Bored of “the “same routine”*”; can sometimes create a lack of interests to go out drinking; “*would rather stay at home*”. These all reflected that Chinese migrants can lose their excitement of drinking out, which can lead to less alcohol consumption “*drink less*” and “*shorter time*” spent drinking out at night in New Zealand.

Lastly, according to the conversations below, young Chinese migrants (early to late 20s-FG2) mainly go out drinking during the weekend, which may lead to excessive alcohol consumption.

(How about night clubs, pubs in New Zealand?)

Abby: Well in China, the night clubs open every night and are always very full. The market in New Zealand is quite small, compared to China. The night clubs only open during the weekend.

Henry: Yes, you know, if you have been waiting for a whole week to go out drinking and dancing, you have to make the most of it when you have the chance during the weekend.

(What's your normal routine for a night out drinking in New Zealand?)

Min: We normally start with dinner at 6pm or 7pm. Of course some drinks with food, mostly beer, Chinese spirits or wine. We don't drink too much alcohol at dinner.

(How do you order drinks for dinner?)

Min: Well, we all order the same drink and share. Then after dinner, during Karaoke we mainly drink vodka or whiskey mixed with green tea, honey tea, coke or juice and share with everyone. Then we go out to night clubs at around midnight. Possibly visiting few night clubs a night, depending on how we feel.

(How do you drink there?)

Min: Mostly we order our own drinks at night clubs, which is mainly beer or cocktails. As some people often dance, and the others mainly drink. We do not all drink at the same time. After the clubbing we go to quieter bars at around 3am to 4am, as most of the night clubs close at this time. We may order some beers to share or cocktails for individuals. Then we go home at about 6am or 7am in the morning. (FG2)

According to Abby, due to the huge population, vast market in China, most night clubs open daily “*open every night*”. On the contrary, due to the relatively small population and smaller market in New Zealand, most night clubs open only during the weekend. “*Have been waiting for a whole week*” addressed Henry's craving for going out and drinking had been built up for a period of time. “*Have to make the most of it*” indicated that Henry could possibly indulge in drinking alcohol once he got the chance. Min described her weekend drinking routine, which started from “*6pm to 7pm at night*” and finished at “*6am to 7am*” in the morning. This reflected young Chinese migrants' prolonged drinking sessions during the weekend. From drinking “*beer, Chinese spirit or wine*” at dinner, “*Vodka or whiskey*” mixed with Chinese soft drinks at karaoke bars, “*beer and cocktails*” at night clubs and quiet bars, this indicated that a wide range of alcoholic beverages were consumed over 12 hours, which can be an indicator for alcohol bingeing. Sharing the same type of alcohol within the group still occurred regularly among young Chinese migrants, which indicated that some of the traditional Chinese drinking habits were still maintained in New Zealand. However, ordering individual drinks, which is an acculturated western drinking habit, is also a common theme for Chinese migrants in New Zealand. Mixing western spirits with familiar oriental drinks “*vodka or whiskey mixes with green tea, honey tea*” indicated that blended western and Chinese culture was common among Chinese migrants.

In the individual interview with Nick, he disclosed reasons that contributed to him going out drinking mainly during the weekend.

(Do you mainly go out drinking during the weekend in China too?)

Nick: Well sometimes I have similar routines in China, however, I don't really have to wait for the weekend to do it. Most drinking places open late every night, so we can go any day of the week. However, here in New Zealand, most of the places close early during the week. Also most of the specials and promotions are during the weekend too.

(Do you drink a similar amount in China?)

It depends, sometimes more, sometimes less. I think the main difference is every day is pretty much the same for me in China. Here, I think I definitely go out drinking mostly during the weekend. I maybe even drink more here during the weekend than in China, as I want to make the most of the weekend. Otherwise I have to wait for another week.

As Nick addressed that “*most drinking places open late every night*”, going to have drinks at night became nothing special for him “*every day is pretty much the same*”. Therefore, the urge for going out drinking decreased in China. However, in New Zealand, most of the drinking places “*close early during the week*” and “*most promotions and specials*” are on at weekends. All these factors made going out to have drinks during the weekend become a special treat for the week. Therefore, as Henry mentioned he “*want to make the most out of the weekend*”, which meant enjoy the night and drinking to the maximum. That he was maximising the amount of alcohol consumption increases the risk of binge drinking. Nick admitted “*drink more*” alcohol throughout the weekend in New Zealand compared to one drinking out occasion in China.

Problematic drinking behaviours and Protective factors

The findings from the focus group discussions and individual interviews also summarized some risk indicators for problematic drinking behaviours and protective factors to prevent excessive alcohol consumption.

Problematic drinking behaviours

Drunkenness in bars, pubs and nightclubs, drink and drive behaviours and peer pressure were identified as common harmful drinking behaviours among the participants.

Drunkenness in bars, pubs and nightclubs

Compared to China, Chinese males are more cautious with alcohol binging in public places in New Zealand, e.g., pubs, night clubs or bars, as explored in the conversation below.

Kent: I am certainly more cautious when I am drinking in New Zealand.

(Why is that?)

Jerry: Well, here in New Zealand, the bouncers in pubs, bars or night clubs can throw you out of the venue, if you are too intoxicated or misbehave, which would never happen in China.

John: Yes, bouncers in China are like decoration, they never throw people out.

Joe: Exactly, in China, I know even if I am totally drunk, the pub or bar staff would keep me inside the venue, however, in New Zealand, I can be kicked out by the staff if I'm too drunk and I could end up anywhere!

Terry: Yes, here in New Zealand, pub, bar or night club staff would throw out the intoxicated customers to the street, which can be dangerous if you had a blackout, you could even wake up in a police cell. I have been very cautious drinking here, and I don't totally let go like I would in China, as I don't know where or how I could end up" (FG1)

Due to the law differences between New Zealand and China, Chinese migrants are more mindful of the alcohol intake in bars, pubs or nightclubs in New Zealand. It appeared that public drunkenness in venues with alcohol licence is socially accepted in China. Bouncers “never throw out” intoxicating patrons; “pub or bar staff would keep me inside the venue, even when I'm totally drunk”; both indicated that intoxication prevention is not a main focus for Chinese alcohol providers in China. Studies showed that drinking games that encouraged binge drinking became fashionable for the new elites and businessmen in

China since twenties century. Therefore, it was not uncommon to see these new elites display public drunkenness after some drinking sessions. However, traditionally public drunkenness was despised. Therefore, the social norms of displaying drunkenness in public areas have shifted to be acceptable among the privileged new elite class (Zhang, 1982). In New Zealand, every service provider that has an alcohol licence has to follow the rules of Host Responsibility (ALAC, 2009), which is a range of strategies to ensure a safe drinking environment in and around licensed premises and to minimise alcohol-related harm to patrons and other members of the community. Being in an environment that prevents extreme intoxication, Chinese migrants minimize their chances of extreme alcohol abuse. Jerry, Kent and Terry all mentioned that they were “*more cautious*” while drinking in New Zealand pubs, bars or night clubs, due to the concern of being “*kicked/thrown out of the venue*” There are some safety concerns among these Chinese male migrants. “*Could end up anywhere*” “*wake up in a Police cell*” indicated there were some concerns about safety, if they were too intoxicated, which decreased their chances of bingeing alcohol in public venues in New Zealand.

In the individual interview with Joe, he mentioned that due to the different drinking culture between Chinese and New Zealanders, Chinese migrants had reduced their alcohol bingeing occasions in New Zealand.

Joe: Once I went out drinking with some Kiwis, by the end of the night, everyone gradually went separate ways. It can be dangerous, if someone got too drunk and ended up alone. However, this would never happen in China. With Chinese, we all stick together until the end, also it's very common for us to check on each other, and see if everyone has got home safely.

Chinese have a collective value, group identity and connections are perceived as very important for Chinese (Tseng, & Wu, 1985). As Joe mentioned that Chinese would “*stick*” with each other “*until the end*”, which indicated that doing activities as a group is common for Chinese, including going out for alcoholic drinking occasions. However, New Zealand has a more individualized culture. “*Everyone went separate ways*” reflected that individualism can be represented even in a group drinking occasion for New Zealanders.

“*Check on each other*” indicated the feeling of being supported and looked after. Due to the more individualised culture in New Zealand, and the loss of social network from country of origin, it can lead to a sense of insecurity, lack of support or lack of feeling connected in a new host country for Chinese migrants. Chinese male immigrants may take their safety more into consideration, while drinking out in New Zealand. All the reasons above may lead to the reduction of binge drinking in public venues among Chinese migrants in New Zealand.

Drink and drive behaviours

The conversation below indicated that drink and drive behaviour occurred more often in New Zealand, however, Chinese migrants were more careful with their alcohol intake in New Zealand.

Nick: Having a car in China can be quite expensive, not like here. It's uncommon to not have a car in New Zealand. I couldn't afford a car in China, so I didn't know how to drive until I came to New Zealand. Of course I have never been drunk and driven in China.

Terry: Well, I am more careful in New Zealand. I try not to drink much if I have to drive home. However, sometimes I may go over the limit a little bit and would still drive home, being very careful. I know, in China that I don't have to be too careful limiting my drink. Even if I have my car with me, and I was drunk, I could just call a friend or my wife to pick me up. However, I only have a few friends here and not all of them are close friends, so I don't really want to call them in the middle of the night to pick me up.

(How about your wife?)

Terry: She often goes back to China for a few months every year. So she can't always be available either.

(How about a Taxi?)

Eva: Taxies are everywhere in China. You can always find a cab on any street. However, here in New Zealand, it's very rare to find a cab on the street, unless it's in the city centre. And most of the time, you have to make a phone call to organize a cab. You know, my English is not very good and I don't like talking in English on the phone. It's just too much hassle to get a taxi. I would rather take a risk and drive home. (FG2)

According to Nick, *“Having a car in China can be quite expensive”*, which means not everyone can afford a car in China and cars are not the most common transportation for Chinese. Therefore the chances of Chinese actually drinking and driving have declined in China. Nick had never driven in China, hence drinking and driving behaviour for him would be zero in China. *“It’s uncommon not to have a car in New Zealand”* indicated that a car is a very common transport that people use in everyday New Zealand life. Terry didn't *“have to be too careful to limit”* his drink, when driving his own car to a drinking party, indicated that Terry may not reduce his drinking, even knowing that he may need to drive later on. Therefore, alcohol binge drinking may occur in these situations. *“I could just call a friend or my wife to pick me up.”* reflected Terry's confidence within his reliable social support group. Finding someone to drive him home was not a challenge for him at all in China. *“Only have a few friends”* and the wife may not be available sometimes, indicated Terry's limited social network in New Zealand. Only a few are close friends, and he didn't want to bother his friends late at night, this indicated that the social support network does not have a solid strong foundation such as in China. It is common for Chinese migrants and their families to travel between their hometown-China and residential country-New Zealand. *“She often goes back to China for a few moths every year”* indicated Terry's wife travelled frequently between China and New Zealand. Thus, the reliability of his wife to drive him home was reduced in New Zealand. As English is not the mother tongue for Chinese, speaking English on the phone can be quite challenging for Chinese migrants. According to Eva *“I don't like talking in English on the phone”*. It indicated that the taxi ordering system and the unavailability of Chinese language support for taxi orders stopped Chinese migrants from taking a taxi in New Zealand. Research showed that language difficulty is one significant barrier for migrants to access mainstream services (Briggs, Talbot & Melvin, 2007). Eva said *“It’s just too much hassle to get a taxi”*. Overall, compared to China, Chinese migrants might reduce their alcohol intake in a drinking occasion, nevertheless they may conduct drink and drive behaviour more often in New Zealand.

Another reason that may cause Chinese migrants to binge drink alcohol was the relaxed lifestyle in New Zealand. In the individual interview, John said: *“Here in New Zealand, I*

don't think as much, when I'm drinking. It's a lot easier to let loose and binge lots, get drunk.” due to the laid back life style in New Zealand. Chinese migrants' schedules are not always full and busy like in China. Therefore, they can have extra amount of leisure time. The result of immigration caused the loss of the social network, which reduced Chinese migrants' social opportunities in New Zealand, which is common for new arrival migrants (Claassen, et al., 2005), thus in return create more free time for them. Having extra free time also means extra recovery time from drunkenness, which could also reduce the concerns of negative consequences of alcohol abuse. John said, he doesn't “*have to think much*”. Mark also mentioned that his “*mind can be empty here for a while*”. Under these circumstances, Chinese migrants could have a relaxed mind, which means not having to be concerned too much about the negative consequences even when drinking excessively, as John said “*It's easier to let loose and binge lots, get drunk.*”

Alcohol is frequently used as a coping mechanism during times when people are dealing with problems.

“There are psychological reasons to drink, such as bad news, family problems, relationship problems, depression and stress” Mike addressed in the individual interview. Problems at home, the gap between expectations and reality, isolation and loneliness were identified as main factors that lead to excessive alcohol consumption, which is congruent with the findings from other migrants’ drinking related studies (Presley, Cheng, & Pimemel, 2004).

Alcohol can be a coping mechanism to deal with emptiness and loneliness, which could lead to excessive alcohol consumption.

Eva addressed some of her reasons to drink in the individual interview: “*I called my friends to go out drinking and clubbing, when I felt lonely and empty. I felt happier and more content when friends were around me and partying. Also through drinking and partying, I can make more friends, and expand my friends circle too. However, I felt empty and lonely again once the party's over. I wanted to bring my friends together again, so we could party and drink like before. So I was always drinking and partying back then*”

Being far away from family, loss of social networks, lack of social economic resources, living in an unfamiliar environment can create insecurity and emptiness within young Chinese migrants. Feeling “*empty*” and “*lonely*” were the main reasons for Eva to gather friends and drink. While drinking with friends, Eva felt “*more content*” and “*happier*”, which was the reinforcement for her to continue drinking and partying. This created a vicious circle for her to continue using alcohol to deal with her negative feelings, which lead to alcohol abuse “*always drinking and partying*”.

The loss of valued social role, identities and occupational position can be challenging for Chinese migrants. Using alcohol drinking to deal with the loss and the big gap between their pre-migration expectations and post-migration reality may result in mental health issues and alcohol abuse. Lee disclosed the change of his drinking patterns, and some reason that caused the change in the individual interview.

“I used to work for an international finance company in Hong Kong, before immigrating to New Zealand. It's a very demanding job, also quite rewarding at the same time. I worked over 10 hours daily and was on a high level salary. I used to drink 1-2 shots of Mao Tai after work, by myself to chill out before going home.” (Yes) Then I came to New Zealand, worked for a small finance company, with an average salary. I lost my passion for work. I think I was quite low, possibly a bit depressed then. I drank almost daily, not a lot each time but quite often to cope with the disappointment of my low achievement in New Zealand.

“*an international*” company, salary was at “*a high level*” indicated Lee's satisfaction with the work he did. “*worked over 10 hours daily*” reflected Lee's passion for the job. Mao Tai is a luxury Chinese spirit. Having “*1-2 shots of Mao Tai*” regularly indicated Lee's middle or upper social-economical level in Hong Kong. Working for a “*small finance company*” and having an “*average*” salary reflected the downgrade of Lee's occupation in New Zealand. “*lost passion for work*” “*low*” mood and “*depressed*” indicated the depressive mood due to the drop of Lee's occupation level after immigration. “*disappointment*” and “*low achievement*” reflected that there were certain expectations of the new achievement in the new country-New Zealand. There had been a big gap between the pre-migration

expectations and post-migration reality, which caused the low mood using alcohol to cope with the negative emotion may cause excessive alcohol consumption “*drank almost daily*”. This finding matches some migrants’ based study, which showed that not only the marginalized migrants but also the well-educated and skilled migrants experience the psychological distress from immigration, and the distress continues over time, even when they return to the home country (Ritsner & Ponizovsky, 2003).

In addition, the reason for many Chinese migrants who decided to migrate to New Zealand was due to the more balanced lifestyle and better living environment. However, academic and career achievement had been the main focus for Chinese in China. Having moved to a more balanced and relaxed lifestyle in New Zealand, which meant shifting their focus of life away from work only to balancing the other aspects of life as well. This is a huge adjustment for Chinese migrants. There can be some differences between their pre-migration expectations and post-migration reality. Furthermore, it can be very challenging for skilled Chinese migrants to find a New Zealand job, which has the same level of social-economic status that they had in China. This is a global issue. Migrants' employment issues were explored by specific network of the WHO Commission on Social Determinants of Health the Employment Conditions Knowledge Network pointed out that although many of today's migrants are professionals and skilled workers, the jobs migrants tend to do not match their education or professional level (Benach et al., 2010). In most countries, migrant workers are concentrated in agricultural, food processing, construction, semi-skilled or unskilled manufacturing jobs and in low wage service jobs (Benach et al., 2010). Working below one's level of qualification is a source of stress for others, for example when migrants trained as teachers work as nannies, or doctors work as aides country (Ritsner & Ponizovsky, 2003). Therefore, the loss of valued social role, identities and occupational position can be challenging for Chinese migrants. Studies showed that skilled immigrants, who lost their social status in the new settlement country, had high risk of turning to strong drink, which compounded the marginalization (Kuramoto, 1995). Hence, using alcohol drinking to deal with the loss and the big gap between their pre-migration expectations and post-migration reality may result on mental health issues and alcohol abuse.

Peer pressure

Peer pressure is often thought to be a primary initiator of high-risk drinking behaviours, especially when someone takes a drink for the first time or when playing drinking games (Borsari, & Carey, 2001). Peer pressure as social reinforcement can be conceived of as negative, when excessive alcohol consumption is encouraged, especially among youth and young adults (Perkins, 2002).

Migrants face a variety of problems upon arrival in a new society, e.g., language difficulties, cultural differences (Nash, Wong & Trlin, 2006). As the result of immigration, Chinese migrants lost their natural social support network in the new host country-New Zealand. Therefore, building up a new social support network is one of many challenges that Chinese migrants face in New Zealand. Alcohol can be considered as a social lubricant for people interacting with each other (Collins, & Vamplew, 2002). Using alcohol drinking occasions to meet people and connect to others can be one popular means for Chinese migrants. However, when alcohol becomes the main connection within the social friends circle, it can lead to alcohol abuse. Research showed that Asian students in the United States can feel social isolation because of a lack of English language proficiency and proximity to social networks left in home countries (Frey & Roysircar, 2006). These students may turn to drinking as an escape or as a way to fit in (Ham & Hope, 2003). The findings from our study supported this point. Min (a young Chinese female student) disclosed her drinking story in the individual interview:

I met all my friends at drinking occasions, so very few of them don't drink. (Yes)

It seems to me that the Chinese people in my social group cannot really live without drinking alcohol. I was trying to fit in with this group. In order to do so you would have to join in their activities which consisted of parties with alcohol and many drinking games. If you didn't go to the parties or play the games regularly, they would forget you and eventually disown you as a friend. Then they may not help you, if you needed help in the future. The more often I saw them, the more I drank with them, the closer we were, which made it more possible to get help when I needed it.

Min met all her friends in “*drinking occasions*”, which indicated that alcohol was one important means for her to make friends, and build up her social network. “*Trying to fit in*” was Min's initial motive to drink alcohol, that indicated that the drinking of alcohol and playing drinking games was an the important social activity for this particular social group. The negative side of peer pressure is often highlighted by drinking games. Drinking games encourage high-risk drinking because they require participants to drink once they have entered the game (Borsari, & Carey, 2001). In addition, many drinking games can encourage fast and hard drinking (Perkins, 2002). Excessive alcohol use appeared to be the norm in this group. “*The more I drank with them, the closer we were*” indicated that bingeing alcohol was encouraged in the peer group. Another negative outcome of peer pressure involves modelling high-risk behaviours such as deliberately fast group drinking (Borsari, & Carey, 2001). Many college students “pregame”, which means they drink to get drunk in a group, before attending an event. Because participants can be teased if they fail to keep up, this kind of peer pressure ensure high-risk drinking for all (Perkins, 2002). The ultimate goal for Min to drink to “*fit in*” the group was trying to get their help and support in the future if needed. This indicated that due to the loss of natural social support, Min could feel insecure in the new country, which is a common challenge for migrants (Claassen, et al., 2005). Hence she was very eager to build up a new social support circle in New Zealand by drinking alcohol.

Min mentioned later in the individual interview:

“Then later on drinking had already become a habit, the only way to make new friends. I almost drank every day, had drinking parties 3-4 times a week”

(Well you would have lots of friends then?)

Hm, I know clearly that they are only drinking friends, not true friends. However, I felt trapped. I was trying to meet friends, even a boyfriend from going to the drinking parties. But I knew if I still kept the drinking and partying lifestyle, none of the relationships would last long. Unless I was totally independent and didn't care if I had friends or not; everything depended on myself. But I like socialising, I am a people person. So when I wanted to get out of the circle, I felt trapped. Then I wanted to drink again to stop thinking like this. It became a vicious circle.

Having been socialising with a group of people that binge drinking was a social norm, Min showed some signs of problematic drinking behaviours, e.g., drinking “*everyday*”, “*the only way to make friends*” was in the drinking occasions. As Min addressed earlier in the interview that her initial reason for drinking was to build up new social network. As a result, Min's new social network was all heavily involved in alcohol consumption, and the friends she made all were “*drinking friends, not true friends*”. The new social group brought people around her “*drinking parties*” regularly. However, did not bring her a stable relationship “*none of the relationships would last*” or the satisfaction of her lifestyle. As Min reflected that however, she was aware of it, she felt “*trapped*” in the new alcohol focused social group. Changing the lifestyle and leaving these drinking friends became too challenging. So she used alcohol again to escape from the “*trapped*” reality. Min's disclosure of her drinking history indicated that peer pressure can be one significant risk factor for excessive alcohol consumption and problematic drinking behaviours.

Protective factors to prevent problematic alcohol drinking behaviours

The initial migration period, homestay and family living in New Zealand were identified as the protective factors to prevent excessive alcohol consumption and risky drinking behaviours.

The initial migration period

Firstly, the length of staying in New Zealand can indicate the possible drinking patterns for migrants. 12 Chinese migrants were involved in this study; all of them reported minimum alcohol consumption within their first year in New Zealand. Evidence from other studies also showed immigrants, particularly the recent arrivals, generally exhibit lower rates of alcohol consumption (Brown et al., 2005). For most immigrant men, alcohol consumption seems to increase with years in the new country (Johnson, VanGeest, & Cho, 2002).

Jerry reflected in his individual interview: *I only drank alcohol once with a local friend in*

the first year after I arrived in New Zealand. (Why is that?) I didn't know anyone here, and wasn't confident in travelling and lacked in knowledge of directions. Expanding my vocabulary, improving my English was the only thing in my mind then. Everyday my routine was the same: home-bus-school-bus-home. Also there were so many things that I needed to learn, even simple things. For example I didn't even know that you had to push the button on the pedestrian crossing light to cross the street. I didn't think about drinking much at all.

Living in a new country, migrants can face many challenges in their daily life (Bell, 2005). For example, unfamiliar environment “*wasn't confident in travelling and lacked in knowledge of navigation*”, different language, even some simple things -need to “*push the button to cross the street*”. Simple routine could make the challenging new life easier to manage. As communication is the key to connect with others and the society, improving language skills can be essential to settle in the new country. Therefore, Jerry's priority was “*Expanding*” his “*vocabulary, improving*” his “*English*”. Social drinking is a common way of consuming alcohol for Chinese (Tamang, 2010). The limited friends circle in New Zealand also minimised Chinese migrants' social drinking opportunities, which minimised their alcohol intake as well.

Abbey mentioned in her individual interview: *I didn't drink alcohol at all within my first year in New Zealand. When I first arrived here, I couldn't drive. I only knew a few classmates and it was difficult for us to catch up with each other. We didn't know how to get to each other's home. You know, most of the students in language school haven't been in New Zealand for long. Due to our English being limited, not knowing the directions to ones place, and also most of us not having a vehicle, my life was pretty isolated and simple. I rarely went out after school and on the weekends.*

Studying English is one of the most common choices for Chinese migrants to start their experiences of living in New Zealand. Hence English language schools could be many Chinese migrants' first venue to meet people and experience social life. However, as Abbey described many of her classmates faced similar challenges as her, e.g., limited social network “*knew few classmates*”; language difficulties “*English was not very good*”;

unfamiliar environment “ *We didn't know the way to each other's home*” and lack of transport “ *most of us didn't have a car*”. All the factors limited Abbey from social activities and drinking. Therefore, due to the lack of knowledge of existing resources in New Zealand, lack of transportation, language barriers and limited social support, new Chinese migrants reduced their alcohol intake within their first year in New Zealand.

Homestay

All of the participants have lived in a homestay family in their early settling period in New Zealand. 11 out of 12 participants were abstinent from alcohol during the period of living with a homestay family. The length of living in a homestay family was from two and half months to three and half years among the participants. Even the only one participant that drank alcohol while in the homestay, had a small amount of alcohol - 3 bottles of beer a week. Terry explained his reason for not drinking while living at a homestay family in his individual interview.

I rarely drank while living in a homestay. I need to think about my effect on the homestay host family in any bad way. Also I think it's a bad manner to get intoxicated at a homestay family. I need to be courteous to the homestay host and the family. I had less concerns of drinking when I moved to a flat. Well, in the flat, everyone is the same, we could enjoy drinking without the concerns of disturbing anyone in the house.

Living in a homestay environment means living in another person's home. Terry, as a homestay student, needed to respect the home environment and follow the homestay host's customs “*I need to be courteous to the homestay host and the family*”. Therefore, Terry was more mindful about whether his behaviours would affect the homestay family in any negative way. Excessive alcohol use is normally considered as a risky behaviour and can be regarded as negative influence to the homestay host. Terry minimised his alcohol drinking to prevent any potential negative influence on the relationship between him and his homestay host.

Nick was in his early twenties. He had lived in New Zealand for over two years. He had

some legal issues due to being involved in a group fight in a night club. Nick mentioned in his individual interview “*I think if I had stayed in the homestay for the whole time, possibly, I wouldn't have got myself into trouble later on.*” This statement indicated that Nick would be more cautious and more concerned about the negative consequences of his reactions when staying in a homestay. Therefore, the possibilities of conducting problematic behaviours e.g., bingeing alcohol and group fighting would be lessened.

Family living in New Zealand

Another common theme that was found in this study was that Chinese migrants drank less alcohol if their families were in New Zealand. Similar result was found in the report from NIAAA (2002), which indicated that young adult (age between 18 to 24 years old), not living with families, and having none or few off-campus responsibilities (e.g., employment or family) can be risk factors to promote higher alcohol consumption.

The younger participants focused group (aged early to mid-20s-FG2) explored the reasons for reducing their drinking when family was in New Zealand. :

Nick: I didn't go out drinking and partying too much, when my parents were here in New Zealand.

(Why was that?)

Nick: I was quite busy to show them around, as I am more familiar with Auckland than them. It's easier for me to take them around, other than let them find the places by themselves.

Henry: Yes, I was similar. Also I wanted my parents to experience the good side of New Zealand lifestyle. I didn't want them to worry about me after they had gone back to China.

Eva: You know, our parents sent us here with high expectations. I felt the responsibility to show them that sending me to New Zealand was a right choice and I have a good future ahead.

Min: Also, I hardly felt empty when my parents were here. So I didn't feel the need to drink, when they were in New Zealand. (FG2)

Nick “didn’t *go out drinking and partying too much*”, indicated that he deliberately reduced his drinking occasions while his parents were visiting New Zealand. By “showing” the parents “*around*” in Auckland, indicated that Nick took a host role in New Zealand for his parents. So he took the host responsibility to look after his parents. As a result of being the host, Nick had less free time to socialize and drink with other friends. In order to minimise the concerns from their parents, avoiding potential risky behaviours, including excessive alcohol consumption, was one strategy that young Chinese migrants could use, when their parents visited New Zealand. According to Henry, he tried to show “*the good side of New Zealand lifestyle*” to minimise his parents' worry. As Eva said, her reason of having more self-discipline, behaving relatively good in front of her parents was trying to give her parents the impression that “*sending me to New Zealand was a right choice*”. It is common for young Chinese migrants to get financial support from their families in China. More or less, the families back in China would have some expectations towards them. Most expectations would be hoping the young Chinese migrants have “*a good future ahead*” in New Zealand. Therefore, the young Chinese migrants do carry some pressure to achieve the expectations of their families in China (Wong & Wong, 2006). Also disappointing the parents or families, may result in reduction of financial support, which could make the settling stage in the new country even more challenging. As discussed earlier, using alcohol as a mechanism to deal with empty feeling, loneliness and insecurity could lead to alcohol abuse (Wong & Wong, 2006). Having families in New Zealand certainly strengthens migrants' social support network, which can reduce the chances of feeling negative emotions. “*the need to drink*” would reduce automatically, as Min reflected. Due to the reasons above, young Chinese migrants reduced their alcohol consumption when their families were in New Zealand.

Having more family responsibilities, less free time to drink was the common reason for mature Chinese migrants (aged mid-30s to 60s) to reduce their alcohol intake when their families were in New Zealand.

In the individual interview, Mike disclosed the change of his drinking pattern since his family moved to New Zealand, which was the common theme among the mature Chinese migrants group.

Mike: I used to drink 3 or 4 times a week when I was here alone. Now it's reduced to only 2-3 times a month, since my wife and children moved to New Zealand.

(Why was that?)

Mike: Well I had lots of free time, and didn't have to worry about what my family would think if I was to go home late or drunk then. However, my life became very busy since my family moved to New Zealand. And I don't have many chances to go out drinking anymore. (Ok, tell me a bit more.) For example, I need to drop the kids to school in the morning, then go to work. Pick them up from school after work. Have dinner with my wife and kids. By the time we've finished bathing the children and put them to sleep, I would be already too tired to go out drinking, also, my wife wouldn't be happy if I go out drinking too often either.

“*drink 3 or 4 times a week when I was here alone*” indicated that drinking occasions occurred regularly when Mike's family was back in China. Mike's frequency of going out drinking had reduced dramatically, down to “*2-3 times a month*” after his family reunited in New Zealand. Dropping children to school and picking them up from school, bathing his children, all reflected the extra responsibilities Mike took when his family moved to New Zealand. Mike's life became more fulfilled with family activities, resulted in less free time for him, which led to fewer opportunities to go out drinking. As discussed earlier, boredom and loneliness could trigger Chinese migrants to drink. Living with family, having a more fulfilled life, could reduce the chances of feeling bored or lonely, which could result in the reduction of alcohol consumption among Chinese migrants. Living with family also raised Mike's awareness of the negative consequences of alcohol bingeing. “*my wife wouldn't be happy if I go out drinking too often*” addressed Mike's concern about the negative impact on his relationship with his wife, if he went out drinking alcohol excessively. Therefore, living with family could reduce the risk of excessive alcohol consumption for Chinese migrants in New Zealand. Similar findings were shown among international students in the United States as well (NIAAA, 2002).

Conclusion

Chinese migrants moved from a fast paced lifestyle, collective oriental culture, and an almost mono ethnicity country with few international migrants, to a more relaxed lifestyle, individualism dominated western culture and a multi-ethnicity country with a wide range of international migrants. Due to the vast differences between China and New Zealand, the drinking culture among Chinese migrants has changed in various ways. Their cultural norms, beliefs and attitudes towards the use of alcohol and the way they drink alcohol have been acculturated to more westernised drinking culture with widened choices of multicultural alcoholic beverages in New Zealand. Still Chinese migrants maintained some traditional Chinese drinking customs and integrated oriental and western drinking culture together on their drinking occasions in New Zealand. However, migration is an uprooting experience. Acculturation is a complex process, which can affect many aspects of migrants' life, internally and externally. Adapting the New Zealand drinking culture in a problematic way, or using alcohol as the coping mechanism to deal with the negative emotions or the loss due to migration can lead to harmful drinking behaviours, e.g., drink and drive, excessive alcohol consumption. The initial migration period, homestay and family living in New Zealand were identified as the protective factors to prevent excessive alcohol consumption and risky drinking behaviours among Chinese migrants in New Zealand.

Chapter Five: Conclusions

Introduction

A brief summary of the main findings is illuminated at the beginning of the chapter. The summary demonstrated the findings in a slightly different angle: the changes of drinking culture due to 1) the migration experience and different lifestyle between China and New Zealand. 2) the differences between the collective oriental culture in China and the individualism dominated western culture in New Zealand, 3) migration from an almost mono cultural country with few international migrants to a multicultural country with various international migrants, 4) the different laws, systems between China and New Zealand; 5) gender-specific and 6) young adult focused findings were summarized. Future research directions are explored afterwards. Recommendations for health professionals who work with Chinese migrants presenting alcohol drinking issues are discussed at the end.

Busy lifestyle versus laid back lifestyle

Firstly, a common theme was found among all participants, which is the length of staying in New Zealand can indicate the possible drinking patterns of Chinese migrants. A few migrants drinking studies in western societies also found similar result (Loue, & Sajatovic, 2009; Presley, Cheng, & Pimenel, 2004). In this study all of the participants reported minimum alcohol consumption within their first year in New Zealand. Living in a new country, migrants can face many challenges in their daily life. The limited circle of friends in New Zealand minimised Chinese migrants' social drinking opportunities. Also due to the lack of knowledge of existing resources in New Zealand, lack of transportation, language barriers and limited social support, new Chinese migrants reduced their alcohol intake within their first year in New Zealand. Evidence from other studies also showed immigrants, particularly the recent arrivals, generally exhibit lower rates of alcohol consumption (Brown et al., 2005). For most immigrant men, alcohol consumption seems to increase with years in the new country (Johnson, VanGeest, & Cho, 2002).

Secondly, in the fast pace working circumstances and stressful Chinese lifestyle, alcohol merely played a relaxing role for Chinese. Most participants perceived New Zealand lifestyle to be more laid back and relaxed. Therefore, Chinese migrants learned to slow down their pace, and changed their purpose of drinking from business, work focused networking to more relaxation related drinking. In addition, moving from a limited space residential option - apartment in China to a more spacious residential option - house in New Zealand, adapting to the barbecue culture as a means of friend gathering and cooking, and under the influence of the mainstream drinking culture in New Zealand, the home became a more popular venue for Chinese to drink alcohol. Most Kiwis drink alcohol in the home. Research showed that more than two thirds of New Zealanders drink alcohol in the home, for adults mostly drinking at their home and teenagers prefer drinking in someone else's home. Over 90% of Kiwis drink with other people (ALAC, 2012). As a result of acculturation, Chinese migrants drank more often at home and lead to spend more time with their families, involving their families in more activities and leisure in New Zealand, which reduced their risk of problematic drinking behaviours, e.g., alcohol abuse.

Thirdly, having adapted to a more relaxed lifestyle and popular local drinking culture, and the affordable prices of western alcoholic beverages, wine and alcohol tasting became one popular leisure option among Chinese migrants in New Zealand. It appeared that alcohol tasting is not very common in China. However, alcohol plays a very important role for social and networking in China connection (Gately, 2009); Chinese are not focused on enjoying the taste of alcohol in social situations. In New Zealand, wine tasting is one popular Kiwi activity especially in business, political (Courtney, 2003) and tourist events (Howland, 2014). As the result of the acculturation, some Chinese migrants are accustomed to pay more attention to the taste of alcoholic beverages. The results showed a similar impression in the female participants as well.

Lastly, some Chinese migrants adapted the more relaxed New Zealand lifestyle in a problematic way, which may lead to risky drinking behaviours. Some Chinese migrants perceived relaxed lifestyle, shorter work hours, and limited social gathering opportunities as longer drinking time and recovery periods from drunkenness, which could reduce their concerns of negative consequences of alcohol abuse. However, some Chinese migrants

found it's challenging to adjust their life to a more relaxed style. They used alcohol to deal with negative emotions such as boredom, disappointment of losing valued social status due to the migration experience, which can lead to problematic drinking behaviours. This theme was found in both focus groups, the younger adult group (early to late 20s) and the mature migrants group (aged 30s to 60s), for both male and female participants as well. This finding matches some refugees and migrants' based studies, which showed that using alcohol to cope with acculturative distress can lead to increased alcohol and substance use (Briggs, Talbot & Melvin, 2007; Briggs, Talbot & Melvin, 2007; Gushulak, 2010).

Collective oriental culture versus individualism dominated western culture

Firstly, Chinese migrants changed from a more social drinking style in China to a more individually focused solo drinking style in New Zealand. Less demand for business social drinking sessions and limited friends circle in New Zealand caused Chinese migrants to dramatically reduce their social drinking opportunities. Moreover, Chinese culture is a community focused collective culture, connections within and between people, groups, and communities are highly emphasised (Kurasaki, Okazaki, & Sue, 2002). The activities that do not involve interaction between people e.g., drinking alone may not be encouraged in Chinese culture. On the other hand, individualism is the prevalent culture in New Zealand. Therefore, enjoying personal space, solo leisure activities are perceived as normal in New Zealand. Drinking alone is an activity that does not involve any interaction with others, a purely individual focused activity, which Chinese migrants picked up from New Zealand.

Secondly, Chinese migrants became more accustomed to buying their own drink or splitting the bills in New Zealand, compared to shouting everyone's drink or taking turns to pay the whole bill in China. In the meantime, maintaining some of the traditional Chinese drinking customs and synchronising the western and Chinese drinking culture also occurred in Chinese migrants in New Zealand. Being part of a community and group based culture, individualism is lessened. Group activities and shared experiences are encouraged in China. Sharing the same type of alcohol and only one bill per group is a drinking tradition for Chinese. Under the influence of western individualism, Chinese migrants assimilated their social drinking custom to more individualised experiences. However,

Chinese migrants still maintained some of the traditional Chinese drinking customs, e.g., sharing the same type of alcohol with the whole group. Due to the rich resource of western alcohol and the limited availability of Chinese alcoholic beverages, Chinese migrants integrated both Chinese and western customs together, e.g., mixing western alcohol drinks with common Chinese drinks in their social drinking occasions. Research showed that many recent migrants still hold their “traditional” eating and drinking norms, whereas ethnic groups many invent their own food-and-drink order based on the availability of abundant food and drink in the United States (Barr, 1999).

Thirdly, having moved from a collective culture based educational system in China to an individually focused educational system in New Zealand, Chinese migrants found it more challenging to develop friendships within campus. Some of them turned to alcohol to seek friendship. Due to the collective culture in China, the Chinese educational system is a group and unit based structure, which is fairly easy for individuals to bond to a group or team. However in New Zealand, individualism is the mainstream culture, the educational system encourages differences between college students. Therefore, Chinese migrants found it more challenging to make friends among their university classmates in New Zealand. University social clubs were possibly not the best attractions for some Chinese students either. Research indicated migrants from East Asia-China can experience challenges to adjust their values of self from collective culture to an individualism focused culture, when migrated to a European dominated country (Tseng & Wu, 1985). Therefore, alcohol drinking became more popular among some Chinese migrant students in order to make friends in New Zealand.

An almost mono cultural country versus a multicultural country

The study showed that having lived in a multicultural environment, giving Chinese migrants more opportunities to explore a bigger variety of alcohol options available from different countries and ethnicities. Chinese migrants had broadened their selection of alcohol drinks from only Chinese alcohol to more varieties of alcoholic beverages in New Zealand. In China, Chinese locally made alcoholic beverages dominate the alcohol market. It appeared that northern Chinese drink higher alcohol content beverages than southern

Chinese. Western alcoholic beverages can be very foreign for local Chinese. However, western style alcohol drinks can be provided in some entertainment venues like Karaoke Bars, western style pubs and bars in China, Chinese locally made alcohol may still be the preference for some Chinese, as they are accustomed to the taste of it. The other reasons that Chinese prefer locally made alcohol over western-style imported alcohol can be the high price and the difficulty involved in finding good quality western alcoholic beverages in China. Moreover, due to the lack of availability of Chinese spirits and the affordable price for western alcoholic drinks (Booth et al., 2008), Chinese migrants have changed their choices of alcohol to more local alcoholic beverages-western style drinks. The easy access to common local drinks was the main contributor to the change of alcohol preference. Furthermore, the widened variety of alcoholic drinks is not only limited to western style drinks, but also to other Asian style drink options. New Zealand is a multicultural country. According to 2006 Census, there are over 170 ethnicities in New Zealand. Having moved to a multicultural environment, the availability of multicultural dining and drinking selections broadened Chinese migrants' experiences of tasting a greater selection of food and alcoholic beverages, including selections from both western and Asian countries. However, Chinese migrants still maintained some of their traditional dining and drinking customs, despite experiencing a wider range of dining and drinking selections in New Zealand. Similar results were found among Asian migrants in other western country (Barr, 1999).

Different laws and systems

Firstly, it appears in China, alcohol is a crucial tool for bonding, networking and negotiating business in the commercial sector. However, the drinking occasions between businessmen in New Zealand are more for celebration as a tradition (ALAC, 2012). Due to the well-developed trading system, the background information of a company is clear and easy to find in New Zealand. So the pre-negotiation drinking sessions to find the other company's background information are unnecessary for New Zealand businessmen. The need for drinking to establish a good relationship is not as critical as in China either. Therefore, the importance of Chinese business drinking ritual has lost its status in New Zealand. However, losing the Chinese business drinking ritual would decrease the feeling

of bonding and belonging to a certain group, despite the benefit of simpler and safer business investigation process in New Zealand. Furthermore, Chinese businessmen's drinking friends have changed from dual or even triple roles (business partner, friends, and the key person for networking) in China to friends only in New Zealand.

Secondly, Chinese migrants stayed longer in one drinking venue, visited fewer venues, and overall drank less alcohol on one drinking occasion in New Zealand. Majority of the drinking sessions happened at night among Chinese migrants in New Zealand. The entertainment market in New Zealand is relatively small; trading hours are shorter, and varieties of venues are fewer than in China. All these factors made the night-life in New Zealand appear less exciting to some Chinese migrants, which can lead to less drinking out occasions and shorter overall drinking time for each drinking occasion.

Thirdly, due to the law differences between New Zealand and China, Chinese migrants appeared to be more mindful of the alcohol intake in public places like bars, pubs or nightclubs in New Zealand. It appeared that public drunkenness in the venues with alcohol licences was socially accepted in China. Preventing intoxication has not been a main focus for Chinese alcohol providers in China. In New Zealand, every service that has an alcohol licence has to follow the rules of Host Responsibility, which consists of a range of strategies to ensure a safe drinking environment in and around licensed premises and to minimise alcohol-related harm to patrons and other members of the community (ALAC, 2009). Furthermore, due to the more individualised culture in New Zealand, and the loss of ones social network (Kuramoto, 1995), it can lead to a sense of insecurity, lack of support or a lack of feeling connected in the new host country for Chinese migrants. Chinese male immigrants may take their safety more into consideration, while drinking out in New Zealand. All the reasons above may lead to the reduction of binge alcohol drinking in public venues among Chinese migrants in New Zealand.

Fourthly, Chinese migrants may drink and drive more regularly in New Zealand than in China. However, they were more careful with their alcohol intake while driving in New Zealand. Chinese migrants drove more often in New Zealand than in China. Due to the convenient taxi ordering system and having big and solid family and social network

support, the possibility of finding a lift back home after a drinking occasion was very high for Chinese in China. Chinese may still binge alcohol when driving to a drinking gathering occasion in China. However, unfamiliar with the taxi system, language barrier, limited and unreliable family and social support group, which are common challenges for migrants (Frey & Roysircar, 2006), Chinese migrants may take the risk to drive after drinking, although, they were more careful about their alcohol intake in New Zealand. Overall, compared to China, Chinese migrants may reduce their alcohol intake in a drinking occasion, nevertheless they may conduct drink and drive behaviour more often in New Zealand.

Lastly, the findings showed that homestay is a protective factor to prevent Chinese migrants to conduct problematic drinking behaviours. Living in a homestay environment means living in another person's home. As homestay students, Chinese migrants would respect the home environment and follow the homestay host's customs. Therefore, Chinese migrants would be more mindful about whether their behaviours would affect the homestay family in any negative way. Excessive alcohol use is normally considered as a risky behaviour and can be regarded as negative influence to the homestay host. Chinese migrants minimised their alcohol drinking to prevent any potential negative influence that could affect the homestay relationship.

Gender-specific findings

One finding is wine drinking has become more prevalent among mature Chinese males (aged 30s to 60s), since they immigrated to New Zealand. According to some of the participants, wine is associated with femininity, beer and Chinese spirits represent more masculinity in China. Therefore, drinking wine is an uncommon activity in Chinese male social situations. However, drinking wine is not strongly associated with gender specific roles in New Zealand. Evidence showed that both wine and beer are equally popular in New Zealand (Howland, 2014). Two-thirds of New Zealand drinkers consume both of these products (Courtney, 2003). Therefore, wine is a mutual alcoholic beverage for New Zealanders, drinking wine does not minimise any masculinity in New Zealand, so it became more common for Chinese male migrants to drink wine in their social occasions.

Furthermore, from a nutritional perspective, studies showed that drinking a small amount of red wine regularly can reduce the chances of getting cardiovascular diseases (O'Byrne, 2009). It reflected that in terms of alcoholic beverage choices, health consciousness started coming into account in the mature Chinese male migrants group (age between 30s to 60s). Wine can be their preference due to its content of nutrition. In addition, easy access and affordable price also contributed to the increase of wine drinking among Chinese migrants in New Zealand.

Another finding is that young Chinese females (21 to 27 years old) appeared to drink more in New Zealand. Under the influence of the New Zealand drinking culture, females are socially accepted to drink in the public places (Casswell & Bhatta, 2001). As the result of the equal human rights and the liberation of feminism in New Zealand, drunkenness among women is not uncommon either (Kypri et al., 2007). Young Chinese women can be assimilated to a more masculine drinking manner, e.g., drinking more aggressively; wider range of drinking preferences- "*mixing more varieties of alcohol*"; not being too concerned about showing drunkenness in public. Compared to China, there is less social pressure for females to maintain a traditional female image in New Zealand. Young Chinese females were less concerned about the negative consequences of displaying public drunkenness in New Zealand. Moreover, New Zealand is one of the safest countries in the world. A fairly secure environment is also a factor that contributed to the carelessness among young Chinese females in New Zealand, therefore, they are less worried about their safety in a drinking occasion, which could lead to drinking more alcohol in New Zealand. A study of Korean women's drinking and smoking behaviours in the United States found similar findings as well (Hofstetter et al., 2004).

Specific findings of young adults

One common theme among the young adult participants is alcohol drinking occasions created more opportunities for Chinese migrants to meet new people and expend their social support network. As Chinese have a collective culture, belonging and feeling connected is rooted into them (Tseng & Wu, 1985). A different, unfamiliar country has raised their needs to build up a new social support network, which was not needed in their

country of origin-China, especially for the young adult Chinese migrants. Alcohol drinking became a more important tool for Chinese migrants to meet new people and to make more friends in a short period of time since coming to New Zealand. However, over indulging in drink in order to meet people and escaping from insecurity and emptiness can lead to problematic consequences (Presley, Cheng, & Pimemel, 2004). Some young adult Chinese migrants used alcohol as a coping mechanism to deal with their negative emotions. Homesickness, isolation and loneliness, emptiness, relationship problems, depression and stress were identified as main factors that lead to excessive alcohol consumption (Wong & Wong, 2006). In addition, when alcohol becomes the main connection within the social friends circle, excessive alcohol drinking behaviours became the norm and were encouraged. This can also lead to alcohol abuse (Perkins, 2002). However, family was identified as a protective factor for young adult Chinese to prevent problematic drinking behaviours. Having more family responsibilities raised the Chinese migrants' awareness of the negative consequences of risky drinking behaviours. Furthermore, having family in New Zealand strengthened migrants' social support network, reducing the occasions of experiencing negative emotion. This finding was consistent with the literature on college drinking in which racial/ethnic minority students consumed less alcohol with having more off-campus responsibilities (e.g., employment or family) (NIAAA, 2002).

Another theme among young adult Chinese migrants is they mainly go out drinking during the weekend, which may lead to excessive alcohol consumption. Due to the relatively small population and smaller market in New Zealand, most night clubs only open during the weekend. Some young adult Chinese migrants built up their urge to go out drinking throughout the whole week. They indulged their drinking out occasions to prolonged drinking sessions, and consumed various types of alcohol during the weekend, which can be a risk indicator for problematic alcohol drinking behaviours.

In conclusion, Chinese migrants' drinking culture has altered in various ways, as a result of acculturation. Resettlement and acculturative stress could lead to problematic drinking behaviours; however, excessive alcohol consumption can be prevented by some identified protective factors.

Future Research Directions

This study focused on investigating the Chinese adult migrants aged between early 20s to early 60s, which excluded youth and elderly population. All migrants experience acculturation after having migrated to a new society, including youth, adult and elderly. Therefore, the changes in drinking culture not only occur among adult migrants but also among youth and elderly migrants (Bhugra, 2004). There are only a few studies done on alcohol drinking patterns among Asian youth and the elderly, further investigation is needed to gain more depth and understanding among these age specific migrants groups.

Little research has been done to investigate the alcohol use patterns amongst Chinese communities in New Zealand, one of the reasons could be that the level of knowledge about problems associated with alcohol use appeared to be lower within Asian communities (Chen & Long, 2008). The 2002-2003 Asian Health in Aotearoa survey indicates that 'Asians' are less likely to gamble, smoke, drink or use cannabis than the overall population (Scragg & Maitra, 2005). However, those findings don't point to actual drinking patterns among Asian in New Zealand. This research focused on studying alcohol drinking related changes among a specific group – Chinese migrants, who had been through specialized alcohol treatment programs due to drinking related issues. Therefore, the findings from this research represent drinking related changes among Chinese migrants whose alcohol drinking had been problematic socially, psychologically and/or legally in New Zealand. Overall, little is known about alcohol use among Asian migrants in New Zealand. There are many unclear areas, including: the sociocultural factors which influence the experience of, and explanations for, mental illness, alcohol and drug abuse among Asian ethnic groups (Ho, Au & Cooper, 2002); the prevalence and nature of alcohol use within newly arrived populations; how migration is affecting alcohol use in these populations and whether migrants are bringing domestic alcohol use patterns with them or adopting those found in New Zealand. Studies investigating alcohol drinking culture among Chinese migrants in New Zealand are needed.

Gender specific findings are not the main focus for this study; therefore a small number of female Asian migrants participated in the study. Majority of the participants were male.

There is a lack of investigations on drinking behaviours among Asian women. Women, who consume similar amounts of alcohol as men, after adjusting for body weight, are more vulnerable to poor health outcomes (Rahav et al., 2006). For example, moderate alcohol consumption may be associated with breast cancer, although some evidence suggests some positive effects for cardiovascular disease (O'Byrne, 2009). Women are also more socially vulnerable to alcohol, such as increased risk of intimate partner violence than men (Rahav et al., 2006). Asian female migrants may have greater social risks for drinking than other women, because of their dual immigrant minority status and a traditional culture that supports patriarchal culture (Min, 2001). Very little was known of drinking behaviours among Asian women because their minority status blocked their inclusion in most health monitoring research. Further gender specific research, involving a larger sample is needed to explore in greater depth the drinking culture among Asian female migrant.

Recommendations

Health professionals need to be mindful that all immigrants face complex tasks (Claassen, et al., 2005), as they work to build their lives in a new country, whose structure and workings they may know very little about. Resettlement is stressful regardless of motivation to migrate, ability to plan the move and networks in place at the new country. When individuals have contact with a new host society, they face many challenges, such as adjusting to a new language, different customs and norms for social interactions, unfamiliar rules and laws, and in some cases extreme lifestyle changes (e.g., rural to urban) (Wong & Wong, 2006). Therefore, gaining some knowledge of the migrants' resettlement journey can assist health professionals to understand the migrants' underlying issues in more depth, which can be helpful in designing suitable treatment strategies for the best outcomes for the migrants. Overall, the complexity of the issues that migrants face requires increased efforts by host countries in order to ensure that resettlement and mental health service delivery meet migrants' needs, and that professional cross-cultural understandings of social, emotional, and economic distress are enhanced. (Claassen, et al., 2005). Therefore, in order to provide a sufficient health care system to Asian immigrants, their backgrounds and experiences have important implications for the provision of health care in New Zealand. The two main recommendations that came out of this study are:

Firstly, the health professionals need to be alert to the risk factors that can contribute to harmful drinking behaviours while working with Chinese migrants, for example, using alcohol as a coping mechanism to deal with negative emotions; peer pressure to binge drinking; drink and drive behaviours and drunkenness in public places.

Secondly, identifying the protective factors that can prevent Chinese migrants drinking alcohol excessively is a sufficient strategy to support Chinese migrants making positive changes of their drinking behaviours and lifestyle, for example, family living in New Zealand, the initial migration period and living with a homestay.

In conclusion, migration is a complex and stressful life changing event. Resettlement process can be tremendous for Chinese migrants due to the enormous differences between China and New Zealand. The drinking culture among Chinese migrants may alter due to acculturation. Problematic drinking behaviours may occur among Chinese migrants; however, little research has been investigated in Chinese drinking patterns in New Zealand. More studies are needed to have further understanding in this area.

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