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Cultural adaptation experiences of people in New Zealand

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ABSTRACT

The rich history of migration of people to New Zealand paved the way for the multicultural environment that it has today. As individuals from different countries with various cultures move to a new environment, they encounter transformations that commence contact and communication with members of the new environment. The constant interaction of both New Zealanders and migrants creates changes in feelings, perceptions, and lifestyles that can be analyzed along with the development of cultural adaptation theories. Social science researchers explained how individuals manage changes within themselves and in the environment and proposed working concepts on adaptation. This paper provides a literature review on the cultural adaptation experiences in New Zealand acculturation, cultural adaptation, and cultural fusion using Berry (1970, 2003, 2005, 2006), Aycan and Berry (1996), and Sam and Berry (2010) on acculturation, Kim (2001, 2017) on cross-cultural cultural adaptation, Kraidy (2005) on cultural hybridity, and Croucher and Kramer (2017) on cultural fusion theory. Discussions are centered on the interplay of concepts and empirical studies in understanding different perspectives on the process of adaptation in New Zealand through a communication lens.

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The changing people of New Zealand

The cultural diversity in New Zealand is a product of the influx of immigrants, the discovery of a new environment, communication between and among settlers, as well as emerging, resolved, and ongoing changes and differences. Ancestors of the present Māori population migrated to New Zealand in the middle of the 14th century from Tahiti, a place in central Polynesia. Though the Māori found the climate in New Zealand colder than their tropical homeland, they brought with them their original culture and adapted it to the demands of the new environment. In 1840, Māori people initially adapted to the civilization that came with the arrival of whalers, traders, missionaries, colonists, and soldiers. The aim of New Zealand was the affiliation of Māori and

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European peoples through assimilation from strength and maintenance of diversity in unity, not segregation from the community.¹ But over time, their tolerance has come to an end as disillusion, suspicion, and enmity were realized, and the goal to restore Māori supremacy and racial integrity has led to a war.²

Tagged as a “country of immigrants,”³ New Zealand has one of the most practical immigration policies in the Global North to date.⁴ The country welcomes migrants who share several similarities in culture regardless of one’s race.⁵ In the 20th century, migrants from Great Britain, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands from 1947 to 1970 have continuously increased, as the Treaty of Waitangi offered a subsidized cost of resettlement for them.⁶ But when the large number of migrants from the U.K., Australia, European countries, and Pacific Island groups dominated the influx of people to New Zealand between 1971 and 1974, this led to stricter border control and revision of immigration policies.⁷

A migration policy that was once focused on race has also changed to being neoliberal for having goals of attracting skilled migrants and boosting economic productivity. When New Zealand immigration shifted its priorities to accepting migrants with the potential of contributing to human-resource needs, establishing international linkages, and fostering a culture of enterprise and innovation,⁸ business immigrants from Asia, specifically from Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan, have been prioritized from 1986 to 1990. With the introduction of the points-based system in 1991, a spike in Asian immigrants from these countries, including Korea, commenced and has been tagged as an “Asian invasion.”⁹

Although momentum on Asian migration was gained, some economic and political issues posed challenges in New Zealand. The Asian financial crisis from 1997 to 1998 and the decreased growth of New Zealand’s economy in the late 1990s negatively affected migration. After a few years, New Zealand regained activity in migration, as the 2001 Census indicated that 70% of the Asian residents in New Zealand were immigrants. This dominance of Asian migrants, particularly from China and India, later raised negative impressions among the members of the antimigration populist political party, New Zealand First.¹⁰ This political party doubted the loyalty of Asian migrants who hold dual residences in New Zealand and their home country, and who frequently travel to and from the two countries.¹¹

To ensure that migrants who can contribute to the economic development of the country are prioritized, New Zealand introduced the two-stage application system for permanent residency in 2003 through a pool selection from the Expression of Interest.¹² More points were given to applicants with existing jobs, job offers relevant to qualification, or jobs outside Auckland.¹³ Flexible entry schemes to New Zealand like student visas, work-to-residence visas, and talent visas are promoted to ease temporary migration along with permanent migration.¹⁴ This skilled business stream of migration enabled more than 1,000 people from the U.K., South Africa, South Korea, the Philippines, and the United States to enter New Zealand from 2006 to 2007.¹⁵

Along with having the most practical immigration policy in terms of skilled migration, New Zealand discriminates against potential migrants who have chronic health conditions and who do not meet the acceptable standard of health criteria.¹⁶ Some bases for approving a visa application include risk to public health, tendency to add demands on New Zealand’s health services, qualification for Ongoing Resourcing Scheme funding, and risk of discontinued work or study because of health issues.

Despite the focused preference of migrants based on skills and health, New Zealand received a continued increase in migrants' entries. From an annual average influx of 62,335 migrants from 1991 to 2000, the number of migrants in New Zealand doubled from 2001 to 2010 at an average rate of 112,961.¹⁷ Based on the 2018 Census, Europeans remain the largest population in New Zealand with 3,297,864, followed by Māori with 775,836 and Asian with 707,598.¹⁸ As people from different parts of the globe continuously migrate to New Zealand for different purposes, it is interesting to explore how they have changed their lives as newcomers to the country and how the members of the dominant culture may also experience cultural adaptation as they engage in interaction and establish relationships with migrants. The continuous migration of people to New Zealand creates a unique characteristic of the country in terms of how people adapt to the changes they experience living in the country.

Tracing the experiences of migrants provides a reflective approach to the development of cultural adaptation theories in the context of migration and strengthens the role of intercultural communication theories in the development of knowledge in this field. As New Zealand cultural adaptation is a less studied context of intercultural communication, this literature review intends to capture the cultural adaptation experiences of sojourners, refugees, and other migrants in the country. The discussion of how newcomers and members of the dominant culture dealt with living with the changing people in New Zealand is unfolded along with the development of concepts and theories of Berry (1980, 2003, 2005, 2006) on acculturation, Kim (2001, 2017) on cross-cultural cultural adaptation, Kraidy (2005) on cultural hybridity, and Croucher and Kramer (2017) on cultural fusion theory. Though several theories are discussed in this literature review, the aim of this article is not to propose the best theory that explains cultural adaptation, but to provide theoretical underpinnings to the intercultural communication experiences in New Zealand. The relevance of these theories to the cultural adaptation experiences of people in New Zealand brings forth an understanding and appreciation of how people establish themselves as newcomers and as members of the dominant culture in a country where the influx of migrants has been continuously occurring.

Culture shock and adjustment

When an individual moves from one country to another, one can experience a feeling of discomfort. This transition from a familiar environment to an unfamiliar one may cause an individual to find old and established patterns of behavior ineffective.¹⁹ Oberg (1960) proposed the term "culture shock" to refer to this mental state as "precipitated by the anxiety that results from losing all your familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse".²⁰ Such involves the disorientation in feelings, attitude, and behavior as a result of moving to a different environment and disturbance of routines, ego, and self-image by any individual who experiences face-to-face contact with out-group members within one's culture.²¹ It causes psychological stress to an individual that may include depression, anxiety, and feelings of helplessness.²² Along with culture shock, a newcomer may experience stressors such as communication problems, mechanical and environmental differences, isolation, and different customs, attitudes, and beliefs.²³

Sufficient and accurate information on the target country is an important factor in avoiding culture shock and problems in adjustments among sojourner students and migrants. During their one-year stay in New Zealand, high school students experienced psychological adjustments.²⁴ International students had a bewildering experience when they had little to no information on New Zealand before they moved to the country.²⁵ Chinese students also felt disappointed for having unmatched expectations of New Zealand being a countryside farm with few residents.²⁶ The discrepancies in the accent taught to German migrants in their home country and the actual accent spoken in New Zealand caused German migrants to find irrelevance in the English training they attended before moving to New Zealand.²⁷

Reality shock was initially defined as the expectation–reality-generated stress when new nursing graduates transitioned from the academe to their first work experience in hospitals.²⁸ When their expectation of the whole-task professional practice does not coincide with how they work in practice, nurses experience reality shock and leave nursing. Duchscher (2012) then expanded M. Kramer’s claim that the main struggle of nurses is reconstructing a new professional sense of self that integrates the ideals in the academe with the realities at work.²⁹

The feeling of reality shock occurred among international medical graduates practicing in New Zealand through having unclear information on training requirements and undergoing tensions with local colleagues. They felt the need to prove their skills at the workplace despite years of professional experience in their home countries.³⁰ Since adjustment in the new environment entails re-establishing new values before moving to another country, Filipinos needed to relearn the skills initially mastered in their home country in the context of the New Zealand labor market.³¹

Acculturation and cross-cultural adaptation

When groups of individuals with different cultures continuously have first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups, acculturation occurs.³² This process involves both cultural and psychological changes brought by contact between two or more cultural groups.³³ As changes continuously occur in individuals and groups, greater levels of challenges and conflicts in acculturation can be experienced. Berry (1970) explained this phenomenon in line with the concept of acculturative stress. Kim (2001) defined stress as a sign of a usual process that occurs whenever the capabilities of a newcomer are not sufficient to the demands of the situation. It is the initial stage of individuals’ internal transformation once they enter a new environment.³⁴

Newcomers of a host country undergoing stress create defensive responses and try to hold on to existing internal structures. The cultural differences and loneliness that tertiary students in New Zealand feel are predictors of psychological stress.³⁵ Because they consider beginning a new life overseas as a restart, Russian-speaking immigrants experienced high levels of psychological distress during the initial stage of their migration to New Zealand.³⁶ International students from Asia and Western Europe considered the feeling of loneliness triggered by relocation and the need to fit into the new culture as common problems.³⁷ They also consider homestay or living with New Zealand families as a source of stress and prefer a more flexible living condition.³⁸

In a study among children with European descent in Southern California, the concepts of process-oriented stress and discrimination were linked to acculturative stress.³⁹ Process-oriented stress in acculturation happens when people interact with another culture, and adaptation to the dominant culture is given importance. Meanwhile, discrimination in acculturation starts from a disposition of being different and applies to all individuals from minority ethnic groups.

Migrants of New Zealand faced discrimination because of cultural differences, religion, employability, family structure, and language. Almost half of the international students experienced discrimination or unfavorable treatment in New Zealand.⁴⁰ Several Muslim youths in New Zealand received threats or attacks and were teased or insulted.⁴¹ Even highly educated immigrants felt discrimination in their first year due to receiving lesser earnings and having lesser employability than New Zealand-born individuals with the same age and education.⁴² Asian migrant women experienced social and cultural isolation in New Zealand for being in “astronaut” family structures—families with one or both parents continually living overseas, belonging to traditional religious backgrounds, and having limited English-language proficiency.⁴³

The acculturation stress experienced by newcomers, as mentioned by Berry (1970) and Kim (2001), is not the end state of cultural adaptation but just the initial stage of adaptation. Kim (2001) proposed the stress–adaptation–growth model, which presents the role of one’s predisposition in experiencing stress, creating defensive responses, responding to the needs of the environment, and eventually finding their way of overcoming problems.⁴⁴ Adaptation occurs when a newcomer engages in forward-looking actions, trying to meet challenges, and responding to the needs of the environment. This model proposed that an individual experiences growth as moments of stress pass, and a newcomer finds a way to solve and overcome problems.

Kim (2017) further advanced that growth involves successful, long-term, and cumulative management of the stress–adaptation imbalance while new learning is continuously experienced.⁴⁵ The process of adaptation has a cyclic and fluctuating draw-back-to-leap pattern, instead of a smooth, linear process. When an individual experiences stress, this triggers a temporary delay in adaptation. This delay then signals an adaptation process through the new experiences in the new environment. As migrants go through this stress–adaptation dialectic, they begin to grow and experience adaptation in the host country. Among British, Chinese, and former Soviet Union migrant professionals who spent four years in New Zealand, adjustment at work had a U-curve characteristic where the high rate of job satisfaction during the first year declined to nearly midway through the beginning level, followed by having mixed feelings in the second year, then a slow recovery over the third and fourth years.⁴⁶

Migrants in New Zealand identified potential factors that may support growth in adaptation that range from emotional disposition to peer engagement, native language use, and intention to adapt. Chinese students feel that the provision of enough time to disengage from work and study in their home country would have helped them become emotionally prepared to move to New Zealand.⁴⁷ To overcome loneliness, international students speak with close friends in New Zealand and their home countries, for they value comfort zones in using their native language in conversations.⁴⁸ Similarly, international medical graduates pursued their medical profession in New Zealand as they developed ease and comfort in working with the members of the dominant

culture.⁴⁹ These illustrations of self-reflexivity among sojourners and migrants demonstrate how a newcomer develops consciousness toward continued growth and adaptation in a new environment.

Psychological, sociocultural, and economic adaptation

Aside from Berry's (1970, 2003, 2005) and Kim's (2001, 2017) contributions to theorizing acculturative stress during acculturation, psychological adaptation (Berry, 2006), sociocultural adaptation (Berry, 2006), and economic adaptation (Ayman and Berry, 1996) were also identified as significant components of acculturation that focus on how a newcomer adapts to acculturation.⁵⁰ Adaptation refers to changes that take place in individuals or groups in response to environmental demands.⁵¹

In psychological adaptation, an individual maintains good mental health and a sense of well-being with a set of internal psychological outcomes, and achievement of personal satisfaction in the new cultural context.⁵² The conscious effort of developing oneself at work provides New Zealand migrants with favorable psychological dispositions. Filipino migrants' relearning of skills in the New Zealand context was initially considered disruptive but eventually facilitated their planning for their future in the country.⁵³ Meanwhile, the main enablers of work adjustment for British, Chinese, and former Soviet Union migrant professionals in New Zealand were skills competence and positive achievements.⁵⁴

Sociocultural adaptation is another form of adaptation in which individuals develop social competencies necessary in an intercultural world. These are sets of external psychological outcomes that connect individuals to their new setting and their ability to deal with daily problems related to family, work, and school life.⁵⁵ In New Zealand, the identified factors involved in the sociocultural adaptation of migrants include cultural knowledge and identity, established relationships, strengthened family ties, and expanded networks.

In a study among tertiary students in New Zealand, cultural knowledge and cultural identity were linked to sociocultural adjustment.⁵⁶ The British, Chinese, and former Soviet Union migrant professionals experienced happiness in the workplace through their established relationships with colleagues.⁵⁷ Meanwhile, Hong Kong Chinese migrants who belong to "astronaut" families, families with one or both parents continually living overseas, adapted and responded to the changing influences in New Zealand through the maintenance of a nuclear family structure, reunion of astronaut families in New Zealand, and extension of network beyond the former source and destination countries.⁵⁸

Economic adaptation emphasizes economic integration, psychological well-being, and adaptation.⁵⁹ This is predicted by migration motivation, perception of relative deprivation, and status loss on first entry into the work world. Russian-speaking migrants faced financial difficulties and perceived low social rank in New Zealand.⁶⁰ Despite being highly qualified and skilled, Asian migrants experienced difficulties in finding employment in New Zealand.⁶¹ Similarly, South African migrants found it difficult to re-establish a reputation, gain financial stability, and find job opportunities in New Zealand.⁶² The adversities migrants experience in employment such as status loss,

unemployment, and underemployment are found to have a negative impact on both psychological well-being and adaptation.⁶³

On the contrary, occupational success and job security were identified as enablers of economic adaptation for New Zealand migrants. The occupational success of international medical graduates practicing in New Zealand had a major role in their continuous and long-term integration into the dominant culture.⁶⁴ Meanwhile, German migrants who exhibit language competence experience economic adaptation through securing and maintaining appropriate jobs that lessen financial worries.⁶⁵

Host receptivity, host conformity pressure, and ethnic group strength

In the previous discussion, the experiences of New Zealand migrants were traced along with Berry (1970, 2003, 2005, 2006), Aycan and Berry (1996), and Kim (2001), which primarily focused on acculturation and adaptation. Though we acknowledge the importance of a newcomer's disposition in the process of adaptation, there are also factors considered in the new environment that play significant roles in one's adaptation experiences.

Kim (2017) identified three environmental factors that affect the process of adaptation: host receptivity, host conformity pressure, and ethnic group strength. Host receptivity is the willingness of the environment to accept and support newcomers, which may be determined by racial and ethnic prejudices.⁶⁶ In New Zealand, migrants have experienced both positive and negative receptivity from the members of the dominant culture.

A survey among New Zealand households revealed that they have a positive attitude and fewer perceptions of threat with immigrants. In the same survey, overseas-born people in New Zealand were found to have more positive attitudes toward immigrants than those who are New Zealand-born.⁶⁷ Although New Zealand values cultural diversity, migrants with European descent are viewed more positively than migrants with Asian origins.⁶⁸ International students from the North-East Asian region based in Auckland were represented as economic objects, as exotic others, and as a social problem.⁶⁹ For the Pākehā students, students in New Zealand of European descent, establishing friendships with international students was not considered important. Meanwhile, Pākehā with Pacific Island leaders perceive their superiors and the degree of communication with them less favorably than with the Pacific Islanders with leaders of the same ethnicity.⁷⁰

Host conformity pressure is the extent of society's expectations for the newcomer to adopt its norms and behaviors.⁷¹ These expectations from migrants extend from household members, friends, and colleagues in New Zealand. Chinese students in New Zealand who live in homestay felt that they were expected to adjust to the lifestyle of the family.⁷² Because of Pākehā's perception of Asian international students as clannish and not open to integrating into the host community, they expressed neutrality in making friendships with Asian international students.⁷³ Unlike international students, South African immigrants in New Zealand felt the pressure to fit in the dominant culture and experienced difficulty in re-establishing friendships and networks, adapting to cultural norms systems, and finding work opportunities.⁷⁴ The culturally driven value-based beliefs on nursing practice and increasing diversity in patients and staff experienced by both domestic and international nurses in New Zealand caused communication breakdown and hampered teamwork in healthcare service delivery.⁷⁵ Meanwhile, those Pākehā

employees without much working experience with Pacific Islanders as leaders viewed the latter based on the Pākehā culture of leader-in-an-organization prototype.⁷⁶

Ethnic group strength refers to the collective status and power of the ethnic group to which the newcomer belongs.⁷⁷ In the New Zealand context, ethnic group strength was related to the effectiveness of leadership and the perception of members of the dominant culture. A study on the cross-cultural leadership perceptions of Pākehā and Pacific Islanders in New Zealand revealed that the ethnic identities of leaders and followers may influence the effectiveness of their interaction. Specifically, the ethnicity of the leader may influence followers' interpretations of planning-type leadership that are concerned with the planning and processing of work.⁷⁸ In the context of education, the presence of ethnic enclaves on the campus contributes to the lack of interest of Auckland-based Pākehā to befriend Asian international students.⁷⁹

Acculturation issues and strategies

The roles that host receptivity, host community pressure, and ethnic group strength (Kim, 2017) play in acculturation are important to newcomers for these contextualize an individual's adaptation to groups. These factors support a migrant's relative preference for maintaining one's heritage culture and identity, and relative preference for contacting and participating in a larger society together with other ethnocultural groups.⁸⁰ To explain these attitudinal dimensions of immigrant groups in acculturation, Berry (2003) and Sam and Berry (2010) advanced a model of acculturation strategies that describe such issues on preferences and coined the terms assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization.⁸¹

Assimilation occurs when people do not intend to maintain their cultural identity and seek close interaction with other cultures.⁸² Despite having feelings of discrimination and being stereotyped with Muslim-Iraqis and other Middle Eastern peoples, Assyrians positioned themselves in a mindful identity negotiation and participated in host-country activities as a secret from their parents.⁸³ Similarly, the German migrants in New Zealand avoided revealing their ethnicity and associating with other Germans, since they consider migrations as their way of avoiding the negative past and creating new experiences for their children.⁸⁴

Separation is an acculturation strategy by people who prioritize holding on to their original culture and avoid interacting with members of the new culture.⁸⁵ Some of the factors related to separation as an acculturation strategy include cultural identity, cultural differences, and language competence. International tertiary students in New Zealand with stronger cultural identities are found to be less open to adapting to the customs and traditions of the dominant culture.⁸⁶ In addition, Asian international students consider cultural differences, personality issues, and lack of common interests as hindrances to establishing friendships with Pākehā, New Zealanders of European descent.⁸⁷ For the older Asian immigrants, their difficulty in communicating in English and dependence on family members for transportation became the main obstacles to participating in various activities of the dominant culture in New Zealand.⁸⁸

Integration is an acculturation strategy by individuals to maintain one's original culture while having daily interactions with other groups as they find ways to participate as an integral part of the larger social network.⁸⁹ Filipino migrants consider adjusting to

their new home by learning the New Zealand way of life while maintaining their Filipino cultural identity.⁹⁰ A specific group of women migrants from India, Goans, who belong to a Catholic community in New Zealand, became independent as they acquired new attitudes, skills, and support in the country. They remained linked to their ethnic community in New Zealand for they felt the need to rebuild connections with Goan or Indian culture before expanding engagement with other members of the host community.⁹¹ Young Chinese migrants in New Zealand prefer integration to create collaborative relationships with their classmates and to seek help from teaching staff in the university.⁹²

Marginalization happens when there is little possibility of or interest in cultural maintenance and little interest in having relationships with others.⁹³ This is one effect of the failed attempts to assimilate involving cultural loss and failed attempts to participate in the larger society. In New Zealand, this acculturation strategy exists when migrants feel less understood by members of the dominant culture and have less control over things when in the new environment. When Pacific Island peoples in New Zealand (Pasifika) suffer from mental health problems, they are less likely to seek health services because they view nonservice providers as having limited knowledge of their collectivist cultural values, practices, spiritual beliefs, as well as the stigma for having mental health problems.⁹⁴ South African migrants also experience marginalization having a mindset of less control over relocation-related problems the longer they stay in New Zealand.⁹⁵

Cultural hybridity and cultural fusion

As migrants are part of the New Zealand population, they become involved in media production and utilization. Because of this, the role of media in the transformation of individuals during the adaptation process is also taking significance in both traditional and social media. The potential impact of media on the acculturation and adaptation of migrants in New Zealand must also be considered in the discussion above. How migrants form concepts of themselves and of members of the dominant culture and how they have experienced the process of adaptation in New Zealand may practically involve a significant interplay of media producers and users.

With the contextual use of language based on culture, there is a possibility of the presence of hybridity in the global culture. Kraidy (2005) contextualized the term “hybridity” to refer mostly to culture but retaining residual meanings related to the three interconnected realms of race, language, and ethnicity. Cultural hybridity assumes that the dominance of media and the activity of their audiences are mutually complementary rather than exclusive, since the politico-economic structure and sociocultural agency have roles to play both ways.⁹⁶

Scholars examined the practices involved in producing media programs for migrant communities and how these practices lead to hybrid texts that at once appeal to people with hybrid identities and contribute to cultural hybridization.⁹⁷ Kraidy (2006) analyzed cultural globalization in the U.S. as the construction of the elite press regularly appearing in mainstream media. The hybrid identity created in New Zealand is evident through the Māori to constitute and represent the touristic identity of the people. The communication of counternarratives creates the opportunity to construct new expressions of identity among the Māori. As hybridity makes new politically resonant

definitions of peoples, Māori tourism expressed a desire to represent diversity and control of image.⁹⁸ Through this representation, culture carried a significant economic advantage through the tourism potential of its symbols, artwork, and myths.⁹⁹ Aside from this, a cultural politics that prevents a “politics of polarity” between Māori and Pākehā existed to create an inclusive postcolonial New Zealand community that reconciles previous antagonisms.¹⁰⁰

Aside from cultural hybridity brought by media production and utilization, the changes in cultural landscapes may also be experienced in the context of members of a dominant culture and migrants of a country. As newcomers’ interaction with the new environment entails both communication with the dominant culture and the ethnic minority community¹⁰¹ and working out to live in the multicultural society where they reside,¹⁰² there is a tendency for newcomers to adopt traits and behaviors of people in the dominant culture and retain elements of minority ethnic identity as they function in the dominant culture. As this process commences, the dominant culture in the new environment also changes because of the newcomers’ cultures. This is what Croucher and Kramer’s (2017) cultural fusion theory advances.¹⁰³

The four assumptions of the cultural fusion theory include the following: (1) humans have an innate self-organizing drive and a capacity to adapt to a new environmental challenge; (2) humans have an innate self-organizing drive and desire to maintain their cultural identities; (3) cultural fusion of the individual with the environment occurs in and through communication; and (4) cultural fusion is an open, dynamic system that changes an individual and the surrounding environment. The development of this theory goes beyond the dominant culture as migrants’ reference on adaptation and extends to giving significance to how changes also occur in its members.¹⁰⁴

Social initiative, new friends, co-ethnics, and sports facilitated self-organization and adaptation to the new environment of migrants. Malaysian sojourners realized that having a social initiative was the most important multicultural personality that aids their cross-cultural adjustment in New Zealand.¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile, German migrants consider the establishment of a new circle of friends as a source of social support in New Zealand.¹⁰⁶ Since Asian international students have a perceived difficulty in making interactions with Pākehā, they choose to connect with co-ethnics for support.¹⁰⁷ For the Māori youth who have lost their tribal roots or have been living away from families, sports became a nurturing activity and provided a sense of belonging to a group.¹⁰⁸

Not only do migrants adapt to the new environment, but so do members of the dominant culture of New Zealand. The perception of both Pākehā and Māori people on the influx of migrants was based on the significance of ethnicity and identity to them. For the Pākehā, the belief in the assimilation of minority groups and rejection of the government’s role in the preservation of minority groups’ culture were related to their pro- and antimigration attitudes. Younger Pākehā who belong to the middle to the higher end of the social stratum are less tolerant of migration because of their attachment to a bicultural identity and belief in the preservation of cultural differences.¹⁰⁹ Older Pākehā who belong to the lower end of social stratum are seen as less tolerant of migration, for they expect minority groups to assimilate as a means of inclusion. Conversely, those Pākehā who belong to the higher end of the social stratum are considered more tolerant of migration and multiculturalism.¹¹⁰ Despite being members of the dominant culture in New Zealand, Pākehā students do not perceive themselves as “hosts” in the

university because of the population of international students that outnumber them.¹¹¹ Meanwhile, Māori view migration of people to New Zealand as a threat because of the important belief in the preservation of their culture, as they have stronger ethnic and national identity and are more engaged with ethnic exploration than Pākehā.¹¹²

The expression of ethnic culture and willingness to engage with society is demonstrated through communication and interaction. The increasing involvement of Māori youth in sports led to the incorporation of their cultural patterns into the local and national sports ceremonies in New Zealand.¹¹³ Immigrant nurse educators adapted to New Zealand culture by actively engaging in the society so they could decide the aspects of the new culture to adopt and the extent of adoption.¹¹⁴

The surrounding environment acknowledges migrants as a significant part of society as education and health systems become more inclusive. Teachers in tertiary institutions in New Zealand view diversity from adaptation and integration approaches and with sociocultural and individual dimensions, and commit to adapting teaching strategies to this diversity without giving different treatments to individual students to avoid being accused of favoritism.¹¹⁵ The Pacific Island students and domestic New Zealand Palagi (non-Samoans of European descent) students consider the university a major player in the development of intercultural friendships being instrumental in encouraging cultural understanding, cross-cultural awareness, and reciprocal intercultural learning through the creation of intercultural spaces and events on campus.¹¹⁶ The health sector in New Zealand observes cultural fusion as the New Zealand Mental Health Commission issued its first Asian-focused literature review on the mental health issues of Asian people to highlight its obligation to the growing ethnic diversity in the country.¹¹⁷

Toward cultural fusion amidst diversity

As New Zealand continuously receives migrants from different countries, ensuring a sound and harmonious relationship between and among newcomers and members of the dominant culture is essential in the development of the well-being of its diverse people. A significant number of pieces of literature that investigated the cultural adaptation experiences of migrants were traced along Berry's (1970, 2003, 2005, 2006), Aycan and Berry (1996), and Sam's and Berry's (2010) contributions to acculturation and Kim's (2001, 2017) works on cross-cultural adaptation. The development of concepts and theories that highlight the changes in newcomers of a dominant culture led to the direction of going beyond what occurs in a migrant. Kraidy's (2005) cultural hybridity suggested the complementary nature of media production and utilization, which shapes the hybridity in the cultural stance of both migrants and members of the dominant culture.

As the communication and interaction of both migrants and members of the dominant culture now become more intertwined with the presence of both traditional and social media, Croucher and Kramer's (2017) cultural fusion theory acknowledges the possibility of reciprocity in the changes experienced by individuals. Kim's (2017) identification of host conformity, host receptivity, and ethnic group strength provides significant factors to consider in extending Croucher and Kramer's (2017) cultural fusion theory for these relate to the disposition of both newcomers and members of the dominant culture.

Through locating the development of cultural adaptation theories in the setting of New Zealand, this literature review advanced the theoretical underpinnings of the

cultural adaptation experiences of the less studied context of New Zealand. The previous studies discussed along with the models and theories uncovered the experiences of newcomers and members of the dominant culture in the country and provided a systematic approach to analyzing and appreciating the connections between theory and practice.

Having discussed studies done on cultural adaptation, there is a huge opportunity for exploring more research initiatives focusing on communication perspectives in looking at migrants' experiences in New Zealand. The research conversations on how newcomers experience changes in the host country extend to the prospect of investigating how members of the dominant culture experience change with the presence of immigrants in their everyday lives in New Zealand. The gathering of more empirical data on how people in New Zealand undergo cultural adaptation and cultural fusion provides meaningful insights to other researchers of intercultural and cross-cultural communication, as well as to both immigrant and host communities in other countries that are considered home to people with diverse cultural backgrounds. The dynamism of both traditional and social media opens much more diverse approaches to studying acculturation, adaptation, cultural hybridity, and cultural fusion in the years to come.

Notes

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