

**Relationships between Global Orientations and Attitudes toward Integration Policies:**

**A Sequential Explanatory Mixed Methods Approach**

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### Abstract

**Objectives:** Based upon a mixed methods follow-up explanation model, the present research examined the relationships between global orientations and the attitudes toward integration policies among both locals (majority group) and South Asians (minority group) in Hong Kong. **Methods:** In Study 1, quantitative data were collected from a community sample of 1,614 adults comprising 1,007 locals and 607 South Asians in three minority groups (Indians, Nepalese, and Pakistanis). In Study 2, a follow-up explanation phase of qualitative investigation was conducted, with 12 in-depth semi-structured focus group discussions among seven locals and 49 South Asians, generating three main themes and six subthemes. **Results:** Quantitative results showed that the positive link between multicultural acquisition and instrumental integration policies was significantly stronger for South Asians than for locals, and that ethnic protection was negatively associated with a positive attitude toward symbolic integration policies in the majority group but had no effects in the minority group. The three main themes generated from the qualitative results include alleviating minority disadvantage, preserving majority privilege, and embracing diversity for the common good. **Conclusions:** The combined quantitative and qualitative results suggest that the differential relationships of multicultural acquisition and ethnic protection with support for specific integration policies can be understood with the underlying structural power asymmetry between the majority and minority groups.

**Keywords:** global orientations, integration policies, ethnic minorities, sequential explanatory, mixed methods

**Public significance statement:** Intergroup relations have been studied extensively from an acculturation perspective. We investigate majority and minority group members' attitudes toward social integration in the context of globalization. Their global orientations have differential relationships with symbolic and instrumental integration policies.

Globalization is a process of transnational, transcultural and transborder interaction and integration, driven by the global flows of goods, knowledge, technologies, cultures, and people (Chiu & Kwan, 2016; Marsella, 2012). This process has affected different cultural groups in different ways and has challenged intergroup relations. From a cultural psychological perspective, globalization can be interpreted as an acculturation process that modifies individuals' values, beliefs, and behaviors, through various forms of intercultural exchange (Chen et al., 2016). Apart from the traditional immigration-based acculturation primarily experienced by sojourners and immigrants through direct contact, globalization-based acculturation represents a new form of cultural exposure without physical relocation, involving direct contact with immigrants and/or indirect contact via Internet and media (Chen et al., 2008; Chen et al., 2013; Chen et al., 2016; Ozer et al., 2021).

To investigate the psychological processes that occur in response to globalization, Chen and colleagues (2016) proposed the construct *global orientations*, examining individual differences in affective, behavioral, and cognitive responses to intercultural contact. There are two components of global orientations: the proactive component *multicultural acquisition* that focuses on acquiring new cultures, and the defensive component *ethnic protection* that focuses on safeguarding one's heritage culture from foreign influences.

Multicultural acquisition is guided by a promotion orientation, using approach strategies characterized by sustained goal-directed behaviors to maximize gains from intercultural contact. Thus, during the process of globalization-based acculturation, individuals high in multicultural acquisition tend to engage in various kinds of cultural learning, such as the languages, customs, traditions, and norms of other cultures. They enjoy multicultural experiences and social contact with cultural others, recognize cultural differences, and appreciate diversity. In contrast, ethnic protection is guided by a prevention orientation, using avoidance strategies to minimize losses resulting from the impact of

diversity. Thus, individuals high in ethnic protection tend to stick to their own cultural norms and practices across contexts. They feel uncomfortable having cultural interactions, believe in the superiority of their own culture, and hold a set of stereotypical beliefs about other cultures. Empirical evidence has documented that global orientations are applicable to both globalization-based and immigration-based acculturation, relevant to both majority and minority groups, valid in both multicultural and monocultural contexts, and pertinent across Eastern and Western cultures (Chen et al., 2016).

### **Global Orientations and Cultural Diversity in Hong Kong**

Hong Kong is a predominantly homogeneous society with 92% of its population ethnic Chinese (Census and Statistics Department, 2017). Among the people of Chinese descent, *the locals (Hongkongers)* generally denotes those who were born and/or raised in Hong Kong, i.e., the majority group; whereas *new immigrants* refers to Mainlanders who have resided in Hong Kong for less than seven years, i.e., the minority group (Erni & Leung, 2014; Hui et al., 2015; Lam, 2016). As defined by the Census and Statistics Department (2017), all non-Chinese in Hong Kong are collectively called *ethnic minorities*. Excluding foreign domestic helpers, ethnic minorities constitute 3.6% of the Hong Kong population. Of the ethnic minorities, the largest group is South Asians (numbering nearly 80,000, 30.3%), the majority of whom are Indians, Pakistanis, and Nepalese, and this is arguably one of the most disadvantaged ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong (Census and Statistics Department, 2017). South Asians are underrepresented in the mainstream social and cultural realms of Hong Kong. For example, South Asians are rarely seen on local TV, but when they are, they are usually portrayed in a comical and culturally stereotypical way, making the diverse and undistorted picture of South Asian culture inaccessible to the locals (Erni & Leung, 2014). This lack of social integration is probably the reason why South Asians in Hong Kong may feel socially and culturally excluded and are often economically deprived (Crabtree & Wong,

2012; Ku, 2006). In fact, despite their long history of immigration in and unique contribution to Hong Kong in military service, trade, and government work since the earliest days of its colonial period (Erni & Leung, 2014), 30% of South Asians today make a living by taking up elementary jobs such as cleaners, guards, and construction laborers versus 21% amongst the Hong Kong population as a whole (Census and Statistics Department, 2017).

### **Integration Policy in Hong Kong**

Over the past decade, the government has been trying to help South Asians integrate in a largely “assimilation-oriented” manner (Law & Lee, 2016, p. 406), a one-way approach that encourages South Asians to learn about Hong Kong culture without educating the locals to understand South Asian cultures. This one-way approach ignores the fact that effective integration requires the participation of both the majority and minority groups in the society (European Commission, 2005; Law & Lee, 2016; United Nations, 1995). Integration policies that fail to appeal to either the locals, the ethnic minorities, or both, may end up intensifying intergroup tension and disrupting social cohesion, despite the original intention of facilitating mutual respect and enhancing ethno-cultural inclusiveness (Law & Lee, 2016; Multiculturalism Policy Index, 2020).

While the integration policy in Hong Kong is still underdeveloped, existing integration policies in other countries generally focus on two dimensions of integration. Cultural integration emphasizes learning the norms and core values of other cultures, whereas socioeconomic integration emphasizes fair access to education, employment, and welfare (Goñda et al., 2021; Hansen, 2012; Penninx, 2005; Vollebergh et al., 2017). The cultural and socioeconomic dimensions of integration can thus be understood as remedies for the symbolic threats and realistic threats that undermine intercultural relationships. According to the Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), symbolic threats arise from the perceived intergroup differences in cultural values and beliefs, whereas realistic threats result

from the perceived intergroup competition for social power or economic resources. Both types of threat reflect the intercultural tension embedded in the perpetuating structural power asymmetry (Rouhana & Korper, 1996), a systemic structure in which one group is allocated substantially more power than the other group. Structural power asymmetry is usually a source of intergroup conflict between groups with different ethnicities, religious beliefs, or both (Berlis, 2016; Rouhana & Korper, 1996). In Hong Kong, such structural power asymmetry can be observed between the local majority group and the South Asian minority group in terms of cultural recognition, and social and economic status.

To take account of these shortfalls in the integration policy in Hong Kong, we incorporated Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) and relevant literature (Goñda et al., 2021; Hansen, 2012; Penninx, 2005; Vollebergh et al., 2017) into our conceptualization of two types of proposed integration policies. *Symbolic integration policies* correspond to the cultural dimension of integration and offer a solution to symbolic threat, focusing on bringing South Asian cultures into the mainstream. Our proposed symbolic integration policies include the adoption of multiculturalism in the school curriculum; the inclusion of ethnic representation / sensitivity in the mandate of public media or media licensing; and exemptions from dress codes. *Instrumental integration policies* correspond to the socioeconomic dimension of integration and offer a solution to realistic threat, focusing on improving South Asians' social status and livelihood. Our proposed instrumental integration policies include allowing dual citizenship, funding ethnic group organizations or activities, funding bilingual education or mother-tongue instruction and putting in place affirmative action for disadvantaged immigrant groups.

### **Global Orientations and Integration Policy**

The way people negotiate their global orientations may enhance our understanding of the mechanism underlying their preference toward specific integration policies, thus the

effects of global orientations across the two groups are also worth examining. Previous cross-cultural research on global orientations in Hong Kong (Chen et al., 2016) found that multicultural acquisition positively, whereas ethnic protection negatively, predicted psychological adaptation and sociocultural competence among new immigrants from Mainland China. To date, there has been little discussion about the global orientations of South Asians, despite their deep-seated minority status in Hong Kong. Specifically, the unique intercultural experiences due to racial and ethnic distinctiveness, and cultural differences in terms of languages, customs, traditions, and norms (Healey, 2013; Park-Taylor et al., 2008; Wagley & Harris, 1958), are likely to be more intense for South Asians than for the Mainland Chinese new immigrants. Indeed, as ethnic minorities residing in a relatively homogenous yet highly globalized city, South Asians are exposed to various powerful cultural influences coming from their heritage culture, local culture, and the broader global culture. How South Asians negotiate their global orientations in response to their existing disadvantaged status within such an intricate network of intercultural interactions (Ozer et al., 2017), as reflected by their attitudes toward proposed integration policies, is awaiting investigation. Besides, as the city has become increasingly diverse and globalized, how the locals negotiate their global orientations in response to their structurally advantaged status in the ever-changing cultural makeup of their homeland, as reflected by their reaction to the proposed integration policies, is also worth examining. Taking a mutual acculturation approach (Bourhis et al., 1997), the present research investigated the dynamics between global orientations and support for integration policies between the majority and minority groups in Hong Kong.

### **An Inquiry with a Mixed Methods Design**

Although a quantitative approach has been conventionally used in global orientations research, a mixed methods sequential explanatory design was adopted in the present research.

Sequential explanatory design is a two-phase model that starts with a quantitative phase of collecting and analyzing quantitative data. The quantitative results will then be used to inform the direction of the in-depth inquiry in the qualitative phase, and the resulting qualitative data will in turn be used to supplement the explanation of the quantitative findings, so as to provide stronger evidence for the conclusion (Creswell & Clark, 2017; Creswell et al., 2003). Such an integrative approach allows for a more synergistic utilization of the data and offers more insights than any single method alone. Using this sequential explanatory design in the present research could thus enrich our understanding of the unique, complex, and dynamic intercultural experiences of the locals and South Asians, in both breadth and depth.

### **Study 1: Quantitative Phase**

The objective of the quantitative phase was to examine the relationships of the proactive component (i.e., multicultural acquisition) and the defensive component (i.e., ethnic protection) of global orientations with the attitudes toward symbolic and instrumental integration policies, among the locals (majority group) and South Asians (minority group). In Chen and colleagues' studies (2016), initial support has been lent for the positive relationships between multicultural acquisition and integration expectation/strategy, and between ethnic protection and separation expectation/strategy, among majority/minority groups. Subsequently, recent research has evidenced the positive link between multicultural acquisition and the willingness to interact with immigrants, the negative link between multicultural acquisition and perceived intercultural threat, and the positive link between ethnic protection and perceived intercultural threat, though all findings are derived from the intercultural experiences of the majority groups only (Ozer et al., 2021; See et al., 2020). To contribute to the growing research area of globalization orientations and to examine the mutual acculturation nature of the intercultural experiences between the majority and minority groups, in the present research we investigated the associations of multicultural



acquisition and ethnic protection with the attitudes toward integration policies in both the locals and South Asians in Hong Kong. Regarding the proactive tendency of multicultural acquisition in seeking multicultural experiences and engaging in intercultural interactions, and the defensive tendency of ethnic protection in resisting multicultural environments and avoiding intercultural exchanges (Chen et al., 2016), two hypotheses were formulated to guide our quantitative investigation:

Hypothesis 1: Multicultural acquisition will be positively associated with a positive attitude toward both symbolic and instrumental integration policies.

Hypothesis 2: Ethnic protection will be negatively associated with a positive attitude toward both symbolic and instrumental integration policies.

## **Method**

### ***Participants and Procedure***

A community sample of 1,614 adults was recruited in this study. The sample comprised 1,007 local participants (52.3% females, 47.7% males;  $M_{age} = 39.07$ ,  $SD = 11.14$ ) and 607 participants (52.6% females, 47.4% males;  $M_{age} = 36.42$ ,  $SD = 12.06$ ) from three South Asian groups, including 149 Indians (52.3% females, 47.7% males;  $M_{age} = 38.95$ ,  $SD = 13.94$ ), 249 Nepalese (57.0% females, 43.0% males;  $M_{age} = 36.94$ ,  $SD = 11.82$ ), and 209 Pakistanis (47.4% females, 52.6% males;  $M_{age} = 34.00$ ,  $SD = 10.38$ ).<sup>1</sup> The educational level of the local and South Asian participants ranged from primary to postgraduate education, and from no formal schooling to postgraduate education, respectively. Data on the locals and the South Asians were collected using a panel method and through ethnic minority centers, respectively. Upon

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<sup>1</sup> Based on the structural equation model we would fit to the data (Figure 1), the required sample size to achieve at least 95% of statistical power in parameter estimates was estimated through the Monte Carlo simulation method (Zhang & Yuan, 2018). By specifying a moderate size of factor loadings (i.e.,  $\lambda = 0.7$ ) in latent constructs, a moderate size of association between exogenous variables (i.e.,  $r = 0.3$ ), and a moderate size of prediction from exogenous variables to endogenous variables (i.e.,  $\beta = 0.3$ ) (Cohen, 1988), a sample size of 530 would be required in each group. Thus, we aimed to recruit at least 530 participants for both majority and minority groups.

recruitment, participants were asked to complete a battery of online questionnaires, consisting of items about global orientations and attitudes toward integration policies. Questionnaires were administered in traditional Chinese for the locals, and in Hindi, Nepali, and Urdu for the Indian, Nepalese, and Pakistani groups, respectively. Standard procedures of translation and back-translation were followed (Brislin, 1986) to ensure linguistic and conceptual equivalence across all language versions. Participants also reported demographic information, such as age, gender, and educational level. Written informed consent was obtained in advance from all participants. Upon completion of the survey, local and South Asian participants were compensated with reward points and small amounts of cash, respectively. The study procedure has been approved by the University's Human Subjects Ethics Sub-Committee.

### *Measures*

**Global orientations.** The 25-item Global Orientations Scale (Chen et al., 2016) was used to measure the proactive (multicultural acquisition) and defensive (ethnic protection) responses to globalization. The construct and predictive validity of this instrument have been demonstrated in previous research (Chen et al., 2016). For instance, multicultural acquisition was positively correlated with both independent and interdependent self-construal as well as both Chinese and English language proficiency, whereas ethnic protection was negatively correlated with multicultural ideology. Besides, it has been found that among majority group members, multicultural acquisition predicted more intercultural contact across time, while among minority group members, ethnic protection predicted less intercultural contact. These items were rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The sample items are “I am curious about traditions of other cultures (multicultural acquisition)” ( $\alpha = .92$  and  $.86$  for majority and minority groups, respectively), and “I find living in a multicultural environment very stressful (ethnic protection)” ( $\alpha = .80$  and  $.78$  for majority and minority groups, respectively).

**Attitudes toward integration policies.** A total of seven policy items was developed to measure one's attitudes toward integration policies. For each integration policy item, participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree with the implementation of that proposed integration policy. Three items are about symbolic integration policies, focusing on promoting cultural diversity and ethnic inclusiveness; four items are about instrumental integration policies, focusing on providing actual assistance to help ethnic minorities thrive. These items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The sample items are "Inclusion of ethnic representation/sensitivity in the mandate of public media or media licensing" (symbolic integration policies) ( $\alpha = .81$  and  $.69$  for majority and minority groups, respectively), and "Funding for ethnic group organizations or activities" (instrumental integration policies) ( $\alpha = .85$  and  $.86$  for majority and minority groups, respectively). Evidence of the factorial validity of the integration policy items is presented in Table S1 in the supplementary materials.

## Results

Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations among variables are summarized in Table 1. In the majority group, multicultural acquisition was positively correlated with positive attitudes toward both instrumental,  $r(1005) = .25, p < .001$ , and symbolic integration policies,  $r(1005) = .39, p < .001$ , while ethnic protection was negatively correlated with positive attitudes toward both instrumental,  $r(1005) = -.10, p = .002$ , and symbolic integration policies,  $r(1005) = -.16, p < .001$ . In the minority group, multicultural acquisition was also positively correlated with positive attitudes toward both instrumental,  $r(605) = .40, p < .001$ , and symbolic integration policies,  $r(605) = .35, p < .001$ , while ethnic protection was not associated with positive attitudes toward either instrumental,  $r(605) = .06, p = .163$ , or symbolic integration policies,  $r(605) = .05, p = .229$ .

To examine the associations of multicultural acquisition and ethnic protection with the

attitudes toward instrumental and symbolic integration policies in both majority and minority groups, a series of latent variable models was tested using multiple-group structural equation modeling (Figure 1). Specifically, a two-step procedure was used to analyze the data. In Step 1, a multiple-group confirmatory factor analytic model was established using parceling in which three to four items were randomly combined into four parcels (Little et al., 2002). Then, we examined the configural and factorial invariance of all constructs across majority and minority groups so that meaningful comparisons can be made on the associations of multicultural acquisition and ethnic protection with attitudes toward integration policies across groups. In Step 2, the two latent factors of the attitudes toward instrumental and symbolic integration policies were regressed on the latent factors of multicultural acquisition and ethnic protection. In this step, the associations of multicultural acquisition and ethnic protection with attitudes toward integration policies were also compared across the two groups. The covariates of age, gender and education level were controlled in these analyses.

#### ***Measurement Invariance Between Majority and Minority Groups***

The configural model displayed a satisfactory fit to the data,  $\chi^2(168) = 728.64, p < .001$ , CFI = .958, NNFI = .947, RMSEA = .064, 90% CI for RMSEA [.060, .069], and SRMR = .047, indicating that the four constructs had the equivalent factor structures across majority and minority groups. Second, to test for factorial invariance, factor loadings were constrained to be equal across the two groups. This constrained model also fitted the data well,  $\chi^2(179) = 804.52, p < .001$ , CFI = .953, NNFI = .945, RMSEA = .066, 90% CI for RMSEA [.061, .070], and SRMR = .058. All factor loadings were statistically significant, ranging from .53 to .92 with an average of .76. A goodness of fit comparison was then performed to check whether the model fit in the constrained model dropped significantly. As the chi-square difference test is sensitive to sample size and the violation of normality assumption (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002), we adopted the guidelines proposed by Chen (2007) to perform a goodness of fit comparison. Chen

(2007) proposed that  $\Delta CFI$  less than .010 supplemented with  $\Delta RMSEA$  less than .015 or  $\Delta SRMR$  less than .030 would indicate model invariance. Based on these guidelines, it was found that the constrained model had no significant drop in model fit, indicating that the factor loadings in the latent factors were equivalent across the majority and minority groups,  $\Delta CFI = .005$ ,  $\Delta RMSEA = .002$ ,  $\Delta SRMR = .011$ . Taken together, the four key constructs in this research showed configural and factorial invariance across the majority and minority groups.<sup>2</sup>

### ***Relationships between Global Orientations and Integration Policies Across Groups***

Built upon the constrained model established in Step 1, a structural equation model was further established by regressing the latent factors of the attitudes toward instrumental and symbolic integration policies on the latent factors of multicultural acquisition and ethnic protection (see Figure 1). Overall, this structural equation model fitted the data well,  $\chi^2(245) = 967.91$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CFI = .947$ ,  $NNFI = .935$ ,  $RMSEA = .060$ , 90% CI for  $RMSEA [.056, .064]$ , and  $SRMR = .052$ .

**Relationships between Multicultural Acquisition and Integration Policies.** Consistent with our Hypothesis 1, multicultural acquisition was positively associated with a positive attitude toward instrumental integration policies in both the majority group,  $b = 0.24$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\beta = .28$ , and minority group,  $b = 0.37$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\beta = .54$ . Interestingly, through comparing the magnitude of path coefficients across groups, results showed that the positive link between multicultural acquisition with a positive attitude toward instrumental integration policies was stronger in the minority group than the majority group,  $b = 0.13$ ,  $p = .003$ . Conversely, aligned with our Hypothesis 1, multicultural acquisition was positively associated with a positive

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<sup>2</sup> Other than configural and factorial invariance across both majority and minority groups, the scalar invariance where the intercepts of indicators were constrained to be equal across the two groups was also tested. Results indicated the constrained model showed an unacceptable fit to the data,  $\chi^2(190) = 1527.92$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CFI = .899$ ,  $NNFI = .889$ ,  $RMSEA = .093$ , 90% CI for  $RMSEA [.089, .098]$ , and  $SRMR = .077$ , indicating that scalar invariance could not be achieved on the measurements. Therefore, global orientations and attitudes towards integration policies cannot be meaningfully compared across the majority and minority groups.

attitude toward symbolic integration policies in both the majority group,  $b = 0.43$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\beta = .41$ , and minority group,  $b = 0.40$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\beta = .54$ . Unlike instrumental integration policies, these positive associations with symbolic integration policies were found to be invariant across groups,  $b = -0.04$ ,  $p = .477$ .

**Relationships between Ethnic Protection and Integration Policies.** Unexpectedly, we found that ethnic protection was not associated with a positive attitude toward instrumental integration policies in either majority group,  $b = -0.07$ ,  $p = .070$ ,  $\beta = -.07$ , or minority group,  $b = 0.00$ ,  $p = .997$ ,  $\beta = .00$ , and these null effects were invariant across groups,  $b = 0.07$ ,  $p = .174$ . Finally, it is interesting that ethnic protection had a differential association with the attitude toward symbolic integration policies across the majority and minority groups,  $b = 0.20$ ,  $p = .001$ . Particularly, ethnic protection was negatively associated with a positive attitude toward symbolic integration policies in the majority group,  $b = -0.19$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\beta = -.14$ , while it was not associated with a positive attitude toward symbolic integration policies in the minority group,  $b = 0.01$ ,  $p = .737$ ,  $\beta = .01$ .

### ***Preliminary Discussion***

Results of the quantitative phase show that multicultural acquisition was positively associated with a positive attitude toward both instrumental and symbolic integration policies in both the majority group and minority group, consistent with our Hypothesis 1, and the positive associations are invariant across the two groups. Partially aligned with our Hypothesis 2, ethnic protection was negatively associated with a positive attitude toward symbolic integration policies in the majority group, while its effects were not significant in the minority group.

Yet the quantitative phase also yielded some unexpected yet interesting findings. Contrary to our expectations, ethnic protection was not associated with a positive attitude toward instrumental integration policies in either group, while it was negatively associated

with a positive attitude toward symbolic integration policies in the majority group but had no effects in the minority group. Another interesting finding was that the positive path of multicultural acquisition to instrumental integration policies was significantly stronger for South Asians than for the locals. A qualitative inquiry was thus necessary to explain these unanticipated but intriguing findings.

### **Study 2: Qualitative Phase**

Built upon our quantitative results, our qualitative inquiry sought to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: Why was ethnic protection not related to positive attitudes toward symbolic and instrumental integration policies among South Asians?

RQ2: Why was ethnic protection negatively related to positive attitudes toward symbolic integration policies but not instrumental integration policies among the locals?

RQ3: Why was the positive association between multicultural acquisition and a positive attitude toward instrumental integration policies stronger among South Asians than among the locals?

Viewed from a social constructionist perspective that social reality is constructed by human interactions (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), and taking various social, cultural, economic, historical, and political factors into account, the qualitative analysis focused on how the resulting structural power asymmetry between the locals and South Asians could be used to understand the unique globalized intercultural experiences and aspirations of each group, as manifested in their attitudes toward specific integration policies.

### **Method**

#### ***Participants and Procedure***

Participants included 49 South Asians (22 Indians, 20 Pakistanis, six Nepalese, one Nepali-Indian), and seven locals. None of them took part in the quantitative study. The

demographic backgrounds of the South Asian respondents were diverse and mixed (see Table S2 in the supplementary materials). There were 34 women and 15 men, sampling both young adulthood and middle adulthood. Five respondents were Hong Kong-born, whereas the length of stay of the others ranged from 5 months to 21 years. Educational levels ranged from no formal education to postgraduate education. Work types included college students, homemakers, laborers, and professionals. The local group consisted of five women and two men, with one university student, four working adults, and two retirees. Using snowball sampling, South Asian respondents and local respondents were recruited through ethnic minority centers and community centers, respectively. Group discussions for the South Asians and the locals were conducted at the ethnic minority centers and the university, respectively. Informed consent was obtained from all participants at the beginning of the group discussions. The study procedure has been approved by the University's Human Subjects Ethics Sub-Committee. All respondent names appearing in this paper are pseudonyms.

To address our three research questions, we examined the globalized intercultural experiences and aspirations of both the majority and minority groups in Hong Kong through semi-structured focus group discussions. Focus group discussions were used because their interactive nature can facilitate comments and questions among respondents to enhance understanding and aid clarification (Kidd & Parshall, 2000). Each discussion group consisted of three to seven participants of the same ethnic background. Group homogeneity was maintained to capture the culture-specific perspectives and unique experiences of each ethnic group, and to ensure respondents felt comfortable enough to express potentially controversial opinions, especially in discussing ethnic differences and culturally sensitive issues (Greenwood et al., 2014).

The seven local respondents were allocated to two focus groups. To ensure free



communication among respondents, discussions were conducted in Cantonese, the most common spoken language among the locals. Discussion was facilitated by a postgraduate, female, local English-Chinese bilingual who has extensive multicultural exposure and rich experience in focus group administration.

The 49 South Asian respondents were allocated to 10 focus groups. The compositions were: four Indian groups (22 respondents), four Pakistani groups (20 respondents), and two Nepalese groups (seven respondents, one of whom was Nepali-Indian). Six groups were conducted in English and facilitated by the interviewer of the local groups. The remaining four groups were conducted in Urdu, a common South Asian language, so as to address respondents' linguistic ability and preference (Rooney et al., 2011). The Urdu focus groups were facilitated by a Hong Kong-born female Pakistani university student fluent in both English and Urdu.

All facilitators were trained and supervised by the fourth author, a male local Chinese-English bilingual with a PhD in psychology and rich experience in focus group management. Focus group discussions lasted between 1.5 and 2 hours. All English discussions were audio-recorded and transcribed into English. Cantonese and Urdu audio clips were translated into English after transcription.

### ***Focus Group Protocol***

The semi-structured focus group protocol centered on the feelings, thoughts and behaviors of both South Asians and the locals emerging from their globalized intercultural experiences, so as to understand the reasons behind their attitudes toward the proposed integration policies.

**Protocol.** Respondents were first asked to briefly introduce themselves. Then the local respondents were asked to share their experience of intercultural contact with South Asians, whereas the South Asian respondents talked about their intercultural contact with the

locals. After that, respondents were invited to share their views on some proposed symbolic and instrumental integration policies, and make recommendations to the government and general public on ethnic minority issues. Finally, the discussion was wrapped up. The respondents were thanked and compensated with a small cash reward for their participation.

### **Data Analysis**

We followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step procedure for thematic analysis. Step 1: Familiarization. All transcripts were read and reread by the researchers to gain an overview of the globalized intercultural experiences of the locals and South Asians. Step 2: Coding. The data were coded based on the rationale that participants had given to support their opinion toward specific integration policies, when the latent meaning of their rationale were reflective of the intergroup structural power asymmetry and/or relevant to the theoretical framework of global orientations. Emerging concepts were organized as new codes. Step 3: Generating themes. All codes were reorganized and collated into potential themes. Step 4: Reviewing themes. The relevance of themes was further discussed to ensure their applicability to the research objective. Step 5: Defining and naming themes. The parameters of each theme were evaluated, and each theme was given a concise and informative name. Step 6: Writing up. Theoretical links between the data and existing literature were established. Meaningful extracts were selected to illustrate each theme.

### **Results**

Three main themes, each with two subthemes, have emerged from the qualitative data. Theme 1: *alleviating minority disadvantage*, captured how South Asian respondents aspired to alleviate their structural disadvantage as a minority group through maximizing their own globalized intercultural opportunities, as reflected by their support for both symbolic and instrumental integration policies. Subtheme 1.1: *less discrimination and social exclusion*, described how South Asian respondents aspired to reduce racial discrimination and

social exclusion through symbolic integration policies. Subtheme 1.2: *more opportunities for upward mobility*, described how South Asian respondents aspired to increase their opportunities for upward mobility through instrumental integration policies.

Theme 2: *preserving majority privilege*, captured how local respondents aimed to preserve their existing privilege as a majority group through their negative attitude toward symbolic integration policies, while showing indifference to instrumental integration policies. Subtheme 2.1: *no minorities in the mainstream*, described how local respondents aspired to exclude South Asians from the mainstream culture through opposing symbolic integration policies. Subtheme 2.2: *all minorities at the bottom*, described how local respondents kept South Asians at the bottom of the labor market by showing indifference to instrumental integration policies.

Theme 3: *embracing diversity for the common good*, captured how local and South Asian respondents aspired to create a just and inclusive society for all through maximizing the globalized intercultural opportunities for everyone, as reflected by their support for both symbolic and instrumental integration policies. Subtheme 3.1: *respect for diversity*, described how respondents believed in mutual respect and acceptance of diversity. Subtheme 3.2: *equality of opportunity*, described how respondents believed in nondiscrimination and equal opportunity for all.

### ***Theme 1: Alleviating Minority Disadvantage***

The main reason for South Asian respondents to support both symbolic and instrumental integration policies was to alleviate their structural disadvantage as minorities, as they aspired to benefit from the integration policies to improve their underprivileged status.

**Subtheme 1.1: Less Discrimination and Social Exclusion.** Many South Asian respondents hoped that symbolic integration policies could help reduce racial discrimination

and social exclusion, the kinds of negative experiences shared by many ethnic minorities, especially when they were in traditional costume. For example, Palisha (Nepalese girl) mentioned that when she rode on the subway in traditional costume, the locals would stare at her and refuse to sit next to her. Cheekoo and Aazad (both Pakistani), also shared their experience of being discriminated against when wearing traditional costume:

Cheekoo: ... [E]specially when there are a group of Chinese people. When they find you different, they just comment on your clothes or everything.

Aazad: I remember going to MTR, they think you have some guns or something like that.

Cheekoo: Yes, they think you are terrorists.

Rishika (Indian) observed that ethnic clothing was a barrier to employment in Hong Kong. Some of her friends had finally given up wearing traditional clothes to get a job.

Moreover, many ethnic minorities complained about the difficulties of building friendships with locals. Palisha (Nepalese girl), criticized the schools for segregating classes into local and non-local, making intercultural contact difficult. Lopika, another Nepalese girl, described her own social circle as made up of “mainly Nepalese”, with “some Pakistani and Indians” and “no Chinese”. Difficulties making friends with locals were also prevalent among minority working adults:

I have a couple of colleagues, but you can't say we are friends. The basis of friends is communication. If I can't communicate with you and share any jokes with you, I can't share anything, [we] can't make friends. (Aazad, Pakistani)

When we take a step for friendship, they just don't want to. (Samir, Pakistani)

Reetisha and Resigna (both Nepalese) hoped that increasing opportunities for intercultural contact could facilitate mutual understanding and friendship formation:

Reetisha: ... we can talk and have that friendship, learn about them and they will also learn about us. So, it's all about the relationship and friendship we have together.

Resigna: It [would] definitely... change their mindset and be more accepting towards our culture and wouldn't find it strange...

**Subtheme 1.2: More Opportunities for Upward Mobility.** Many South Asian respondents who supported the instrumental integration policies shared the same view that they hoped the policies could improve their livelihood by creating opportunities for upward mobility.

South Asians are an important source of labor supply in Hong Kong. However, despite their effort in attaining self-reliance, three in ten working South Asians are concentrated in elementary occupations such as cleaners, guards, and construction laborers. Being stuck at the bottom of the social ladder while living in the costliest city in the world, working poverty has been a notable characteristic of South Asians.

For many South Asians, taking a low-status job was not a matter of choice, but rather their only way to make ends meet. Many of them could only get a job that was beneath their dignity, as their overseas qualifications were not recognized, or their Chinese language level failed to meet the job requirements. For example, Reetisha (Nepalese girl), found it unjust that her father had to do labor work in Hong Kong despite having a law degree from Nepal. Bakir (Pakistani man), voiced his disappointment at working as a junior staff in Hong Kong, despite having a master's degree in marketing and abundant work experience in the banking industry in Pakistan. He described ethnic minorities as being "alienated" and had "no future at all in Hong Kong". He urged the government to offer ethnic minorities a pathway to integration and the opportunities for upward mobility.

Knowing that Chinese language proficiency was the key to success in Hong Kong, some South Asian parents put their hopes on their children, hoping the next generation could have better opportunities in life. However, Chinese language learning was a challenge to ethnic minority children, especially when they did not obtain the educational support they needed. Two Indian mothers talked about their frustration and helplessness as parents:

I want [my son] to learn Cantonese and Mandarin, but it's so difficult. I even put him in some extra classes, but he just cannot pick up... We cannot help our children at home... We cannot speak or understand... we cannot always get help from outside. (Iniya, Indian housewife and mother)

[My son] faced the problem of doing Chinese homework in kindergarten... I am so helpless. (Urvi, Indian mother and teacher)

Feeling frustrated at school, many young South Asians quit school early and join the workforce. The situation is particularly severe among Nepalese and Pakistanis, as relatively few of them have attained post-secondary education (Census and Statistics Department, 2017). However, low educational attainment also means that they are more likely to be confined to the bottom of the labor market, with very few chances for upward mobility. Therefore, many South Asian respondents hoped that instrumental integration policies could bring them the concrete support they desperately needed, especially in the areas of employment and education.

**Theme 1 Summary.** South Asians support integration policies to alleviate their structural disadvantage. As illustrated in Subtheme 1.1, South Asian respondents anticipated the proposed symbolic integration policies could increase the locals' cultural knowledge and acceptance of them, and ultimately increase their cultural recognition. As illustrated in Subtheme 1.2, South Asian respondents also hoped the proposed instrumental integration policies could increase their opportunities for upward mobility through education and employment, and ultimately improve their socioeconomic status.

**Addressing Research Question 1.** The qualitative data of Theme 1 revealed that South Asians had faced both cultural and socioeconomic difficulties as a minority group in Hong Kong. Any integration policies, either instrumental or symbolic that could alleviate their structural disadvantage would thus be unanimously welcomed. Although implementing integration policies would inevitably bring about increased intercultural contacts and even

intercultural conflicts, which people high on ethnic protection try to avoid, the motivation to improve one's life could be so overwhelming that might submerge the effect of ethnic protection. Typical ethnic protection manifestations shown among South Asian respondents such as making friends exclusively with members of their own or close cultural groups (Lopika, Nepalese), not proactively communicating with locals due to the worry of being misunderstood (Aazad, Pakistani), and not being able to learn Chinese languages due to a lack of resources (Urvi, Indian) are likely the results of their frustrating intercultural experiences as minorities in Hong Kong, rather than proof of their belief in their cultural superiority or contempt for intercultural contact. This may be the reason why ethnic protection did not show any association with positive attitudes toward symbolic and instrumental integration policies among South Asians.

### **Theme 2: Preserving Majority Privilege**

The main reason for some local respondents to oppose symbolic integration policies and show indifference to instrumental integration policies was to preserve their own majority privilege. Doing so could exclude South Asians from the mainstream culture while keeping South Asians at the bottom of the labor market.

**Subtheme 2.1: No Minorities in the Mainstream.** Some local respondents were motivated to defend their vested interest as majorities. They opposed the proposed symbolic integration policies, wishing to keep excluding South Asians from the mainstream culture. These local respondents indicated that they felt uncomfortable if ethnic minorities were given the same footing as them. Thomas, in rejecting the idea of treating South Asians as Hongkongers:

[If] they have identity cards, they are Hongkongers by legal definition, though I don't think so. I don't think they are Hongkongers... [T]hey are foreigners indeed... Afterall, we are not from the same ethnic group. (Thomas, local)

This kind of ethnocentric belief was particularly salient during the discussion of certain proposed symbolic integration policies, such that almost all policies were unanimously rejected. Specifically, the proposed adoption of multicultural elements in the school curriculum was adamantly opposed, as they believed it would threaten the status of mainstream culture. The proposed inclusion of ethnic representation and sensitivity in the mandate of public media or media licensing was also contemptuously dismissed, as they believed it was simply unworthy and unnecessary. Shirley, a local and a university student, explained the reason for her objection:

[I]f you say including multicultural elements in the school curriculum, then I think it is a bit too much... After all, we are the mainstream here, it might not be worthy to do this just for them. (Shirley, local)

Many local respondents indicated that they neither had, nor intended to have, any personal ties with South Asians. Specifically, when asked how close they were willing to be with South Asians, almost all of them said they would not consider South Asians as potential romantic partners, friends, and even neighbors or tenants. Two locals explained why they opposed having ethnic minorities in their neighborhood:

...If I [ever have to] buy or rent a flat, and if [an ethnic minority] lives on the 7<sup>th</sup> floor, I will [choose to] live on the 6<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> floor, just to save the trouble [of intercultural conflict]. (Thomas, local)

If all your neighbors are locals and you [rent your flat to an ethnic minority] ... It will affect your relations with your neighbors... (Tiffany, local)

Thomas and Tiffany's response indicated that they regarded South Asians as a symbolic threat due to the ethnic and cultural differences. To minimize loss, they adopted a prevention orientation and used avoidance strategies toward intercultural contact with South Asians.

**Subtheme 2.2: All Minorities at the Bottom.** Interestingly, local respondents who



opposed the proposed symbolic integration policies did not hold a strong opinion on providing instrumental support to South Asians – probably because they did not perceive South Asians as a realistic threat in terms of socioeconomic power:

Speaking of job types, many of the jobs [that ethnic minorities do] are the kinds that Hongkongers wouldn't do. (Sandra, local)

Although the locals did not oppose giving instrumental support to South Asians, they refused to be directly involved:

It's not good for [us] Chinese to help [ethnic minorities] integrate, [the government should] ask their own people [to help], like the Indian Club I just mentioned. Then [the government] can help them... perhaps subsidize some expenses. (Thomas, local)

However, refusing to have direct intercultural contact with South Asians would push the minority group further away from the society and confine them in their own ethnic enclave. Indeed, providing piecemeal instrumental support to South Asians to make their life slightly better would not impact the advantaged status of the locals. Due to the structural disadvantage, the minority group would still remain in the low-skill, low-paid, and labor-intensive job sectors, unable to become a realistic threat to the locals. Thomas put it blatantly:

Equal work but not equal pay. [Ethnic minorities'] pay is lower, but they must take it. Can they say no? (Thomas, local)

These low-tier jobs will push South Asians further down the social ladder, reinforce negative stereotypes, and ultimately, intensify their disadvantaged status in the knowledge-based economy of Hong Kong. These deep structural causes cannot be easily resolved with the implementation of piecemeal instrumental integration policies only.

**Theme 2 Summary.** The motivation for the locals to oppose the symbolic integration policies while showing indifference to the instrumental integration policies was to preserve their own majority privilege. As illustrated in Subtheme 2.1, local respondents do not want

South Asians to enter the mainstream culture because they believed their firmly established socioeconomic privilege could not be shaken, as illustrated in Subtheme 2.2. Therefore, local respondents did not mind sharing some social resources with South Asians as long as they continue to enjoy mainstream privilege.

**Addressing Research Question 2.** Signs of ethnic protection were evidenced in the local respondents' discussions, indicating their defensive response to globalization and their use of avoidance strategies to minimize intercultural interactions. For example, local respondents felt interacting with South Asians stressful, so they chose not to have any personal relationships with them (Thomas, local). As they held negative stereotypic views toward South Asians (Sandra, local) and despised minority cultures (Shirley, local), they refused to admit ethnic cultures into the mainstream culture. Since local respondents saw South Asians as a cultural threat, ethnic protection was negatively associated with positive attitudes toward symbolic integration policies among the local group. However, as local respondents did not perceive South Asians as a realistic threat in terms of socioeconomic competitiveness (Sandra and Thomas, locals), they believed that their existing privileged status would not be shaken even if a little extra help were given to the minorities, as reflected by their indifference toward providing instrumental assistance to the South Asians. Indeed, providing minimal instrumental assistance to South Asians might strengthen the sense of privilege of the locals, which explains why ethnic protection was not associated with positive attitudes toward instrumental integration policies among the local group.

### ***Theme 3: Embracing Diversity for the Common Good***

The main reason for both local and South Asian respondents to support integration policies was they recognized the importance of creating an inclusive society that was built upon respect for diversity and equality of opportunity for all.

**Subtheme 3.1: Respect for Diversity.** Respondents from both local and South Asian

groups upheld the principle of mutual respect and acceptance for diversity. The following excerpts illustrated how respondents shared their views on respect for diversity during the discussion of integration policies:

[I]t is a good thing that a place with exposure to more culture... Hong Kong is a cosmopolitan city... not just one culture and one kind of people. (Sandra, local, pointing out the importance of diversity to Hong Kong)

Diversity should be like there are different people and they can live together... There is not much interaction between [the locals] and us... [I]f [the locals] get to know more about [ethnic minorities] ...then they will know [ethnic minorities] are also human. This is very important for the society. (Bharat, local-born Indian, criticizing the lack of intercultural interaction and awareness of diversity in the society)

**Subtheme 3.2: Equality of Opportunity.** Respondents from both local and South Asian groups upheld the principle that everyone should be free from discrimination and entitled to equal opportunity, particularly in the areas of education, employment, and upward mobility (Preece, 1997). The following excerpts illustrated how respondents shared their views on equal opportunities:

[We] should provide some help to those newly arrived [ethnic minorities] ... so they can adjust to their [new] life here... to be able to compete with the locals and to have an equal opportunity. (Kat, local, understanding the importance of integration as the pathway to equal opportunities)

If you talk about pursuing higher achievement, then the help should be started from education. (Tiffany, local, explaining the importance of education for ethnic minorities to upward mobility)

[T]hey should not separate our children from [the local] students. They should learn together... They should promote equality. (Aneesa, 5<sup>th</sup> generation Pakistani, mother and teacher, demanding equality in education)

I am the 4<sup>th</sup> generation in Hong Kong... my great grandfather, my grandfather, and my father have served Hong Kong. We also have the right on Hong Kong... the government should provide more jobs... (Hasan, 4<sup>th</sup> generation Pakistani, demanding equal job opportunities)

**Theme 3 Summary.** The motivation for both local and South Asian respondents to support the proposed integration policies was their recognition of the societal benefits of cultural inclusiveness, their understanding of the importance of intercultural interaction in mutual respect and acceptance of diversity, and their belief in equality.

**Addressing Research Question 3.** Evidence of multicultural acquisition has been shown in both local and South Asians' excerpts. Particularly, during the discussions, the local respondents recognized the societal benefits of cultural diversity (Sandra, local) and the importance of reaching out to help South Asians integrate (Kat and Tiffany, locals). The South Asian respondents expressed their eagerness to expand their social circle beyond their own cultural groups (Aneesa, Pakistani) and further emphasized the importance of intercultural contact (Bharat, Indian). These approach strategies of maximizing the benefits of cultural diversity and intercultural interactions might explain why multicultural acquisition was positively associated with having a positive attitude toward integration policies among both groups. However, while embracing cultural diversity, South Asian respondents regarded equality as their inherent right, rather than a discretion entirely decided by the locals (Hasan, Pakistani). It is understandable that being in the lower position of power asymmetry, South Asians' desire to alleviate their own minority disadvantage in social status and livelihood should be much stronger than that of the locals. This might explain why the positive association between multicultural acquisition and a positive attitude toward instrumental integration policies was stronger in the South Asian group than the local group.

### **Discussion**

Using a mutual acculturation approach with a mixed methods sequential explanatory design, the present research aimed to examine the relationships between global orientations and the attitudes toward integration policies among both the locals (majority group) and South Asians (minority group) in the globalizing context of Hong Kong.

### **Integrative Results**

Our quantitative findings that multicultural acquisition is positively associated with a positive attitude toward both instrumental integration policies and symbolic integration policies in both the majority group and minority group, is consistent with our Hypothesis 1. The findings broadly support previous research on the positive relationships between multicultural acquisition and integration expectation/strategy among majority/minority groups (Chen et al., 2016). Our findings that ethnic protection is negatively associated with a positive attitude toward symbolic integration policies in the majority group but not in the minority group, offers partial support for Hypothesis 2. The findings are also largely consistent with recent research on the positive link between ethnic protection and perceived intercultural threat in the majority group (Ozer et al., 2021).

Three unanticipated but interesting quantitative findings are followed up with a qualitative data explanation. First, the non-significant association between ethnic protection and both symbolic and instrumental integration policies among South Asians is possibly because South Asians' motivation to improve their life is strong enough to undermine the effect of ethnic protection, as explained with the qualitative findings of Theme 1. Second, as explained with Theme 2, the negative association between ethnic protection and symbolic integration policies among the locals can be understood as the locals' pre-emptive measure against the South Asian cultural invasion. This finding is in line with previous research that evidenced the positive association between ethnic protection and intercultural threat in the majority group (Ozer et al., 2021). It also corroborates the concept of exclusionary reactions, referring to the resistance against foreign cultures when people perceive that the integrity and vitality of their local culture is being threatened (Chiu & Kwan, 2016). Further, explained with Theme 2, the non-significant relationship between ethnic protection and instrumental integration policies can be understood as the locals' manifestation of confidence that a little

benefit will not make South Asians a realistic threat to the locals' existing socioeconomic privilege. Finally, the stronger positive link between multicultural acquisition and instrumental integration policies among South Asians than among the locals can be explained with Theme 3 that although both groups uphold the value of diversity, South Asians, being in the lower position of the structural power asymmetry, are more desperate to alleviate their own inherently underprivileged socioeconomic status than the locals, who are, after all, the beneficiaries of such asymmetry.

### **Implications**

The present research employed a sequential explanatory approach that incorporated both quantitative and qualitative analyses in two consecutive phases. This integrative approach has not only advanced the pathway from theory to practice but also provided policy implications for both majority and minority groups in the society.

Our qualitative results show that the locals generally hold a prejudiced view of South Asians, signaling a need for cultural education programs for the locals. For example, cooperative learning programs that allow the locals to work together with South Asians on assigned tasks, or intergroup dialogue programs that offer the locals the opportunities for open conversation with South Asians (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), may help stimulate the locals' interest in South Asian cultures and broaden their cultural perspectives, leading to an increase in multicultural acquisition and a decrease in ethnic protection, which may in turn translate into more support toward integration policies.

Our findings on the strong positive link between multicultural acquisition and a positive attitude toward instrumental integration policies among South Asians has highlighted the importance of economic integration for the minority group. The findings corroborate Hansen's (2012) assertion that the best way to help minorities fully integrate into the society is employment. It is not about simply getting them random low-tier jobs, but fair access to the

labor market and educational system that provides real opportunities for upward mobility. To increase competitiveness and facilitate intercultural communication, policymakers should consider offering mandatory language classes to newly arrived ethnic minorities and make language tests a condition of residency and citizenship in this globalized city of Hong Kong.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

Although the findings of the current research add to the existing literature on global orientations, it has several limitations that can inform future inquiry. First, the ethnic minority group sampled in the current study was South Asians, whose unique and deep-seated disadvantaged status was a combined result of historical, cultural, social, and economic factors. To provide a more comprehensive understanding of the deeper meaning within the relationship between global orientations and social status, future research should examine whether the themes that emerged from the current analysis can be generalized to other distinctive ethnic minorities in Hong Kong such as Caucasians, who have a higher socioeconomic status in the society despite their small number in the Hong Kong population (Census and Statistics Department, 2017); or asylum-seekers and torture claimants, who face social stigma and discrimination while being trapped in limbo (Ng, 2019). Second, although the interactive focus group data in the current study has provided valuable insights into global orientations by accentuating group differences and similarities, the social space nature of focus groups might have discouraged some participants from disclosing more in-depth and personal experiences (Hollander, 2004). Future research should include individual interviews to increase data richness, completeness and trustworthiness. Third, while our research has offered initial empirical support for the relationships of the two components of global orientations with two kinds of integration policies among majority and minority groups, the underlying mechanisms of those associations are still awaiting more investigation. To extend our findings, future research may examine the roles that potential mediators such as

intercultural threat (Ozer et al., 2021) or intercultural contact (See et al., 2020) may play in the links. Finally, although the current study has expanded the quantitative convention of global orientations research to qualitative inquiry, additional qualitative studies on racial microaggressions (Ellis et al., 2019), identity (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Svensson et al., 2018), language (Noels et al., 1996), and acculturation and adjustment (Berry, 2005; Ward & Kennedy, 1994) will be needed to develop a complete and meaningful picture of how different groups negotiate their intercultural relations in this increasingly complex and dynamic multicultural world under the influence of globalization.



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Table 1. Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations among the measures.

	M	SD	1	2	3	4
1. Multicultural acquisition	5.10(5.01)	0.82(1.10)	-	.10 *	.40 ***	.35 ***
2. Ethnic protection	3.91(3.72)	0.70(1.05)	-.18 ***	-	.06	.05
3. Instrumental integration policies	3.02(3.92)	0.87(0.92)	.25 ***	-.10 **	-	.68 ***
4. Symbolic integration policies	3.34(3.73)	0.84(0.86)	.39 ***	-.16 ***	.68 ***	-

*Note.* Mean and standard deviation outside parentheses are from the majority group while those inside parentheses are from the minority group. Intercorrelations for the majority group are provided below the diagonal while those for the minority group are provided above the diagonal. \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

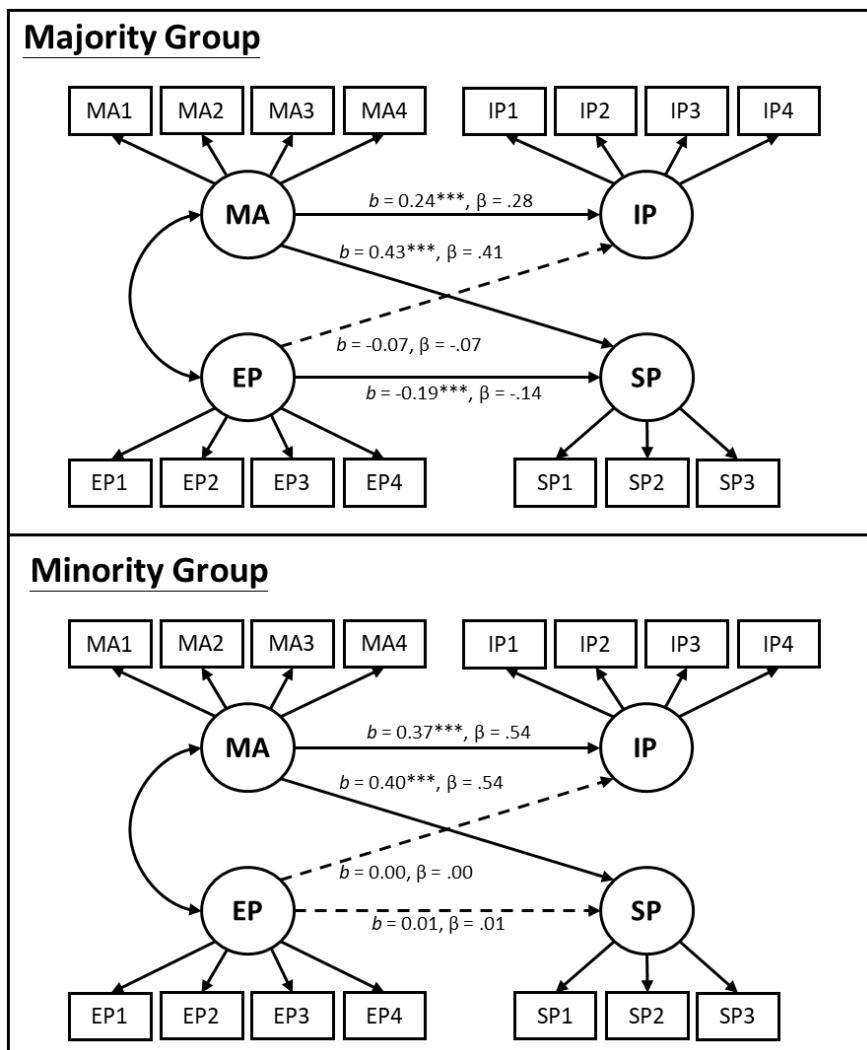


Figure 1. The structural equation model examining the associations of multicultural acquisition and ethnic protection on the attitudes toward instrumental and symbolic integration policies in both majority and minority groups. MA = multicultural acquisition; EP = ethnic protection; IP = instrumental integration policies; SP = symbolic integration policies. MA1-4 refer to the four item parcels of multicultural acquisition; EP1-4 refer to the four item parcels of ethnic protection; IP1-4 refer to the four items of instrumental integration policies; SP1-3 refer to the three items of symbolic integration policies.  $***p < .001$ .