Exploring the Intrinsic Influence of Confucian Principles on
Chinese Women's Agency: A Malaysian Perspective

Karen Leong Trimarchi, University of Hertfordshire, United Kingdom

Abstract
This study will explore the way three core Confucian principles affect the identity and agency of Malaysian-born Chinese women, from a Malaysian context. The interdisciplinary nature of this research will consider ethnic diasporic and cultural identity from a cultural psychological stance, taking the view that identity is socially constructed, as family and society play a key role in sustaining the Chinese culture and traditions through the socialisation process. To explore the socially constructed phenomenon of Malaysian Chinese women's life experiences, a semi-structured interview approach adopting Zaltman Metaphoric Elicitation Technique (ZMET) was chosen as it enables the elicitation of intrinsic values through eleven stages that creates opportunities for triangulating, validating and consolidating links between core constructs and/or themes. This qualitative, exploratory approach will provide insight into Malaysian Chinese women's agency and the effect of Confucian principles that intrinsically influenced their attitude and behaviour, leading to the conceptual framework for this study. The identity of the researcher as a Malaysian Chinese woman provides an emic-etic perspective, adopting the ethnographic principles of cultural interpretation for interpreting the findings. As this research is not an in-depth analysis of Chinese philosophy or culture, its findings will not be generalisable or scientifically validated as each experience is unique and specific to the individual.

Keywords: Gender, women, Confucian, Chinese, identity, conjoint agency, values, culture, Malaysia

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH CONTEXT

This paper will incorporate the study of identity from a social constructionist view, centring on the impact and influence of social interaction and relationships that enables the formation of women's identity from an ethnic cultural perspective. This, in turn, influences women's agency in making choices – an area that has not been studied from Malaysian Chinese women's perspective.

Research gap

Understanding the differences among the Chinese as an ethnic group is important as the Chinese have migrated to various parts of the world, creating diasporic clusters as they adapt to their new host countries. For instance, some overseas Chinese who identify themselves as ethnically Chinese are unable to speak Mandarin, causing others to question their identification as Chinese from other Chinese who do speak the language (Mala Rajo Sathian & Ngeow, 2014). This example shows how structural and societal context modifies values and traditions over time, highlighting the need to understand how the diaspora influences one's ethnic identity, culture and agency – the fundamental concepts for this study.

Researcher's perspective as Malaysian Chinese woman

Adopting an ethnographic stance as a Malaysian-born Chinese woman living in the UK, this research is an opportunity to understand and acknowledge the impact of Confucian principles on Malaysian-born Chinese women's identity and their agency - an unexplored area of study.

Due to the researcher's move from her family in Malaysia, feeling guilty for not being able to fulfil her role as a dutiful daughter, she continues to support her parents financially and emotionally, showing her appreciation and acknowledging their sacrifice and hard work to her as they gave her the opportunity to study in the UK. To generate a sense of belonging and purpose, she continues to value her social and other relationships, creating a family-like environment for herself in the UK. This example shows the researcher's decision to preserve her Chinese values through professional and social interactions as well as fulfilling her responsibilities, perhaps a similar experience to other diasporic groups.

To understand how one's diasporic Chinese and cultural identity impact Malaysian Chinese women's agency, this research will consider the influence of three core Confucian principles, which are:

1) **filial piety:** the concept which relates to women's perception of their responsibilities to the family that encompasses duty to core family unit as well as the extended family;
2) **fulfilling obligations:** women's internalised expectations in various family and social roles
3) **societal expectations:** what it means to be a Chinese woman

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST VIEW OF IDENTITY

Ethnic migrants' perspective

As the study of identity has moved from industrialisation in the West to the effects of globalisation and increased mobility, identity researchers like Du Gay et al. (2000) and Elliot (2011) considered how this fragments individual identities when migration cause cultures and values to change as individuals adapt to their host environment. The effect of social mobility and migration is instrumental in the coining of the term diasporic identities, which may evolve over time with hybrid identities being created through the fusion of ethnic and national cultural values as considered by Archer et al. (2010) and Essers and Tedmanson (2014). For example, findings from Archer et al. (2010) highlighted the fluid and dynamic nature of British-born Chinese identity which was hybrid and dualistic in nature as overseas Chinese identified as both British and Chinese while maintaining their Chinese culture through private Chinese educational projects – an example of how migrants may adapt to their host culture while sustaining their ethnic identity (Shang et al., 2017). Hence, diasporic activities may form bicultural or multiple identities as the outcome of social interaction and the need to belong to a group, community or society.

From a sociological perspective, Haralambos and Holborn (2008) suggested that the impact of the wider societal culture influences how members in a society live their lives. The experience of overseas Chinese women who settled in USA and Canada found that they needed to be sensitive to cultural differences when dealing with work colleagues and family – moving between their ethnic and host culture identity (Chen & Hong, 2016; Lim & Wieling, 2004). Interestingly, Shang et al. (2017) found that some overseas Chinese deliberately or unintentionally lost some of their traditional values while acquiring their host culture. It affirms that the daily social interaction at work and socially is how members learn, shape and transmit societal values from generation to generation showing that behaviour is determined by societal culture (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008; van de Vijver, 2010). That said, they did find that the Chinese principle of interpersonal harmony is still evident in behaviour and attitude towards others - at home and at work (Shang et al., 2017). In effect, this supports the importance of group membership that socially determines individuals decision to adopt a particular identity as behaviour continues to be socially constructed within families, communities or work contexts (Laustsen et al., 2017b; Lott, 2009).

In summary, identity can be viewed as a consequence of wider social and cultural transformation and in the above instances, modification and transformation of one's ethnic identity may reflect global culture as well as local meaning by maintaining traditional practices (Callero, 2003; Haralambos & Holborn, 2008). The formation of multiple identities at societal level for ethnic migrants show individuals need to belong socially, pertinent to their ability to adapt, shaping their sense of agency. Continuing with this perspective, the next section explores facets of ethnic and gender identities considering the effect of values in identity formation.

Formation   of   gender   and   ethnic   identity

Internalisation of values: formation of ethnic identity

The construction of identity in cultural anthropology acknowledge that ethnic groups consider themselves as a collective, sharing a common history, culture or ancestry with culture differences overlapping in shared practices with varying degree of commitment among the community (Scupin, 2006). Interestingly, from the cultural sociology perspective, ethnicity is defined as a state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition which may include belonging to many different cultures at the same time (Lott, 2009, p9). The interchangeable use and overlapping nature of the concept of ethnicity and ethnic identity highlight the complexity of culture, history and the importance of belonging for ethnic groups.   In contrast, cultural identity may differ from ethnic identity if we consider the multiple and complex identities of the diasporic Chinese communities located globally who retain aspects of Chineseness while adopting local languages and practices, as they construct and reconstruct their identities in varied social context (Wu, 1991). This example shows that there are differences between the concept of ethnic and cultural identity, where one's ethnic origin does not necessarily mean similar cultural practices or beliefs, highlighting the need to understand how social interaction transforms societal and cultural values, hence influencing the formation and maintenance of one's diasporic identity and culture (Nagel, 1994).

According to Essers and Tedmanson (2014), the sociological perspective on ethnic identity builds on shared meaning emerging from the socialisation process and shaped identities, which are contextualised and historically constructed. In the age of late modernity, where the complex layer of beliefs together with cultural and traditional practices are being preserved in various regions among different ethnic groups, the part played by socialisation cannot be denied (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Mead, 1932). For ethnic groups, attitudes and behaviour are determined through the socialisation process as values, culture and/or religion is learnt during childhood while action taught and reinforced enables a sense of continuity and tradition over time – the process of identity formation (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Giddens, 1991; Mead, 1932). The informal process of socialisation facilitates the internalisation of cultural values, underpinned by belief systems and are displayed in normative behavioural pattern ie the norm (Giddens, 1991; Kirton & Greene, 2013; Seierstad & Kirton, 2015).

According to Bond (1988, p1014), the intangible and "invisible" notion of values frames individual behaviour and attitude towards others and self. For women, they have the additional responsibilities for fulfilling their roles as wife, mother, daughter, daughter-in-law, aunty, sister and other roles, for example, within a traditional Protestant family, strong 'housewife' tradition persist (Bernhardt et al., 2008). Persistent values highlights the effect of social relationships that predicates the norm whereby identity is both formed and informed by self and others, affecting how one behaves, affecting how one thinks of oneself and how one thinks of others as identity construction is continuously changing (Deaux & Verkuyten, 2014; Kidd, 2002).

The above exemplifies the relevance of this study in exploring how identity informs decisions in sustaining, modifying or disregarding cultural values as individuals are

not homogenous with emotions and motivations playing a major role in decision-making (Jenkins, 2014b). Hence, this section suggests that ethnic identity is not only a social construct but a cultural one that involves the internalisation of belief and/or value systems with particular cultural practices and traditions - examples of the adoption or naturally assimilated cultural values in life, framing one's identity or sense of self (Lott, 2009).

Enculturation of gender identity and gendered values

Existing cross cultural research attempted to understand how gender is comprehended psychologically as social expectations enforce or persist in causing tension for women in their various roles, at home, at work and socially (Aycan & Korabik, 2017; Korabik et al., 2003; Watts, 2009; Williams, 2004). The Western view of gendered roles, where women are perceived as "ideal women" and "ideal mother" have been discussed extensively and continue to put women at a disadvantage where job opportunities and pay parity is concerned (Cubillo & Brown, 2003; Williams, 2004). From a non-Western perspective, the interdependent collective culture in a country like Pakistan, affects women's opportunities in a male-dominated culture which is compounded by traditional values, religious interpretation and cultural expectations (Faiz, 2015). These evidence show that persistent social attitude to stereotypical gendered attributes continues to discriminate and places certain expectations for women at home and in employment (Faiz, 2015; Forson, 2013; Ngo & Li, 2015; Seierstad & Kirton, 2015; A. Subramaniam et al., 2010).

For ethnic minority migrant women, the challenges they face in employment include societal discrimination and isolation compounded by the lack of family support network which would normally provide them with support at home (Kamenou, 2008). Despite these difficulties to fulfil their roles as wife and mother, women may decide to negotiate, confront or maintain open dialogue within their social or family network to fulfil their obligations (Butt et al., 2012; Ezzedeen & Ritchey, 2009; Forson, 2013). The role based principle of identity, in this instance, highlights the impact of social context in informing or constraining women's agency as they take into account their priorities and roles alongside pressures or support from their social network or extended family (Masterson & Hoobler, 2015).

Even in this millennium, traditional values and beliefs continue to influence behaviour and attitude for example, how women continue to be seen as caring, nurturing and responsible home-maker (Mellström, 2009; Merscher et al., 2010). Research by Seierstad and Kirton (2015), Faiz (2015) and Mellström (2009) demonstrated that family pressure, persistent gendered roles and spousal expectations continue to ascribe the role of women as ideal mother or caring, nurturing and responsible homemakers. The social processes that involve the transmission of parental ideals and the preservation of cultural beliefs appear to place greater value on male characteristics disadvantaging women in the private domain at home – constraining behaviour and choices while perpetuating the norm (Faiz, 2015; Oplatka, 2006; Pekerti, 2008).

According to G. Subramaniam and Selvaratnam (2010), prioritising domestic responsibilities over work commitments persist even in Malaysia as role expectations and obligations are formed from childhood, considered primary stage of socialisation,

while experiences throughout life as the secondary socialisation stages (Mead, 2003). This involve the enculturation of gendered roles and behaviour through role playing, role modelling, observation and imitation of significant others like parents, grandparents or siblings (Redding et al., 2013). For example, a study of Overseas Chinese in Indonesia found that the social patterns and behaviour observed by women in their families reinforces their roles and responsibilities as wife, mother, daughter-in-law and/or daughter (Pekerti, 2008).

Giddens (1991) further submits that identity formation may be both enabled and constrained within cultural rules and expectations with some ethnic groups, nurturing and sustaining their ethnic identity to benefit from a sense of security and continuity (Jenkins, 2014a). These practices are likely to create self-reinforcing patterns of women's positions, for example women's own attitudes towards each other may continue to subordinate them to gendered roles and gendered divisions of labour (Pekerti, 2008). In order to cope, women may learn to negotiate, manipulate or manoeuvre to gain material and social resources to challenge social cultural constraints when juggling both family and employment (Moen & Chesley, 2008). The process of negotiating between multiple roles will result in a self-identity that juggles decisions between personal needs versus needs of the family or group. When collective needs take precedence, one choose to act based on the internalised sense of duty to others in fulfilling familial obligations and conforming to societal expectations (Cerulo, 1997; Yinger, 1985) – demonstrating the example of interdependent self-construal focusing on others' needs and expectations (Matsumoto, 1999).

The enculturation and integration of ethnic, gender and/or cultural are internalised and evolve over time enabling the transmission of culture, traditions and values over generations (Umaña-Taylor, 2011). For those living in a culture that is collective in nature, the level of identity salience is typified by the interdependence and mutuality nature of social relationships where choices continue to consider effects and obligations to each other, highlighting the importance of the collective or group support and needs (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). In cultural psychology, this practice was conceptualised by Markus and Kitayama (1991) as the concept of the interdependent self-construal, and they further proposed the model of conjoint agency from their research of Americans and Japanese employees (Markus & Kitayama, 2003).

Having set the basis for the concept of ethnic and gender identity in this chapter, how agency is constructed is discussed below, considering the impact of identity on the sense of agency at a personal level. From this, the framework for this study will then be presented.

Agency perspective

Agency and impact of external structures

Studies of agency theory in sociology, psychology and linguistics define agency as the ability to shape the world by strategizing or practically deciding on choices or actions (Block, 2013; Evetts, 2000; Shanahan, 2009). This can be understood as how individuals make career decisions, to choose and access resources and/or opportunities (Block, 2013; Laustsen et al., 2017a). The study of agency in career

literature considers the responsibility of an individual to advance, which according to (O'Meara, 2015) is about what one believes to be possible and what one does to move towards these goals. In these instances, an agent may decide to take a stance or consider their options in order to shape their own responses to problematic situations – the enabling form of agency (Beşpınar, 2010). At an individual level, social or cultural structure may constraint women's ability to grasp at opportunities if they face barriers in accessing them, for example the lack of institutional support as well as opaque promotion requirements (Terosky et al., 2014). This stance hence disenfranchises individuals' sense of agency by reducing their power or ability to advance.

In addition, the definition of agency cited by Block (2013, p134) considered individual's ability to act on, control and transform his/her social worlds, assuming that individuals are able to take advantage of opportunity or overcome constraints as contended by Terosky et al. (2014). If individuals have the capacity to shape their own responses, acting as agents of change, they will be able to form and reform their sense of self and agency. This empowers them to make choices that are simultaneously enabled and constrained within social structural and cultural rules and expectations - the action dimension of agency (Evetts, 2000). From an institutional perspective, human agency, as a collective, may have the ability to potentially transform institutional structures and attitudes to increase advancement possibilities regardless of gender and ethnicity, for example by questioning other women's own attitudes towards each other (Kirton & Greene, 2010).

More recent study on agency and women's career choices encourage individuals to move focus from constraints to opportunities (Terosky et al., 2014). This view enables an individual to change one's perspective and harness the strength of their existing network and relationships within their institutions to enable women's advancement (O'Meara, 2015). In these instances, individuals as human agents will be able to adopt various strategies to gain an advantage or challenge the norm. For example adaptation strategies may include manoeuvring, redefining, changing or negotiating institutional policies to enable progression or access opportunities (Moen & Chesley, 2008). Alternatively one may withdraw totally from playing the game by rebelling, relocating or resigning and/or changing careers as found by Holck (2016); Tomlinson et al. (2013) and Moen and Chesley (2008). These examples demonstrate the duality of agency as individuals may choose to maintain the status quo or generate change (Nentwich et al., 2015).

As human agents have the capability to act and react, they learn to understand the impact of the constraining qualities of social structure by testing these boundaries (Smith & Riley, 2008). The fact that social and/or cultural structure may be dynamically fluid demonstrate that social interactions, over time, will create minute changes and the dialectic nature of external structure and agency means that they continually create and recreate each other as neither can exist without the other (Shanahan, 2009; Tomlinson et al., 2013). This sits within the socially constructed paradigm as social structure emerges from social interaction, which intentionally or unintentionally makes up individual agency that enables one to assert freewill if one choses to, as the onus is on the individual (O'Meara, 2015; Terosky et al., 2014).

This section considered how agency may take the guise of actions that deal with constrain or enable individuals, within invisible external systems which are likely to be culturally informed. The subjective nature of agency is dependent on individual's sense of power, choices and priorities, the basis of one's personal identity and internalised expectations informed by cultural and/or gendered values – aspects to be considered next.

Elements of agency: internalised perspective

As the sense of self is formed, transformed and maintained through the socialisation process, each experience informs and reformulates new meaning and guiding principles as a way of sustaining one's identity (Fook, 2019; Giddens, 1991; Jenkins, 1997; Mead, 1932). For example, studies conducted in UK and Malaysia found that the continued provision of Chinese education and Chinese-based media are examples of the saliency of the Chinese identity socially as parents can choose to expose or enculture the younger generation to these - construed as the enactment of agency (Archer et al., 2010; Chuah et al., 2016). At an individual level, Chinese identity salience in this context is reflected by individual's intentional choices – the notion of conscious thinking (Baker, 2008; Best, 2008; Smith & Riley, 2008; Trepper & Tung, 2013).

According to Stryker and Burke (2000), the level of commitment to social or professional roles will affect or influence one's willingness to contribute or invest money, time, effort and resources to a particular role. In a research conducted between Australia and Malaysia, when work helps improve children's welfare and family prosperity, these commitments are supported by other members of the family, thus enabling women to have a professional identity and improving work and family integration (Hassan et al., 2010; Stewart, 2016). As a consequence of holding multiple roles, women are able to adapt and negotiate varied responsibilities as the strive to fulfil family and other commitments consciously or subconsciously, coined as the "internalisation of expectations" by Essers and Tedmanson (2014) and Stryker and Burke (2000).

Understanding agency from one's life roles considers the values that women places on their social, parental or occupational responsibilities (van Hattem et al., 2013). The tension between societal value system and individual values challenges one to prioritise and align life values and roles – conceptualised as the congruency of values (Soontiens, 2007; van Hattem et al., 2013). According to van Hattem et al. (2013), the importance placed on respective roles and responsibilities tend to be internalised with standards and expectations of performance socially constructed and determined, for example what it means to be the "ideal mother". The behavioural norms in fulfilling familial expectations can be seen from the life-long care of family members and the importance of the extended family as a support mechanism in various cultural context – the internalisation of values and behaviour that have been encultured and modelled since childhood (Aycan, 2008; Katila, 2010).

Personal agency suggests that individuals are able to make conscious decisions to act and be whom they want to be to reproduce or challenge social systems and structures (Laustsen et al., 2017b). An example of how a husband's career and preference will determine women's own choices can be seen by some overseas Chinese women's

decision to prioritise their husband's career over their own by moving to the UK for their husband's career despite being successful socially and economically when living in China (Cooke, 2007). Where the Chinese are concerned, it may be perceived as a wife's duty to support her husband's career for the benefit of the whole family (Cooke, 2007; Välimäki et al., 2009). In cultural psychology, the embodiment of an interdependent self-construal encompasses one's roles and responsibilities towards significant others, connecting and responding to others is conceptualised as conjoint agency (Cross & Gore, 2011; Hitlin, 2003; Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 2003; Oyserman et al., 2012).

In summary, different forms of agency are enacted where others play a significant part in individual decisions as individuals find ways to fit with others, fulfil and create obligations and become part of various interpersonal relationships (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). To counter extent research on Western view of agency, cultural differences highlight the need to understand the importance of connectivity with others forming the concept of conjoint agency and the interdependent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 2003; Yang et al., 2000).

Expected contribution

As Ozbilgin et al. (2011) suggested, further studies are required to understand the influence of values or belief system in the lives of minorities, and to this end, this research will address the gap involving Malaysian Chinese women's agency and the role of Chinese cultural values, underpinned by the three core Confucian principles mentioned Section 1.

The research framework in Figure 1 provides an overview of key concepts to highlight the importance of values on identity formation and agency (Bond, 2010; Gaunlett, 2002). It considers the formation of diasporic ethnic identity and gendered roles created and constructed through daily interaction and social relationships, stemming from the socialisation process throughout one's life (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Mead, 2003; Redding et al., 2013). Through the socialisation process, the internalisation of cultural values and the enculturation of gendered role will, in turn, inform or influence individual agency (Umaña-Taylor, 2011).
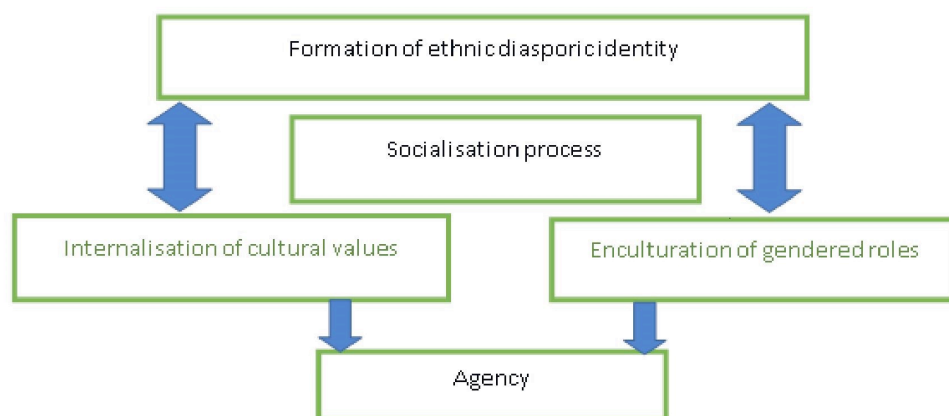

Figure 1 Formation of ethnic diasporic identity and agency (Author, 2019)

The proposed conceptual framework and the use of ZMET provides opportunities to explore links between women's ethnic diasporic identity and the effect of the internalisation of cultural and gendered values, which forms individual agency. This framework may be adopted to study other ethnic groups and gender in various context as diversity exists within-groups and populations are not homogenous due to social migration.

RESEARCH STRATEGY

Research method

To benefit from insightful and meaningful interpretation of the social phenomenon, the researcher approached the process systematically and reflectively to retain flexibility and contextuality in order to adapt to research needs (Hart, 1998; Saunders et al., 2016; Silverman, 2013). For example, to prepare for data collection, a pilot was conducted using the semi-structured narrative interview technique, but this lacked depth and proved difficult to elicit feelings as the researcher is unknown to the participants and the lack of a social relationship meant that participants were less open. Due to the limitations of conventional interview methods and the time needed to develop rapport with the participants, a visual metaphorical tool, developed by Harvard Business School Professor Emeritus Gerald Zaltman, was chosen.

As an in-depth interview method, Zaltman Metaphoric Elicitation Technique (ZMET) consists of eleven stages that creates opportunities for method triangulating and validating and consolidating links between constructs through the use narratives, collages, laddering as well projective data collection techniques (Kokko & Lagerkvist, 2017; Zaltman & Coulter, 1995). By leveraging on visual metaphoric images selected by participants themselves, the researcher is able to tap into the subconscious, eliciting the intrinsic values and constructs influencing and informing the behaviour and decisions of Malaysian Chinese women (King et al., 2019).

Table 1 below displays the stages involved in ZMET and the reasons for each step to improve validity and triangulation of data and method in the data collection process.

Table 1 Stages and aim for each step in ZMET

11-STEP PROCESS	Adapted from van Kleef et al. (2005, p190)	REASON FOR INCLUSION
1. Pre-interview stage	Guidance is provided to participants two weeks before.	Aim: To provide clear instructions and enable interviewer to prepare images in advance.
2. Storytelling	Describe the meaning of each picture to elicit constructs and/or themes relating to feelings or perception about being Chinese woman in their various roles.	Aim: Use narratives and questions to elicit feelings that enable the development of constructs and/or themes.
3. Missing images	Describe how missing picture represents issue and explain its relevance to fill in any gaps.	Aim: To triangulate data or previous constructs and/or themes

4. **Sorting tasks**	Sort pictures into meaningful groups and provide a descriptive label for each group to establish major themes and elicit constructs based on Chinese women's roles	Aim: To triangulate data and validate constructs
5. **Construct elicitation**	Opportunity to elicit further themes to validate findings by selecting three images and comparing two for similarities and the one for differences.	Aim: To filter and triangulate data by comparing and contrasting to validate findings
6. **Most representative image**	Select the picture that is most representative of participant's feelings about being a Chinese woman to elaborate or elicit constructs and their interconnections using images as stimuli.	Aim: Method triangulation that represents laddering for linking causal relationships between constructs or themes while continuing to triangulate, filter or validate themes/constructs.
7. **Opposite image**	Select the picture most unrepresentative to identify with thoughts and feelings of research using opposite constructs	Aim: Reinforce findings as a form of cross-validation of relationships among constructs
8. **Sensory image**	Use smell, taste, touch, sound, colour and emotional feeling to convey what it means to be Chinese to elicit positive and negative association	Aim: Data triangulation using positive and negative association to confirm constructs.
9. **Mental map**	Interviewer reviews all of the constructs discussed and ask participant to create map to review connections among constructs to ensure accurate representations of what was meant and if any important ideas were missing.	Aim: To review, consolidate and evaluate constructs or themes as a means of method triangulation from previous stages
10. **Montage or summary image**	Use participant's digital images to combine opinions and/or feelings with images	Aim: Triangulate data and cross-validate relationships and constructs
11. **Vignette**	Highlight important issues relating to participants' identity as a Chinese woman and their roles by projecting their feelings or perceptions.	Aim: Use projective technique to triangulate methods from previous stages

Sampling consideration

A non-probability sampling method was used to set clear criteria for participant selection, ensuring that the empirical findings met the research needs (Groenewald, 2004; Maggs-Rapport, 2000). The criteria for participants are as follows:

Gender, race and nationality: Malaysian-born Chinese women living in Malaysia
Age: 25 to 55
Sector: Malaysian private HEI
Positions: Management, academic or administration

From the initial purposeful sample, participants were able to introduce their peers for the second set of interviews, known as the snowballing effect. To overcome time and resource constraint, ZMET facilitated through the process of data and method triangulation with low saturation at between 4 and 5 (Christensen & Olson, 2002). Each participant was invited for a 2-hour face to face interview, whereby the conversation was recorded and then transcribed for analysis.

Table 2 Participants' profile

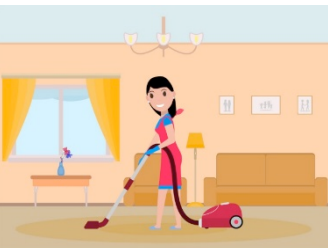|					Dependants		LANGUAGES SPOKEN	
	AGE GROUP	RELIGION	MARITAL STATUS	YEARS OF EMPLOYMENT	NO	RELATIONSHIP	AT HOME	AT OTHER TIMES
P1	25-35	Buddhist	Single	< 10 years	2	Parents	Hokkien Mandarin	English
P2	35-45	Buddhist	Married	11 – 20 years	4	Children; aged 2, 6, 13, 14	Hokkien English	English Hokkien Mandarin
P3	25-35	Buddhist	Single	< 10 years	2	Parents	Hokkien Mandarin	English Hokkien Mandarin Malay
P4	25-35	Buddhist	Single	< 10 years	2	Parents	Hokkien English	English Hokkien Mandarin
P5	35-45	Buddhist	Married	11 – 20 years	0	-	Hokkien Mandarin	English Hokkien Mandarin Malay

INITIAL FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Chinese women's conjoint agency

The initial findings posit that Chinese women's agency is defined by one's duties and obligations towards others in one's social network – conceptualised as conjoint agency (Hong et al., 2001). Conjoint agency corroborates with the view of an interdependent self that integrates a personal with a collective identity, focusing on the needs and motivations of social or close others (Markus & Kitayama, 2003). To evaluate the findings, an analysis of participants' experience with researcher's perspective is linked to the three core Confucian principles are presented below:

Filial piety: importance of family

Table 3 Role of daughter and sister

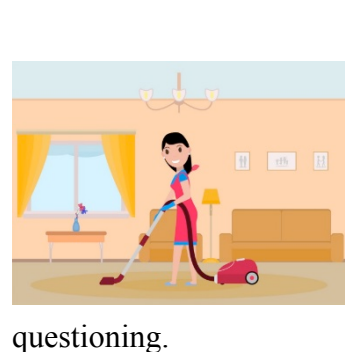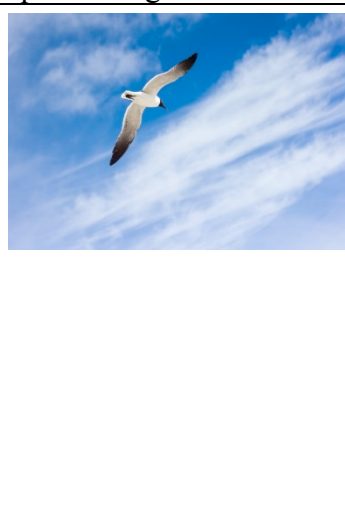| ROLES AND FEELINGS (from participant's pre-interview preparation)	ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW FINDINGS
As a daughter: Feels warm, protected and loved.	Based on her role as a daughter, Participant 4 feels warm, loved and protected. Despite the lack of freedom and other constraints, the sense of belonging to the family is strong and the protective environment makes her feel warm, loved and happy as depicted by the warm, fluffy blanket.
As a daughter: Lack of freedom and feel trapped because of over-protective parents. Feel like a servant as have to follow orders without questioning.	Similar to some traditional Chinese family, Participant 4 continues to live at home with her parents. The images of the bird cage and servant reflects the persistent gendered view as it is still the daughter who is expected to help out in the home, not the son and the fact that daughters need to be protected to preserve family honour generate the feelings of entrapment and loss of freedom.
Acting as eldest daughter and sister, participant has power and authority to manage family responsibilities. Feel empowered and brave to do things.	The strong sense of duty for the family is paramount to this participant as she is now acting as the eldest in the family when her sister married and moved out. As the eldest, she now feels empowered as she helps her parents manage their finances and well-being for example taking her parents for hospital appointments when needed.

Researcher's perspective:

Similar to the experience of this participant, the researcher who lived with her parents until she left to pursue her studies in the UK, the feeling of responsibility and duty

supersedes personal needs. The researcher chose to continue living at home and when her grandmother had a stroke, she shared the caring responsibility with her mother. This sense of duty is a sign of filial piety and recognition of parental sacrifice made over the years as parents work hard to provide for their family with their basic needs and much more besides.

Fulfilling obligations: internalised expectations

Table 4 Role of lecturer and programme coordinator

ROLES AND FEELINGS (from participant's pre-interview preparation)		ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW FINDINGS
	Role of programme coordinator: Keep things to self and self-erupt on the task	At work, Participant 4 feels angry and frustrated as her views are not taken into consideration and there is little recognition or appreciation of the work done – hence the image of the volcano. servant. She also sometimes feels like a servant to the boss as she is required from time to time to run personal errands for her. However, to avoid confrontation, she will acquiesce in order to maintain harmony - the internalised values of respecting authority and the need for maintaining harmony, which are paramount to promoting good relations.
questioning.	Role of programme coordinator: Feel like a servant as have to follow orders without	
	Role of lecturer: Free and easy, enjoy challenge, exposure, learning and improving	In contrast, the image of the soaring bird reflects the sense of satisfaction and freedom Participant 4 enjoys in her role as lecturer. Although she initially relished the challenge and opportunity to learn and improve her skills and experience as programme coordinator for the first two years, the feeling of being unappreciated or acknowledged for her effort has driven her to resign from the post. Being able to do what she enjoys empowers this participant.

Researcher's perspective:

As a Chinese woman, the researcher has been fortunate to be able to continuously develop her knowledge through studying part-time at the local colleges while in Malaysia and now, pursuing a doctorate in the UK. The need for a challenge and knowledge/skills acquisition appears to be consistent among the participants in this study. For the researcher and most of her participants, education is essential for

access to opportunities at work as well as exposure to other cultures and ways of thinking, enhancing and enabling choices.

Societal expectations: what it means to be Chinese

Table 5 describes the feelings of five participants about being a Chinese woman in Malaysia. By using the sense of smell, taste, touch, sound, colour and feelings, the questioning technique helped the participants to reveal the positive and negative aspects related to the family, work and social domains.

Table 5 Positive and negative perceptions of life

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
Traditional beliefs still exist and represented by the colour red, which is considered auspicious and brings luck (P1 to P4)	Superstitious exist and affects behaviour eg not wearing the colour black during auspicious occasions as it means death and represents bad luck (P2 – P4)
The taste of fruit that is sweet and sour depicts the ability to accept good and bad in life, balancing life (P2 and P4).	The sound of noisy restaurant depicts how gossips or rumours and judgement by others impacts on participant, causing frustration (P5).
The sound of Mandarin language being spoken promotes pride in being Chinese (P4).	The smell of rotting garbage represents the view that Chinese men are still considered better than women (P4 and P5)

Researcher's perspective

Living in Malaysia can be challenging as the relationships and connections between the professional and personal life may overlap as everyone knows each other. Although the researcher perceives herself as being modern and Westernised, certain beliefs like the impact of colour persists but the inability to speak Mandarin does make her feel like a banana (a term used to represent those who look Chinese on the outside but white on the inside as they speak English but not Chinese or Mandarin).

The ability to live a balanced life is important and learning to cope with rumours, gossips and judgments by others, is accepted as part of life and as Chinese women, the researcher and participants have similar behaviour of accepting good with the bad as long as personal actions and choices makes one happy.

CONCLUSION

The initial findings suggest that traditional values and superstitions persist and as a society, these beliefs are essential to distinguish the Chinese from other ethnic groups in Malaysia. In addition, appropriate personal manners and behaviour as well as attitude towards others are just as important today, despite the Westernised perception of post-modernity or late modernity (Gauntlett, 2002; Giddens, 1991; Rose, 2000).

The evidence presented in this paper concedes that family responsibilities are key to Chinese women striving to be a good daughter and despite the constraints, the sense of duty, love and care prevails – views confirmed by Haley et al., 2013a and Jun Liu et al., 2012 and considered by Katila (2010) as the "internalised values and norms, prioritising family welfare over narrow self-interest". This finding implies that the preservation of cultural values may persist in various diasporic ethnic groups and further exploration of this phenomenon will contribute to academic research aimed at understanding the impact of identity on individual agency in diverse populations.

LIMITATION

As an interpretive exploratory research, this study will not be generalisable and experiences will be unique to individuals. It is not a study of religion or philosophy but focuses on ethnic diasporic and culture identity, considering its impact on personal agency.

REFERENCES

Archer, L., Francis, B., & Mau, A. (2010). The Culture Project: diasporic negotiations of ethnicity, identity and culture among teachers, pupils and parents in Chinese language schools. *Oxford Review of Education, 36*(4), 407-426.

Aycan, Z. (2008). Cross-Cultural Approaches to Work-Family Conflict. In K. Korabik, D. S. Lero, & D. L. Whitehead (Eds.), Handbook of Work-Family Integration: Research, Theory, and Best Practices (pp. 353-): Elsevier Science. Retrieved from http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/herts/reader.action?docID=331883&ppg=288.

Aycan, Z., & Korabik, K. (2017). Chp 13 An integrative model of work-family conflict: Pan-cultural effects and cross-cultural differences. In K. Korabik, Z. Aycan, & R. Ayman (Eds.), *The work-family interface in global context* (pp. 269-289). New York: Routledge.

Baker, J. (2008). The ideology of choice. Overstating progress and hiding injustice in the lives of young women: Findings from a study in North Queensland, Australia. *Women's Studies International Forum, 31*(1), 53-64.

Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality*. London: Penguin Books.

Bernhardt, E., Noack, T., & Lyngstad, T. H. (2008). Shared housework in Norway and Sweden: advancing the gender revolution. *Journal of European Social Policy, 18*(3), 275–288.Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/095892870809106

Beşpınar, F. U. (2010). Questioning agency and empowerment: Women's work-related strategies and social class in urban Turkey. *Women's Studies International Forum, 33*(6), 523-532.

Best, S. (2008). Chapter 5 Anthony Giddens: Theorising agency and structure. In S. Best (Ed.), *A Beginner's Guide to Social Theory* (pp. 182-210). London, UNITED KINGDOM: SAGE Publications.

Block, D. (2013). The structure and agency dilemma in identity and intercultural communication research. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 13*(2), 126-147.

Bond, M. H. (2010). *The Oxford handbook of Chinese psychology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Butt, G., MacKenzie, L., & Manning, R. (2012). The career development of recently qualified British South Asian women teachers: "Everybody's the same. I don't feel my ethnicity is an issue at all.". *Educational Review, 64*(2), 181-194.

Callero, P. L. (2003). The Sociology of the Self. *Annual Review of Sociology, 29*, 115-133.

Cerulo, K. A. (1997). Identity Construction: New Issues, New Directions. *Annual Review of Sociology,, 23*, 385-409. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2952557

Chen, C. P., & Hong, J. W. L. (2016). Career Development of Chinese Canadian Professional Immigrants. *The Career Development Quarterly,, 64*(3), 272-286.

Christensen, G. L., & Olson, J. C. (2002). Mapping consumers' mental models with ZMET. *Psychology and Marketing, 19*(6), 477-501.

Chuah, S. H., Hoffmann, R., Bala Ramasamy , & Tan, J. H. W. (2016). Is there a Spirit of Overseas Chinese Capitalism? *Small Bus Econ, 47*, 1095-1118.Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11187-016-9746-5

Cooke, F. L. (2007). 'Husband's career first': renegotiating career and family commitment among migrant Chinese academic couples in Britain. *Work, Employment & Society, 21*(1), 47-65.

Cross, S. E., & Gore, J. S. (2011). Cultural models of the self. In M. R. Leary & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *Handbook of self and identity* (pp. 587-614): Guilford Publications.

Cubillo, L., & Brown, M. (2003). Women into educational leadership and management: international differences? *Journal of Educational Administration, 41*(3), 278-291.

Deaux, K., & Verkuyten, M. (2014). Chapter 6 The Social Psychology of Multiculturalism: Identity and Intergroup Relations. In V. Benet-Martinez & Y.-Y. Hong (Eds.), *[Oxford] Handbook of Multicultural Identity* (pp. 118-138). Cary: Oxford University Press.

Du Gay, P., Evans, J., & Redman, P. (Eds.). (2000). *Identity: a reader*. London: SAGE Publications.

Elliot, A. (Ed.) (2011). *Routledge Handbook of Identity Studies*. Devon: Routledge.

Essers, C., & Tedmanson, D. (2014). Upsetting 'Others' in the Netherlands: Narratives of Muslim Turkish Migrant Businesswomen at the Crossroads of Ethnicity, Gender and Religion. *Gender, Work & Organization, 21*(4), 353-367.

Evetts, J. (2000). Analysing Change in Women's Careers: Culture, Structure and Action Dimensions. *Gender, Work & Organization, 7*(1), 57-67.

Ezzedeen, S. R., & Ritchey, K. G. (2009). Career advancement and family balance strategies of executive women. *Gender in Management: An International Journal, 24*(6), 388-411.

Faiz, R. (2015). *Work-family conflict: A case study of women in Pakistani banks.* (Degree of Doctor of Philosophy), University of Hertfordshire.

Fook, J. (2019). Chapter 4 Reflective models and frameworks in practice. In C. Costley & J. Fulton (Eds.), *Methodologies for practice research: approaches for professional doctorates*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Forson, C. (2013). Contextualising migrant black business women's work-life balance experiences. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research, 19*(5), 460 - 477.

Gaunlett, D. (2002). *Media, gender and identity: an introduction*. London: Routledge.

Gauntlett, D. (2002). Chp 5 Giddens, modernity and self-identityMedia, Gender and Identity : An Introduction. ProQuest Ebook Central: Taylor & Francis Group.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: self and society in the late modern age*. Cambridge: Polity.

Groenewald, T. (2004). A phenomenlogical research design illustrated. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 3*(1). Retrieved from http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/3_1/pdf/groenewald.pdf

Haralambos, M., & Holborn, M. (2008). *Sociology: themes and perspective* (7 ed.). Italy: HarperCollins Publisher.

Hart, C. (1998). *Doing the literature review: Releasing the social science research environment*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Hassan, Z., Dollard, M. F., & Winefield, A. H. (2010). Work-family conflict in East vs Western countries. *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal, 17*(1), 30-49.

Hitlin, S. (2003). Values as the Core of Personal Identity: Drawing Links between Two Theories of Self. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 66*(2). Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/1519843

Holck, L. (2016). Spatially embedded inequality: Exploring structure, agency, and ethnic minority strategies to navigate organizational opportunity structures. *Personnel Review, 45*(4), 643-662.

Hong, Y.-y., Ip, G., Chiu, C.-y., Morris, M. W., & Menon, T. (2001). Cultural Identity and Dynamic Construction of the Self: Collective Duties and Individual Rights in Chinese and American Cultures. *Social Cognition, 19*(3), 251-268.

Jenkins, R. (1997). *Rethinking ethnicity: arguments and explorations*. Wiltshire: Sage Publications.

Jenkins, R. (2014a). Chapter 10 Beyond boundaries. In R. Jenkins (Ed.), *Social Identity* (pp. 120-133): Taylor & Francis Group.

Jenkins, R. (2014b). Chapter 11 Symbolising belonging. In R. Jenkins (Ed.), *Social Identity* (pp. 134-150): Taylor & Francis Group.

Kamenou, N. (2008). Reconsidering Work–Life Balance Debates: Challenging Limited Understandings of the 'Life' Component in the Context of Ethnic Minority Women's Experiences. *British Journal of Management, 19*(s1), S99-S109.

Katila, S. (2010). Negotiating Moral Orders in Chinese Business Families in Finland: Constructing Family, Gender and Ethnicity in a Research Situation. *Gender, Work & Organization, 17*(3), 297-319.

Kidd, W. (2002). *Culture and identity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

King, N., Horrocks, C., & Brooks, J. (2019). *Interviews in qualitative research* (2nd ed.). UK: SAGE.

Kirton, G., & Greene, A.-M. (2010). *Dynamics of Managing Diversity* (3rd ed.): Butterworth Heinemann.

Kirton, G., & Greene, A.-M. (2013). *Dynamics of Managing Diversity* (4th ed.): Butterworth Heinemann.

Kokko, S., & Lagerkvist, C. J. (2017). Using Zaltman Metaphor Elicitation Technique to Map Beneficiaries' Experiences and Values: A Case Example From the Sanitation Sector. *American Journal of Evaluation, 38*(2), 205-225.

Korabik, K., Lero, D. S., & Ayman, R. (2003). A Multi-Level Approach to Cross Cultural Work-Family Research. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management, 3*(3), 289-303.

Laustsen, C. B., Larsen, L. T., Nielsen, M. W., Ravn, T., & Sørensen, M. P. (2017a). Chapter 5 Power and stratification: Foucault and Bourdieu In C. B. Laustsen, L. T. Larsen, M. W. Nielsen, T. Ravn, & M. P. Sørensen (Eds.), *Social Theory : A Textbook* (pp. 72-90). Milton, UNITED KINGDOM: Routledge.

Laustsen, C. B., Larsen, L. T., Nielsen, M. W., Ravn, T., & Sørensen, M. P. (2017b). *Social Theory : A Textbook*. Milton, UNITED KINGDOM: Routledge.

Lim, S.-L., & Wieling, E. (2004). Immigrant Chinese American Women: Negotiating Values and Perceptions of Self in the Cultural Borderlands of East and West: A Qualitative Study. *The Family Journal, 12*(2), 148-158.

Lott, B. (2009). *Multiculturalism and Diversity : A Social Psychological Perspective*. Hoboken, UNKNOWN: Wiley.

Maggs-Rapport, F. (2000). Combining methodological approaches in research: ethnography and interpretive phenomenology. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 31*(1), 219-225.

Mala Rajo Sathian, & Ngeow, Y. M. (2014). Essentialising Ethnic and State Identities: Strategic Adaptations of Ethnic Chinese in Kelantan, Malaysia. *Asian Studies Review, 38*(3), 385-402.Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2014.936361

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the Self: Implications for Cognition, Emotion, and Motivation. *Psychological Review, 98*(2), 224-253.

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (2003). Models of agency: sociocultural diversity in the construction of action. In V. Murphy-Berman & J. J. Berman (Eds.), *Cross-cultural differences in perspectives on the self (Nebraska Symposium on Motivation Series)* (Vol. 9, pp. 1-57). European Psychologist: Univesity of Nebraska Press.

Masterson, C. R., & Hoobler, J. M. (2015). Care and career: A family identity-based typology of dual-earner couples. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 36*(1), 75-93.

Matsumoto, D. (1999). Culture and self: An empirical assessment of Markus and Kitayama's theory of independent and interdependent self-construals. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 2*(3), 289-310.

Mead, G. H. (1932). Emergence and identity. *Emergence: Complexity & Organization, 9*(3), 75-96.

Mead, G. H. (2003). The Self. In L. M. Alcoff & E. Mendieta (Eds.), *Identities: race, class, gender, and nationality* (pp. 32-40). Oxford Blackwell.

Mellström, U. (2009). The Intersection of Gender, Race and Cultural Boundaries, or Why is Computer Science in Malaysia Dominated by Women? *Social Studies of Science, 39*(6), 885-907.

Merscher, S., Benschop, Y., & Doorewaard, H. (2010). Representations of work–life balance support. *Human Relations, 63*(1), 21-39.

Moen, P., & Chesley, N. (2008). Toxic job ecologies, time convoys and work-family conflict: Can families (re)gain control and life-course "fit"? In K. Korabik, D. S. Lero, & D. L. Whitehead (Eds.), Handbook of Work-Family Integration: Research, Theory, and Best Practices (pp. 95-). San Diego: Elsevier Science. Retrieved from http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/herts/reader.action?docID=331883&ppg=288.

Nagel, J. (1994). Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture. *Social Problems, 41*(1), 152-176.

Nentwich, J. C., Ozbilgin, M. F., & Tatli, A. (2015). Change agency as performance and embeddedness: Exploring the possibilities and limits of Butler and Bourdieu. *Culture and Organization, 21*(3), 235-250.

Ngo, H.-y., & Li, H. (2015). Chinese traditionality and career success: Mediating roles of procedural justice and job insecurity. *Career Development International, 20*(6), 627-645.

O'Meara, K. (2015). A career with a view: agentic perspectives of women faculty. *The Journal of Higher Education.*Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10/1353/jhe.2015.0014

Oplatka, I. (2006). Women in educational administration within developing countries. *Journal of Educational Administration, 44*(6), 604-624.

Oyserman, D., Elmore, K., & Smith, G. (2012). Chp 4 Self, self-concept and identity. In M. R. Leary & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *Handbook of self and identity* (pp. 69-104): The Guildford Press.

Ozbilgin, M. F., Alexandra Beauregard, T., Tatli, A., & Bell, M. P. (2011). Work-life, diversity and intersectionality: a critical review and research agenda. *International Journal of Management Review, 13*, 177-198.

Pekerti, A. A. (2008). The interdependent family-centric career: Career perspective of the overseas Chinese in Indonesia. *Career Development Quarterly, 56*(4), 362-377.

Redding, G., Bond, M. H., & Witt, M. A. (2013). Culture and the Business Systems of Asia. In G. Redding, M. H. Bond, & M. A. Witt (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Asian Business Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rose, N. (2000). Chapter 25 Identity, genealogy, history. In P. Du Gay, J. Evans, & P. Redman (Eds.), *Identity: a reader* (pp. 311-324). London: SAGE Publications.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2016). *Research methods for business students* (7th ed.): Pearson Education Limited.

Scupin, R. (2006). Chapter 1 Introduction to Asia. In R. Scupin (Ed.), *Peoples and Cultures of Asia* (pp. 1-13). New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Seierstad, C., & Kirton, G. (2015). Having It All? Women in High Commitment Careers and Work–Life Balance in Norway. *Gender, Work & Organization, 22*(4), 390-404.

Shanahan, M. C. (2009). Identity in science learning: exploring the attention given to agency and structure in studies of identity. *Studies in Science Education, 45*(1), 43-64.

Shang, S., Michael P O'Driscoll, & Roche, M. (2017). Moderating Role of Acculturation in a Mediation Model of Work–Family Conflict among Chinese Immigrants in New Zealand. *Stress and Health, 33*, 55-68.

Silverman, D. (2013). *Doing qualitative research* (4th ed.). London: Sage.

Smith, P., & Riley, A. (2008). Chapter 8 Culture, Structure, and Agency: Three Attempts at Synthesis. In P. Smith & A. Riley (Eds.), *Cultural Theory : An Introduction* (pp. 266-296). Chicester, UNITED KINGDOM: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated.

Soontiens, W. (2007). Chinese ethnicity and values: a country cluster comparison. *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal, 14*(4), 321-335.

Stewart, C. (2016). How diverse is your pipeline? Developing the talent pipeline for women and black and ethnic minority employees. *Industrial and Commercial Training, 48*(2), 61-66.

Stryker, S., & Burke, P. J. (2000). The Past, Present, and Future of an Identity Theory. *Sociological Social Psychology*, 284-297. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2695840

Subramaniam, A., Othman, R., & Sambasivan, M. (2010). Implicit leadership theory among Malaysian managers. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal, 31*(4), 351-371.

Subramaniam, G., & Selvaratnam, D. P. (2010). Family friendly policies in Malaysia: Where are we? *Journal of International Business Research, 9*(1), 43-55.

Terosky, A. L., O'Meara, K., & Campbell, C. M. (2014). Enabling possibility: Women associate professors' sense of agency in career advancement. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 7*(1), 58-76.

Tomlinson, J., Muzio, D., Sommerlad, H., Webley, L., & Duff, L. (2013). Structure, agency and career strategies of white women and black and minority ethnic individuals in the legal profession. *Human Relations, 66*(2), 245-269.

Trepper, T. S., & Tung, M. (2013). *Chinese Americans and Their Immigrant Parents*. London, UK: Taylor and Francis.

Triandis, H. C., & Gelfand, M. J. (1998). Converging Measurement of Horizontal and Vertical Individualism and Collectivism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*(1), 118-118.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2011). Ethnic identity In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of Identity Theory and Research Volume II* (pp. 791-809). New York, NY: Springer Verlag.

Välimäki, S., Lämsä, A. M., & Hiillos, M. (2009). The spouse of the female manager: role and influence on the woman's career. *Gender in Management: An International Journal, 24*(8), 596-614.

van de Vijver, F. J. R. (2010). On the elusive nature of high Chinese achievement. *Learning and Individual Differences, 20*, 574-576.Retrieved from 10.1016/j.lindif.2010.08.005

van Hattem, A. Y., Ossenkop, C., Dikkers, J. S. E., & Vinkenburg, C. J. (2013). Life role salience and values. *Cross Cultural Management, 20*(4), 607-624.

van Kleef, E., van Trijp, H. C. M., & Luning, P. (2005). Consumer research in the early stages of new product development: a critical review of methods and techniques. *Food Quality and Preference, 16*(3), 181-201.

Watts, J. H. (2009). 'Allowed into a Man's World' Meanings of Work–Life Balance: Perspectives of Women Civil Engineers as 'Minority' Workers in Construction. *Gender, Work & Organization, 16*(1), 37-57.

Williams, J. C. (2004). Hitting the maternal wall. *Academe, 90*(6), 16-20.

Wu, D. Y.-h. (1991). The Construction of Chinese and Non-Chinese Identities. *Daedalus, 120*(2), 159-179.

Yang, N., Chen, C. C., Choi, J., & Zou, Y. (2000). Sources of Work-Family Conflict: A Sino-U.S. Comparison of the Effects of Work and Family Demands. *The Academy of Management Journal, 43*(1), 113-123.

Yinger, J. M. (1985). Ethnicity. *Annual Review of Sociology, 11*, 151-180.

Zaltman, G., & Coulter, R. H. (1995). Seeing the voice of the customer: metaphor-based advertising research. *Journal of Advertising Research, 35*(4), 35.

Contact email: k.trimarchi2@herts.ac.uk