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***Bicultural Identity Negotiation and Perceived Discrimination***

***in Chinese-Italian Young Adults***

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## INTRODUCTION

Chinese immigrants represent one of the most well-known immigrant populations in many European and non-European countries. In Italy, the first arrivals settled in Milan in the late 1920s. Migration increased after the 1970s, mainly from Zhejiang province, particularly Wencheng, Qingtian, and Wenzhou (Berti et al., 2022; Ceccagno, 2003). As of 1 January 2022, the Chinese community is the third largest of all non-EU communities, with 291,185 legal residents in Italy. Almost 40% of the population is under 30 years old therefore the community has a low average age (33) and a nearly equal gender balance (Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali, 2023). The growing presence of the Chinese community has contributed to complex social and cultural dynamics often marked by experiences of discrimination. These dynamics highlight the importance of further research on integration and identity-related processes—particularly among the younger generations who navigate multiple cultural frameworks. The aim of this dissertation is to analyze identity negotiation processes, strategies of cultural conciliation, and experiences of perceived discrimination among second-generation Chinese-Italian young adults, within the context of their cultural, social, and ethnic identity affiliations.

This thesis is part of the research project “Project CCCC - Chinese Cross-Cultural Connections” coordinated by Prof. Moscardino and Xiwei Zhang, whose objective is to investigate the role of individual and social factors in the identity development of young adults of Chinese-Italian descent who were born, raised, and/or currently residing in Italy. The project aims to explore participants’ subjective and

unique experiences with respect to their identity and relationship with their cultural background.

The thesis is structured into three chapters. Chapter One reviews key theoretical frameworks and concepts of identity formation in immigrants, with a focus on Italian and Chinese identities and their integration into the life of Chinese-Italian youth. Chapter Two presents the study aims, participant characteristics, methodology, and data analysis strategies. Chapter Three reports the results, including identity maps, and examines their relationship with perceived discrimination scores. The discussion focuses on the implications of these findings for understanding bicultural identity, belonging, and discrimination perception in Italy.

## CHAPTER 1

### IDENTITY AND BICULTURALISM IN CHINESE-ITALIAN YOUTH

#### 1.1 Theoretical foundations of identity development

The question “Who am I?” is fundamental to the human experience, especially during adolescence and emerging adulthood. Identity is a complex, multifaceted concept that is addressed and researched deeply in psychological sciences. Identity derives mainly from the work of psychologist Erik Erikson in the 1950s; in his theory of psychosocial development, adolescence has been characterized as the period in human life during which the individual establishes a sense of personal identity and avoids the dangers of role diffusion and identity confusion. Identity, or a sense of sameness and continuity, must be searched (Erikson, 1959) by exploring the various possible “selves” related to their values, beliefs, and goals, and ultimately commit to a coherent sense of self. Further, Marcia (1966) developed this idea by proposing four identity statuses: identity diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achievement, each representing different levels of exploration and commitment.

Yet, identity is not a construct with a single component. Symington (2004) and Miller & Garran (2008) argue that identity is inherently multilayered, shaped by the interplay of race, gender, class, culture, religion, and social environment. This is the core of intersectionality, the idea that individuals hold multiple, interconnected identities that shape their lived experiences and how others perceive them (Renn, 2004; Root, 2003).

For bicultural individuals, identity includes layers shaped by culture, ethnicity, race, and social perception. Phinney (1990) defined ethnic identity as a sense of belonging to an ethnic group, based on one's perception that members of that group share a common ancestry, culture, values, and experiences. A strong ethnic identity has been persistently positively associated with psychological well-being, including higher self-esteem, increased life satisfaction, and lower levels of anxiety and depression (Gonzales-Backen, 2013).

Identity complexity is particularly salient in bicultural individuals who often experience both the richness and the tension of holding dual multiple heritages. The Racial/Cultural Identity Development Model (Sue & Sue, 2013) or Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1998) was created to address these unique challenges faced by marginalized groups, the model outlines five stages of development that racially/ethnically marginalized groups in society experience as they struggle to understand themselves in terms of their own culture, the dominant culture, and the oppressive relationship between the two cultures: *conformity, dissonance, and appreciating, resistance and immersion, introspection, and integrative awareness*. These stages reflect a progression from internalized societal bias toward self-acceptance and cultural integration.

## **1.2 Bicultural identity and acculturation**

Bicultural individuals often internalize and navigate two distinct cultural systems, those of their family heritage and the dominant society in which they live. Possessing

dual cultural identities might lead them to engage in cultural frame switching, in which they move between different cultural meaning systems in response to situational cues (Benet-Martínez, 2002). Many report that the two internalized cultures take turns also guiding their thoughts and feelings (LaFromboise et al.,1993; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). It demonstrates that two cultural identities do not always merge into a single, unified whole; and that adopting a second culture does not necessarily entail replacing one's original cultural background.

Berry (1990) proposed four acculturation strategies through which immigrants and ethnic minorities negotiate their cultural identities: assimilation, integration, marginalization, and separation. Individuals who separate or assimilate tend to identify with only one cultural context – either their heritage culture or the dominant mainstream culture, respectively. In contrast, marginalized individuals lack a strong identification with either cultural group, while integrated individuals maintain a connection with both their ethnic and mainstream cultures.

Benet-Martinez (2002) argues that some biculturals have individual differences in perceiving their cultural identities either as compatible and complementary or as oppositional and contradictory. This individual difference is called bicultural identity integration (BII) and it refers to the extent to which bicultural individuals perceive their two cultural identities as compatible versus oppositional. This duality of cultural affiliation has both opportunities and challenges. In the context of Chinese-Italian young adults identity formation involves managing multiple worlds: home, school, peer groups, and the broader society. This process often includes conflicts between

collectivist values emphasized by their families and the individualistic norms of the majority culture that they live in (Yeh & Huang, 1996). These tensions can either hinder or enhance identity development, depending on the social support and recognition individuals receive.

### **1.3 Belonging, social identity, and the Chinese-Italian youth experience**

Belonging plays a central role in identity negotiation. For bicultural youth, the sense of belonging is often conditional, context-specific, or externally defined. As mentioned by Sirin and Fine (2008), minority youth constantly negotiate their sense of self in relation to how they are seen by others, often encountering stereotypes, racialized expectations, or pressure to “prove” their cultural authenticity. These negotiations become particularly salient in countries like Italy, where there is still a struggle to find an effective path toward multiculturalism. Chinese people as a phenotypically diverse group may face firm boundaries in their relations with the majority of the Italian population (Alba, 2005; Mleczko, 2011).

Global migration, increasing flows of people, capital, and cultural influences contribute to the creation of more diverse and multicultural societies. A new generation of Chinese-Italian young adults – some born in China and raised in Italy (first generation) and others born in Italy to Chinese parents (second generation) – is one of the outcomes of these demographic shifts in Italy; these youth have to navigate complex processes of cultural identification and belonging.

Chinese-Italian young adults grow up at the intersection of two cultures and they

are confronted with constructing a coherent social identity while negotiating their position within Italian society. Social Identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) explains how group memberships, categorizing oneself and others into in-groups and out-groups shapes self-conception and social behavior. We obtain the desired positive social identity with favorable comparisons between these two groups. However, research indicated that racial and cultural minorities in Italy are often seen as perpetual outsiders, regardless of their Italian citizenship, fluency in the language, or duration of residence (Ceccagno, 2003; Pedone, 2012). Participants in recent qualitative studies have reported being routinely asked where they are “really” from or being viewed as eternally foreign despite fluent Italian language skills and cultural fluency (Berti et al., 2022; Chinese Tales of Italy, 2021). Social belonging is negatively affected by this persistent perception of foreignness, which also creates psychological pressure that complicates the formation of a stable positive social identity.

Discrimination, whether subtle or blunt, plays a significant role in shaping the identity processes of these young people. Global events such as the spread of COVID-19 from Wuhan, China, have increased the discrimination towards Chinese people. This includes individual acts of microaggression or violence, to collective forms, for example, Chinese people being barred from establishments (Devakumar, 2020). Furthermore, in a study concerning Chinese immigrant youth identities and belonging in Prato, it was found that Chinese youth are explicitly discriminated against. They are often the target of acts of violence, insults, and disrespectful behaviors (Raffaetà, 2015).

Perceived discrimination can have detrimental effects on psychological well-being and identity stability. It can trigger identity conflict, lower self-esteem, and create pressure to “choose” one cultural identity over the other in an attempt to gain social acceptance. A sense of belonging can buffer the negative effects of discrimination and identity conflict whereas a lack of it can intensify feelings of alienation and marginalization.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE STUDY

#### 2.1 General aim and research questions

This thesis work is a part of the CCCC (Chinese Cross-Cultural Connections) project coordinated by Prof. Moscardino and Xiwei Zhang of the DPSS of the University of Padua. The study seeks to explore how various individual and social factors influence the identity development of young adults of Chinese adolescents who were born, raised, and/or currently live in Italy. The project specifically focuses on understanding the participants' personal experiences regarding the coexistence of their Italian national identity and Chinese cultural background.

In particular, the research questions that guided this work are the following:

1. *How do Chinese-Italian young adults negotiate their bicultural identities in Italy?*

Identity negotiation is a process within which individuals construct their identity in context across different domains (Swann, 1987). This process is influenced by both personal characteristics (e.g., family cultural values) and social and structural contexts (e.g., the COVID-19 pandemic). Negotiation of bicultural identity among Chinese-Italian youth involves an ongoing, dynamic process of positioning themselves between contrasting cultural expectations, values, and types of expression. This negotiation often requires context-dependent identity shifting and reevaluation of cultural elements in order to create a coherent sense of self. Depending on the limited literature specific to Chinese-Italian youth and given these dynamics, we expect participants to engage in a dynamic process of reconciling and balancing their multiple

identities.

*2. Are there any associations between participants' bicultural identity configurations and their perceived discrimination?*

The relationship between bicultural identity configurations and perceived discrimination is particularly important for Chinese youth growing up in Italy. In a social context in which cultural homogeneity is still favored and multiculturalism remains limited, negotiating a bicultural identity often involves navigating tension, ambiguity, and exclusion. According to Phinney et al. (2001), individuals who manage to integrate both their ethnic and national identities tend to exhibit the most positive psychological outcomes, while those who feel marginalized or rejected by both cultural groups are at greater risk for maladjustment and distress. Given the literature, we can expect that individuals who develop a more integrated identity may face less internal conflict thus having lower scores of perceived discrimination, on the contrary, those having identity conflicts may experience intense perceived discrimination.

## **2.2 Participants**

In the CCCC project, 136 participants were involved in the research. The inclusion criteria were 1) being a young adult (18-25 years old) 2) having a Chinese cultural background and being born in Italy or 3) having a Chinese cultural background and either having lived in Italy for at least 10 years or having attended the entire secondary school cycle in Italy.

I conducted interviews with 25 participants as part of the data collection process,

but this thesis will draw on the data from all 136 participants. Among the participants, 105 were second-generation while 31 were first-generation. They were predominantly from Zhejiang province, particularly from the city of Wenzhou. All participants, except four, had both parents of Chinese descent, and the remaining four had one Italian parent.

*Table 1 - Sociodemographic characteristics of the participants (N=136)*

<b>Variable</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Range</b>	<b>Percentage (N)</b>
Age	21.56	2.51	18–27	
Gender - Male				27.9% (38/136)
Gender - Female				70.6% (96/136)
Years in Italy	12.56	3.98	7–24	
First Generation				22.8% (31/136)
Students				48.5% (66/136)
Workers				51.5% (70/136)

### **2.3 Measures and procedure**

This study was approved by the Ethics Committee of the School of Psychology (protocol n. 4914). The data were collected between November 2024 and February 2025. Participants were recruited through snowball sampling techniques, via social media announcements, and with the distribution of flyers in locations commonly attended by Chinese-Italian young adults.

Participants were asked to take part in an online semi-structured interview that combined both close-ended questions - adapted from established questionnaires- and open-ended questions that encouraged them to reflect on their personal experiences. Alongside the interview, they were also asked to create an identity map. An identity

map is a pictorial description of one’s identity that visually illustrates how individuals see themselves across ethnic, religious, and social dimensions (Sirin & Fine, 2008). Interviews were conducted via the Google Meet platform as unrecorded video calls. Each session lasted approximately one hour and was scheduled at a time convenient for the participant. Prior to each interview, informed consent was obtained.

In particular, the following open-ended questions and questionnaires were administered during online interviews: How does being of Chinese descent/having a Chinese background influence your everyday life?

- 1) How do you reconcile being of Chinese descent with being Italian/living in Italy?
- 2) Could you describe and explain to me in your own words the identity map you sent us?
- 3) If/when you face discrimination, how do you generally cope/what do you do to deal with these situations?
- 4) Has your (bi)cultural identity/your relationship with your two cultures changed through time? If so, how? Can you also refer to specific episodes?

**Table 2 - Administered questionnaires**

<b>CONSTRUCT</b>	<b>MEASURE</b>
Chinese heritage identity	MEIM-R (Phinney & Ong, 2007) MIBI (Sellers et al., 1997)
Italian national identity	MEIM-R (Phinney & Ong, 2007) MIBI (Sellers et al., 1997)
Biculturalism	Bicultural Identity Integration Scale-Version 2 (Huynh et al., 2018)
Depressive symptoms	CES-D (Radloff, 1977)
Anxiety	GAD-7 (Spitzer et al., 2006)

Psychological well-being	PWBS (Ryff, 1995)
Perceived racial discrimination	Asian American Perceived Racial Discrimination Scale (Yoo et al., 2010)

For the purposes of this study, we focused on the identity maps and the questionnaire assessing perceived racial discrimination. The latter is composed of 10 items assessing the extent to which participants experienced racial or ethnic discrimination in everyday situations (e.g., “I am called names such as, ‘chink’, ‘gook’, etc.”). Previous research in the US has highlighted good psychometric properties of the scale (Yoo et al., 2010). In this study, Cronbach’s Alpha for the total score was .74 indicating an acceptable level of internal consistency and a reliable measure of the construct of perceived racial discrimination.

## 2.4 Data Analysis

To analyze the identity maps, we refer to the qualitative framework developed by Sirin and Fine (2008), which was originally designed to understand the experiences of Muslim-American emerging adults. This framework guided our interpretation of each participant’s identity map, along with their descriptions of the maps. Based on this approach, we grouped the identity maps into three main categories:

- a) **Integrated** – where Chinese and Italian identities are blended in a cohesive, non-conflicting way.
- b) **Parallel** – where both identities are present but represented as separate and

independent.

**c) Conflicted** –where participants expressed tension, conflict, or a struggle to reconcile the two identities.

Answers to the open-ended questions were analyzed using thematic analysis, a qualitative analytic method used to identify, analyze, and report patterns and themes within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For the thematic analysis, we read the participant's answers to the open-ended questions several times, carefully and identified 4 to 6 recurring/common themes among participants. A theme was considered as "recurring/common" if it was shared by at least 7-10% of the participants. To ensure the reliability of the coding process, a second researcher independently coded the same identity maps until the interrater agreement was 75%.

Even though thematic analysis was fulfilled for the CCCC project, this thesis will only be concerned with the analysis and interpretation of the identity maps.

Based on their classifications, participants were then compared on their total discrimination scores using univariate analysis of variance, with identity map category as the independent variable, and mean levels of discrimination as the dependent variable. Partial eta squared was used as a measure of effect size.

**CHAPTER 3**  
**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

**3.1 Results**

This chapter examines how Chinese-Italian young adults navigate and negotiate their bicultural identities. For this purpose, I present the results of the analysis of identity maps drawn by the participants, associated with the descriptions provided during the interview, and the quantitative analysis of the answers to the Perceived Discrimination Questionnaire. Although the total sample included 136 participants, complete data on both identity maps and perceived discrimination questionnaires were available for 121 participants - the subset on which I will be focusing in this chapter.

**3.1.1 Identity maps**

The frequency and distribution of identity types—integrated, parallel, and conflictual—are presented in the table below.

**MAP CATEGORY**

<b>Gender</b>		<b>conflicted</b>	<b>integrated</b>	<b>parallel</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Female</b>	<i>N</i>	15	44	27	86
	% of total	12.40 %	36.36 %	22.31 %	71.07 %
<b>Male</b>	<i>N</i>	8	19	8	35
	% of total	6.61 %	15.70 %	6.61 %	28.93 %
<b>Total</b>	<i>N</i>	23	63	35	121
	% of total	19.01 %	52.07 %	28.93 %	100.00 %



in Italy shared that “...being Chinese and Italian for me is not something in conflict. I am just both.” Similarly, a 24-year-old female, born in Italy illustrated their identity as a simple symbolic hybrid: “In this identity map, I describe myself. I see myself as a panda because my roots are Chinese and that’s something that can never change. But this panda has a giant pizza, which represents the other side of me: Italy, the country where I was born and raised. The combination is me, a panda that eats pizza.”. These integrated identity maps reflect a sense of internal cohesion and pride in dual belonging.

**Figure 3 - map of CCCC\_162**



**Figure 4 - map of CCCC\_159**



Participants with parallel identity maps considered their cultural affiliations as separate but not necessarily in conflict. Individuals, rather than blending the two, maintained the dual nature of their identities, often adapting to one or another depending on the context. As the identity map of a 25-year-old female, born in Italy demonstrates a parallel existence she also stated: “I’m between the two of them, Italy and China, and trying to be the bridge between the two is something that I can do and

*I'm happy to do."*

Likewise in Figure 3, the identity map of a 23-year-old female, born in Italy, we can clearly observe elements symbolizing the participant's Chinese identity are positioned on the left side of the drawing, whereas those representing their Italian identity appear on the right. The participant places herself in the middle, visually emphasizing her position between the two cultures.

**Figure 5 - Identity map of CCCC\_165**      **Figure 6 - Identity map of CCCC\_177**



Lastly, Figure 5 and Figure 6 respectively drawn by a 26-year-old female and a 20-year-old male, both born in Italy, are examples of conflicted identity maps in which tension, hostility, or an incompatibility between different senses of belonging is reflected. In Figure 5 we do not observe an explicit conflict; however, the participant conveys a sense of identity tension through the use of a metaphor. As they explained *"The dolphin, lives in a context completely different from him. It lives in a completely*

*different society community, but at the same time, it's not an aquatic animal. It is a mammal. So it needs also to be on the surface and outside of the water...you cannot categorize him...that is what I feel like about myself living in this society in this culture*". On the other hand in Figure 6 the conflict is visible. The participant is in the middle and in his own words "*...you see two continents dividing and I am actually almost falling between the void of two cultures...I was thinking maybe it's better for me to stay there, maybe to stay here, and I just don't know where actually to be part of...*", representing a feeling of in-betweenness. These individuals often feel caught between two cultural systems, not fully accepted by either.

### 3.1.2 Identity maps and perceived discrimination

This section investigates the relationship between participants' bicultural identity configurations and their perceived discrimination. Table 3 reports the descriptive statistics of discrimination scores as a function of map category.

*Table 3 - Descriptive Statistics of Perceived Discrimination (RD\_total) by Map Category*

<b>MAP CATEGORY</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Range</b>
<b>Conflicted</b>	22	2.90	0.61	2.00
<b>Integrated</b>	62	2.57	0.58	3.30
<b>Parallel</b>	35	2.77	0.48	2.40

*Table 4 - One-Way ANOVA Summary Table for Perceived Discrimination by Map Category*

<b>Cases</b>	<b>Sum of Squares</b>	<b>df</b>	<b>Mean Square</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>p</b>	<b><math>\eta^2</math></b>
<b>MAP CATEGORY</b>	2.05	2	1.03	3.32	0.04	0.05
<b>Residuals</b>	35.86	116	0.31			

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to scrutinize the effects of identity map configuration (conflicted, integrated, parallel) on perceived discrimination scores. As can be seen in Table 4, the analysis revealed a statistically significant, small-to-medium effect of identity map category,  $F(2, 116) = 3.32, p = .04, \eta^2 = .05$ , indicating that participants' reported perceived discrimination scores differed across map types, being significantly higher for the conflicted group than the integrated group demonstrated by post hoc comparison using Tukey's HSD test. Descriptive statistics (see Table 3) showed that participants with conflicted identity maps reported the highest perceived discrimination scores, followed by those with parallel maps, and integrated maps.

### **3.2 Discussion**

This mixed-method study explored how bicultural identity develops and is negotiated among Chinese youth born in or residing in Italy for at least 10 years, with a focus on how they reconciled their Chinese heritage with Italian cultural norms and how different identity configurations related to perceived discrimination. For this purpose, semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions alongside close-ended

questionnaires were administered, and the drawing of an identity map was requested.

The collected identity maps were coded into three main configurations – integrated, parallel, and conflicted – to categorize the visual representations of identity negotiation in Chinese-Italian youth. As demonstrated in the results, most participants displayed an integrated configuration constructing a coherent sense of self by drawing from both cultural backgrounds and combining them into new forms of belonging. Followed by parallel identity maps, cultural components of both sides were kept separately although not necessarily in conflict; these participants at times emphasized one identity over another, and depending on the context, they expressed their identities strategically. For instance, they highly reported positive adaptation of dual identity, such as “being Italian” when interacting with Italian peers, while identifying as “Chinese” within their family environment. The dominance of integrated and parallel identity map configurations, both representing bicultural identities, corresponds with previous findings on the Muslim-American young adult population in the United States as demonstrated by Sirin & Fine (2008). In their study, the great majority of the participants constructed either integrated or parallel identity maps that reflect the coexistence of multiple identities.

However, some maps displayed a strong sense of incompatibility between both cultures, often visually represented through spatial separation or the use of opposing symbols and metaphors. They indicate tension and difficulty in reconciling their bicultural backgrounds. This expression among our participants is often due to stereotypification and discrimination experiences such as feelings like being treated

differently due to physical appearance and being seen as a foreigner matching with the experiences of Chinese-Italian teenagers who participated in the study of Berti et al.,(2022).

Aligning with the expected outcomes, the results revealed a statistically significant effect of identity configuration on perceived discrimination. Participants with conflicted identity maps reported the highest perceived discrimination scores, while integrated participants reported the lowest. This finding is coherent with prior literature suggesting that individuals who experience internal identity conflict or incompatibility between cultural affiliations may also be more sensitive to or more affected by external experiences of marginalization (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Schwartz et al., 2010), while a more coherent and integrated sense of identity might serve as a psychological buffer against these stressors.

The mean perceived discrimination score for the parallel identity map group was closer to that of the conflicted group, but it did not differ significantly from either integrated or conflicted configuration. This possibly indicates that having a parallel identity configuration does not offer the same protective effect as integration but may also protect against the tension seen in the conflicted profiles.

High perceived discrimination being more strongly reported among participants with conflicted identities is consistent with the findings of Schmidt et al. (2023), who documented that Chinese American adolescents' racial discrimination experiences were negatively associated with Bicultural Identity Integration Harmony, and in turn, leading to psychological distress. In the Italian context, these dynamics are intensified

by structural and interpersonal experiences of othering – for instance being treated as foreigners despite fluency in the language and legal citizenship (Berti et al., 2022). The results of this study confirm that higher levels of perceived discrimination are not uniformly experienced but tend to correspond with the presence of internal identity conflict.

This study contributes to the growing literature on bicultural identity in Italy in two important ways. First by filling the gap of limited empirical research, focusing specifically on Chinese-Italian youth in the Italian context whereas much of the existing literature relies on small-scale qualitative studies or broader immigrant samples without distinction for the Chinese-Italian community. Second, few studies have used identity maps to visually and narratively explore how youth perceive and organize their identities. By combining visual data with quantitative analysis of perceived discrimination, this study provides a novel contribution.

Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of this study. The main one among them is self-reported data, which may be subject to bias. Participants' reports on their experiences, thoughts, or feelings may be influenced by memory inaccuracies, social desirability, or interpretation biases, probably affecting the validity of the findings. For instance, participants indicating an attitude change, from their childhood to their young adulthood, towards their identity negotiation and perceived discrimination might be influenced by memory inaccuracies caused by the recency effect. Additionally, some participants were hesitant to share their personal

experiences which might be due to their cultural background and values.

Future research might expand on these findings through longitudinal studies to track identity negotiation and perceived discrimination over time and explore how different contexts support or hinder these identity negotiation processes. Another direction can be exploring the role of family dynamics and intergenerational differences in shaping identity integration or conflict in Italy as demonstrated by Schmidt et al. (2023), parental identity integration may serve as a protective factor against the negative psychological effects of discrimination for Chinese-American youth.

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