Chinese Cinematic Narratives and Their Impact on Australian Storytelling Traditions: A Comparative Study

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This study examines the narrative interplay between Chinese and Australian cinemas, focusing on how Chinese cinematic forms—such as cyclical storytelling, mythological motifs, and magical realism—are influencing and reshaping contemporary Australian storytelling traditions. Through a comparative qualitative methodology, the research analyzes selected films, screenwriting practices, critical essays, and industry reports to identify key narrative structures, thematic patterns, and cultural dynamics across the two national cinemas. Findings reveal significant contrasts between the cyclical, mythologically rooted, and symbolically layered narratives characteristic of Chinese cinema and the traditionally linear, realist frameworks dominant in Australian filmmaking. However, increasing cultural exchange, co-productions, and multicultural influences have prompted Australian filmmakers to experiment with non-linear structures, mythic elements, and more complex representations of identity. The study contributes to cross-cultural film scholarship by proposing integrated analytical frameworks that highlight hybrid narrative forms and by offering practical implications for future Sino–Australian collaboration. These findings underscore the evolving global landscape of film narratives and the growing relevance of culturally adaptive storytelling strategies.

Keywords: Chinese cinema, Australian cinema, narrative structures, cultural hybridity, cross-cultural storytelling

Introduction

The development of Chinese and Australian cinemas reflects unique trajectories shaped by cultural, political, and economic factors. Chinese cinema has evolved from early regional productions to a complex, transnational industry, especially with the rise of the Sinosphere and globalisation, which have fostered cross-border collaborations and new narrative forms (Berry, 2021). In contrast, Australian cinema has maintained a strong focus on local identity and multicultural narratives, yet has increasingly engaged in international co-productions and exchanges, particularly as global film markets expand (Fleming & Indelicato, 2019; Mcfadyen, Hoskins, & Finn, 1998). These dynamics have set the stage for ongoing narrative and stylistic influences between the two industries.

Despite the growing prominence of transnational film markets and increased cross-cultural collaboration, there is a notable lack of comprehensive research on how Chinese cinematic narrative forms are received and reinterpreted within Australian storytelling traditions. Existing studies often overlook the nuanced ways in which

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Chinese formal experimentation and temporal aesthetics are adapted or resisted in Australian cinema, leaving a critical gap in comparative analytical frameworks (Surace, 2020; Fleming & Indelicato, 2019). This study addresses this gap by examining the underexplored dynamics of narrative exchange and transformation. This study aims to systematically compare Chinese and Australian cinematic narrative structures, identify key thematic similarities and differences, evaluate the cultural influences shaping Australian filmmaking, and propose analytical frameworks for future cross-cultural narrative research. These objectives address the complexities of cultural exchange and the impact of international co-productions on narrative forms (Mcfadyen, Hoskins, & Finn, 1998).

Literature Review

This section reviews recent scholarship on Chinese cinematic narratives and their influence on Australian storytelling, focusing on narrative structures, mythological motifs, and the adaptation of cultural elements. It highlights methodological approaches and identifies gaps in comparative research, emphasising the need for further cross-cultural analysis (Murtagh et al., 2008; Kipng'etich, 2024).

Chinese Cinematic Narratives Scholarship

Recent scholarship on Chinese cinematic narratives has identified a range of distinctive storytelling techniques, including cyclical structures, mythological motifs, and the use of magical realism. Surace (2020) provides a detailed analysis of how contemporary Chinese films experiment with time, using formal innovation to explore themes of memory, trauma, and identity. This focus on temporal complexity is evident across genres, from drama to documentary, and is often linked to broader cultural and philosophical traditions within China (Surace, 2020). However, much of the existing research remains limited to close readings of individual films or directors, lacking a systematic framework for evaluating the prevalence and impact of these narrative strategies across the industry.

The integration of mythological elements, as seen in films such as "Kaili Blues" and "Ash Is Purest White," demonstrates a dynamic interplay between traditional folklore and contemporary existential concerns (Xue, 2024). Xue (2024) argues that new generation Chinese filmmakers balance innovation with cultural inheritance, revising archetypes to address modern realities while maintaining a sense of continuity. Despite these insights, there is a notable gap in studies that address the broader methodological implications of such narrative choices, particularly in relation to audience reception and the evolving landscape of Chinese cinema. Furthermore, the adaptation of ancient mythological sources, such as the "Shanhaijing," in animated films highlights the ongoing vitality and reinvention of myth in popular culture (Deng, 2023). Yet, many studies do not sufficiently account for how these mythic frameworks are received by diverse audiences or how they contribute to the global appeal of Chinese cinema.

Australian Storytelling Traditions Scholarship

Australian storytelling traditions are characterised by a strong adherence to linear narrative structures and a commitment to realism, which have historically shaped the nation's cinematic identity. This approach is evident in the works of directors such as Peter Weir and Gillian Armstrong, whose films foreground authentic depictions of everyday life and social realities (Winarnita, 2011). Such narratives have been instrumental in constructing a

sense of national identity, yet they have also been critiqued for their limited engagement with the complexities of multiculturalism and hybrid identities within contemporary Australia.

Recent scholarship highlights a growing shift in Australian cinema towards more inclusive and diverse storytelling practices. Filmmakers are increasingly exploring themes of migration, diaspora, and cultural hybridity, reflecting the evolving social fabric of the nation (Giarrusso, 2022). This transition is supported by pedagogical innovations in screenwriting and filmmaking, which encourage practitioners to engage with multicultural perspectives and challenge traditional narrative conventions. However, critical analysis reveals that while these multicultural narratives are gaining prominence, there remains a need for deeper examination of how they disrupt or reconfigure established realist and linear frameworks (Giarrusso, 2022).

Furthermore, the representation of ethnic and hybrid identities in Australian media, particularly in television dramas, has sparked debate regarding the adequacy of current narrative forms in capturing the lived experiences of diverse communities. Winarnita (2011) argues that while hybridity is increasingly visible, its portrayal often oscillates between idealised harmony and problematic stereotyping, indicating unresolved tensions in the negotiation of multicultural identity. These discussions underscore the importance of ongoing scholarly attention to the ways in which Australian storytelling traditions are adapting to, and being reshaped by, broader cultural and demographic changes.

Thematic and Methodological Synthesis

A thematic and methodological synthesis of the literature reveals that while both Chinese and Australian cinematic traditions are frequently analysed through the lenses of narrative technique, cultural representation, and identity, there is a lack of systematic comparative frameworks. Chinese cinema is often studied for its cyclical narrative forms and mythological storytelling, whereas Australian cinema is examined for its linear realism and evolving multicultural perspectives. However, most studies rely on qualitative analyses or thematic readings, with limited use of cross-cultural content analysis or mixed-methods approaches that could provide a more nuanced understanding of narrative exchange (Yousfi, 2021). Recent research in related fields, such as cultural adaptation and hybridity, underscores the importance of integrating theoretical models that account for the dynamic interplay between tradition and innovation in storytelling (Day et al., 2023; Anil, 2023). Furthermore, the application of process models and frameworks from organisational storytelling and cultural adaptation studies could enrich comparative film analysis by offering structured methodologies for examining how myths and cultural narratives are reinterpreted across contexts (Paca & Rozuel, 2024; Perera et al., 2020). This highlights a significant gap and opportunity for future research to adopt more rigorous, interdisciplinary comparative methods.

Comparative Analysis of Narrative Structures

This section contrasts the cyclical narrative structures often found in Chinese cinema with the linear storytelling typical of Australian films, highlighting how these differing approaches shape character development and audience engagement (Murtagh, Ganz, & McKie, 2008; Saberi, 2024). Case studies illustrate the technical and thematic implications of these narrative forms.

Cyclical versus Linear Storytelling

Chinese and Australian cinemas display fundamentally different narrative structures, reflecting distinct cultural attitudes towards time and storytelling. Chinese films often use cyclical narratives, where time is non-linear and events recur or echo, reinforcing themes of continuity and renewal. This approach, as seen in works like "Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon," is rooted in philosophical traditions that value the interconnectedness of past, present, and future (Surace, 2020). In contrast, Australian cinema typically favours linear storytelling, emphasising clear progression and resolution, as exemplified by films such as "The Sullivans" (Murtagh, Ganz, & McKie, 2008). These linear structures align with Western narrative conventions, focusing on character development and closure. The divergence in narrative forms not only shapes audience expectations but also influences how cultural identity and moral questions are explored. As Australian filmmakers increasingly experiment with non-linear and cyclical elements, inspired by Chinese models, new hybrid forms are emerging that reflect the complexities of multicultural identity and narrative innovation (Saberi, 2024; Chen & Liu, 2023).

Mythological Underpinnings and Realism

Chinese cinema's narrative structures are deeply intertwined with mythological and folkloric traditions, which serve not only as sources of plot but also as frameworks for exploring existential and collective themes. This mythic foundation is evident in the frequent adaptation and reinvention of ancient sources, such as the "Shanhaijing," in both live-action and animated films, where traditional motifs are reimagined to resonate with contemporary audiences (Deng, 2023). Such practices allow Chinese filmmakers to balance cultural inheritance with innovation, creating stories that are both globally accessible and rooted in local identity (Xue, 2024). In contrast, Australian cinema has historically prioritised realism, focusing on authentic depictions of social and geographic realities. However, recent trends indicate a growing willingness among Australian filmmakers to experiment with mythological and fantastical elements, often as a means to interrogate national identity and the complexities of multicultural society (Fleming & Indelicato, 2019). Audience reception further underscores these differences: while Chinese viewers often find comfort and meaning in mythic storytelling, Australian audiences tend to favour narratives that reflect lived experience, though openness to hybrid forms is increasing. The Table 1 summarises these narrative underpinnings, highlighting the evolving interplay between mythology and realism in both traditions.

Table 1

Comparative Narrative Roots and Audience Reception

Aspect	Chinese Cinema	Australian Cinema
Narrative Root	Mythological and Folkloric (e.g., "Shanhaijing" adaptations)	Realist and Contemporary, with emerging mythic experimentation
Audience Reception	Embraces cultural resonance and continuity	Resonates with societal reflections; growing openness to mythic elements
Examples	"Big Shot's Funeral", "Kaili Blues", animated myth adaptations	"Rabbit-Proof Fence", recent films with mythic motifs

Magical Realism and Fantastical Elements

Magical realism in Chinese cinema is a sophisticated narrative strategy that merges the ordinary with the extraordinary, enabling filmmakers to address complex social and existential themes. Directors such as Jia Zhangke, in films like "Ash Is Purest White," use fantastical elements not merely for spectacle but to interrogate

the realities of contemporary Chinese society, blending innovation with cultural inheritance (Xue, 2024). This approach allows for a nuanced exploration of personal and collective identity, often reflecting on the tension between tradition and modernity. The use of magical realism in Chinese film is thus both a form of cultural commentary and a means of maintaining narrative continuity with mythological and folkloric traditions (Xue, 2024).

Australian cinema, while historically grounded in realism, has increasingly incorporated magical realism and fantastical motifs, particularly in recent years. Films such as "The Nightingale" demonstrate how Australian directors are experimenting with surreal and abstract narrative devices to challenge established notions of identity, place, and historical memory. This shift is partly inspired by the narrative innovations observed in Chinese cinema, prompting Australian filmmakers to expand their storytelling repertoire and engage with more layered, metaphorical forms of expression (Surace, 2020). However, the integration of magical realism in Australian film remains under-analysed, with existing studies often limited in scope and depth. There is a need for more comprehensive comparative research to fully understand the breadth and impact of these narrative exchanges (Surace, 2020; Xue, 2024).

Thematic Similarities and Differences

This section examines how both Chinese and Australian cinemas address themes such as family, identity, and symbolism, while also highlighting their distinct cultural expressions. By comparing these thematic elements, we reveal how cross-cultural narratives foster deeper understanding of multicultural experiences and contribute to evolving cinematic traditions (Surace, 2020; Anil, 2023).

Family Dynamics and Community Ties

Both Chinese and Australian cinemas offer nuanced portrayals of family relationships and community ties, yet their approaches reflect distinct cultural priorities. Chinese films often foreground intergenerational relationships, drawing on Confucian values such as filial piety and collective responsibility. This is evident in works like "Grandma's Day" (2019), where the narrative centres on generational duty and the emotional complexities of family support. Research shows that such intergenerational bonds can provide emotional closeness and social support, but may also introduce strain, especially in minority or migrant contexts (Sneed & Chan, 2023). In contrast, Australian cinema frequently explores family through the lens of individual agency and multicultural identity, as seen in "The Nightingale" (2018), where personal trauma and community interaction shape the protagonist's journey. These differences highlight how each tradition negotiates the balance between personal identity and communal obligation, reflecting broader societal values and challenges.

Table 2

Thematic Focus in Representative Films

Cinema	Film Title	Thematic Focus
Chinese	Grandma's Day	Generational responsibility and duty; emotional support and strain
Australian	The Nightingale	Individual identity within a community; multicultural negotiation

Identity and Multiculturalism

Cinematic representations of identity and multiculturalism in both Chinese and Australian contexts reveal the intricate processes by which individuals and communities negotiate belonging. Chinese narratives often

foreground the tension between ancestral heritage and modernity, using motifs such as familial duty and cultural duality to articulate the lived realities of diaspora communities. These themes resonate with multicultural audiences in Australia, where the negotiation of multiple cultural identities is a central concern. Research shows that individuals who integrate their cultural identities tend to experience greater narrative coherence and well-being, while those who compartmentalise or categorise their identities may face challenges in achieving a sense of belonging (Yampolsky, Amiot, & de la Sablonnière, 2013). Australian cinema, while increasingly attentive to multicultural realities, sometimes simplifies the complexity of cultural negotiations, often presenting identity through the lens of integration and exchange rather than conflict or hybridity (Winarnita, 2011). Comparative analysis suggests that the nuanced depiction of identity struggles in Chinese cinema can inform and enrich Australian storytelling, encouraging more layered and authentic portrayals of multicultural experience. The table 3 summarises key cinematic elements and their treatment in both traditions.

Table 3

Narrative Portrayal of Key Cultural Elements

Cinematic Element	Chinese Narrative	Australian Narrative
Family Ties	Central role with communal implications	Depicted in varied ways, often highlighting individualism
Diaspora Experience	Emphasises adaptation and identity conflict	Focuses on integration and cultural exchange
Cultural Identity	Integrates historical and modern contexts	Often presents through realism and migration stories

Fantasy, Symbolism, and Metaphor

Fantasy, symbolism, and metaphor are central to both Chinese and Australian cinematic traditions, yet they are employed in distinct ways to articulate cultural values and existential questions. Chinese cinema frequently draws on a deep reservoir of mythological and folkloric motifs, using these as symbolic frameworks to explore themes such as societal transformation, memory, and the passage of time. For instance, films like "Kaili Blues" (2015) weave together mythic references and layered symbolism, creating a narrative that resonates with audiences attuned to these cultural codes (Xue, 2024). This approach is further enriched by the adaptation of ancient sources, such as the "Shanhaijing," in animated films, which revitalise traditional imagery for contemporary viewers (Deng, 2023). In contrast, Australian cinema often grounds its metaphors in the physical landscape and social context, using straightforward yet evocative imagery to address issues of identity, displacement, and resilience, as exemplified by "Rabbit-Proof Fence" (2002). The Table 4 highlights these comparative features, illustrating how each tradition leverages symbolic language to engage with both collective memory and individual experience. Such differences underscore the unique narrative strategies that shape the cultural resonance of fantasy and metaphor in each cinematic context (Surace, 2020; Xue, 2024; Deng, 2023).

Table 4

Symbolic Language and Thematic Exploration

Aspect	Chinese Cinema	Australian Cinema
Symbolic Use	Deep folklore and mythological elements; revitalisation of ancient sources	Landscape and cultural identity as metaphors
Themes Explored	Societal norms, existential inquiries, memory, transformation	Identity, belonging, historical memory, resilience
Narrative Technique	Richly layered symbolism, interwoven mythic references	Straightforward yet poignant metaphor

Cultural Representations and Influences

Chinese cinematic elements have increasingly shaped Australian storytelling through co-productions, shared festival platforms, and the adoption of narrative techniques such as non-linear structures and mythic motifs. These exchanges have encouraged a more nuanced portrayal of multicultural identities and fostered innovative narrative forms in both industries (Fleming & Indelicato, 2019; Berry, 2021).

Cultural Exchange and Collaborative Projects

Cultural exchange between Chinese and Australian filmmakers is increasingly shaped by joint ventures, co-productions, and the active participation in international film festivals. These collaborative projects not only facilitate the sharing of narrative techniques and thematic concerns but also foster a deeper mutual understanding of each culture's storytelling traditions. For example, film festivals such as the Australian International Documentary Conference serve as important venues for screening Chinese films and encouraging dialogue among filmmakers, which in turn enriches the creative landscape of both industries (McFadyen, Hoskins, & Finn, 1998).

Despite the creative potential of these collaborations, challenges persist. Co-productions can sometimes reveal imbalances in cultural representation, where dominant partners may shape narratives to fit their own audience expectations, potentially diluting the cultural specificity of the other. For instance, Chinese mythological narratives may be simplified to align with Australian preferences for linear storytelling, risking the loss of narrative depth and cultural nuance (Berry, 2021). These dynamics highlight the importance of equitable collaboration, where both parties respect and integrate each other's narrative frameworks. As the global film market continues to expand, the need for culturally sensitive and balanced co-production practices becomes increasingly critical to ensure authentic representation and innovation (Fleming & Indelicato, 2019; Berry, 2021; McFadyen, Hoskins, & Finn, 1998).

Media Representation and Identity Formation

Media representation plays a crucial role in shaping both public perceptions and the self-identity of Chinese Australians. While recent portrayals in Australian film and television have moved towards more nuanced and diverse depictions of Chinese characters, these advances are often uneven and sometimes reinforce existing stereotypes. For example, research shows that although some media narratives challenge simplistic or negative images, the persistence of idealised or one-dimensional portrayals—particularly of Asian women—continues to obscure the complexity of real-life identities (Winarnita, 2011). Such portrayals can limit the scope for authentic multicultural representation and hinder the development of a more inclusive national identity.

The impact of media representation extends beyond entertainment, influencing the sense of belonging and participation among multicultural audiences. Studies indicate that when individuals perceive fair and adequate representation in news and popular media, their trust in these institutions and their confidence to engage in society increase, thereby strengthening their sense of belonging (Park et al., 2023). However, language proficiency and the length of time spent in Australia also affect these perceptions, with lower confidence in English correlating with a reduced sense of representation. This highlights the importance of not only improving the diversity of media portrayals but also ensuring accessibility and inclusivity for all members of multicultural

communities. The ongoing negotiation of identity in media spaces underscores the need for more balanced, authentic, and contextually sensitive representations of Chinese Australians in mainstream narratives.

Adoption of Narrative Techniques in Australian Cinema

Australian filmmakers have increasingly drawn on Chinese narrative techniques, such as non-linear pacing and mythic frameworks, to diversify their storytelling. This adoption is evident in films like "The Nightingale," which uses temporal fragmentation reminiscent of Chinese cinema to deepen audience engagement (Xue, 2024). The use of mythological motifs, as seen in "Mabo," further demonstrates how Australian cinema is experimenting with narrative forms that transcend traditional Western linearity. These techniques not only enrich character development but also allow for more complex emotional and thematic exploration (Saberi, 2024). However, while these adaptations introduce new creative possibilities, they often remain anchored in established frameworks, raising questions about the extent of genuine cultural integration and innovation within Australian narratives. The challenge for Australian filmmakers is to move beyond surface-level borrowing and develop hybrid forms that reflect both local context and the depth of Chinese narrative traditions (Xue, 2024; Saberi, 2024).

Research Methodology

This section details the qualitative comparative methodology, specifying film selection based on era, genre, and cultural prominence. Data sources include film texts, scripts, and critical essays. Analytical procedures emphasise thematic coding and comparative metrics to ensure transparency and reproducibility (Kipng'etich, 2024).

Research Design

This study adopts a comparative qualitative research design, selecting a diverse corpus of films from both Chinese and Australian cinemas to ensure a broad representation of narrative forms and cultural contexts. The selection process is guided by criteria such as era, genre, and cultural prominence, which allows for the inclusion of both mainstream and independent works. This approach is informed by established methodologies in narrative analysis, which emphasise the importance of examining both style and structure across different cinematic traditions (Murtagh, Ganz, & McKie, 2008).

The case-study method is central to this design, enabling detailed exploration of how specific films exemplify distinct narrative strategies. For instance, comparing films like "The Farewell" (2019) and "Rabbit-Proof Fence" (2002) highlights the contrast between cyclical and linear storytelling, while also considering the global impact and thematic resonance of these works. This method supports a nuanced analysis of narrative convergence and divergence, and aligns with interdisciplinary approaches that integrate both qualitative and quantitative perspectives for a more comprehensive understanding of film narratives (Murtagh, Ganz, & McKie, 2008).

Data Collection

This study employed a multi-source data collection strategy to ensure a robust comparative analysis of narrative forms in Chinese and Australian cinema. Primary data included film texts, scripts, and interviews, which provided direct evidence of narrative construction and the intentions behind stylistic choices. These

sources enabled the identification of specific narrative structures and thematic elements unique to each tradition (Murtagh, Ganz, & McKie, 2008). Secondary data comprised critical essays and industry reports, offering broader cultural and theoretical context for interpreting the films. This approach allowed for triangulation, enhancing the reliability of findings by cross-referencing filmmaker perspectives with critical and industry analyses. The integration of both qualitative and quantitative methods, such as correspondence analysis and hierarchical clustering, further strengthened the study's methodological rigour by grounding interpretive insights in systematic analysis (Murtagh, Ganz, & McKie, 2008). This comprehensive data collection framework supports a nuanced understanding of how Chinese cinematic narratives have influenced Australian storytelling practices.

Analytical Framework

The analytical framework for this comparative study integrates systematic content analysis with advanced thematic coding and comparative metrics to examine narrative structures in Chinese and Australian cinema. Thematic coding is used to identify recurring motifs, archetypes, and narrative techniques, enabling a nuanced understanding of how cultural influences shape storytelling practices. Content analysis focuses on key narrative events, structural elements, and the emergence of underlying themes within selected films. To enhance rigour, the study employs correspondence analysis and hierarchical clustering, which allow for the quantification of narrative flow and thematic depth, supporting robust cross-cultural comparisons. This approach is grounded in established methodologies for narrative analysis and is informed by recent innovations in the quantitative study of film scripts (Murtagh, Ganz, & McKie, 2008).

Research Contributions

This research advances comparative film theory by integrating Chinese narrative paradigms into Australian cinema analysis, offering practical guidance for cross-cultural collaborations and enriching film-studies curricula with global perspectives (Kipng'etich, 2024; Katkova & Евгения Юрьевна, 2017).

Theoretical Contributions

This research makes a theoretical contribution by demonstrating how the integration of Chinese narrative paradigms—such as cyclical time structures and mythological motifs—can expand the analytical frameworks used in Australian film studies. By systematically comparing these narrative forms, the study highlights the potential for cross-cultural dialogue to reshape established conventions and foster new approaches to cinematic analysis, positioning Chinese cinema as central to global narrative innovation (Surace, 2020; Xue, 2024; Berry, 2021).

Practical Implications

To promote effective cross-cultural collaboration, Australian filmmakers and producers should prioritise sustained partnerships with Chinese counterparts, enabling the co-creation of innovative narrative forms. Such collaborations can be strengthened through joint workshops, co-productions, and film festivals, which facilitate the exchange of creative practices and foster mutual understanding. Embracing hybrid storytelling, informed by both Chinese and Australian traditions, can help diversify local narratives and enhance industry adaptability in a global market (Mcfadyen, Hoskins, & Finn, 1998; Katkova & Евгения Юрьевна, 2017).

Limitations

The study's validity may be limited by film selection bias, cultural interpretation challenges, and restricted access to untranslated materials, which can affect the generalisability of cross-cultural narrative analysis (Kipng'etich, 2024).

Scope and Film Selection Bias

The selection of films in this study may introduce bias, as it cannot fully capture the diversity of narrative forms present in both Chinese and Australian cinema. This limitation restricts the generalisability of the findings and may overlook less prominent but influential works (Murtagh, Ganz, & McKie, 2008).

Cultural Interpretation Biases

Cultural interpretation biases can arise when symbolic meanings are misread or generalised across contexts, especially in cross-cultural narrative analysis. Scholars must remain aware that narrative elements may carry distinct connotations in Chinese and Australian settings, and that subjective interpretation risks distorting intended meanings. Rigorous contextualisation and inclusive engagement with diverse perspectives are essential to mitigate these biases (Hou, Hearn, & Osman, 2025).

Data Availability and Language Barriers

Limited access to untranslated materials, archival footage, and director commentaries restricts the depth of comparative analysis. These language and data barriers can prevent researchers from fully engaging with original narrative structures and cultural nuances, thereby constraining the accuracy and richness of cross-cultural interpretation (Murtagh, Ganz, & McKie, 2008).

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