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The Economic, Family and Identity Experiences of First- and Second-Generation Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland: A Case Study

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A dissertation submitted to the Department of Sociology at Trinity College, University of Dublin, in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy
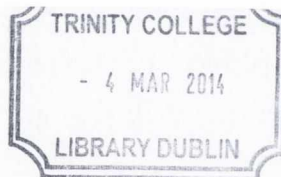
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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors Dr Daniel Faas and Dr Ronit Lentin for their feedback, guidance and direction through this study. Their comprehensive sociological knowledge constantly challenges me and made me critical in assessing my findings.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Sociology Department and the IIIS in Trinity. All the talks, seminars and workshops provided great learning opportunities for me, and inspired new ideas for my research.

Many thanks to my friends for their constant support and good company, and for believing in me more than I believe in myself. Friends from Trinity, Martina, Rachael, Alicja, Antje, Justyna, Alessia, Carla and Elena, made me feel that I was not alone on this academic journey. Amie, Dervla, Alison and Lesley-Ann and Yan Hui, you are my forever friends. Thanks for the support I received from Amanda, Alana, Justin, Kevin and Meng to complete this dissertation. Thank also goes to my colleagues in IOM Dublin.

I am sincerely grateful to the participants of this study whose lived experiences became valuable research. Without your contribution, this study would not have been possible. Thank you for your time, insight and knowledge.

A special thank you to my family for their unconditional love. Although we are thousands and thousands of miles away from one another, your love for me never diminishes. Thank you father for your confidence in me and also thank you mother for your honest comments. I dedicate this dissertation to you.

Abstract

This case study explores the economic, family and identity experiences of first- and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland. Though they are the earliest Chinese group in Ireland, their lived experiences have been overshadowed by the large influx of mainland Chinese since the end of the 1990s. The study makes the complex lived experiences of this migrant group visible in order to fill the gap in the research of Chinese migration to Ireland. This is the first doctoral dissertation conducted by a Chinese researcher that focuses on the multiple life perspectives of two generations of Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland.

This study is set at a time when Ireland was experiencing major economic and social transformations, and when both the country's economy and immigration trends turned from positive in the mid-1990s to negative since 2008. Having set up a landscape of Chinese restaurants in Ireland since the 1970s, the Hong Kong Chinese have been living through these transformations. Their migration trajectories to Ireland were often associated with the UK through chain migration, which I illustrate by using a revised 'push-push-pull' theoretical model. My other theoretical framework is diaspora theory, and I theorise Hong Kong Chinese as an economic diaspora because of the centrality of economic factors in their migration and settlement experiences.

The findings are drawn from two sources: qualitative interviews with 41 interviewees across two generations, and documentary research, including official records. Besides economic issues, in the course of the interviews, complex and interrelated family and identity issues also came to the fore. My data analysis was conducted along the three axes of economy, family and identity. The high level of cohesion in Hong Kong Chinese families was reflected in participants' family views. However, value discrepancies, as analysed by the mode of cultural production in diaspora, were evident in the intergenerational conflicts unearthed by the data. The dissertation discusses participants' diasporic identity negotiations as shaped by experiences of interaction and of discrimination, and the diasporic 'myth of return' and 'homing desire' were discussed in relation to participants' sense of belonging between Hong Kong and Ireland.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The aim of this study is to explore how economic, family and identity experiences shape the lives of first- and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland. My argument is that this group, who have been in Ireland since long before the immigration boom of the late 1990s and the early 2000s, hitherto unresearched, holds specific interest for researchers. This qualitative research reveals the multi-dimensional experiences of my target group. My research aims to fill the gap in academic research on Hong Kong Chinese migrants in light of the heterogeneity of the Chinese community in Ireland. In this introductory chapter, I firstly give an historical account of immigration into Ireland, with particular emphasis on Chinese migrants. Secondly, I compare the development of migration into Ireland with developments in Chinese immigration patterns, illustrating the economic, political and cultural links between the two countries. I also identify the emigration waves from Hong Kong so as to understand the historical background of the Hong Kong Chinese migration to Ireland. In the next section, I illustrate the composition of Chinese groups in Ireland to highlight the diversity among them, with specific analysis of what I call in this dissertation Hong Kong Chinese and mainland Chinese. In the last section, I introduce my research question and state the reasons why I want to research the Hong Kong Chinese community.

Researching Chinese Migrants in the Irish Context

I migrated to Ireland in 2002 and I started my doctoral research in 2007. This time frame gave me an interesting research angle because it covered the full circle of the Irish migration experience from a net immigration country to an emigration country. Ireland became a net immigration country in 1996. The inward migration to Ireland increased from less than 20,000 people in 1987, to just over 40,000 in 1997 to almost 110,000 in 2007 (CSO 2008). I have witnessed Ireland change from a country full of optimism in terms of good economic opportunities and increasing immigration to a country full of pessimism with news of high unemployment and an increase in emigration since 2009, as a result of the international economic crisis which began in 2008, when net immigration to Ireland ended (Gilmartin 2012). According to King-O'Riain (2007: 539), 'Ireland is shaped by its postcolonial past, its economic present and its multiracial future'.

Traditionally, Ireland was an emigration country and it 'did not experience the post-war immigration of other parts of north west Europe' (Daly 2003: 12). Its population 'kept declining constantly due to emigration outflows from the 1840s to the 1950s' (Turner 2010: 25. According to the 1841 Census, the Irish population was approximately 6,528,799 and it had fallen half to 3,870,020 by 1901 (Loyal 2011). The decline of its population peaked in the 1950s, but emigration remained well into 1996 (Turner 2010). The white, heterosexual, Irish, settled, Catholic population (or 'WHISC', according to Tracy 2000) was in the majority (MacÉinrí and Fanning 2007), and Crowley et al. (2006) criticise this homogenous and monocultural self-image of Ireland, arguing that 'Ireland has always been multicultural' (2006: 7). Similarly, McVeigh and Lentin (2002: 21) argue that 'Ireland was never the monoculture it told itself it was'. My historical review in this chapter reveals that the Hong Kong Chinese migrants were one of the longest-established migrant groups in Ireland, long before the end of the 1990s. The other main migrant groups in Ireland before the immigration boom of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century were east European Jewish and Italian migrants (see Fanning 2009; Ruhs 2004; McVeigh and Lentin 2002). Ireland's largest ethnic minority are Irish Travellers, who, according to the 1991 Census, numbered around 30,000 people (McVeigh and Lentin 2002). The Christian religious orders from the Italian peninsula settled in Ireland as early as 431 AD (De Tona 2007). Italian migrants from Frosinone Province started settling in Ireland during the 1880s. The growth of Italian migration has continued since the 1960s (De Tona 2007). In 1981 the number of Italian migrants in Ireland was 1,351 (De Tona 2007). A small Jewish community, approximately 472, who mostly came from Russia and Lithuania, had also settled in Ireland since the 1880s. By 1901 there were more than 3,000 Jewish people in Ireland; by 1946 the number rose to 4,000 (Keogh 1998), and reduced to 1,581 Jewish in the 1991 Census (McVeigh and Lentin 2002). Other small migrant groups were programme refugees received by the Irish State since the 1950s. These included the Baha'is, Hungarian refugees, and following the 1970s, Chilean, Vietnamese, Bosnian and Kosovo programme refugees (Loyal 2011).

Similar to the early economic experience of Hong Kong Chinese in the catering business as discussed in Chapter 4, Italian migrants, especially those from Frosinone Province, also came to Ireland through chain migration via the UK since the twentieth century. They used their economic experience in the UK to set up 'fish and chips' shops and Italian restaurants in Ireland. Early Jewish migrants in Ireland worked in the small-size business sector too. According to the 1891 Census and the 1901 Census, they mostly worked in retail as shop

keepers, peddlers, drapers, commercial travellers and general traders (Fanning 2002). Similar to the Hong Kong Chinese, both Jewish and Irish Travellers groups have also experienced racism within Irish society. Jewish people came under periodic anti-Semitic attacks, for example, the religious sectarianism of Catholic anti-Semitism showed in the Limerick Pogrom in 1904 (Fanning 2002). Jewish migrants were 'vulnerable to economic and social exclusion perpetrated by the dominant community' (Fanning 2002: 48). According to prevalent racist stereotyping, they were seen as the 'economic enemies of Catholics' (Fanning 2002: 42). Later, the Irish State was deeply reluctant to accept Jewish immigrants during World War II (Loyal 2011: 4). It is estimated that as few as 60 Jews were allowed to enter the Irish states between 1933 and 1946 (Loyal 2011). Travellers are widely acknowledged as 'one of the most marginalised and disadvantaged groups in Ireland' (O'Connell 2002: 49), and there was anti-Traveller prejudice in Irish society between the early 1970s and later 1980s (Fanning 2009: 18). The 1990s saw the case being made for Travellers' ethnic status as 'a means of contesting prejudice' (Fanning 2009: 18). Still the Irish Government held its ambivalent attitude to Irish Travellers' ethnic status. According to the government submission to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) in 2004, the Irish government effectively admitted travellers' ethnic distinctness but also denied their ethnic status (Fanning 2009).

The increasingly diverse population due to migration to Ireland reverses the historical trend of Irish emigration (King-O'Riain 2007: 516), and is also reflected in the increasing number of asylum seekers coming to Ireland, starting from just 39 asylum applications in 1992 to a peak of almost 12,000 in 2002 (O'Neill 1999; Prospectus 2008: 8). The accession of ten new countries to the European Union in May 2004, with immediate access to the Irish labour market, also attracted a rapid increase in economic migrants from Eastern Europe. Indeed Ireland has become a popular destination attracting immigrants from 188 countries (CSO 2008), and is 'a new laboratory for the study of migration' (Barret and Duffy 2008).

As a new immigration country, two landmark events in Irish immigration history had a direct effect on the lives of Chinese migrants in Ireland. Firstly, nationality and ethnicity questions were included for the first time in the Irish Census in 2006. These included questions on place of birth, nationality, ethnic or cultural background, residence the previous year, and religion (Gilmartin and Mill 2008: 22). King O'Riain (2007) argues that 'the Irish Census in 2006 illustrates the process of state racialization in practice' (2007: 538). The relevant census

question[1] is a complex blend of race and ethnicity, which is a racial tool used by the Irish state to focus on 'categories that are relevant to denial of rights and tackling discrimination rather than immigration control' (King-O'Riain 2007: 539). Under the subcategory 'Asian', 'Chinese' was listed as a specific group, which indicated the Irish State's prediction of Chinese as the largest Asian group in designing the Census questions. According to the Census results, non-Irish people living in Ireland represented over 10 per cent of the total population (CSO 2008; Prospectus: I). The population of Chinese nationals in Ireland was recorded at 11,161 which represented approximately 3.6 per cent of the total non-Irish population of 420,000 in 2006. Chinese were the seventh largest non-Irish group after British, Polish, Lithuanian, Nigerian, Latvian and American (CSO 2008: 8). Apart from the citizens of the United States, Chinese and Nigerian citizens were the only two non-European Union citizens appearing in the list of the top 10 non-Irish groups. According to the Census 2006 results, 70 per cent of Chinese respondents were aged in their twenties and 'a very high percentage was single' (CSO 2008: 49). Compared with other non-Irish citizens, Chinese respondents were the largest relatively young Asian group with little religious influence, as 80 per cent of the Chinese respondents claimed no religion in Census 2006 (CSO2008).[2] In Census 2011 there was a reduction in the number of the Chinese population which stood at 10,896 (CSO 2012b) and was not one of the top 10 non-Irish nationalities.

The Census in 2006 provided the first official record of the population of Chinese immigration in Ireland, but it had its limitations. Firstly, it underestimated the total Chinese population (O'Leary and Li 2008). [3] According to the then Minister for Justice Ray Burke, in 1992 there were inconsistencies in the official record of the whole population of Chinese immigrants in Ireland: 'Records are not maintained in such a way as would enable the information sought to be made available readily'. Secondly, Census 2006 did not differentiate the population of the different waves of Chinese immigrants in Ireland, especially as the census was limited in accuracy regarding the population of Hong Kong Chinese. According to my interviewees, many Hong Kong Chinese have claimed Irish citizenship. The relevant statistics about Chinese migrants in Census 2006 are as follows, '97 per cent of all Chinese

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[1] Question 14 in Census 2006 is 'what is your ethnic or cultural background?', the subcategories are white; black or Asian Irish; Asian or Asian Irish; other, including mixed background.
[2] 70 per cent of Polish respondents were between 20 and 34. Latvian and Lithuanian respondents had a similar age profile to the Polish respondents. More than half the Nigerian respondents were above 30 (CSO 2008).
[3] One-third of their legal respondents did not fill in the Census although they were aware of it. They suggested that in light of the insufficient data about the legal Chinese immigrants, there could also be a large number of illegal Chinese who did not complete the Census form (O'Leary and Li 2008).

respondents described themselves as 'Chinese' in response to the "ethnic and cultural background" question' (CSO 2008: 50) and '54 per cent of Chinese respondents were males, 46 per cent females' (CSO 2008: 54). However, the Census could be a good reference to view the demographic features of the mainland Chinese migrants, such as '43 per cent were students and the same percentage were at work, mostly in the hotel and restaurant industry; 91 per cent were employees and 8 per cent were self-employed. 95 per cent lived in urban areas, mostly in Dublin city and suburbs; most lived in rented accommodation' (CSO 2008).

Secondly, the most significant change in Irish migration matters was the 2004 Citizenship Referendum. The result of the Referendum was the removal of birth-right citizenship to children of migrants (Lentin 2007). The 1998 Belfast Agreement had 'copper-fastened a ius soli (birthplace based) constitutional right to citizenship for all children born on the island of Ireland just as asylum and immigration numbers began to rise' (Fanning 2009:104). The Citizenship Referendum 2004 has given 'a racial conception of citizenship' and it was articulated with populist political response to immigration (Fanning 2009: 111). Crucially, however, a Chinese woman's legal case [4] was one of the highlights in the debates prior to the referendum. Mrs Chen was seen as using a loophole in Irish citizenship law; the Irish government regarded the case as a 'vindication of the need for a referendum to remove citizenship from babies born on the island of Ireland who cannot claim a relationship to another Irish citizen' (O'Brien 2004). [5] This demonstrates how a Chinese person became central to deliberations on immigration and citizenship in the Irish context.

The Historic Perspective: New Immigration Country and Old Chinese Community

Ireland became a new immigration country in the mid-1990s, but Chinese migrants have been living in Ireland since long before the 1990s. The history of Chinese immigrants to Ireland can be traced back to the 1950s (O'Leary and Li 2008; Lu 2002; Yau 2007; Chan 2008)

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[4] It was not made clear whether she was from mainland China or from Hong Kong.

[5] Mrs Chen flew from Britain to Belfast to give birth to a girl (Catherine Chen) in 2000 in order to secure a right to remain in Britain. Baby Chen obtained an Irish passport under the provision of the Good Friday Agreement which guarantees 'in the Constitution the right to Irish citizenship of every person born on the island of Ireland' (Coulter 2004). In early 2004, the Supreme Court ruled out Mrs Chen's right to live in Ireland meaning that the parents of Irish-born children did not have a right to reside in Ireland (Coulter 2004). However, in October 2004, the European Court of Justice ruled that Mrs Chen was entitled to live in another EU state as the parent of an Irish citizen child provided she was covered by sickness insurance and had sufficient resources (Moriarty 2006a).

which marks them as a significant identifiable ethnic minority group in Ireland. Although the history of Chinese migrants in Ireland is long compared with other migrant groups, Ireland was not a popular destination country for Chinese migrants (Wang and King O'Riain 2006) and the history of Chinese migrants in Ireland is shorter than that in other countries such as Southeast Asia, where Chinese migrants have migrated for centuries, or the UK and the United States where the presence of Chinese migrants dates back to the 19th Century. Chinese communities have existed in several European countries for most of the twentieth century. They are among 'Europe's oldest immigrant communities, and are now, in several countries, among the largest and, in economic terms, the most powerful' (Benton and Pieke 1998: vii).

The history of Chinese international migration is not new, especially for those from southeast coastal provinces such as Guangdong and Fujian Province which have a long history of international migration. Chinese immigrants have largely settled in Southeast Asia, the UK and the United States (Wang 1991a). Probably the earliest Chinese migration was to Southeast Asia.[6] It was much later when China began to trade with other countries; it was during the 1700-1900 period that the Chinese dispersed to the rest of the world (Chan 1997). From the mid-1950s onwards the government of the People's Republic of China effectively put a stop to international migration, which came to be seen as an act of treason (Huang and Pieke 2003). There was little migration from China for 30 years between 1949 and 1979 with the exception of substantial legal and illegal emigration from the Guangdong province to nearby Hong Kong in the 1960s and during the second half of the 1970s (Huang and Pieke 2003; Skeldon 2003). These Chinese migrants to Hong Kong also brought a change to the agriculture structure in Hong Kong when Hong Kong itself was experiencing an economic transition, as discussed later. Another exception was the migration to socialist bloc countries (Skeldon 1996).

The People's Republic of China launched its economic reforms in 1979 to open up to the outside world (Huang and Pieke 2003) allowing for the first time internal and international migration, suppressed until 1978 (Nyíri 2002). Some of the above-mentioned population movements had led to longer-term and more permanent settlements (Skeldon 2003). Chinese emigration resumed from the traditional areas of emigration, the coastal provinces of

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[6] The first Chinese emigration to Southeast Asia could be traced approximately 2000 or 3000 years ago (Chan 1997).

Guangdong and Fujian (Huang and Pieke 2003). Apart from these traditional regions, the Chinese provinces from which Chinese emigrated tended to be the most economically advanced. The recent trend in Chinese international migration reflects a growing demand for opportunities to study abroad. This is reflected in the influx of mainland Chinese students coming to Ireland since the end of 1990s. Rapid economic growth in China means that more people can afford to pay for their children to go abroad. Tough entrance exams for universities in China provide an added incentive to look for educational opportunities abroad (Laczko 2003). Also, an increasing number of migrants now come from a non-traditional emigration region, the northeast of China. North-eastern China was China's 'rust belt' where factory and mine shutdowns have created rising numbers of unemployed (Laczko 2003). Many of these staff used state compensations to send their children to study abroad. According to informal data I collected during my study, students from northeast China were a major Chinese student sub group in Ireland, and they were among the earliest mainland Chinese student groups coming to Ireland at the end of the 1990s – the earliest student I know came to Ireland in 1998.

In sum, looking at the migration history in Ireland and China, we note that while Ireland is new to immigration, the Chinese community is not a new minority group in Ireland. China has a long history of international migration, despite its closure to migration between 1949 and 1979 due to the communist Chinese government, but Chinese migration to Ireland is relatively new in comparison to Chinese migration to other countries like Southeast Asia, the UK and the United States.

According to my documentary analysis, the economic, political and social links between Ireland and the Republic of China have developed over the years. I retrieved several events in this context from the *Irish Times* newspaper online archives. [7] Politically, China and Ireland commenced diplomatic relations in 1979. The first Chinese ambassador said that 'China had not forgotten that Ireland supported the Republic of China's right to a seat at the United Nations' (O'Leary 1980). Ireland did indeed support a motion that the issue should be discussed (Nowlan 1976).[8]

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[7] *Irish Times* Online Archive documents date from 1859 to the present.
[8] The People's Republic of China claims that Taiwan is part of China, while the Taiwan authorities claim self-rule.

On an economic level, the first-ever trade delegation from China visited Ireland in 1978 to start a trade mission between the two countries. While China implemented its economic reforms in 1978 to stimulate its economic development, Ireland joined the European Economic Community in 1973, which later became the foundation for its economic boom in the late 1990s. Derived from the visit of the then Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern, to China in 1998, the 'Asia Strategy 1999 to 2004' was developed and adopted, with the possibility of becoming a ten year programme (Gorman 2010). The aim was to increase Irish exports to Asia and explore new investment opportunities in Asia. Under the Asia strategy, the two largest Irish trade missions were sent to China in 2006 and 2008, led respectively by Taoiseach Bertie Ahern and Taoiseach Brian Cowen and organised by Enterprise Ireland (Gorman 2010).

Culturally, there have been sports and cultural exchanges between China and Ireland since 1976. The first Irish football team visited China and Hong Kong in 1976 (Nowlan 1976). The Chinese table tennis team had a match with the Irish team in 1979 and 1981 (ProQuest 1979; ProQuest 1981). The Tianjing Song and Dance Troupe performed with the Irish band the Chieftains in the National Concert Hall in 1982 (Cahalane 1982). More obviously, Chinese cuisine has enriched the Irish diet and brought an exotic flavour. In the early 1970s, the Irish public could only find 'ethnic food' in mostly Italian-owned fish and chip shops, Chinese restaurants (Ahlstrom 1981) and Indian restaurants. Carl O'Brien reported in an *Irish Times* article, interviewee David Lee recalled his family Chinese restaurant (Luna) on O'Connell Street in the 1960s, where during the weekends Irish customers queued outside the door waiting to be seated (O'Brien 2004).

Chinese New Year, as a symbol of Chinese culture, is the most important festival for Chinese people all over the world. The public Chinese New Year celebration has become one of the livelier ethnic festivals of Irish society. The first Chinese New Year public celebration was held in Smithfield, Dublin in January 2004. The four-day celebration attracted 127,000 visitors in total (O'Halloran 2004; Morrissey 2005). The Chinese New Year celebration continued as a five-day event in the National Museum of Ireland in 2005, which attracted up to 50,000 visitors despite the introduction of an administration fee that year. The public celebration of Chinese New Year then stopped in 2006 due to funding problems (Cullen 2006). According to my observations, in 2007 there was only a public launch of Chinese New Year in City Hall organised by Dublin City Council without any other official programmes.

Dublin City Council launched its official Chinese New Year celebrations in 2008. The celebration programmes are organised by its Dublin Chinese New Year Festival Committee. The Chinese New Year's festival celebration entered its six year in 2013. The Chinese New Year Festival celebration not only showcases Chinese culture and but more importantly, it has become a signal of cultural diversity in light of the Irish interculturalism policy.

Hong Kong Perspective: 'The Door Into and Out of China' [9]

Having illustrated the political, economic and cultural links between Ireland and the People's Republic of China, and briefly compared the migration history of the two countries, I now highlight how the historical background of Hong Kong and emigration from Hong Kong fit into the Irish context, since the main research group in this dissertation is the Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland.

Hong Kong, 'a society economically developed but rooted in Chinese culture' (Phinney et al. 2000: 530), was leased to Britain in 1842 and was ruled by Britain until 1997. The Joint Declaration Sino-British Agreement [10] signed in 1984, decided that the colony would become a special administrative region (SAR) under the rule of China in 1997 (Wong 1992). The Joint Declaration stipulates that apart from foreign affairs and defence, Hong Kong enjoys a high degree of autonomy as a SAR after 1997 (Burns 1987). The liberal political regime continued since the hand-over in 1997 under the 'one China, two systems' rule.

With its colonial connections and strategic location, Hong Kong has 'functioned as the largest metropolis in the South China region and a centre of origin and destination for the Chinese diaspora' (Lin 2002: 85). Hong Kong Chinese first began to spread out across the world as seafarers and adventures when the British colonised Hong Kong in 1842. Hong Kong had long been a city of migrants with a massive outflow and inflow of people. Before the Second World War, Hong Kong served as the major port for the Chinese living in Guangdong and other provinces to venture abroad or seek shelter to avoid the political instabilities in mainland China (Sinn 1995; Wong and Salaff 1998). Due to its specific historic impact, Hong

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[9] See Wickberg 1999: 51.

[10] The economic and political influence of China had been growing in Hong Kong since the 1984 Joint Declaration (Burns 1987). 'Britain is implementing gradual decolonialisation in Hong Kong while at the same time attempting to maintain the stability of the territory, thus reducing London's responsibility in the rundown to 1997' (Burns 1987: 682)

Kong has a 'modified and transposed Chinese culture, overlaid by Western and increasingly residual British colonial elements' (Parker 1995: 148). Wong (1992) points out the ambivalence in Hong Kong people's conflicting sense of identity, because most Hong Kong people are torn between a rejection of 'China as a communist state and an attachment to China as their motherland' (Wong 1992: 930).

As a British colony prior to 1997, emigration from Hong Kong was not new. It has a history of the movement of people in and out in the following phases. The first phase occurred at a time when Hong Kong transferred to be the global meeting place of diversified manufacturing, trading and banking centres after the 1950s (Wang 1999). One of the economic transitions shown at the time was the 'vegetable revolution' between 1958 and 1961 when the traditional rice economy in rural Hong Kong was giving way to vegetable cultivation introduced by regular or irregular immigrants from mainland China (Wong 1992). The majority of Hong Kong people who emigrated during this period were from the New Territories, the rural hinterland of Hong Kong. According to Choo (1968), there was an almost fivefold increase of Hong Kong-born residents in London during 1951-1961, including those from the New Territories. I would argue that some of them relocated to Ireland, as demonstrated by the migration experiences of my first-generation interviewees (Chapter 4). The second phase was triggered by the 1967 riots in Hong Kong, a spill over from the Cultural Revolution in mainland China. However, the 'social consequences of the riots have not been systematically studied and there is only fragmentary information on the movement of people out of Hong Kong at the time' (Wong 1992: 924). The third wave began in the 1980s when the Joint Declaration on the future of Hong Kong was signed in 1984. This wave of emigration was related to the imminent return of Hong Kong to China in 1997 and its uncertain political future. The rising volume of Hong Kong emigration during this phase was also prompted by the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident in mainland China.[11] As an example: the British Nationality Scheme, enacted in 1990 as a reaction to the Tiananmen incident in China, granted 50,000 households in Hong Kong full British citizenship without residential requirement in the United Kingdom (Wong 1992). According to Government Secretariat's estimation, 22,400 people left Hong Kong for residence overseas in 1980, a figure that remained stable for several years. Then in 1987, three years after the signing of the Sino-British Agreement, the number of emigrants rose to 30,000. By 1990 the outflow of

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[11] The Tiananmen Square Incident refers to a student political demonstration which was suppressed by the Chinese government on 4 June 1989 (Zhao 2001).

people had reached a peak of 62,000 or 1 per cent of the population (Skeldon 1990). The booming economy of the early 1990s in Hong Kong created the wealth and means for many middle class Hong Kong Chinese to emigrate (Li 2005). Different from the first phase, the majority of emigrants had a rural background, but the third phase is the 'emigrating of the elite, predominantly 'yuppies', young, educated, middle-class professionals' (Wong 1992: 919). This group was large, but the majority emigrated to Canada, Australia and the United States (Li 2005). Ireland was not their favourite destination, although it is hard to quantify how many Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland came from this period. Therefore, this group is not the focus of this dissertation.

Li's (1998; 2005) research on Hong Kong Chinese in Canada clarifies the possible reasons for the proportionate decrease in Hong Kong Chinese migration as compared to mainland Chinese migration to Ireland since the end of 1990s. Li (2003) found that the change was caused by the economic downturn in Hong Kong. The Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 further devastated Hong Kong's economy and started a period of negative growth, deflation, rise in unemployment rates and falling real estate prices, and although the economic downturn could have made people leave, the rate of emigration after 1997 was not as great as that in the mid-1980s to the mid 1990s. The Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 was short-lived, and economic growth in the region resumed quickly (Koser 2009). The changes in the composition of the Chinese communities in Canada reflected a similar trend in Ireland. Since the end of the Second World War and until the mid-1990s, Hong Kong was the primary source of Chinese emigration to Canada (Li 2005). According to Li (1998), over half a million immigrants came to Canada from Hong Kong, mainland China and Taiwan between 1968 and 1994; those from Hong Kong accounted for 68 per cent of the total population and those from mainland China another 22 per cent. However, due to the rapid economic development in mainland China, since 1998, the mainland Chinese migrants have outnumbered those from Hong Kong, as it became the principal source for immigration to Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1999). Similarly, Ireland witnessed the number of mainland Chinese overtaking that of Hong Kong Chinese since the end of 1990 during the Irish economic boom. Since then, the presentation of Hong Kong Chinese people as the 'Chinese people' in Ireland has been challenged, as the Chinese population is becoming more diverse.

To conclude, it was not surprising that Hong Kong Chinese came to Ireland earlier than the majority of the mainland Chinese, having enjoyed greater freedom of international movement

than the mainland Chinese because of Hong Kong's colonial history and democratic capitalist regime under British rule pre-1997. By contrast, before the economic reform in 1978, when the international migration was blocked there was little opportunity for mainland Chinese to migrate to capitalist countries. The migration trajectories of the Hong Kong Chinese to Ireland were mostly linked with their previous migration to the UK, due to the geographical, social, economic, and historical connections between the UK and the Republic of Ireland. The analysis of their migration trajectories between the UK and Ireland is explained under the push-push-pull model, a revision of Castles and Miller's (2009) push-pull model that I introduce in the next chapter.

The Heterogeneity of Chinese Migrants in Ireland

During my research design period, I found that little academic attention was paid to the diversity of Chinese migrants in Ireland, even though the Chinese diaspora consists of Chinese groups whose migration patterns are variegated, complex and always in the process of evolving and transforming (Skeldon 2004). Therefore this section explores the heterogeneity of Chinese migrants in Ireland. Many scholars state that the single word 'Chinese' no longer conveys a reality that continues to become increasingly pluralistic (Tu 1994; Wang 1999) because the term 'Chinese masks a great diversity between migrant groups (e.g. geographical, linguistic, national, social, regional differences, see Archer and Francis 2006: 30). I agree with Wang and Lo's (2005: 37) argument that 'many studies either lump all Chinese together or examine subgroups separately without cross comparison, thus bypassing consideration of the importance of diversity among subgroups of Chinese immigrants'. I need to emphasise here that I am aware of the Chinese subethnicities, subcultures and other differences among the mainland Chinese. In a vast country like China, there is a wide degree of variation in social class, place of origin, socio-economic background, dialect, ethnicity and degree and type of identification with China. Even Chinese people from a small island like Hong Kong are still differentiated by class, level of education, and dialects. However, in this study I simplified all the Chinese migrants from the mainland as 'mainland Chinese' for the purpose of data analysis and to provide comparison with Hong Kong Chinese, another unifying category.

Chinese immigrants in Ireland have been categorised into two waves by Chinese migrants themselves and by academic researchers (O'Leary and Li 2008; Lu 2002; Yau 2007; Chan

2008). The first wave includes people who migrated from Hong Kong to Ireland between the 1950s and the 1980s. The second wave originated from the People's Republic of China (mainland China) whose migration to Ireland began in earnest in the late 1990s. According to an interview with a Hong Kong Chinese, Howard Pau, in an *Irish Times* article, 'the Chinese community in Ireland can be divided into two, the older, settled immigrants like me and the younger Chinese who are coming here to study' (Donohoe 2002).

However, I argue that the two-wave definition is rather rigid and limited because it underestimates the actual composition of Chinese immigrants in Ireland. Based on my documentary research and field research, I identified different groups of Chinese migrants in Ireland between these two waves, but these groups are less significant in terms of numbers and academic attention. They have less relevance to my target group, Hong Kong Chinese, due to the limited social interaction between them, but they should not be neglected in the migration history of Chinese migrants in the Irish context. These neglected Chinese immigrant groups can be illustrated on the basis of original geographical regions, arrival time in Ireland, and different legal status at different periods of time.

Firstly, the Irish government started to take in Vietnamese Programme Refugees in 1979 (O'Regan 1998). Between 1979 and 2000, 803 Vietnamese Programme Refugees were admitted (Prospectus 2008). These Vietnamese refugees 'consisted of Chinese-Vietnamese people, which indicated that the Hanoi government was following a definite policy of expelling people of Chinese descent from Vietnam' (Maguire 2004: 24). Nolan (1983) asserts that almost 70 per cent of the former Vietnamese refugees in Ireland were Sino-Vietnamese. A 1998 survey of Vietnamese and Bosnian programme refugee communities in Ireland found that Vietnamese refugees have unemployment problems and 32 per cent of respondents experienced racism. The importance of English language capacity was one of the vital factors in their resettlement process (O'Regan 1998). Maguire's (2004) study demonstrates the life and self-identification of the Vietnamese refugees, arguing that the Vietnamese in Ireland live a transnational life due to the 'lack of connectivity with wider Irish society' (2004: 15). Maguire understands Vietnamese-Irish identity as drawing on transnationalism and the notion of diaspora, their identity emerging across various generations in dialogue with the past.

Secondly, during the 1980s a small number of students from Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong pursued their studies in third level institutions in Ireland (Yau 2007).

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According to Hong Kong Government annual reports, an average of approximately 4,510 studied in Britain annually in the 1980s (Skeldon 1990). Similarly, Parker (1998) noticed that students and professionals from Hong Kong, and more especially from Singapore and Malaysia studied in the UK. Due to the geographical proximity and the similar education system, I guess that some of these Hong Kong Chinese students relocated to Ireland; indeed, two of the first-generation interviewees came to Ireland to study at university in the 1980s. However, those Hong Kong Chinese students differed from other Hong Kong Chinese who worked in Ireland and came from a rural background. Hong Kong's rapid economic development, and the high unemployment rates in Ireland during the 1980s, led to some Hong Kong students returning to Hong Kong after their graduation. 'By 1987, Hong Kong's GNP per capita at US $8,070 was higher than that of New Zealand, Spain or Ireland and only about one-fifth below that of the UK' (Skeldon 1990: 501).

Thirdly, my Hong Kong Chinese interviewees noticed that some Chinese from mainland China came to Ireland during the early 1990s, including students and scholars who came under the Chinese government state-sponsored programme. According to my personal contacts with some early mainland Chinese, I found that they came to Ireland in the early 1990s through their own overseas contacts, without state supports which were the direct result of 1979 reforms.

'Invisible' Hong Kong Chinese

Academic research tends to concentrate on mainland Chinese in Ireland, overshadowing the experiences of Hong Kong Chinese. This lack of academic interest in Ireland's Hong Kong Chinese leads me to define them as the 'invisible Hong Kong Chinese' as opposed to the 'visible mainland Chinese'. Below, I survey the academic research on Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland; a more detailed analysis on their lived experiences is provided in the three findings chapters (Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). Because my study does not concentrate on the lived experiences of mainland Chinese in Ireland, I want to provide here a historical overview of the migration of mainland Chinese to Ireland.

Benton and Pieke (1998) found that the Chinese were seen as largely self-reliant ethnic minority and a business phenomenon, which made 'the invisible minority' (1998: viii). I consider their finding most relevant to the Hong Kong Chinese group in Ireland. In my

findings chapter, I ask whether the Hong Kong Chinese experiences constitute an economic diaspora. One reason for the invisibility of Hong Kong Chinese is the lack of specific statistics of their population in Ireland. The only official specific statistics on Hong Kong Chinese I could identify was recorded by An Garda Síochána (Ireland's National Police Service), disclosed on the 14th of February 1991 in the parliamentary debates (Volume 405). This indicated a record of 850 Hong Kong nationals registered in the State and the number of those granted certificates of naturalisation was 41 in 1988, 31 in 1989 and 37 in 1990. According to my documentary research in various publications from state departments and the *Irish Times* news reports in the 1980s, Zhou (1993) recorded in the Dictionary of Overseas Chinese (1993) that there were 1,000 Chinese people in Ireland in 1986. The spokesman of the Chinese Embassy in Ireland could not give a precise figure for the number of Chinese people in the Republic, but said that the estimate ranged from a few hundreds to a thousand (ProQuest 1982). I would argue that the majority of Chinese migrants in Ireland in the above Chinese Embassy's estimate were from Hong Kong. This was the result of the freedom of migration from Hong Kong and the limited migration from mainland China which I discussed earlier on. Although Census 2006 recorded the Chinese population, it did not reveal the exact population of this subgroup of Chinese migrants.

Several studies analysed the position of Hong Kong Chinese migrants in Ireland. Lu's (2002) unpublished conference paper discusses the lived experience of both Hong Kong Chinese and mainland Chinese. She found that the Hong Kong Chinese tend to live in a quiet way without any political and religious affiliation. The second-generation Hong Kong Chinese have assimilated into Irish culture more so than the first-generation. Another emphasis of her study is on discrimination and racism experienced by both groups. She points out that the earlier Chinese immigrants encountered less racism than those recent Chinese immigrants. Suzanna Chan's (2006) research on a Chinese Sheltered Housing Scheme for senior Hong Kong Chinese citizens in Belfast also discusses cultural politics with particular reference to an anti-racist spatial perspective. The housing scheme signalled the long migration history of Hong Kong Chinese to the island of Ireland. Another study is Arthur Chan's (2008) unpublished Master's thesis. His ethnographic study focuses on Hong Kong Chinese entrepreneurs in terms of community hierarchy, public geography and civic participation, and he argues that these entrepreneurs should be considered beyond their businesses. He found that their relationship with the mainland Chinese depends on their immigration status, economic success, regional difference, and seniority.

Yau's (2007) research on the second-generation Hong Kong Chinese is an important showcase of the experience of these mostly Irish-born people. Her work has inspired me to include the generational definition into my own research. Yau explores the identity of second-generation Hong Kong Chinese. Her seven interviewees were aged from 14 to 45, and the parents of five out of seven interviewees came from Hong Kong. Yau (2007) concluded that these second-generation Hong Kong Chinese constitute an 'in-between' identity. While she studied this group of second-generation Chinese in Ireland, she did not include the identity experiences of the first-generation Hong Kong Chinese in her study.

The studies discussed above focus on single issues such as the Hong Kong Chinese entrepreneurial experience, or the identity experiences of the second-generation Irish-born Hong Kong Chinese. However, there is no comparative study dealing with multiple issues such as economic experience, family values, and identity negotiation of both the first- and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland. In identifying the paucity of such research, I decided to focus on the Hong Kong Chinese as a case study. Before I move to the rationale of my research and my research question, it is important to provide a brief survey of the other significant Chinese group, the mainland Chinese.

'Visible' Mainland Chinese

Most of the mainland Chinese migrated to Ireland since the late 1990s, and most are student visa holders. 'The largest component of the Chinese community is believed to be students from mainland China. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Chinese students make up a large proportion of students in English language schools (Donohoe 2002). [12] Wang and King-O'Riain (2006) therefore term them 'target learners' who invested in their future by increasing their human capital in higher education qualifications and/or English skills. Unfortunately, accurately quantifying the population of Chinese students seems impossible, because there seems to be no one central place in Ireland that collects statistics of international students. [13] The International Education Board only collects data from 50 institutes of higher education and excludes any English language schools (Prospectus, 2008).

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[12] In 2000, of the 9,192 Chinese applications made to the Irish Embassy, 7,753 were from students applying to education institutions including language schools and 5,236 of these were granted visas. Again in 2001, the Irish Embassy in China received 13,500 visa applications, 11,500 from students (Donohoe 2002).
[13] In 2004, Frank O'Connor, manager of education services at Enterprise Ireland said 'the number of Chinese students in Ireland has mushroomed from a few hundred in 1997 to more than 30,000 now. Each year more than 200,000 international students come to Ireland to study' (Business Week 2004).

According to the Irish Council for International Students (2010),[14] there were 34,557 non-EEA students registered by the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform in 2009. [15] Of all the Non-EEA higher education students, Chinese students accounted for the highest percentage at 32 per cent (4,259). American students and Indian students account for respectively approximately 16 per cent (2,166) and 2 per cent (1,578). Apart from student visa holders, there is also a smaller number of Chinese immigrants who are work permit holders or dependents of work permit holders. Work permits issued to Chinese labour migrants peaked in 2001 at 5,748, decreasing to 1,685 in 2008, and a mere 217 in 2012 including renewals.[16]

The reasons for the large number of mainland Chinese immigrants, especially students coming to Ireland, can be summarised as follows. Firstly, following the Chinese government lifting its strict emigration restrictions in 1984 after the 1978 economic reform (Huang and Pieke 2003), the international migration from mainland China became significant since the end of the 1990s. Secondly, as a result of the Irish economic boom, 'rapid economic growth created an unprecedented demand for labour across a wide range of sectors; including construction, finance, information technology, and healthcare' (Ruhs 2009: 3). The Irish government allowed non-EU full time students to work 20 hours per week during term time.[17] The permission to carry out part-time work for students attracted the Chinese students to study in Ireland as found by Wang and King O'Riain (2006). Thirdly, it was also found that the easy Irish visa application process enhanced Chinese immigrants' choice of Ireland (Wang and King-O'Riain 2006). Furthermore, the large inflow of mainland Chinese students is the result of state-level educational cooperation between the Chinese and Irish governments from the end of the 1990s which led to the number of Chinese students in language schools and independent third level colleges to triple between 1998 and the mid-2000s (ICOS 2001). In the framework of Ireland's 'Asian strategy', this education programme was the main focus of developing educational links between China and Ireland. Various educational institutions, including language schools have actively recruited students through Enterprise Ireland who participated in Irish trade delegations to China in 2005 and 2008 (Gorman 2010).

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[14] Seminar: new Immigration proposals for international students –what next? organised by the Irish council for International Students on the 24th of January, 2010.

[15] Approximately 39 per cent (13,415) were in higher education and 30 per cent were in English Language schools. The rest were in further education and other sectors (Irish Council for International Students 2010)

[16] See http://www.djei.ie/labour/workpermits/statistics.htm

[17] Non-EU students can work 40 hour a week outside term time (http://www.inis.gov.ie/en/INIS/Pages/Stamps)

The mainland Chinese migrants have attracted much Irish public and academic attention. The Irish Council for International Students' Seminar regarding the needs and challenges of Chinese students was first held in 2000, at a time when larger numbers of Chinese students started coming to Ireland. The seminar identified difficulties Chinese students had experienced, such as visa problems, and specific supports Chinese students were demanding, such as language support. The seminar also raised the question of how Irish educational institutions facilitated students' learning activities. The qualitative research of 'Chinese students in Ireland' I conducted with Rebecca King-O'Riain (2006) was based on 24 semi-structured interviews. The study depicts Chinese students' migration and studying experiences in various educational institutions, including third level (public and private) colleges and language schools. The mainland Chinese students in third-level education had more social interaction with Irish and other international students than those in the language schools. We found that all the interviewees had part-time work to support their studies. Interviewees regarded English language capacity as their most basic barrier. Another difficulty they encountered was the possibility of changing their immigration status especially when they were seeking job opportunities after completing their courses. O'Leary and Li's (2008) research focuses on the engagement of mainland Chinese with Christianity and churches in Ireland. 74.6 per cent of 264 mainland Chinese respondents did not believe in religion: 'for most mainland Chinese, religion does not appear at present to be an important area of their lives in Ireland. They are much more concerned with the many difficulties in their lives in Ireland' (2008: x). Their findings were corroborated by the 2006 Census results.[18] Prompted by their findings, religion is therefore not the main focus of my study due to the low influence it has on Chinese immigrants' life.

The most recent comparative study was conducted by the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI), which investigated the economic, political, social and cultural integration of immigrants from China, India, Lithuania and Nigeria. Although the ICI researchers (2008) were aware of the existence of the Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland, the respondents of their survey were in general 'relatively recent arrivals' in Ireland. Nearly 70 per cent of the total Chinese respondents were resident for two to ten years and around two-thirds were single, which corresponds with the results from Census 2006. However, it is hard to identify specific

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[18] Chinese respondents have lower percentage of all respondents in relation to religious belief and practice. There were 8,399 out of 11,167 Chinese respondents who claimed no religion. This figure was 119 out of 16,300 among Nigerian respondents and 2,961 out of 63,176 among Polish respondents (CSO 2008).

components of the Chinese interviewees such as the number of mainland Chinese students and mainland Chinese work permit holders in the ICI survey samples.

Some media reports tend to portray mainland Chinese immigrants as a 'problem', particularly in relation to criminality. In an answer to a parliamentary question regarding the cost of deporting Chinese nationals on 9 March 2006, the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform said: '13 adults, 11 males and two females, were deported to Beijing in China by charter flight on 21-22 February 2006 at a total cost of €255,539. Of the 13 returnees, four had criminal convictions of various types.'[19] The violence of a 2002 street fight on O'Connell Street between mainland Chinese gangs shocked the Irish public. The fight also caused the death of one mainland Chinese migrant. In 2001 a mainland Chinese student couple, Feng Yue and Liu Qing, were strangled and burnt in their Dublin inner-city apartment by their Chinese friends (Donohoe 2001).

Mainland Chinese migrants were also victims of racial attacks. In 2002, the first racist attack towards a Chinese migrant was widely reported as Ireland's 'first racially–motivated murder' (McVeigh and Lentin 2002: 1). 29 year-old Zhao Liu Tao was attacked, along with two friends, by a group of Irish youths in Drumcondra, Dublin. He was hit repeatedly on the head with an iron bar and died three days later. From then on, the 'popular myth that racism is not a problem in Ireland had been brutally and irrevocably dispelled' (Lentin and McVeigh 2002: 2). Zhao Liu Tao's case has raised some academic attention; however, his case was not the only Chinese tragedy. In another incident, Zhi Song (23) from Dalian, a city located in north China, was stabbed to death at home in Rialto during an apparent break-in (Lally 2005).

Why Research the Hong Kong Chinese?

Having briefly surveyed the academic and public views of both Hong Kong Chinese and mainland Chinese, it is time to discuss how and why I started my research journey with the Hong Kong Chinese. My research interest in Hong Kong Chinese emerged from my participation in a three-year research project 'Migrant Networks - Facilitating Migrant Integration', part of the Trinity Immigration Initiative (TII). As part of this project I was researching Chinese migrant-led organisations. I found out that in terms of their members'

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[19] http://www.ciarancuffe.com/Questions/2006/Q060309J.Issues.Chinese.Nationals.htm)

origins, Chinese-led organisations can be divided into two types, mainland Chinese organisations and Hong Kong Chinese organisations. These organisations have four main functions, namely: commercial, advocacy, professional and cultural/social associations. My ethnographic fieldwork revealed that there was little cooperation between these organisation due to perceived 'competing interests' (Salaff and Chan 2007). However, it was the Sichuan Earthquake which united them in the Irish Chinese Sichuan Earthquake Appeal in 2008, which displayed a cooperative platform to perform their ethnicity and their loyalty to China in the Irish public view (Wang 2012).

From interviewing various leaders of Chinese-led organisations during the TII project, I started having frequent interactions with the Hong Kong Chinese group. The limited cooperation between various Chinese-led organisations corresponded to my own knowledge of Ireland's Hong Kong Chinese. As a mainland Chinese student, I started my foundation course in 2002 and later studied for a social science degree and a postgraduate degree in community and youth work. However before 2007 my interaction with Hong Kong Chinese people was rather minimal. The Chinese friends I have are all from various cities in mainland China, and their migration experience is similar to mine. For me Hong Kong Chinese epitomised the ubiquitous Chinese restaurants in Ireland. Although we are all Chinese, I and they lived in a parallel universe. This perceived difference also had an effect on my positionality of 'insider' and 'outsider' in the fieldwork, as discussed in Chapter 3.

From the documentary analysis for the TII project, I found little academic attention on the Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland, as discussed earlier. This became an opportunity as I felt strongly that the experiences of the Hong Kong Chinese should not be neglected, especially in light of their long history in Ireland and their economic contribution to Ireland's culinary landscape. As I got to know them, I discovered a significant number of mature second-generation Irish-born Hong Kong Chinese. By comparison, the Irish-born children of mainland Chinese parents have not reached their teens yet, due to the young age of the mainland Chinese, who are mostly in their 20s and 30s, (CSO 2008; Wang and King O'Riain 2006), so they did not offer me the opportunity of conducting a generational study, which I was able to do with Ireland's Hong Kong Chinese.

Having identified the above distinguishing features of the Hong Kong Chinese community and aware of the gap in the academic knowledge in this area, I shifted my research attention

to the lived experiences of the first- and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese living in Ireland. I believe that without a good understanding of this group, the migration history of the Chinese in Ireland is not complete. It is necessary to explore the role of Hong Kong Chinese people in representing 'Chineseness' in Ireland before it is forgotten. Hence, the contribution of my study is to make the 'invisible' lived experiences of Hong Kong Chinese 'visible'. Exploring how Hong Kong Chinese migrants position themselves in contemporary Ireland, this dissertation aims to answer the following research question:

How do economic, family and identity experiences shape the lives of first- and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland?

Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is structured as follows: Chapter 2 gives the theoretical framework of this study. A modified 'push-pull' model is used to analyse the multiple sites and multi-faceted dimensions of the migration trajectories of Hong Kong Chinese people into Ireland. The concept of chain migration is applied to indicate the family dynamic in their migration experience. Secondly, I refer to diaspora theory as the main theoretical tool to analyse the complexity and diversity of this migration experience. The diaspora concept connotes the connection between homeland and host society illustrating how the Hong Kong Chinese group settled in Ireland. Diaspora and identity theory is useful in discovering the formation of identification among different generations. The cultural production in diaspora theory is a good way of explaining various intergenerational conflicts between Hong Kong Chinese parents and their children.

In Chapter 3, I set out the methodological approach of this study. I outline my sampling strategies, data collection tools and data analysis instruments. My reflections on the fieldwork in terms of being both an 'outsider' and an 'insider' explain the difficulties I have experienced in accessing my interviewees.

The next three chapters present the findings drawn from interview data. Chapter 4 investigates the role played by the economic experiences of the Hong Kong Chinese in shaping their lives in Ireland. Such experiences helped me to explore this diaspora as an economic diaspora. In this chapter I illustrate the development of the interviewees' restaurant

businesses along with changing Irish economic trends since the 1970s. I discuss the business strategies of self-employment in the Chinese restaurant business, their business practices and the importance of family. There is also an analysis of the interaction between Hong Kong Chinese and mainland Chinese at work.

In light of the structure of the Hong Kong Chinese families in Ireland, Chapter 5 compares and contrasts the views of families among the different generations. Referring to the cultural production of diaspora in the generational factor, I also analyse the emergence of intergenerational conflicts between the parents and their children and how both generations handle such tension.

In Chapter 6, I explore the diasporic identities of the two generations in terms of their interaction, experiences of discrimination and their sense of belonging in relation to both Hong Kong and Ireland. My analysis of identity negotiations is derived from notions of the 'myth of return' and hybridity in diaspora.

In Chapter 7, my concluding chapter, I highlight the contribution of this study in filling the gaps in researching Chinese migration in Ireland. Referring to my findings chapters, I question whether my theoretical framework and methodological approach helped me in answering my research question and access the findings from the different individual chapters. Researching Hong Kong Chinese migrants as a mainland Chinese researcher offered me some real insights and as such added to knowledge of this important group of migrants, even though my status as both outsider and insider left some gaps.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

In the introductory chapter, I compare out-migration patterns from China and migration to Ireland, and give a historical review of the different waves and different groups of Chinese migrants to Ireland since the 1950s. Highlighting the lack of academic interests in the long-established Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland and my position as a Chinese researcher investigating a specific Chinese sub group, I explain how I developed my research interest in Hong Kong Chinese and state my research question and research outline. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss and analyse the theoretical framework underpinning my study of the complex migration experiences of Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland. Migration is not a singular experience, but rather 'takes place under a multitude of conditions and circumstances, for different economic, political, personal reasons, in vastly varied contexts' (Ang 1993: 33). Accommodating a multitude of themes, I draw on several theories, in particular, the push-pull model and some aspects of diaspora theory. The rationale of using various theories is that:

> There is no single, coherent theory of international migration, only a fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another, sometimes but not always segmented by disciplinary boundaries...Their complex, multifaceted nature requires a sophisticated theory that incorporates a variety of perspectives, levels, and assumptions (Massey et al. 1993: 432).

In the first section, I revisit the classical push-pull approach, extending it to what I term a push-push-pull model to capture the multi-sites and multi-dimensions of migration motivation. In this modified model not only are economic opportunities examined, but also the element of family concerns. One of the social indicators of the pull factors, chain migration, a migration channel formed by family connection, is addressed here to highlight the influence of family on migration.

Secondly, I introduce diaspora theory to help understand migrants' experiences when they are 'maturing of the migratory movement and of the migrants themselves as they pass through the life cycle' (Castles and Miller 2009: 33). Corresponding to the complexity in migration, Brah's (1996) 'diaspora-space' reflects 'a point of confluence of economic, political, cultural and psychic processes...where multiple subject positions are juxtaposed, contested,

proclaimed or disavowed' (1996: 208). In explaining the main features of diaspora in this section, such as the relationship of homeland and host country and its myth of return, I relate my analysis to the Chinese experience to reveal the unique Chinese formation of diaspora. I also explore discourses of diaspora and identity, because identity is an important aspect of diasporic experience. Identities 'play out and position individuals in the course of their everyday lives within and across each of their places of attachment or perceived belonging' (Vertovec 2001: 578).

Finally, in light of the generational dimension of my study, I employ another aspect of diaspora, the mode of cultural production, to explore how first-and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese developed their cultural values within the context of home country and host country. Culture is 'a set of ideas, attributes, and expectations that is constantly changing as people react to changing circumstance' (Watson 2004: 145). In this respect I incorporate an analysis of the intergenerational conflict emerging from cultural differences.

Rethinking the Push-Pull Model in Explaining Migration Motivations

The dichotomous factors of push and pull are often used to explain migration motivation. The push-pull approach explains 'causes of migration to lie in a combination of "push factor" impelling people to leave the area of origin, and "pull factor" attracting them to certain receiving countries' (Castles and Miller 2009: 22). The existing conditions in the sending and the receiving country can either attract or repel people, thus influencing their potential decisions about migration (Lee 1966). Push factors are associated with the sending country and often have negative characteristics (Datta 2004). They include low living standards, fear of lacking the financial means to sustain the achieved economic status, a feeling of relative deprivation, intensified as a result of the transformation; lack of economic opportunities and a feeling of hopelessness (Castles and Miller 2009; Koryś 2003). Pull factors are associated with the receiving country and often have positive characteristics (Datta 2004). Pull factors include demand for a cheap and flexible migrant labour force, the availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedom, as well as demand for special services, and wage differences (Castles and Miller 2009; Koryś 2003).

The push-pull model in Figure 1 below 'distinguishes between the push of economic necessity in home country and the pull of opportunity from abroad' (Watson 1977: 7). It

clearly categorises the various motivations for migration, but it is overwhelmingly based on economic factors. Such an economically-driven theory is incapable of explaining the inherent complexity of movement or predicting future movement. Such a model tends to be 'individualistic and ahistorical and it is not possible to categorise all of the relevant factors as either push or pull' (Watson 1977: 7). Sometimes, there is limited and often contradictory information available to migrants and due to their own constraints, migrants cannot react automatically to forces beyond their control (Castles and Miller 2009; Watson 1977). Furthermore, migration decisions are strongly 'influenced by historical experience as well as by family and community dynamics' (Castles and Miller 2009: 22f).

Figure 1: Classical Push-Pull Model
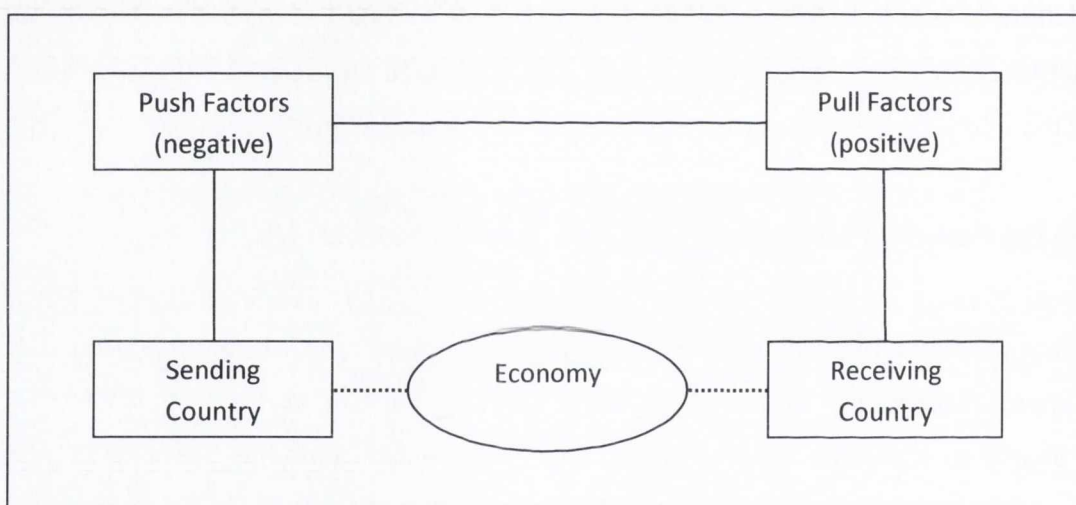
The classical push-pull model provides significant analytical rigour (Castles et al. 2005), but it is not flawless. In light of the above limitations, and with specific reference to the migration patterns of my designated sample – Hong Kong Chinese migrants to Ireland, I introduce a push-push-pull model, renewing the traditional approach and incorporating other factors to give further insights. With reference to the migration of Hong Kong Chinese to Ireland, multiple push factors operated to migration from both Hong Kong and the UK. This new model helps me to capture Hong Kong Chinese migrants' considerations of the circumstances and conditions in all the countries they have been resident in. One dimension of these multiple elements is specifically related to two sending countries (Hong Kong and the UK) and one receiving country (Ireland). The other dimension is the combination of socioeconomic and political factors.

As shown in Figure 2 below, there are three sites in some Hong Kong Chinese migration trajectories to Ireland in this revised push-push-pull model. The initial push was from Hong Kong and the second push came from the UK. The transition country, the UK, played a significant role in shaping these movements, because 'the migration route between Hong Kong and UK helps to contextualise Chinese migration to Ireland' (Chan 2008: 3). This model embodies either pull factors or push factors depending on the time of the Hong Kong Chinese's migration journeys. In other words, the UK could be an enticing reason for the Hong Kong Chinese to leave Hong Kong at the start of their migration journeys. However, subsequently, the UK turned to be the push factor as it compelled many Hong Kong Chinese to migrate to Ireland. This multi-faceted migration trajectory illustrates that Ireland was not the first choice of migration destination for many Hong Kong Chinese. This also corresponds with Irish immigration history: Ireland was not a traditional immigration country, being for a long time an emigration country up until the mid 1990s, as discussed in the introductory chapter.

Figure 2: Push-Push-Pull Model
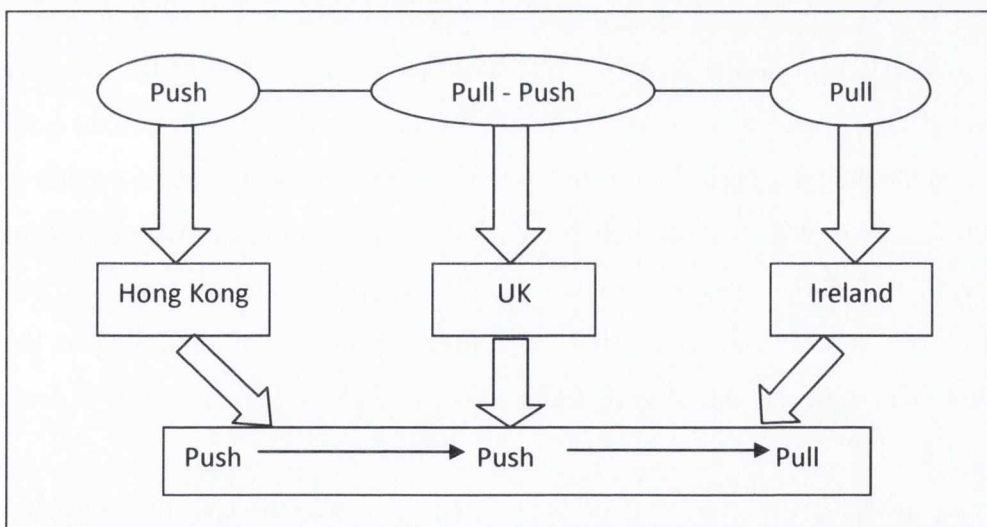
The first push site for this group of migrants is Hong Kong. Politically, Hong Kong remained a colonial outpost of the UK prior to 1997. As Commonwealth citizens, Hong Kong Chinese were allowed free access to the UK without restriction until 1962 (see Shang 1984; Watson 1975, 1977; Choo 1968), a situation which stimulated their decisions to migrate to the UK, especially pre-1962. Economically, in the 1950s and 1960s Hong Kong was experiencing a

transition from agricultural to industrial activities. Hong Kong Chinese, especially those from traditionally agricultural regions such as the New Territories, were forced to:

> Seek employment elsewhere but they would not accept the low status, and poorly paid jobs available in the cities nearly. Instead, they chose to emigrate and take advantage of a restaurant boom that was beginning in the UK at the time (Watson 1977: 7).

In contrast to the limited job opportunities in Hong Kong, there was a labour shortage in the UK after the Second World War. During the post-war era, the UK saw a rise in demand for take-away food (see Yau 2007; Shang 1984; Watson 1975 and 1977; Choo 1968) which attracted the Hong Kong Chinese to set up catering businesses there. Later on, the UK lost its attractiveness as a migration and business destination. Pieke (1998) argues that this was the result of the maturity of the Chinese community in the UK and was due to the 'saturation of the market for Chinese food, increased competition with other ethnic groups, the growth of second-generation, a modest influx of well-educated urban immigrants, the rising tide of racism, and growing social stratification within the Chinese population' (Pieke 1998: 14).

Thus, on an economic level, the saturation of the business market, as a result of the increase in competition among the Chinese community, compelled some Hong Kong Chinese to seek new opportunities outside the UK. Migration from Hong Kong to the UK slowed down due to the Commonwealth Act 1962 which controlled entry into the UK of foreign nationals from the Commonwealth (Yau 2007). However, instead of curtailing immigration, the Act 1962 facilitated the influx of Chinese immigrants through family reunifications and shaped the patterns of Chinese concentration in the catering industry (Cheng 1996; Parker 1994).

When some Hong Kong Chinese started to consider migrating outside the UK, they targeted countries then untapped by other Chinese migrants in order to maximise new opportunities for employment and entrepreneurship. Ireland, a neighbouring country of the UK, showed potential and caught their attention. Politically, the Republic of Ireland and the UK shared the Common Travel Area, which was convenient for some of the migrants who already had UK citizenship to relocate. Ireland did not have as long a history of Chinese migration as the UK, therefore the Chinese population in Ireland was low. Anecdotally, it can be argued that there were not many Chinese restaurants before the 1950s. 'A place with few Chinese offered better opportunities than a place with many, and a place where Chinese have recently settled

was better than one with a long history of Chinese immigration' (Haugen and Carling 2005: 646). This business potential, and less competition within the Chinese restaurant sector, pulled Hong Kong Chinese into Ireland to start new business ventures. The economic considerations of choosing Ireland are analysed in Chapter 4.

In addition to the multiple sites, there are also multi-faceted elements such as socioeconomic and political factors of this revised push-pull model. The political dimension demonstrated by the visa requirements of the UK and Ireland has been discussed above. The social dimension should also be taken into account, because the traditional push-pull model is often criticised due to its focus on economic factors. Under this social aspect, firstly, I look at the role of family. Many Hong Kong Chinese sought working opportunities outside Hong Kong not only to improve their own economic status, but more importantly to provide a better quality of life for their families. Finally settling in Ireland, some of them also took into account their children's prospects, their safety, their education and future employment. Undeniably, 'families operated as resources to facilitate children's social mobility' (Archer and Francis 2006: 43). As mentioned earlier, other social changes in the UK such as the rise of racism and growing social stratification within the Chinese population became push factors for Hong Kong Chinese to relocate in another country. At the same time, the more relaxed social environment for Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland made some of them finally settle down in Ireland with their families. The social considerations of migration to Ireland are discussed in Chapter 5.

After family, chain migration is another social pull factor which has significant relevance for many Hong Kong Chinese migrants. It occurred as 'subsequent flows of migrants are set in motion to join the family predecessors because the opportunity and all the other necessary supportive and facilitative infrastructures are by now in place' (Bun 1997: 200). Chain migration means that 'each new immigrant creates a large pool of potential immigrants' (Massey et al. 1994: 732) because it allows migrants to extend social and familial ties across national borders that facilitate further migratory flows (Landale 1997). 'Chain migration reproduces and is reproduced by discursive practices located partly in the country of origin and partly in the host country' (Pieke 1998: 10). Chain migration continues because of the pull of the actual and imagined possibilities and the advantage of emigration to Europe (Li 1999). Chain migration was indeed a central feature of Hong Kong Chinese migration to Ireland.

As a family strategy in migration, chain migration is the 'rational choice in the name of the family, of safeguarding family continuity and well-being, while simultaneously bringing maximal benefits to all individuals, family as a collectivist emotion sentiment' (Bun 1997: 209). Also, family linkages often provide the financial, cultural and social capitals which make migration possible. Once a movement is established they are being helped by relatives and friends in the host society (Castles and Miller 2009). In China, family is 'understood in its broadest sense as a set of personal networks or linkages, as an essential strategic constituent element of the international migration systems' (Bun 1997: 200). Kinship systems are highly structured. They delineate the individual's place in the family, including duties and expected obligations, within a system of a mutual dependence. In the case of chain migration, the hierarchy of kinship is the decisive mechanism in choosing who the head of the migration chain is; often a single male who is the husband or the elder sibling leads the migration (Watson 1977). I return to the hierarchy among Chinese families which also impacts the relationship between parents and children in Chapter 5.

Chain migration contributes to the setting up of networks which provide the basis for processes of settlement and community formation in the host country (Castles 2004). Family linkages often provide both the financial and the cultural capital that comes with the knowledge of opportunities and means of mobility (Castles 2004: 209). Chain migration is 'tied to a representation of reality' (Pieke 1998: 10). The use of the chain migration channel is the result of absence of institutional support from the host society. Migrants are often in vulnerable situations because of their 'foreignness', the language barrier, their illegal status or other factors that mark them as outsiders. Migrants, therefore, have to create their own formal and informal systems to provide protection (Skeldon and Hugo 1999). The ultimate goal of Chinese chain migrants is to 'become the owner of a restaurant or other business, become wealthy and respected. This ideal lends immigrants the strength to endure the often unexpected hardships of the first few years as an underpaid client and apprentice of their sponsors' (Pieke 1998: 11). Networks that emerge from chain migration help 'provide shelter, work, and assistance in coping with bureaucratic procedures and support in personal difficulties. These social networks make the migratory process safer and more manageable for the migrants and their families' (Castles and Miller 2009: 29). Although the role of networks is not the main focus of my study, from the analysis in Chapter 4 migration networks played a central role in Cantonese language learning, community activities and assisted them in retaining core cultural practices and values. Social networks also contributed

to trust-building among some Hong Kong Chinese migrants particularly in distinguishing them from mainland Chinese. The interaction between these two major Chinese migrant groups is illustrated in Chapter 4. 'Immigrant groups generate and benefit from ethnic ties that facilitate economic and social mobility' (Parker and Song 2006: 181). Figure 3 below summarises the push-push-pull model introduced in this study.

Figure 3: Summary of Push-Push-Pull Model
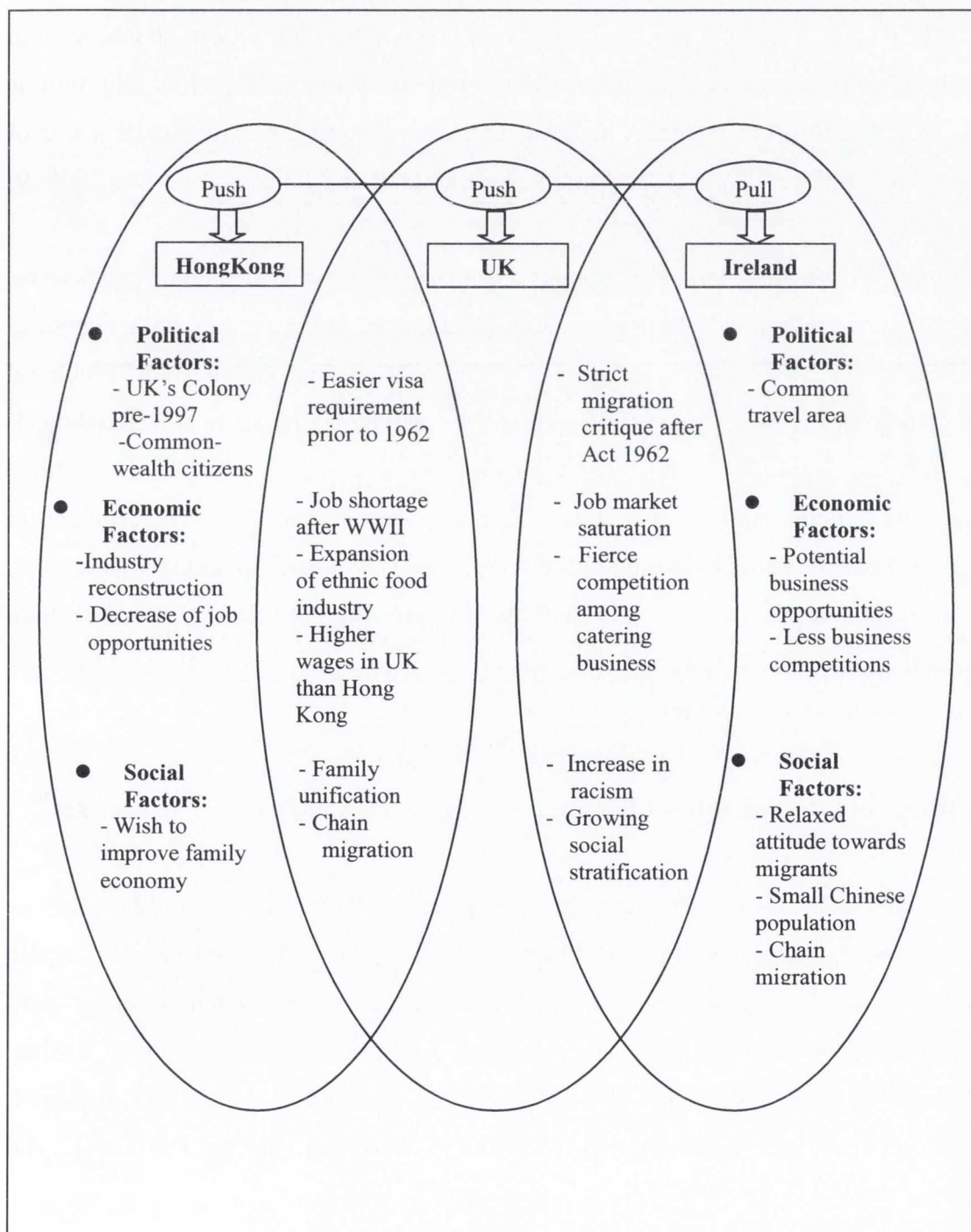
The push-push-pull model is valuable as an explanatory mechanism to illustrate that the multiple factors motivating migration are complex and intertwined. In identifying the reasons for migrants' movements from sending country to receiving country searching for means and opportunities for survival and betterment, this modified model determines that migration is a collective action arising out of social change in all related countries. Migratory decisions are not merely made by isolated individual actors, but also by large units of related people (Castles and Miller 2009: 25) such as families, households or even communities. Contemporary migration literature has indeed fore-grounded the saliency of the family in terms of its role in the migration process (Bun 1997). Such family impact can be best seen in the example of chain migration as outlined above. In the post-migration period, migration is not only about mobility but is rather inclined to 'home-making, as a subjective sense of belonging as well as the ability and opportunity to secure a living' (Davison and Eng 2008: 9).

When the length of residency increases, people start to see their lives from a new perspective. This process is especially linked to the 'situation of migrants' children, they go to school in new country, learn the language, form peer group relationships and develop bicultural identities, it becomes more and more difficult for the parents to return to their homeland' (Castles and Miller 2009: 29). Although my push-push-pull approach explains the multiple factors of Hong Kong Chinese migrants' migratory motivations, it is insufficient in explaining their complex post-migration experiences. This is where diaspora theories come in. Diaspora originates from a range of many intertwining processes (Clifford 1994). It reflects and displays the 'usual conflicts along class, gender and generational lines' (Hu-Dehart 2005: 435), as I outline in the next section.

'Settling Down and Putting Roots Elsewhere': The Currency of Diaspora Discourses[20]

Diaspora alludes to the double meaning 'scattering and sowing', and is introduced as an interpretative term to challenge the linear narrative of migration. The concept of diaspora indicates 'where we live, who we are, and what we do' (Cohen 1999: 3) but more importantly, reveals the paradox of the migration experience, as diasporic journeys are about 'settling down and putting roots elsewhere' (Brah 1996: 182). Nevertheless, not all 'dispersed' minority populations can legitimately be considered diasporas (Safran 1991: 86). The

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[20] See Clifford 1994

'scattering' represents the concept of 'journey' which is the central concept of diaspora, and parallels the 'push' factor in migration. The journey transcends physical borders which have been associated with 'route' and 'travel' (Clifford 1994) and 'here' and 'there' (Gilroy 1994), so the concept of diaspora treats ideas about space and place metaphorically (Clifford 1994). The paradox between 'here and there' means the 'dwelling here assumes a solidarity and connection there. It is the connection elsewhere that makes a difference here' (Clifford 1994: 322). The 'sowing' can be seen as putting down roots in a foreign land, paralleling the 'pull' factor in migration. Thus diaspora indicates migrants' relations to 'host and home countries, their home-bound desires and feelings of loss' (Soysal 2000: 13).

Various Chinese language expressions articulate the specificities of diaspora. The Chinese word *gen* (English translation: root) in describing Chinese migration journeys has close association with the key feature of diaspora. When Chinese migrants migrate to other countries, settle down there and are accorded the rights of citizenship and belonging where they had settled, their experiences are described by the Chinese term *luo-di-sen-gen*: (planting of permanent roots in the soils of different countries). Here the *gen* means putting down new roots in a foreign land (Hu-Dehart 2005). Many Chinese migrants desire to return in order to compensate for their de-territorialisation abroad by re-territorialising at home, that is, by strengthening their roots in homeland. Especially they express their wishes to return to their original roots when life ends. The Chinese term for this is *luo-ye-gui-gen* (leaves falling into its roots) (Hu-Dehart 2005). Here the *gen* indicates the migrants' return to their homeland. The different applications of the Chinese word *gen* at different stages of the Chinese migration trajectory reflect the relationship between homeland and host country in diaspora, as discussed below.

Chinese migration is unique in terms of diaspora formation in comparison with other types of diaspora. The centuries-old Chinese diaspora is characterised by the fact that 'the experience and status of Chinese abroad was a direct result of the status of China within the international system' (McKeown 1999: 326). Firstly, compared with the archetypical Jewish diaspora, the Chinese diaspora does not mean suffering or trauma. On the whole Chinese migrants always had a clearly defined nation to relate their diaspora experience to. Unlike the Jewish diaspora or the African diaspora, members of the Chinese diaspora do not experience 'any true threat of loss of their homeland' (Pendery 2008: 205) despite the fact that China interacted with 'colonisation, or decolonisation, nation-state building and changes of political regimes' (Zhou

2005: 161). The Chinese translation of the term 'China' is 'Central Country', denoting the 'notion of a single center, or cultural core, from which Chinese civilisation has emanated—the so-called Central Country complex—is deeply entrenched in the Chinese historical imagination' (Ong 2003: 90). Secondly, as distinct from the Jewish diaspora, there was not one single unified religion to unite Chinese migrants. The Chinese diaspora is often voluntary and a product of economic realities, based on economic survival and advancement. Hence, my study of the lived experiences of Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland focuses on exploring to what extent their diasporic experience is economic.

Historical categories of the Chinese diaspora have been described by Wang Gungwu (1991a) who divides the Chinese diaspora into several categories. The first category is that of the predominantly male Chinese trader (Chinese term: *Huashang*), who originally migrated to other Southeast Asian countries to seek business opportunities prior to 1850. The trade route to Southeast Asian could be tracked back as early as the 12th Century (Zhou 2005). As a result, Southeast Asia has the largest settlement of Chinese communities. This category is also similar to Cohen's (1997) definition of trade diaspora. The second category proposed by Wang is the Chinese coolie, the manual labour (Chinese terms: *Huagong*) patterns which occurred from about 1850 through the 1920s when again, mostly male Chinese manual labourers migrated to North American during the 'Gold Rush' in the hope of making a fortune from working in mining, field and railway building. This is again similar to Cohen's definition of labour diaspora. The other two types of diaspora listed by Cohen (1997), which are not evident in the Chinese experience, are victim diaspora, which is close to the ideal type Jewish diaspora, and cultural diaspora, in which migration is decided by cultural factors.

Today too, the Chinese diaspora differs from other diasporas in that it relates to a strong 'central country', when China has become a major player on the world market, leading to increased pride in being Chinese among Chinese migrants as shown in their active involvement in major events occurring in China such as the Beijing Olympics in 2008. In terms of the types of Chinese diaspora in the contemporary migration system, the trade and labour diaspora categories still exist, however, the emergence of what I called a professional diaspora is evidenced by the increased number of Chinese students and professionals working abroad. Another diaspora category is that of the large number of irregular Chinese migrants from certain regions in China such as Fujian Province, some of whom were victims of the

2004 Morecambe Bay Tragedy in the UK.[21] To further elucidate the complexities of the diaspora concept, it is helpful to examine what some sociologists have said about the relation between diaspora and homeland.

Diaspora and Homeland

Diaspora is a more 'human' way (Gabaccia 2000) of thinking about migration (De Tona 2007), because it is presented as a way of life (McKeown 1999). Diasporicity focuses on how migration is practiced, experienced and sustained (De Tona 2007: 56). Diaspora characterises the transformation of everyday subjectivities, identifications beyond the time/space of the nation-state, a complex conception of sameness and a solidarity that recognises rather than represses difference (Bhabha 1994; Brah 1996; Hall 1990). Diaspora 'effortlessly casts contemporary population movements as perpetual ethnic arrangements, transactions and belongings' (Soysal 2000: 13).

The multiple positions of the notion of diaspora are delineated in a complex manner as the bond between host society and place of origin. The place of origin is revealed, perhaps by default, as the context of diaspora. Different from other types of migration, the core idea of diaspora indicates a 'natural right' to return to the homeland (Shuval 2000), when displaced people who feel maintain, revive, invent a connection with a prior home. Despite the process of forgetting, assimilating and distance as the result of migration, this diasporic connection is still 'strong enough to resist erasure through the normalizing processes of forgetting, assimilating and distancing' (Clifford 1994: 310).

Both Sheffer's (2003) notion of 'at home abroad' and Akenson's (1993) view on 'being towards someplace else' reflect the connection between homeland and host country and the desire to return to the homeland, because 'diaspora always leaves a trail of collective memory about another place and time and creates new maps of desire and of attachment' (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1989: i). The 'one and only' homeland is imagined by the migrants and depicted as a coherent vision. Opposite to the coherent vision of homeland, diaspora members' relations with the host society are often typically posited as 'troubled' as they feel

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[21] 19 Chinese cockle pickers were tragically drowned in Morecambe Bay on 6 February 2004. The Police report suggests that they were working illegally for organised criminal gangs. Eight of them were from Fujian Province (Pieke 2004).

they are 'in it but not of it' or forever (at least partially), the 'otherness' could still continue even when they become economically and socio-culturally integrated into the host society (Morawska 2011).

When people in a diaspora do not feel part of the host country, their imaginings of the homeland can, sometimes be romantically portrayed (Skrbis 1997); alternatively, imaginings can often be 'more complex, often contradictory, dynamic, and "untidy" than these common depictions suggest' (Morawska 2011: 1031). Being in a diaspora no longer assumes that immigrants should make a sharp break with their homeland. Members of a diaspora experience ongoing or re-awakened attachment and loyalty to the homeland which they feel they have left (Kearney 1995). Migrants view and use their homeland ties as potential tools 'that can be activated or deactivated at different stages of the life cycle, as is most expedient' (Levitt 2001: 21). Akenson (1993) suggests that diaspora shifts us away from the idea of home as the place by which all others are judged and offers the possibility of re-imagining belonging as a web with no centre and multiple perspectives. A diasporic perspective that focuses on institutional and imaginative links can provide a framework from which to 'describe one's life coherently rather than divided between competing visions of national or cultural identity' (McKeown 1999: 309).

The notion of 'desire of return to the homeland' (Tölölyan 1996) is reflected in a classical Chinese term: sojourner. Sojourning evolved among traditional Chinese at a time when the empire did not welcome them home; it evolved as a strategy for remaining abroad while awaiting a chance to return (Wang 2000). Lee (1960: 69) states that 'a sojourner is a person whose mental orientation is towards the home country. He spends a major portion of his lifetime striving for economic betterment and higher status, but the full enjoyment and final achievement of his objective is to be in his place of origin'. The diaspora experience is complex, so it is not strange that the sojourn itself is neither unidirectional nor final (Brubaker 2005), 'being rather multiple, circular, and return migrations rather than a singular journey, it follows multifarious trajectories and sustains diverse networks' (Lie 1995: 304).

'To reiterate, homeland and diaspora are related in two ways. First, a diasporic population is understood to be one which is dislocated relative to a place of origin. Second, it is assumed that homeland will continue to exert its influence on the social relations of a people in diaspora' (Falzon 2003: 664). The notion of homeland may then be used in various ways to

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create meanings in the collective community and individual lives of a people in diaspora. Chinese migrants, having moved, continued to feel strong attachments to ancestral lands and native places (Stafford 1999). Diasporic communities care about maintaining communication with each other and their families left behind. Communication is often maintained routinely and through institutionalised practices and it is much easier for migrants with the advancement of technology in the modern world to exchange commodities, ideas and people. Diasporic communities maintain contact with the homeland when it persists in identifiable form. Details about how my respondents communicated with other relatives in Hong Kong and how they developed their bonds with Hong Kong while in Ireland are provided in Chapter 6.

Despite the bond with homeland, the wish to return could never been fulfilled as described by Shuval (2000) as 'the myth of return'; according to Brah (1996), home can be condemned to remain a place of non-return. The myth 'can and often does survive even when the people in diaspora know only too well that return is not likely due to the political and/or economic realities of the homeland or the host country' (Falzon 2003: 664). So the notion of return is sometimes 'an eschatological concept used to make life easier by means of a belief in an eventual, virtual utopia. The return is hoped for "at the end of days"' (Shuval 2000: 48). Hu-Dehart (2005) discovered that many Chinese are happy only to visit China at different stages of their diasporic existence rather than to settle back in their homeland forever: 'To be a diasporic Chinese today is to be self-identified as such ethnically, and maybe culturally as well, but not nationalistically' (2005: 434).

The contradiction between the 'wish to return' and the 'myth of return' points out that diaspora is largely dependent on migrants' awareness of being in-between, 'in-complete', marginal and powerful and dominant at the same time (Gilroy 1987). Compared with the first-generation migrants, second-generation people often lack meaningful connection to their parents' old world. I argue that the 'myth of return' is more apparent within the second-generation than the first-generation, indeed the 'myth of return' almost becomes 'non-return' for the second-generation, because these second-generation children are unlikely to regard their parents' homeland as a point of reference (Zhou 1997), as discussed in Chapter 6. The dream of return to the 'homeland' provides a fundamental principle of identity (Hussain 2005; Brubaker 2005; Skeldon 2003). However, 'the idea of returning home for permanent settlement fails to materialise with immigrants staying longer than anticipated. The reason

that brought about this change was that the identity of the migrants changes the longer they stay' (Hussain 2005: 21). In the next section I discuss the relationship between diaspora and identity and hybridity, because the language and imaginary of diaspora provide ample space to explore the complex and contradictory realities of human movement and identities (Lie 2001).

Diaspora and Identity

Even though the homing desire (Brah 1996) may sometimes not be fulfilled in reality, diaspora consciousnesses still 'accentuates the possibilities and desirability of return' (Gilroy 1997: 330). As summarised by Clifford (1994), diaspora consciousness lives loss and hope as a defining tension. One of Vertovec's three meanings of diaspora is the type of consciousness which focuses on 'describing a variety of experience, states of mind, and senses of identity' (Vertovec 1999: 8). Developing W.E.B. Du Bois's (1903) notion of 'double consciousness', Gilroy (1987; 1994) describes a kind of duality of diaspora consciousness which refer to migrants' awareness of decentred attachments, of being simultaneously 'home away from home' or 'here and there'. Furthermore, Hall (1990) calls diaspora an 'imagined coherence' which provides the 'possibility of partially living outside of a country through memory, imagination or physical travel, while at the same time, making a life in the host country as a set of malleable identities' (Vertovec 1999: 8).

Because of the dual nature of diaspora, the consciousness of diaspora has paradoxical implications. 'It is constituted negatively by experiences of discrimination and exclusion, and positively by identification with an historical heritage or contemporary world cultural or political forces' (Vertovec 1999: 8). On the positive side it can lead to open, hybrid and multicultural forms of identity. It helps migrants to confront racism in the dominant society, while still recognising and even celebrating each other's difference (Cohen 1999). Despite its diversity, tolerance and fair-mindedness, on the other hand, the negative perspective indicates exclusion, intolerance and racism associated with diaspora (Jacobson 1995). When a group faces exclusion, social and political discrimination and limited economic opportunities, members are forced to define and emphasise with their own ethnicity, seeking support through kinship and friendship (Verma and Ashworth 1986), because the self-consciousness of their minority status is enhanced by these relationships, strengthening in-group cohesiveness and solidarity (Hutnik 1991). These effects can be found in relation to the role

of chain migration in assisting Hong Kong Chinese migrants' journeys to Ireland. According to Kasinitz et al. (2008), their Chinese respondents in the United States were more likely to spontaneously mention discrimination as something they would face in their attempts to live a successful life: 'discrimination is experienced as a challenge, a need to try harder to succeed' (2008: 365). Migrants have to put in an increased effort to overcome racial stereotypes. Chinese migrant parents often warn their children to expect discrimination, but not to let it keep them from being successful. Chinese migrants have developed ways of overt resistance for the purpose of self-defence, protection, and survival. Therefore, as shown in the findings of Hu-Dehart (2005),

> This common experience of rejection, marginalization, discrimination, and oppression by host societies has encouraged diasporic Chinese communities to forge a strong sense of identification with and empathy for each other's common plight and to develop mechanisms for a quick mobilisation of mutual support when one of them comes under vicious, nativist attack (Hu-Dehart 2005: 432).

Similar racial stereotypes and experiences of racism are also encountered by the Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland. The economic motivation to concentrate on building up Chinese catering businesses and restaurants was the direct result of such negative experiences. Chapter 4 gives examples of discrimination experienced by my first-generation respondents and Chapter 6 deals with similar examples of discrimination experienced by my second-generation interviewees.

According to Hall (1990: 222), identity is a 'production' which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation.' Identity could be blurred, fluid, multiple, situational, fluctuating as well as contradictory. Diasporic identities therefore are 'those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference' (Hall 1990: 235). Shuval (200) therefore argues that 'diaspora is a social construct founded on feeling, consciousness, memory, mythology, history, meaningful narrative, group identity, longing, dreams, allegorical and virtual elements, all of which play a role in establishing a diaspora reality' (2000: 43). The process of identity construction and negotiation is closely related to how Chinese as individuals and as a communal social group perceive themselves and interact with the local society, their ethnic community and the global community. There are increasing attempts by Chinese migrants to

'create different sets of identities as the individual constantly negotiates between various sets of demands, resulting in the creation of multiple selves' (Eng 2006: 224). Living de-centered Chineseness does not have to live up to the norm of 'the essential Chinese subject' (Ang 1998). Chineseness is thus an elusive and complex word entailing a range of, and sometimes even contradictory, feelings, affiliations, values, historical facts and meaning (Wai-sum 2008: 207).

How to determine what is and what is not Chinese is one of the key questions of diaspora, because identity is constructed under certain social, political and economic circumstances. Chineseness is the marker of and for identity, which is discursively constructed (Ang 1998). For people in the diaspora Chineseness is 'multiple, creolized, flexible, contingent, situational, adaptable, changeable and malleable' (Hu-Dehart 2005: 434). Chineseness becomes an open signifier which acquires its peculiar forms and contents in dialectical conjunction with the diverse local conditions. Diasporic Chinese are 'actively affirming and producing dual identifications with their nation of residence and their Chineseness. Each community expresses its host society's national difference, along with their own understanding of Chineseness' (Siu 2001: 21).

It is further noted that 'Chineseness is not a category with a fixed content—be it racial, cultural, or geographical—but operates as an open and indeterminate signifier whose meanings are constantly renegotiated and rearticulated in different sections of the Chinese diaspora' (Ang 1998: 225). However, the centrality of China to the Chinese diaspora may explain the similarities in relation to the view of Chineseness among Chinese migrants in different countries. 'To be Chinese, anywhere in the world was to be a representative of the motherland, to have a stake in the future of China, and to recognise the claims of China and Chinese culture over their loyalty' (Ang 1998: 225).

The diasporic identity can also be explained by the concept of belonging to one or more groups at the same time, thus the notion of diaspora complicates our understanding of belonging, often epitomised in the image of 'home': the cultural connection and the general orientation towards home still remain distinctive elements of diaspora (Safran 2004). According to Hussain (2005), for diasporic people identity incorporates two distinctively different cultures; that of the host society and that practised at home. The first-generation migrants often have limited participation in the host society due to 'both the external

constraints of prejudice and discrimination and the internal constraints embedded within cultural values and norms' (Hussain 2005: 20). The second and subsequent generations find themselves navigating within a social context which differs from that which they share with their parents. Compared with their parents, they are more mobile in linguistic, religious and cultural terms (Ballard 1994). Their identities are informed by how they identify with their parents' ethnic, cultural and religious values within the broader host country culture (Modood et al. 1994).

In terms of the identity construction of migrant children, Rumbaut (1996a) identified the following types. On one end of the continuum, they mimic and identify with the dominant culture of the host society and completely ignore their parents' ethnic culture. At the opposite end of the continuum, children develop an adversarial approach towards the mainstream, constructing adversarial identities when they find themselves structurally marginalised and culturally disparaged. Developing from this ethnic identity choice, Skrobanek (2009) proposes the concept of 're-ethnicisation' due to perceived personal and group discrimination. It indicates that 'an interrelationship between perceived discrimination, ethnic attitudes and ethnic behaviour. People from a specific ethnic background are more likely to stick together if they feel discriminated against' (Skrobanek 2009: 539). The third category in Rumbaut's (1996a) definition is that of bicultural identities, children fusing aspects of both cultures – the parental tradition and the new culture. They achieve bicultural and bilingual competencies that become an integral part of their sense of self. Of these three types, the third is the most adaptive in relation to both cultures, because the children in this category 'create hybrid identities and cultural formations that transform the "old" ethnic culture and the "new" majority culture in creative way' (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001: 118) as I now discuss.

Diaspora and Hybridity

Movement between places in diaspora gives rise to flexibility and identify shifts which create hybridity, as summarised by Hall (2000): 'in diasporic conditions people are often obliged to adopt shifting, multiple or hyphenated positions of identification' (2000: 227) and hybridity is particularly linked to the idea of 'new ethnicities' (Hall 1988). Therefore diaspora is 'not defined by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of "identity" which is lived with and through, not despite

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difference, by hybridity' (Hall 1990: 235). Hybridity emerged from Bhabha's (1994) concept of 'third space', in which the approach to hybridity is a depiction of moving or travelling culture (Anthias 2002). Hybridity is treated as a challenge to dominant homogenous cultural forms.

Notions of hybridity and diaspora 'open up spaces hitherto foreclosed by traditional approaches to ethnicity and migration' (Anthias 2001: 620). Aware of the paradoxical nature of diaspora, whether hybridity highlighted physiological or cultural difference in identity which are potentially destabilising of racism; hybridity infers the ability to transcend ethnic particularism (Anthias 2002). Diaspora and hybridity may be able to create a space for forms of anti-racism that can harness notions of multiple belonging to the task of challenging the fixity of boundaries which characterise racist practice and racist cultures and identities. According to Papastergiadis (1997),

> The current use of hybridity may be motivated by a perverse pleasure of taking negative terms and transforming it into a positive thing, the positive feature of hybridity is that it invariably acknowledges that identity is constructed through a negotiation of difference, and the presence of fissures, gaps and contradictions is not necessarily a sign of failure (Papastergiadis 1997: 258).

Second-generation migrants are seen as 'enigmatic producers of diasporic cultures and identities', as shown in their notion of youth subcultures (Soysal 2000: 11). Senses of belonging are entirely different from them, as they have no personal knowledge of the motherland or direct experience of the culture their parents come from. For example, China represents the symbolic loss of a root which second-generation Chinese migrants could never reclaim (Wai-sum 2008). Hybridity is born out of transgression of the exclusive boundary between 'us' and 'them' in the process of identity formation. In my study, 'us' means the second-generation Hong Kong Chinese and 'them' refers to the Irish public. Ying et al. (2000) explain the different positions of first and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese in identity negotiation, for American-born people, similar to my sample of second-generation, membership in American society is a birthright, and a part of their self-identification. To them, racial discrimination is a challenge and affront to who they are, their place in society, and its comprehensibility, manageability and meaningfulness of their life. In contrast, for

immigrants, similar to my first-generation sample, being American is an acquired identity (Ying et al. 2000).

Hall claimed that 'cultural identity is a matter of "becoming" as well as "being", of the future as much as the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture…it undergoes constant transformation' (Hall 1990: 225). Cultural identity is fluid, produced and reproduced and often results in 'hybrid' forms of expression. Hence, there is 'is no single identity that each and every Asian avows' (Brah 1997: 6). A number of factors influence the type of identity the young migrants develop, including the social class background of the parents, the social networks the parents were involved in, the type of school the child attended, and the family structure. Referring to research on Asian Americans, rather than considering 'Asian American' as fixed and a pure, established 'given', the processes which produce Asian-American identity, are never complete and are always constituted in relation to historical and material difference. 'The making of Asian-American culture may be a much less stable process than unmediated vertical transmission of culture from one generation to another' (Lowe 2003: 136). The process includes practices that are 'partly inherited, partly modified, partly invented; Asian-American culture also includes the practices that emerge in relation to the dominant representations that deny or subordinate Asian and Asian-American culture as "other"' (Lowe 2003: 136).

Hybridity is 'a process of cultural translation, it is never completed but rests with its undecidability' (Hall 2000: 226). In diasporic conditions people are often 'obliged to adopt shifting, multiple or hyphenated positions of identification' (Hall 2000: 227). Hybridity refers to the formation of cultural objects and practices that are produced by the histories of uneven and non-synthetic power relations. Hybridity provides different possibilities, because it 'does not suggest the assimilation of Asian to dominant forms but instead marks the history of survival within relationships of unequal power and domination' (Lowe 2003: 138), even though the 'model minority' myth constructs Asian as the most successfully assimilated minority group (Lowe 2003: 139). As Christou writes in relation to Greek-Americans, the impact of globalisation and migration have all stimulated a cultural response and shaped perceptions of belongingness for the second-generation, torn between a consciousness that can 'neither fulfil true "Greek-ness" nor true "American-ness" (Christou 2006: 1041).

The key problem related to culture as the core element for defining identity and community as well as in the fight against racism does not mean that identity processes are synonymous with shared cultural practices: identity does not depend solely on cultural practices or beliefs (Anthias 2002). Culture plays a key role as a source of identity and as a focus for resistance to exclusion and discrimination (Castles and Miller 2009: 40). Culture is defined as 'a system that mediates the individual's relationship to his or her context, the mechanism for processing and organising surrounding signs' (Papastergiadis 1997: 268). There is an inherent irony of not returning to their ancestral homeland but moving farther away from China with the explicit intention of preserving their culture identity (Tu 1994). A sense of diaspora can occur or re-occur after several generations when group members are themselves no longer immigrants even though their predecessors were. 'A sense of diaspora is a feeling that is characterised by shifting periods of latency and activism which occur in response to processes in the group itself, the host society and the homeland' (Shuval 2000: 46), leading me, in the next section, to link diaspora and generational factors.

Diaspora as Mode of Cultural Production[22]: Generational Factors

The relationship between immigration and the coming into being of diaspora, affecting subsequent generations, can be examined over at least a few generations (Castles and Miller 2009; Amersfoort 2004). It was found that even after settlement, family influence across generations is strong, and families still matter (Bengtson et al. 2002). However migrants, especially some second-generation children, might not always find comfort in the family because family can also be a source of conflict, for example, extensive negotiation between parents and children occurs, parents strive to transmit their ethnic culture to their children, and children attempt to balance the teaching of their ethnic culture with their experiences in the host culture (Kwak 2003). The second-generation is 'situated between a variety of different and often competing generational, ideological and moral reference points, including those of their parents and their own real and imagined perspectives about their multiple homelands' (Levitt 2009: 1238). In light of the above cultural perspective among parents and children, I turn to another aspect of diaspora, its cultural production to discuss the divergent view of cultural values. Here culture is a layer and acts as a lens through which life is perceived and handled. Values are a component of culture; they can show how a traditional

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[22] See Vertovec 1999.

Asian extended family determines both individual and familial competence. Values also provide structure and context for gender roles, kinship network and relationships, and boundaries for appropriate behaviours within age groups (Lau 2000). Culture directs the 'behaviour of individuals within the group, enabling the group to survive' (Lau 2000: 34).

Diasporic cultures are, to varying degrees, 'produced by regimes of political domination and economic inequality' (Clifford 1994: 319). The cultural continuity in diaspora is identified by various sociologists (e.g. Amersfoort 2004; Hussain 2005; Safran 2005). Culture consists of norms and beliefs about how to be in the world and can also direct people's behaviour and influence decisions about their lives (Kasinitz et al. 2008). In the family context, culture plays a role in a variety of family processes, such as family roles, cognitions and practices surrounding childrearing and child development (Bornstein and Cote 2006). Migrant culture refers to the 'original culture of a group, consisting of an entire way of life, including language, ideas, beliefs, values, behavioural patterns, and all that migrants bring with them when they arrive in their new country' (Zhou and Bankston III 1994: 822). Culture focuses on the ways in which people process and make sense of their experiences, within changes of their lives in the host country; migrant culture is dynamic and changing to fit the aims and process of adaptation (Zhou and Bankston III 1994). Ying (1995) proposed the term 'cultural orientation' to describe a minority person's affiliation with the ethnic and majority cultures. In the case of Chinese migrant families, parents are usually orientated towards Chinese culture. 'Chineseness is no longer, if it ever was, a property or essence calculated by a person having more or fewer 'Chinese' values or norms, but can rather be understood only in terms of the multiplicity of ways in which "being Chinese" is an inscribed relation of persons and groups' (Nonini and Ong 1997: 4).

Diaspora is marked by shared or similar cultural traits which strengthen members' cultural or national awareness (Marienstras 1999). 'Maintaining cultural boundaries while at the same time participating successfully in such areas as the labour market and the educational system of the host society is the typical challenge for an emerging diaspora' (Amersfoort 2004: 363). There is a distinction between immigrant groups that keep their cultural identity and whose members are guided by specific cultural norms and groups no longer confined to a specific social position who have entered the mainstream with respect to economic success. Amersfort (2004) suggests that diasporic groups that are successful in maintaining cultural boundaries often remain culturally distinct over generations but can 'at the same time become

fully part of the host society, living "at home abroad"' (2004: 364). Each generation passes cultural patterns, often subtle ones, to the next, but the mechanisms of this process are unclear. In the case of the Chinese diaspora, China is presented as the cultural/geographical core in relation to which Chinese migrants are forced to take a position, sometimes a position of shame and inadequacy relating to their own 'impurity', having left the motherland (Ang 1993). Ang (1998) proposes that the Chinese, 'while conforming to a more 'traditional' understanding of diaspora as a cultural entity scattered across the globe, are linked by culture and yearnings for their homeland' (1998: 225). This dual mode of existence is reinforced by cultural instruments such as newspapers, schools, political parties.

The popular notion of being 'caught or torn between two cultures' reflects the second-generation's conflicting worlds of their parents' homeland culture and the culture of their host societies, not fully considered home. Other aspects of migrant cultural patterns may 'fit' the requirements of life in the diaspora and may even be prerequisites for 'making it in America' (Fukuyama 1993). In contrast with Western European ideals, which emphasise independence, self-sufficiency, assertiveness and competition, and clear and direct verbal communication, Asian families emphasise 'interdependence, harmony and co-operation in relationships, putting greater emphasis on non-verbal and indirect communication through shared symbols' (Lau 2000: 35). While traditional Chinese culture emphasises filial piety, parental authority, restrained emotional expression, lifelong obligation to family and family harmony, American culture tends to place greater emphasis on individuality, autonomy, equality with parents and self assertion (Dion and Dion 1996). Differing norms about how much independence children should be allowed, children's freedom to choose their friends, and whether children should consider their parents' wishes when making decisions about their future all contribute to the complexity of negotiating family relationships in the cultural context of leading a diasporic life in the host society.

Confronted with both cultures, members of the second-generation absorb different values of family life and society (Hussain 2005). In acknowledging the host society as their home, they are cultivating their own distinct values, interests, meanings and ambitions within the host society, and are able to develop their own creative life strategies. Integrating two cultures may become particularly complex for some members of the second-generation in their adolescent years when they begin to actively explore issue of identity and independence (Chiu et al. 1992). However, many immigrant parents reached maturity in their ethnic culture,

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whereas their children have either been socialising in both cultures or exclusively in the new culture. Parents may have greater difficulty learning the host culture's language and their identities and values may be less open to being influenced by the host culture (Matsuoka 1990; Phinney et al. 2000). If parents are more committed to ethnic values and practices, they may be more motivated than their children to retain elements of their ethnic culture as compared to their children. By contrast, children may have closer contact with the new culture than their parents because they are exposed to host culture daily at school and with peers (Okagaki and Bojczyk 2002). Children may have more opportunities, demands, and motivation to learn about the host culture compared to their parents and may adopt the values and lifestyle of the new culture more quickly (Costigan and Dokis 2006b: 725).

In light of these intergenerational differences, Costigan and Dokis (2006b: 723) found that 'parents and children differed most in host culture domains and were most similar in ethnic private domains'. Parents' greater openness to the host culture in public domains and greater exclusive commitment to the ethnic culture in private domains suggest that 'parents may be more strongly motivated to transmit the private domains of their ethnic culture to their children' (Costigan and Dokis 2006b: 726f.). Models of value transmission highlight the multiple influences on children's values, including parents (vertical transmission), peers (horizontal transmission), and teachers (oblique transmission) (Schönpflug 2001). In terms of private domains, helping in the family business is well accepted by the children, reflecting their obligations to their families as discussed in Chapter 4.

Diaspora is a site of cultural continuity and cultural transformation, as Fortier (2000) writes: 'The older generation is represented as losing their children to a different cultural world, but what happened to the 'homeland' when it becomes unrecogniseable?' (2000: 70; see also Lowe 2003). These questions often lead to intergenerational conflicts, when for example, parents worry that in 'navigating between two cultural systems and two languages, their children may never be completely competent in either' (Kasinitz et al. 2008: 354). Sometimes second-generation children reject their parents' 'old country' ways, yet are not fully culturally integrated into host societies.

Parents' fears about the loss of culture are part of the paradox of the immigrant experience. The parents have faced 'struggles, found jobs, formed families, settled in specific neighbourhoods, and were received by natives, setting the stage for their children's lives'

(Kasinitz et al. 2008: 25). They migrated to improve their lives and those of their children, overcame hardships and obstacles to give their children the chance to integrate into the host country. Aside from juggling work and household responsibilities, parents often have low levels of education and job skills, lack familiarity with the larger host society and school system, and speak little or no English. These challenges often weaken parental authority and effective child-rearing (Zhou 2009). At the same time, parents are often uncomfortable with and anxious about the future of the new identities they have helped to create (Kasinitz et al. 2008). As Kasinitz et al. (2008) argue in relation to the United States, although orienting their children's early socialisation to the values and beliefs of the old country, as soon as the children enter into social relations outside the home, they reorient themselves towards the wider American society.

In light of the above, the biggest challenge for most immigrant parents is instilling a strong sense of ethnic identity and values in their children. According to Fuligni and Zhang (2004), this would also help in achieving more positive family relationships and academic motivation. Migrant parents often send ambiguous messages regarding behavioural practices, recognizing the value of their children's participation in the host culture as a recipe for success (Knafo and Schwartz 2001). However, migrant families encourage their children to pick up certain cultural and linguistic competencies while fiercely resisting others, which they see as a threat to family unity (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001). Conflicts are typically caused due to issues such as family rules, discipline, friendship choices, disappointing their parents and failing to live up to parents' expectations (Costigan and Dokis 2006a: 1253). Academic achievement is an important way in which Chinese children fulfil family obligation and enhance family pride (Zhou et al. 2003).

According to the experience of Chinese-American families, substantial differences between Chinese and American cultures may heighten the pressure on Chinese families to adopt aspects of the new culture. 'The main source of children's knowledge of their ethnic culture is most likely from their parents; by contrast, children's knowledge of the host culture comes from a variety of sources resulting in parent-child differences' (Costigan and Dokis 2006b: 726; Ying 1999). Children often express dissenting views and make choices inconsistent with their parents' wishes, resulting in migrant parents 'feeling dismayed or even betrayed' (Ying 1999: 90). Children often experience identity confusion: 'mainstream society views them as not quite American, while their parents view them as too American, and they seem to be both

and neither' (Ying 1999: 90). Children are drawn into the dominant culture, whereas their parents inevitably struggle with ambivalence. While the parents 'actively support the acquisition of certain cultural competencies, they fight to ward off the corrupting influences of the new society' (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001: 89). Parents encourage their children to develop the competencies necessary to function in the host culture and meanwhile retaining the tradition (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001). However, as Lowe (2003) points out, 'interpreting Asian-American culture exclusively in terms of the master narrative of generational conflicts and filial relations essentialises Asian-American culture, obscuring the particularities and in commensurabilities of class, gender, and national diversities' (2003:13). In my study, the main sources of conflict were language use, career expectations and views of relationships, as discussed in Chapter 5.

When parents try to transmit ethnic culture to their children who may not fully appreciate it, intergenerational conflict may occur. Parent-child conflict refers typically to situations where the children feel embarrassed by their parents' ways (Portes and Hao 2002) and at the same time get in trouble with their parents because of 'disagreements about how things should be done or when the children think that their parents either did not like them or were uninterested in what they had to say' (Zhou 2001: 212). Intergenerational conflicts lead to dwindling parental authority and insufficient family communication and impact negatively on migrant children's self-esteem, psycho-social well-being, and academic aspirations (Rumbaut 1996b). Children may be so overwhelmed by youth culture and the freedom (particularly personal choice in dress, dating, and sexual practices) unavailable in their parents' old country, they may not be willing to accept immigrant parental work norms or to work in 'un-American' conditions as their parents do (Zhou 1997: 74).

The negative impact of family conflict may be particularly pronounced in Chinese families because it violates traditional cultural norms of respect, obedience to authority, and family harmony (Phinney and Ong 2000). Zhou (2001) documents differing life experiences between Vietnamese children and parents which inevitably widen the generational gap, leading to intense bicultural conflicts that push children and parents into separate social worlds. However, it may be simplistic to assume that a whole generation of parents is 'reluctant to let go of traditions and ties that the younger generation is eager to discard and sever' (Zhou 2001: 206). In fact, many families 'consciously modify and adopt their own values, such as the emphasis on education, to make them more congruent with the host

society' (Zhou 2001: 207). Costigan and Dokis's (2006a: 1262) finding that there were relatively 'low levels of conflict, few depressive feelings, and strong achievement motivation, despite the presence of Chinese parent-child differences in Canada', is also interesting in this regard.

The second-generation's collective reactions to cultural conflicts reflect notions of hybridity and multiple belonging. Child (1943) identified three reaction patterns in migrant children which are relevant to my study: rebellion, in-group conformity, and apathy. Rebellion involves the abandonment of ethnic membership for the sake of new affiliations. In-group conformity refers to adherence to group membership in the ethnic community. Apathy occurs when young people give up on both rebellion against the group and in-group conformity and instead resort to escapism (Child 1943). Research found that host culture values (e.g. individualism) are transmitted less effectively in immigrant families than values that are prominent in the ethnic culture e.g. collectivism (Phalet and Schonpflug 2001). This also explains why amongst my interviewees any conflicts with their parents were, overall, not intense despite existing disagreements regarding speaking Chinese, career choices and views about marriage (see Chapter 5). Outright rejection of their parents' ethnic and religious identities is rare among the second-generation, although partial acceptance as well as reinterpretation of some values does occur (Drury 1991). According to this culture transmission approach, migrant children are still influenced by their parents' ethnic cultural values.

The advantage of the in-betweenness felt by migrants, especially second-generation migrants, emerging from the diasporic experience has not been sufficiently appreciated (Kasinitz et al. 2008: 20). The second-generation can share the majority's advantage by distancing themselves from their parents. On the one hand, they become familiar with the host culture and have access to relatively open opportunities; on the other hand, they would experience the disadvantage shared by racial minorities, as discrimination and racial segregation would block their equal access to educational opportunities and decent jobs (Portes and Zhou 1992). To avoid this, some would retain the immigrant advantages stemming from their parents' positive selection, their embedded-ness in ethnic networks and economies, and their cultural orientation (Rumbaut 2004). However, their parents' immigrant disadvantages, such as lack of English competency, low human capital, and discordant cultural orientations, might also hold them back (Kasinitz et al. 2008). An additional possibility is that the second-generation

can sometimes negotiate different combinations of immigrant and native advantages and disadvantages and choose the best combination for them. In other words, 'the ability of selecting the best traits from their parents and their native-born peers yields distinct second-generation advantages' (Kasinitz et al. 2008: 20). By combining the best of both worlds, they are more aware than most people that they have a choice (Kasinitz et al. 2008: 21). However, 'homeland cultural norms and values may not be entirely inconsistent with those of the host country' (Zhou 1997: 73) and immigrants adjust their original cultural orientations to fit the current struggle for incorporation into the host society where adjusted migrant cultural orientations may serve as resources rather than disadvantages.

Conclusion

In this chapter I redeveloped the concept of diaspora to analyse diverse identities and various relationships between Chinese migrant parents and their children. Diaspora provides valuable cues and clues for the elaboration of a social ecology of cultural identity and identification (Gilroy 1994). The chapter suggests that the experience of 'home' and 'belonging' within diaspora and the role of family links and relations can both enable and hinder 'return' to the homeland.

Despite the relevance of diaspora theory to the design of this study, there are some limitations. Diaspora admits too many loose ends, has too many diverse beginnings, is too unstable and self-critical a concept to construct a coherent study line (Cohen 1999). Though used in the popular domain, the popularisation of the diaspora discourse presents challenges in terms of regaining control over its meaning and parameters before it is totally reduced to a simplistic essentialist description of any kind of human mobility and scattering (Hu-Dehart 2005). Paradoxically, 'the universalisation of diaspora means the disappearance of diaspora' (Brubaker 2005: 3), as the term is 'in danger of becoming a promiscuously capacious category' and it demands at least some 'stringency of definition' (Tölölyan 1996: 30). Not all migrants are in diaspora; 'migrants who experience migration as a temporary and one-off occurrence might not experience the degree of fragmentation, marginality, in-betweenness and incompleteness that characterises the diaspora' (De Tona 2008: 50). More specifically, Wang Gungwu (1999) emphasises that there is no single Chinese diaspora and the very term Chinese is becoming less and less appropriate for the pluralistic nature of people bounded by this discourse as diversity of 'birthplace, gender, intermarriage, age, education, socio-

economic background and family all contribute to the ever-changing dynamics of the Chinese diaspora'(1999: 16).

Another classical theory, the push-pull migration theory, is modified into what I call the push-push-pull model which fits the specific migration trajectories and motivations of Hong Kong Chinese migrants in Ireland. Migratory movements, once started, become self-sustaining social processes and migration may continue due to social factors even when the economic factors which initiated the movement have been transformed (Castles and Miller 2009: 29ff.), as we see from the experiences of my sample of first- and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland. Migrant groups are never homogeneous, but rather characterised by a multitude of connections of family ties, kinship, commerce, sentiments and values and so on (Nonini and Ong 1997). Georgiou (2001) suggest that migrants' attachments and belongings and the meaning they assign to diasporic identities and communities are produced and transformed through participation in family occasions and the continuation of family relationships, as this chapter illustrated in relation to the differences between first- and second-generation migrants.

Before I discuss my findings, the next chapter operationalises this theoretical framework and outlines the research methodology of my project.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The previous chapter provides an account of the theoretical approach I used in exploring the economic, family and identity experiences of first- and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland. This chapter outlines the qualitative methodological strategies used for gaining insight into the interviewees' complex and paradoxical lived experiences, which have been 'ignored, misrepresented or suppressed in the past' (Byrne 2004: 182). Poolye and White (1991) argue that qualitative methodology is relevant in migration studies, because migration is an elusive and fragmented experience and that 'migration events are so ill-defined and sometimes transitory they are rarely recorded' (1991: 3). The methodologies employed in this study take note of this ill-defined quality and of the sensitivity needed in employing fluidity, and take into consideration the inter-relationships among interviews.

This chapter, which presents the story of my research journey, has six sections. The first section outlines the case study approach used as my research strategy to elucidate the complexities of my participants' lived experiences. The process of using a pilot study explains the research methods employed in the main study. In the second section I discuss my sampling framework and access to the interviewees. After discussing the sampling framework, the third section outlines the main data collection instruments, which were semi-structured interviews and documentary research. Fourthly, I discuss thematic analysis as my main data analysis technique. I follow this section by outlining the ethical considerations of this study in the fifth section. The last section discusses my reflections on this research journey in terms of my involvement and my position in relation to the interviewees in the context of the 'insider' and 'outsider' debate.

Research Design

Due to the nature of my research, the theoretical issues and the size of the sample, my choice to employ a case-study strategy was conscious and deliberate (Denscombe 2007). A case study is 'an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth within its real-life context especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (Yin 2009: 18). Yin (2003) distinguishes between three types of case studies, namely, descriptive, explanatory and exploratory case studies. A descriptive case study

presents 'a complete description of a phenomenon within its context' (2003: 5). An explanatory case study explains 'which causes produce which effects' (2003: 5). An exploratory case study is 'aiming at defining the questions of a subsequent study or at determining the feasibility of the desired research procedure' (2003: 5). My study of a specific Chinese subgroup, the Hong Kong Chinese, falls into the exploratory category because it 'focuses on one or a few instances of a particular phenomenon with a view to providing an in-depth account of events, relationship, experience or processes occurring in that particular instance' (Denscombe 2007: 37). The exploratory nature of this study reveals the complexities of economic, family and identity experiences my interviewees went through in Ireland. It also defines the questions to be asked and determines the feasibility of the desired research procedure (Yin 2003).

The following advantages of the case study approach made it an attractive research design choice for my study. Firstly, a case study focuses on relationships and processes, which in this case were often interconnected and interrelated within a natural social setting (Yin 1993; Denscombe 2007). It works best when the researcher wants to investigate relationship issues in depth and provide an explanation that can cope with the complexity and subtlety of a real-life situation (Denscombe 2007; Yin 1993). This advantage offered the opportunity to explain why certain outcomes might happen, more than just find out what those outcomes were (Denscombe 2007). Here, I employed its approach to explore the multiple lived experiences of first- and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese. Secondly, the case study approach is beneficial for small-scale research, as it goes into 'sufficient detail to unveil the complexities of a given situation' (Denscombe 2007: 36). Thirdly, the case study approach allowed multiple sources of evidence and multiple types of research as part of the investigation (Denscombe 2007; Yin 1994). It relied on 'a variety of techniques for data gathering and [was] conducted over a period of time' (Rossman and Rallis 2003: 105). While the case study approach had a certain concentration in time and space, its flexibility enabled the data collected from different stages of the research to be triangulated in the data analysis stage.

There were four sources of data in this study which were used in the three findings chapters (Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). One data source was based on four semi-structured interviews with four Hong Kong Chinese in my previous research project, 'Migrant Networks

- Facilitating Migrant Integration', part of the Trinity Immigration Initiative (TII)[23] between 2007 and 2010. Although my research question for this project focused on the role that the Chinese-led organisations played in promoting the integration of its members, interviewees often talked about their own migration experiences when explaining their reasons to participate in Chinese-led organisations. Thus, for example, some of them relied on the network of their organisations to find jobs and develop their economic activities as well as contribute to the economic developments of their homeland. Findings drawn from my TII project inspired me to focus on Hong Kong Chinese for my doctoral dissertation since there was little academic attention on this Chinese sub group in Ireland. The second data collection source came from three pilot narrative interviews, including one group interview, with four first-generation respondents. The third source was the 26 semi-structured interviews including five group interviews (33 interviewees in total) with members of the two generations which constituted my main study. The fourth data collection source was documentary analysis that provided the historical background of the Hong Kong Chinese group in Ireland. In all, this dissertation drew on the experiences of 41 first- and second-generation interviewees. There are 16 first-generation participants and 25 second-generation participants. The gender breakdown of the first-generation is 13 male participants and three female interviewees and that of the second-generation interviewees is 13 male participants and 12 female participants. The profile of the interviewees is listed in Appendix 1.

From Pilot Study to Main Study

My research design involves two phases. The first phase was a pilot study conducted between June and August 2009 and the second phase was the main study conducted between March 2010 and September 2010. The pilot study employed a snowball sampling strategy which helped me to identify potential first-generation Hong Kong Chinese interviewees. I used a narrative interview style and narrative analysis strategies as detailed below. Tin was the gate keeper in the pilot study. I had worked with him in the Sichuan Earthquake Appeal Committee in 2008 within my TII project. Tin migrated to Ireland in the 1970s and is a successful Chinese restaurant owner. As an active member of a long-established Chinese-led organisation whose members are mainly from Hong Kong, his good connections with Hong Kong Chinese people helped me in contacting other Hong Kong Chinese interviewees. Tin

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[23] See http://www.tcd.ie/immigration/css/downloads/chineseearthquake26.05.09.pdf

referred me to another three people who all agreed to be interviewed. However, according to Maynard (2002) gatekeepers try to control the selection and decide who they regard as the best in terms of how they see the research. Indeed, my reliance on Tin as a gatekeeper led to a gender imbalance in my sample selection, as I did not gain access to any female first-generation interviewee at this stage of the research. The friends Tin introduced me to have similar migration and business experiences to him and they are all middle-aged men who have been living in Ireland for more than 20 years and working in the Chinese restaurant industry.

At the pilot stage, I used an unstructured, narrative interview data collection method to achieve 'rich data' (Marvasti 2004). My interviewees had 'the freedom to talk and ascribe meaning' (Noaks and Wincup 2004: 8) which Denscombe (2007) considers a better way of discovering things about complex issues, aiming at 'discovery' rather than 'checking' (2007: 176). All interviews were digitally recorded and lasted on average 50 minutes. Interviews were conducted in Mandarin and then translated and transcribed into English. I conducted four interviews in total, one of them being a group interview, as discussed below.

The narrative data was analysed through narrative analysis at the pilot stage. Narrative analysis concerns the 'search for and analysis of the stories that people employ to understand their lives and the world around them' (Bryman 2008: 553), with inquiries 'directed at the unseen or the hidden dimensions of the self' (Marvasti 2004: 22). I gained a good understanding of my interviewees' migration experiences from this analysis instrument and I identified three themes most frequently mentioned here: the centrality of economic factors to interviewees' migration experiences, their views of family, interaction with others, and their identity negotiations.

The data collected during the pilot study persuaded me to include second-generation young people to compare their experiences with those of the first-generation, because family was a central concern of my first-generation interviewees. They frequently mentioned their parental considerations for their children and the family as a priority in their migration motivations and their migration trajectories. Family concerns shaped not only their migration decisions, but also their economic experiences in Ireland. This was contrary to the general trend in migration studies in Ireland which often emphasise adult migrants and neglects their children (Bushin 2009), particularly children older than 15 years old. The general trend of migration

studies worldwide denotes 'a profound gap between the strategic importance of the new second-generation and the knowledge about its socioeconomic circumstance' (Zhou 1997: 63, see also Castles and Miller 2009). Lim and Wieling (2004) argue that the experiences of immigrant children need to be explored in order to reach a better understanding of families in migration. Referring to the generational factor of diaspora theory, second-generation young people are the product of the diasporic process. Therefore I decided to include second-generation young people in the main study to examine how they view their families, how they perceive their relationships with their parents and how they identify themselves. To date, there has been no cross-generational study in relation to any Chinese migrant group in the Republic of Ireland and my study is the first.

In sum, the pilot study led me to the recognition of the importance of the generational dimension and family in the migration experience, making me include the second-generation in the main study. The use of snowball sampling for my pilot study and the restrictions caused by using a gatekeeper made me realise the drawbacks of gender imbalance, which I addressed in the main study through using a different sampling strategy. The unstructured nature of the data collection and data analysis in the pilot stage generated rich data, but it was difficult to analyse a large number of themes in a coherent way, which was why a more structured data collection and data analysis approach were introduced in the main study. The three themes identified from the pilot study, economic experience, family view and identity negotiation, were explored in detail across two generations in the main study.

In the following sections, I elaborate on the methodological strategies used for the main body of the research which was conducted between March 2010 and September 2010.

Sampling and Access

I hand-picked the sample using a purposive sampling approach based on the demographic information about Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland gained from my pilot study. I selected my interviewees with a 'specific purpose in mind, and that purpose reflects the particular qualities of the people and their relevance to the topic of the investigation' (Denscombe 2007: 17). The sample selection fit the demographic characteristics of my research cohort. The following criteria were used in selecting the interviewees in this study.

The first criterion was the generational dimension. Considering that the research question is partly related to the views of family and parent-child relationships, my first-generation interviewees had experience of bringing up Irish-born young adults. The age group of the first-generation interviewees ranged between 40 and 60 years old. A small number of Hong Kong Chinese families in Ireland cross three generations, the generation of grandparents who came to Ireland first in the 1970s and the 1980s, and brought their children, who were mainly in their early 20s. The third-generation, the grandchildren, was mainly in their 20s at the time of the interview in 2010. However, the three-generation family composition is not the most common among the Hong Kong Chinese group. Therefore I broadly categorised the members of Hong Kong Chinese families into either first-generation or second-generation because the nuclear family is the common Hong Kong Chinese pattern in Ireland. The sample of the second-generation consists of those who were born outside Hong Kong. Three second-generation interviewees were born in Hong Kong, but all had come to Ireland by the age of two and grown up in Ireland. The parents of all my second-generation interviewees are from Hong Kong. The age range of the sample of second-generation is late teenage to 20s and the oldest one was 31 years old. Due to the short history of Hong Kong Chinese migration into Ireland, there are a few second-generation Hong Kong Chinese aged above their late 30s. From my observation of various Chinese community celebrations and weekend Chinese schools, I found that there are second-generation children at primary school age or below. Part of my research question deals with interviewees' views on self-identification, which is probably too dense and sensitive for children below 18 years of age. Therefore the sample of the second-generation consists of young people who are above 18 years old who had established their own views of life and were able to question and challenge their parents' point of views.

Another sampling criterion was interviewees' geographical locations. I divided both first-and second-generation interviewees into those living in the County Dublin and those outside County Dublin. The geographical location played a more obvious role in the experience of interaction of second-generation than that of the first-generation interviewees (see Chapter 6). The definition was based on the distribution of Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland according to my fieldwork observations and on the results of census 2006, according to which the largest group of Hong Kong Chinese are assumed to be living in County Dublin. There are three Chinese weekend schools in Dublin, but no regular Chinese weekend school in other cities at the moment. Some second-generation participants told me that there was a weekend Chinese

school in Limerick, but this school closed about ten years ago. This indicates that there are substantial numbers of Chinese families, including the Hong Kong Chinese families and second-generation of Hong Kong Chinese, in and around County Dublin. A large portion of second-generation interviewees were working and studying in various cities and towns outside their parents' home. I recorded the location of their parental house as their geographical location in this study. The geographical locations in County Dublin include Santry, Blanchardstown, Cabra and Rathmines. Places outside County Dublin include Cork, Clonmel, Limerick, Tralee and Carlow.

Gender was another criterion. Having noted the gender imbalance in my pilot study, I tried to reach a better gender balance in my main study, but due to the difficulties in accessing female first-generation interviewees, this problem still exists in the sample of the first-generation. Gender was balanced out evenly in the second-generation (13 male interviewees and 12 female interviewees). The first-generation female Hong Kong Chinese were reluctant to take part in my interviews. I discuss my difficulties in accessing interviewees below. Occupation was another criterion for the sample selection, but after a few semi-structured interviews with both generation interviewees, I stopped taking it as a defining factor because it did not seem relevant. Almost all first-generation interviewees were in the Chinese catering business and a large number of second-generation Hong Kong Chinese were still in college at the time of the interviews due to their age profile.

Researching Chinese migrants has not been easy, for example, Chan et al. (2007) argue that Chinese migrants are 'a "hard-to-reach" minority group owing to their geographical distribution and communication (language) problems. The major difficulty in researching Chinese migrants in the UK is the lack of "existing and easily accessible sampling frames"' (2007: 513) and it is not unusual for Chinese people 'to be reluctant to give personal information and be suspicious of the purpose of any research' (Chan et al. 2007: 514).

Despite being an active Chinese researcher researching the migration experiences of different Chinese groups, access to relevant participants has not been easy as evidenced in my previous studies. I co-authored the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI)'s report on Chinese students in Ireland (Wang and King-O'Riain 2006). This study documented 24 mainland Chinese students' learning experiences in various Irish education institutions such as language schools and public or private universities. The personal

background of this research group was closest to my own and therefore I was able to draw interviewees based on my personal network and referrals from other mainland Chinese friends, but still took time to convince them to be interviewed. In 2010 I was commissioned by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) Dublin to conduct a mapping exercise[24] of the appropriate information channel to reach the Chinese community in Ireland, especially irregular Chinese migrants. I experienced great difficulties in accessing the target group due to the sensitivity of the research objectives. People without legal status were reluctant to reveal personal information in a public report. I still managed to get 56 valid questionnaires, including 38 legal Chinese respondents and two asylum seekers; and the rest were more likely to be irregular.[25] I relied on two key informants and my own network in order to access interviewees. The number of completed questionnaires was the highest of all similar IOM Dublin mapping exercises (for example with migrants from Nigeria, Georgia and Moldova). Part of the reason for getting such a large sample was because my ethnic background was the same as that of my research group and we spoke the same language, Mandarin, all of which contributed to the success of my IOM research. I discuss the impact of my ethnic background and position in relation to the distinction between 'insider' and 'outsider' further below.

As mentioned above, the biggest methodological challenge I faced was gaining access to a potential target group. The preparations for accessing and contacting potential respondents took nearly three months before I went into fieldwork and I continued contacting potential interviewees while I was in the field. My access to the first-generation sample was linked to my TII project, involving interviewing leaders of Chinese-led organisations and taking part in various Chinese pubic events organised by these organisations such as New Year celebrations in 2008 and 2009. The turning point in getting into frequent contact with the first-generation Hong Kong Chinese interviewees was my participation in the Sichuan Earthquake Appeal Committee in 2008 (Wang 2012), which was set up to fundraise for victims in China. I had direct interactions with various organisations and gained a better understanding of the way these organisations promoted migrant activism from below. This was where I met gatekeeper Tin, mentioned above. In my main study, I continued to rely on first-generation interviewees I knew from the appeal committee and the pilot study, and they introduced me to other potential interviewees, but this time I had my own criteria for selecting interviewees rather

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[24] See http://www.iomdublin.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=55&Itemid=75

[25] There are three categories in the survey question on current legal status: legal; asylum and other.

than taking any referral without selection. For example, so as not to interview only restaurant owners, I would ask them if I could interview their wives, their children or staff working in their restaurants, and people they knew who were living outside County Dublin. Although my attempt to interview female first-generation members was not a success, I managed to construct a reasonable sized sample of male first-generation participants located in County Dublin or outside County Dublin, including a large number of business owners and a small number of waged staff.

There were a few sources in accessing second-generation interviewees and I reached an even gender and geographical location balance from that. However, my searches for the second-generation interviewees were not smooth. Firstly, I had to rely on my first-generation interviewees to give me contacts for their children. These contacts were almost all girls living in Dublin, and in contrast to the first-generation, I had difficulties in finding male second-generation interviewees in Dublin at the beginning of my fieldwork. When I expressed my difficulty in reaching male second-generation interviewees, many female second-generation interviewees in Dublin recommended going to the Chinese church on Abbey Street on Sundays. The majority of young people who attend this church are second-generation Hong Kong Chinese. The church has Sunday worship service in Cantonese on Sunday mornings so these young people come with their parents in the morning and gather with other children in the afternoon to play music or have a chat. Therefore, contacts from church became the second source. I made contact with one active male member, who later participated in my interview and introduced me to other young men in the church. To counteract the saturation of female interviewees, I conducted three group interviews with seven male interviewees in a meeting room of the church. I did not plan group interviews, but when I approached them, they all preferred to be interviewed together. The third source was from another gate keeper, Ella, who introduced me to other second-generation interviewees living outside County Dublin. I knew Ella through my German PhD friend who went to university with her, and introduced me to her upon hearing about my research topic and my problems in accessing second-generation participants outside County Dublin. The majority of interviewees in Dublin only knew other young people from Chinese schools or Chinese church in Dublin. Ella was really interested in my research and had good knowledge of the migration experience of her family compared with the other interviewees. She became the main gatekeeper in reaching young people who were living outside Dublin.

Data Collection Tools

The data collection tools in the main study were semi-structured interviews and documentary research. Below I discuss each in turn. An interview is a conversation that has a structure and purpose. It is an 'inter-view, where knowledge is constructed in the inter-action between interviewer and interviewee' (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009: 2). I conducted seven interviews in Mandarin with a total of eight first-generation interviewees including one group interview. There were 19 interviews conducted in English with 25 second-generation interviewees, including four group interviews. All interviews were recorded on my digital recorder with my interviewees' permission and lasted 40 minutes on average.

In the semi-structured interviews, although there is less freedom to allow interviewees to use their own words and develop their own thoughts, I still gave interviewees space to develop their thoughts by keeping interview questions broad. In carrying out interviews, I observed Rossman and Rallis's (2003) principle of the interview guide, which is to 'elicit the participants' world view and developed categories or topics to explore but remained open to pursuing topics that participants brings up' (2003: 181), One of the purposes of using semi-structured interviews is to 'reduce the data without losing the crucial arguments that are relevant to research' (Scheibelhofer 2008: 410). It made data analysis easier on key themes, as I could draw comparisons in a coherent way between the two generations.

My research guide, comprising five sections, was designed before I started my interviews. The first section aims to get basic demographic information, such as age, gender, length of stay in Ireland, language spoken, and so on. The second section deals with their working and/or study experiences. The third section looks at their views on family. The fourth section discusses their interaction experiences in Ireland which leads to questions about identity/positions in the fifth section. The detailed interview guide is listed in Appendix 2. The last four sections represent the three themes identified in the pilot study, economic, family and identity experiences. The sequences reflect the migration process, as usually the economic incentive motivated people to migrate, then families joined them and their views on migration and settlement were also influenced by their family views. Migrants could shift ideas on their identities during the migration process, the obvious example being the second-generation young people who could develop complex identities as the result of their parents' settlement in Ireland (see Chapter 6).

During the interviews, I did not rigidly follow the order of the interview guide, because it is important to follow interviewees' flow, so interviewees developed ideas and spoke more widely on the issues discussed. Although I had a clear list of issues to be addressed and questions to be answered, using the same interview guide may produce different statements and answers, due to varying levels of sensitivity towards and knowledge about my research question. For example, the second-generation participants were often talking about issue of identity while talking about their study experiences. I need to bring them back to questions on family after they completed the discussion about interaction and identity experiences. The first-generation participants liked to talk about the difficulties in communicating with their children and their economic experience at different phases, and they might not talk directly about identity, so I felt the need to raise identity questions to elicit their answers.

I tried to remain 'a listener, abstaining from interruptions, occasionally posing questions for clarification, and assisting the interviewee in continuing to tell their stories' (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009: 155). I used probing and prompting strategies to encourage some interviewees to talk during the interviews. According to Fielding and Thomas (2001), 'prompting involves encouraging the respondent to produce answers... the mildest technique is merely to repeat the question, if this fails, the interviewer may re-phrase the question slightly' (2001: 128). If interviewees were engaging with some questions more than others, I used a roundabout approach (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). For example, when I asked them a question such as 'how has your Chinese background helped/prevented your employment in Ireland?' some interviewees might have answered back 'I don't know'; it could be that they did not think about this question. In this situation, I needed to ask the question again but in a narrower form, for example, 'if you go for a job interview, and you and your Irish competitor have similar qualification and working experiences, who do you think has a higher chance of getting the job and what are the reasons?'.

Semi-structured interviews are flexible and unpredictable (Byrne 2004), I often experienced an unexpected number of participants showing up at the time of interview. Before I entered the fieldwork, the planned interview setting was one-to-one, however, in some cases more than one respondent would turn up, and because the unplanned interviewees happened to be there, it ended up as a group interview. Group interviews were not designed as part of the data collection tool initially, and indeed I used individual quotes from group interviews in the findings chapters. The group interviews happened frequently with my male second-

generation interviewees: of the 13 male interviewees, I had four group interviews with two people each time. The group interviews benefited my research as more participants were included in my sample. As Denscombe (2007) writes, in such cases 'a broad spectrum of people are covered by the research and…there might be a greater variety of experiences and opinions emerging from the investigation' (2007: 177). On the other hand, it also tested my ability to react to on-field issues. I always welcomed interviewees' friends who joined the interview and thanked them for their time. In some situations a planned interviewee could be shy, so the friend in a way helped me to stimulate the flow of conversation because the planned interviewees would feel more comfortable in the company of their friends. However, as often happens with group interviews, one participant could be too dominant. Identifying such power imbalance, I often referred questions directly to the quiet ones and encouraged them to speak. The reason all group interviewees were male could be attributed to gender roles, as Chinese men may not be used to talking about their feelings.

Documentary Research

Another data collection method used in this study was documentary research, because documents can be treated as a source of data in their own right (Atkinson and Coffey 2004). This data collection tool helped me to identify relevant documents in order to fill the gap left in the Irish Census in recording the population of Hong Kong Chinese. Ireland only started recording the population of migrants officially from Census 2006. Census 2006 and 2011 recorded the Chinese population without distinction between mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese. Ma (2003) generalised the difficulties in recording Chinese migrants worldwide: 'It is almost impossible to ascertain the population size of the Chinese overseas because few nations have kept reliable statistics on them' (2003: 12). Therefore, I turned to other documentary resources to supplement the information on Hong Kong Chinese migration history to Ireland.

Documentary analysis is used 'not only to characterise a research method but also to denote a specific mode of access to written records' (Wolff 2004: 285), because 'documents are things that we can read and which are related to some aspect of the social world' (MacDonald 2001: 196). The term document refers to sources in written form in the traditional sense; it can also be extended to radio or film material (Finnegan 2006). Here I focus on the written documents in either hard copy or online version. People who generate and use documents are concerned

with how accurately they represent reality. The nature of the sources used to obtain the information is one key question to pursue in assessing a piece of research. One common distinction is that between primary and secondary sources (Bell 1993; Finnegan 2006). Primary sources 'form the basic and original material for providing researcher's raw evidence' (Finnegan 2006: 142) and secondary sources 'copy, interpret, or judge material to be found in primary sources' (Finnegan 2006: 142). According to Bell (1993), there is a further division of primary source into deliberate and inadvertent sources. Deliberate documents are produced for the purpose of future research, such as autobiographies and memoirs. Inadvertent documents are produced for a function other than research, such as the records of a government department (see Moriarty 2006b). In this study I accessed mostly primary inadvertent documents such as the *Irish Times* News articles, and government produced official records.

The statistics of the Hong Kong Chinese I gathered for this study mostly rely on the public information from online records of Irish Parliamentary Debates[26] and relevant government websites. These data resources are authoritative, objective and factual (Denscombe 2007). Official documents function as institutionalised traces, which means that they may legitimately be used to draw conclusions about the activities and intentions of their creators or the organisations they represent (Wolff 2004: 284). Volume 405 of the Irish Parliament debates of 14 February 1991 provided the earliest recorded population figures of Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland. According to it, 850 Hong Kong nationals were registered in the Irish State at the time. The statistics on migrants are registered for different purposes in different state departments. The Department of Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation has records of the numbers of work permits issued to Chinese migrants, including the record of work permits for Hong Kong Chinese. The Department of Justice and Equality, which decides policy in relation to immigration, has records of the numbers of naturalised Chinese migrants in Ireland. The Department of Social Protection has records of PPS (Personal Public Service) numbers issued to both Irish nationals and migrants. It is a unique reference number that helps people access social welfare benefits, public services and information in Ireland.

Due to the scarcity of academic research on Hong Kong Chinese, I chose the *Irish Times'* digital archive, which dates back 1859, to find news reports about the lived experiences of

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[26] See http://historical-debates.oireachtas.ie/plweb-cgi/fastweb?TemplateName=search.tmpl&view=oho-view

Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland. I trust its information because arguably, as a paper of record, the *Irish Times* is considered to be the most reliable resource in Ireland. I identified articles reporting the working experiences of Hong Kong Chinese in restaurants and the discrimination they experienced. Through researching the *Irish Times* online archive, I also found news reports on the immigration of mainland Chinese to study in Ireland. In addition, these articles help me to identify the historical background of the economic, political and social links between the Republic of Ireland and the People's Republic of China since 1970s.

Data Analysis Techniques

In terms of my data analysis technique, I follow Silverman's (2005) advice that data analysis should be strongly 'data-driven'. Analysis produces meaning out of the 'raw' data (Denscombe 2007: 287). According to Bogdan and Biklen (1982), analysis occurs 'in the field' and 'after the field'. I identified three steps in the data analysis 'after the field', however, these three steps were interrelated. The key ideas in practicalities of analysing data were to identify themes and concepts.

The generating and analysing of data ran simultaneously to the interpretation of the data, which corresponds to Bogdan and Biklen's (1982) concept of 'analysis in the field'. Analysis in the field refers to engaging in preliminary analytic strategies during data collection, such as narrowing down the focus of the study, and continually reviewing field notes. My preliminary analysis started after several interviews had been conducted. I wrote memos about my reflections of each interview and recorded notes on things that struck me, such as interesting points made, difficulties I experienced, or emergent ideas which were not relevant to my research question. For example, one interviewee told me an interesting story about his family after I turned off the recorder, and due to ethical considerations, I could not use such data. I would write such incidents down and used them to formulate questions during the next interviews.

Now I turn to the three steps of data analysis after the field, which is essentially concerned with the development of a coding system (Bogdan and Biklen 1982). The first step is transcription, which is an integral process in the qualitative analysis of language data. The researcher makes transcription decisions 'depending on purpose, theoretical stance, and analytic intent. In turn, these transcription decisions influence the analysis, interpretations and

implications for theory and practice' (Lapadat 2000: 206). As different languages were used in the data collection to maximise data generation, the transcription issue is more relevant for me and I viewed it as an important phase in getting familiar with my data. Using a language interviewees feel comfortable in ensures the flow of conversation, and also means I could get the most effective data. However, different language use could also present challenges in transcription during the data analysis and later writing up stage. All interviews with the first-generation interviewees were conducted in Mandarin Chinese and I translated and transcribed them into English. The interviews with the second-generation were conducted in English.

The consideration of using what I call 'good English or bad English' in transcription became an interesting question for me. When translating and transcribing interviews of the first-generation participants, I took great care in the translation from their Mandarin oral conversation into the English text, attempting to find the most suitable word to translate these Chinese words. I often experienced the problem of not having the exact English terms for certain Chinese vocabulary, so I used a long sentence to explain. I would admit that translation could be a subjective experience. For example, the first-generation interviewee used short phrase '*wo* (I) *da gong* (work)', when I translated it into English, it was 'I worked for the other in the Chinese restaurant'. To a Mandarin speaker, '*Da gong*' is often used when people work for others in a non-professional job or on a part-time basis. This word often indicated some hardship in their work. While people work for others in professional jobs, they tend to use other Chinese words, '*gong zuo*' or '*shang ban*' rather than '*da gong*'. In some cases, as a result of their lived experiences in Ireland, first-generation interviewees used Mandarin mixed with English, when I translated it, the sentence might not seem grammatically correct when I translated the Chinese text while keeping the original English part. In translating these Chinese texts, I had to ascribe the correct tense of verbs to fit the English grammar rules, because in the Chinese language, there is no use of tenses to directly indicate the time of the event. It is from the meaning of the sentence and within the context of the paragraph that readers find out the timing of the events.

In the transcript of the second-generation interviewees, I did not worry about the accuracy of the English text, because interviewees used their first language, English, in the interviews, so no translation was involved. However, the way they spoke during the interviews was more informal and sometimes not coherent. Spoken language is 'structured and accomplished differently than written text, so when talk is re-presented as written text, it is not surprising

that readers draw on their knowledge of written language to evaluate it' (Lapadat 2000: 206). For example, they tended to use 'like', as a linking device or sometimes an indication of a pause while they were thinking during informal conversations. Also, they used 'you know' during the interviews. Both 'like' and 'you know' may seem informal in the written text.

The translation issue and the difference between written English and spoken English raised questions in quoting their words while writing up my finding chapters. Should I have polished the English, or kept it as originally articulated? I decided on a more flexible method, trying to keep the text as original as possible, because omitting transcription could result in a loss of completeness and accuracy. The original transcripts could show the flow of information, and more importantly, indicate how interviewees developed their thoughts. However I did some editing in the quotes in order to fit into the overall text. For example, in dealing with these informal spoken phrases, 'you know' and 'like', I kept some and omitted some of these words when they occurred frequently in the one quote. My concern of whether I should present 'good English' or 'bad English' illustrates the dilemmas and ambiguities of simultaneously speaking in an academic voice and producing academic publication while retaining research participants' own personal, private voice and knowledge (Ribbens 1998). Transcripts 'preserve the data in a more permanent, retrievable, examinable, and flexible manner' (Lapadat 2000: 204).

The key to success in analysis is becoming thoroughly familiar with the data (Fielding and Thomas 2001). The process of transcription promoted intense familiarity, which led to the methodological and theoretical thinking essential to interpretation, because the capturing of talk is less than straightforward. I started translating and transcribing immediately after each interview. I listened to my recording a few times to get 'a feel for the data and become immersed through reading the data repeatedly to achieve immersion and obtain a sense of the whole' (Hsieh and Shannon 2005: 1279). Therefore I regarded transcription as the process of preparing the data for the formal data analysis. When I listened to the interviews, I sometimes would have different thoughts or see a hidden text which I had not noticed on the day of the interview.

The second stage of data analysis was coding, which determined the success of analysing. Coding represents the process of conceptualization of the data. I started coding after I had transcribed more than five interviews, when sub themes started to emerge. Coding helps to

categorize and sort data (Bryman and Burgess 1994) to give messy data an order, structure, and interpretation (Denscombe 2007). This process is time-consuming, it could be ambiguous, but it was also a creative and fascinating process (Denscombe 2007). Coding also helped to reduce the data through the process of 'selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming' (Miles and Huberman 1984: 22). For example, one of my main research questions and main themes is that of family views. From reading through the transcripts, I coded the following sub themes: definition of family, intergenerational conflicts, and views on Irish families and Chinese families'. I coded three further sub themes under intergenerational conflicts: language use, career choice and personal relationships.

The last stage was the use of thematic analysis to interpret the data. Thematic analysis emphasises 'identifiable themes and patterns of living and or behaviour' (Aronson 1994: 2). In this last stage, the patterns of the data and the themes start to lead to the theory in supporting the arguments. Themes and concepts that are identified and coded in one interview are then compared and contrasted with any similar material in other interviews (Fielding and Thomas 2001). Following the coded themes in the question of family above, at this stage I tried to piece these sub themes together to form a valid argument. For example, interviewees talked about three conflicts: language use, career choice and personal relationships. I read through the transcripts carefully to discover the underlying meanings of the words or content in each category. This helped me to identify similarities and differences in the meaning of data. Arguments could be developed here, such as parents preferring their children to speak Cantonese while children found difficulties in retaining their Cantonese level while at school in Ireland. Since I decided to include a generational factor in this study, I started my preliminary literature search on theories explaining the lived experience of first- and second-generation migrants. My sub themes on intergenerational conflicts illustrated that different views from parents and children could be explained as a mode of cultural production in diaspora, as I discuss in Chapter 2. Therefore in the last stage of the data analysis, I gathered sub themes to obtain a comprehensive view of information and build a valid argument for choosing themes by reading the related literature (Aronson 1994).

Ethical Considerations

Several ethical issues arose from this study. When I first contacted my potential interviewees, apart from explaining the research question, I made sure to stress that their information would

be confidential and that their real names would not be used in this dissertation. My interviewees decided where they wanted to be interviewed. Interviews were mostly held in public places such as cafés and hotel lobbies. Some interviews were held in a seminar room of Trinity College. Sometimes interviews were held in participants' restaurants in the afternoon before they started business at 5pm.

Before I turned on my digital recorder, I commenced the interview by explaining my research interests briefly and receiving their verbal consent, assuring them that their personal information was confidential and anonymous and they could leave the site of interview at any time. Negotiating consent was an opportunity for me to create a relationship with my interviewees. Verbal consent was used instead of written consent because I was concerned that potential first-generation interviewees in particular were not keen to participate in my study. Getting them to agree to be interviewed was not easy, and it took a lot of time to convince them that it was 'a chat' to make them feel relaxed about my research, although 'a chat' was not an accurate sociological definition of the interview, as explained by Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), 'interview goes beyond the spontaneous exchange of views in everyday conversations, and becomes a careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge' (2009: 3). I was afraid that asking them for a written consent might raise their suspicions and impact on their input for my study. The same principle was applied to the second-generation interviewees.

I made sure participants were able to 'decide for themselves what is in their best interest and what risks they are prepared to taken' (Ali and Kelly 2004: 121). For example, in two separate interviews with female second-generation interviewees, when talking about their relationship with their parents, they both became really emotional because their parents did not understand them and did not treat them as equal as their brothers. One interviewee's voice went down and her face turned red and I chose to stop recording for about 20 minutes, then restarted the interview with non-family related questions. The other interviewee told me that thinking of parent-child relationships in her family made her cry, so I turned off the recorder immediately to conclude the interview.

In the data analysis and later writing up stage, data is 'anonymised', so all identifying names and places were taken out to guarantee the privacy of the interviewees. Writing could be complex: some themes were compared within the same generation and some between

different generations. In order to distinguish interviewees by their pseudonyms, I gave all the first-generation popular Cantonese surnames. I added 'Ms' to the name of the female first-generation participants. The use of Cantonese names also indicated the first-generation interviewees' diaspora identities. I used popular Irish and English names for the second-generation interviewees, which reflects the fact that they were mostly born outside Hong Kong and grew up in Ireland. I interviewed respondents living in various cities and towns throughout Ireland. In light of the small size of the Hong Kong Chinese population in Ireland, especially outside County Dublin, their family could be one of the few Chinese household in the area before the mid-1990s. In order to avoid indicating their exact geographical location in the quotations, I used terms such as South Dublin, Inner City Dublin, town in midlands, instead to ensure the confidentiality of my interviewees.

Reflections on the Fieldwork

My positionality as 'insider' and 'outsider' kept shifting during each stage of the research. In this section, I explore my research journey in terms of my active positionality and the interaction between personal experience and research experience in the three research stages. In the first stage, I was trying to set up interviews with potential participants before entering the field. As a Chinese researcher speaking Mandarin and English, with only basic Cantonese, my linguistic capacities still made me an 'insider' to Hong Kong Chinese in comparison to non-Chinese researchers who do not speak any Mandarin or Cantonese. Being a member of the same ethnic group and speaking the same language automatically made me an 'insider' among Hong Kong Chinese and my personal and migration experience gave me a familiarity with Chinese culture which was key to gaining access, because 'interviewing racial minorities requires special awareness of their individual circumstance and their cultures' (Marvasti 2004:27).

At this first stage, I had advantage as an 'insider' in getting contacts with Hong Kong Chinese, and in constructing effective communication with them. At the same time, my personal experience also made me an 'outsider' in comparison with the first-generation respondents. Firstly, first-generation interviewees are much older than me; they are the same generation as my parents. Secondly, I did not share the migration and working experiences of those Hong Kong Chinese, who came to Ireland to work or seek business opportunities and were later joined by their families and raised their children in Ireland. I came to Ireland to

further my education and to aim for a professional job in the future. Thirdly, the first-generation interviewees do not understand the value of social research, which maybe one of the reasons why it was difficult to reach first-generation interviewees at the start. Compared with their parents, second-generation interviewees have a better understanding of social research due to their experiences of school in Ireland, and it was easier for me to get them involved in my study once I explained my research interests and research questions clearly.

In comparison with the second-generation interviewees, I was an 'insider' in terms of our age and growing up experiences in Chinese families. However, before I started my fieldwork I often saw them as 'others'. When I was studying for my degree course, there were some second-generation Hong Kong Chinese in my year, but I had almost no conversation with them because, as a newly arrived mainland student, I saw myself as a guest of Irish nation, but I saw them as part of the Irish nation, because they were born and grew up here and speak like Irish people. However, the second-generation interviewees' integration is not as smooth as I had thought and the study made me realise they also experienced discrimination (see Chapter 6).

My gender did not benefit me in approaching female first-generation interviewees. Many refused my requests due to their busy time commitments in looking after their families, and they were afraid they would not have much to contribute to my study. Although I tried to convince them, they often suggested that I talk to their husbands. These access issues were largely due to language differences as the majority of first-generation female Hong Kong Chinese can only speak Cantonese. While they understood my Mandarin questions, their Mandarin was not fluent and they could not explain complex topics. I suggested we could talk slowly in a combination of Mandarin and English, but still the majority of them did not want to take part in my interviews. Their husbands had more interaction with mainland Chinese at work so they had learnt Mandarin and were able to communicate in Mandarin. My experience was similar to Zhou and Bankston III (2001), who experienced problems in interviewing female participants in their research of Vietnamese families, finding that fathers were 'generally presented as the spokesperson of Vietnamese families and it was generally easier to interview them on family matters.' (2001: 140). While gender mattered in gaining access, Ganiel and Mitchell (2006) noted women's reluctance to talk.

The second stage of fieldwork was the time I spent in the field to collect data. Research practice is guided by a commitment to conducting 'non-hierarchical, non-exploitative and reciprocal research' (Egharevba 2001: 227). However, this research object may not happen because 'power in the research relationship is never statically and evenly distributed, but it shifts and fluctuates depending on the different constellations of identity and power at play' (Thapar-Björkert and Henry 2004: 371). Being reflexive and aiming to deconstruct power relations is a minimal condition but it is not sufficient to actually disrupt power relations (Lentin 2006). The effects of power differentials in terms of race, language, social class, age and experiential difference between researcher and interviewees became obvious at this stage (Naples 1997), because I used 'both commonalities and differences to heighten sensitivity to others' complex and shifting world views' (Naples 1997: 70). The interactions between me and my first-generation interviewees were good examples of the disruption of power relations. My role as a young female researcher from mainland China who arrived ten years ago located me in a subordinate position with the first-generation. In the Chinese culture, respect for older people is of great concern in gaining trust. I could not afford an 'I am the researcher, I am in charge of the conversation' attitude in approaching first-generation interviewees, as it could cause interviewees to refuse to talk to me. Since the size of the Hong Kong Chinese group in Ireland was small and many Hong Kong Chinese know each other for a long time as a result of chain migration, if I did not perform well in the initial interviews, news would spread and this could have blocked my future access. Luckily, this did not happen. I used the strategies of praising their business and their long establishment in Ireland to acknowledge their contribution to my research. I told them that I appreciated their time and that I have learnt a lot from their experiences.

Despite my efforts I felt they treated me mostly as an 'outsider'. They tended to play up their business success and better economic conditions than the average mainland Chinese. It was no surprise that interviewees organised their personal biographies and created stories to justify their lived experiences. The first-generation interviewees talked less about the hardships of their migration to Ireland and the difficulties in setting up their business. One of the questions related to their experience of racism, and I often raised this question in a subtle tone, 'did you have some unhappy experiences?' instead of a 'did you experience racism?' A few interviewees told me that they had no bad experiences and said Irish people treated Hong Kong Chinese better than mainland Chinese. Although I doubted their answer, I did not want to confront them. However, in some interviews, respondents talked about negative

experiences in the context of their economic experience and their interaction with others. I often took notes of this and made a link with the previous direct question about negative experience, but I never pointed this contradiction out to them, wishing to remain a listener and stay neutral.

An example of individuals locating themselves in order to make sense of their lives occurred was when two first-generation interviewees told me they had a good working relationship with the local politicians and contributed to funding their favourite political party. Sometimes, information gathered from the study contradicted information that I came across outside the context of the interviews. Many first-generation interviewees criticised the working attitude of mainland Chinese staff, saying they did not treat restaurant work seriously. Meanwhile my mainland Chinese friends complained that some Hong Kong bosses did not treat mainland Chinese staff with respect, and exploited them in paying less and demanding hard work. Another example was a contradiction between mother and son; the mother told me she shared a close parent-child relationship with her teenage son, because he would tell her everything, but later when I interviewed the son, he gave me a slightly different picture, saying that while he was close to his mother he would not tell her everything.

In contrast to my 'outsider' status with the first-generation participants, I had 'insider' status as the second-generation interviewees. Judging by the information I generated from the data, their interviews were more candid and frank than those of the first-generation. I would attribute such outcomes to our similar age and similar understandings of Irish values, as well as to the influences of the Chinese values of parents. The second-generation told me about the hardship their parents went through and how difficult it was for their families to make a living in a foreign land. I was surprised at the frankness of second-generation respondents in telling me about the discrimination they experienced. I used the same subtle approach as before, asking 'did you have any unhappy experiences?' A large number of them answered me back directly in phrases such as 'of course', 'definitely' and 'yes' and then they gave me a detailed account (see Chapter 6). In questions about their family values and intergenerational conflicts, many of them told me about personal struggles in living between two cultures, how they respect their parents' values while also trying to develop their own values, which could often lead to conflicts (see Chapter 5).

I noticed an interesting use of the short phrase 'you know' during the interviews with both generations, the phrase is informal, I kept this phrase in some of the quotes as I explained above. Here, I discuss its use in relation to the 'insider' versus 'outsider' positionality. For example, when I asked first-generation interviewees about 'what has been you working experience', some of them replied, 'my life is simple, you know what it is like?' When I asked the second-generation 'do you find difficulties to reach agreement with you parents?', many said things like 'you know, Chinese parents, old fashioned'. On the one hand, the use of 'you know' indicates their acceptance of me as an 'insider', as I should be familiar with know first-generation interviewees' migration experience as a Chinese migrant myself, and probably understood their feelings in relation to this migration process. The second-generation interviewees accepted me as one of themselves, who grew up in a Chinese family and faced the dilemma of retaining some Chinese values from parents while developing Irish values from Irish society. On the other hand, this 'you know' could also bring challenges in getting more information from interviewees, because they could use it as a stop mechanism. When I noticed interviewees pausing after 'you know' sentence, I would try to break down the questions. For example, I would ask the first-generation interviewees what their first jobs were in Ireland in order to get them to talk about their economic experiences. I would encourage the second-generation interviewees by confirming 'yes, they are old fashioned, any examples?'

The final stage was the completion of my data collection. After I left the fieldwork, I experienced this 'dancing between involvement and detachment' (Poloma 2003) with respondents from different generations. I have not kept in close contact with the first-generation interviewees: I would chat to them when I visited their businesses but no further friendship developed from that. However I became good friends with some second-generation interviewees, switching modes from researcher to friend; we often meet for meals and coffee and I was invited to one of my second-generation interviewees' wedding in 2012.

As a mainland Chinese researcher researching the first- and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese, my positionality as 'insider' and 'outsider' during three research stages showed that this is an ever-shifting and permeable social location. By recognising the fluidity of 'outsider' and 'insider', it also showed that I was never fully 'outsider' or 'insider', my relationship with my target group was constantly being negotiated and renegotiated (Naples 1997). I disagree that 'insider' and 'outsider' status as self-evident or 'ingrained' (Duneier 1999: 354),

they are socially constructed and constantly in flux. 'Reframing the insider/outsider debate in terms of these more complex identifications, and allowing for multiple types of interaction, contributes to more reflexive approach'(Ganiel and Mitchell 2006: 18).

Conclusion

Crucially, my status as 'insider' and outsider' helped me to access my research group. The data collection tools (semi-structured interview and documentary analysis) and data analysis instruments (thematic analysis) deployed here were sensitive to the fluidity and complexity of the lived experiences of my sample. This exploratory case study therefore allowed the input of multiple resources in exploring the lived experiences of my interviewees. This chapter gave an account of the methodological choice I made in sampling and access, data collection, data analysis and ethical consideration.

The next three chapters present the findings organised around three main themes (economic, family and identity experiences) drawn from the data and engaging with the literature outlined in Chapter 2.

Chapter 4: The Economic Experiences of Hong Kong Chinese

In the second chapter I outlined the theoretical basis for this dissertation, concentrating mostly on two theory clusters, the push-push-pull migration trajectory and the role of chain migration, and diaspora theories. In the third chapter, I discussed the methodological strategies used in this study to reach my research goal. This chapter and the following two chapters link my data collected from field work in a qualitative approach to these two theory clusters. The role of the push-push-pull theory and chain migration in migration trajectories and economic experiences are discussed in this chapter. The views on family values, such as understanding family roles and how these family values can lead to intergenerational conflict, is associated with the cultural production of diaspora in terms of generational factors, discussed in Chapter 5. The diasporic identities in terms of the relationships between homeland (Hong Kong) and host country (Ireland) and their identity negotiations are analysed in Chapter 6, referring to the 'myth of return' and the 'sowing and scattering' feature of diaspora.

This chapter focuses on economic motivation, economic activities and how my respondents developed their economic strategies. The first section analyses the economic development of Hong Kong Chinese in the context of the changing Irish economic climate since the 1970s. Drawing on the push-push-pull model developed in Chapter 2, I discuss the reasons why first-generation entrepreneurs chose to set up their businesses in Ireland, and how their businesses developed in the last four decades. The second section discusses the interaction between the Hong Kong Chinese and mainland Chinese. The arrival of mainland Chinese has been an important landmark in the transition of Chinese communities in Ireland which impacted both positively and negatively on the lived experiences of Hong Kong Chinese. According to Watson (1977), Chinese often acutely notice subtle differences in dialect and ethnic boundaries. For example, ethnic conflicts between Cantonese and Hakka speakers were common in South China. Chinese restaurants have been both a site of economic and symbolic exchange, a complex locus of power and performative societal tensions and identification (Chang 2000). However, this study focuses on the dialect difference between Cantonese and Mandarin. The final section explores the reasons why first-generation interviewees concentrate in the ethnic business and why self-employment was much

preferred among them. I also highlight the role second-generation interviewees played in the ethnic business.

Hong Kong Chinese Restaurants within the Transition of Irish Economy

In order to analyse the economic experiences of Hong Kong Chinese participants in Ireland, it is important to outline Irish economic trends since the 1970s. The 1970s were characterised by substantial numbers[27] of Hong Kong Chinese migrating to Ireland. Drawing on the push-push-pull model, it is known that a large number of the first-generation interviewees migrated from Hong Kong or re-migrated from the UK as a result of potential economic opportunities, both for business and employment in Ireland. Before I look at their economic experiences in Ireland since 1970, it is necessary to illustrate the role the UK has played in pushing many Hong Kong Chinese interviewees to settle down in Ireland. Many participants migrated to the UK in the 1950s and 1960s, taking advantage of being Commonwealth citizens, because Hong Kong was a colony of the UK prior to 1997. Job opportunities were limited in Hong Kong at the time, as explained by Ms Tsui,[28] '[we] could not find jobs [in Hong Kong], we had no choice.' Meanwhile there were more working opportunities, better working conditions and better pay in the UK. The UK experienced labour shortages after the Second World War and an increasing demand for ethnic food. There was an unprecedented expansion in the habit of eating-out, and increasing interest in ethnic cuisine which opened up business opportunities for restaurants and take-aways (Warde et al. 1999). Hon explained:

> **Hon:** It was too difficult to find jobs in Hong Kong in the 1950s. We are from New Territories, came to UK quite early. Hong Kong was UK's colony. UK was a quite easy destination. No other document required. Once you brought your Hong Kong overseas passport. Shop [employer] wrote a guarantee letter, you could go to UK directly; that was pre-1966, after that work permit was required.

Another participant, Tse, admitted that his motivation for migrating was 'for living, survival…You are making money, three times [higher], big difference.' Similarly, Sung explained that 'in the 1950s and 1960s when you worked in the UK for one week, it was equal to what you earned in a month in Hong Kong…When the wage difference is not great,

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[27] The earliest recorded population of Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland I could identify is from parliamentary debates (Volume 405) on the 14th February, 1991. 850 Hong Kong nationals registered in the Irish states. For more detail please see Chapter 1.

[28] Most of quotes in this section are based on my first generation sample, unless otherwise specified.

it is not necessary to come to Ireland.' Sung's view was based on personal observation and was confirmed by other first-generation interviewees.

However, the Chinese catering business in the UK reached saturation point in the 1970s, and some Hong Kong Chinese started to seek opportunities in other countries. The neighbouring country, the Republic of Ireland, started to draw their attention. Ireland seemed to be a virgin land for Chinese restaurant businesses because of the short history of Chinese migrants in Ireland. Some participants had been working in Northern Ireland before finally settling down in Ireland. According to Sung, 'there is 400 year history of Hong Kong people in the UK. That place has most Hong Kong people [already] open many restaurants. So they came to [Ireland] here to develop [business opportunities].'

The social pull factor of Ireland is its safe environment and less discrimination towards Chinese migrants compared with the UK. Earlier studies (see for instance Chiang 2004; Phan and Luk 2008) showed that the discriminatory social environment limited the job perspectives of migrants. For example, for those living in Belfast, the riots there drove some of them to relocate in the Republic of Ireland. Although it was not commonly addressed, Tin mentioned how the weather impacted on his migration decision. 'I left Hong Kong in 1970. I went to Panama. I worked there for four years, but the weather was not good. The living environment was really bad.'

The most common discrimination interviewees experienced at work in both the UK and Ireland was that customers refused to pay bills. The unequal relationship with their customers challenged their business. For example, Ma told me that 'a long time ago, the Irish ate without paying... No matter you beat over them or not, they would not pay. In the past, always fights. They look down on Chinese people.' However, many interviewees reported that such experiences occurred less in Ireland than the UK. Comparing his experiences of discrimination in both countries, in the quote below, Chu demonstrated that there was a more relaxed attitude towards Hong Kong Chinese migrants in Ireland than the UK. Chu also notes the changing attitude of the Irish public towards mainland Chinese over the years.

> **Chu**: The customers did not pay for [food bill] in the UK, so I had to fight with them. If I win, they would pay. If I lose, no money...Every Saturday, the busiest time, always fights. Sometimes, the glass door was broken. We reported to the police, police were always on their sides, not helping us. I felt meaningless... If I had ten rows with them,

nine times you won, once you lost, you got hurt, didn't you feel threatened? They swear at us such as 'you Mongolian etc. It is an abusive word...Chinese Kong Fu was popular. Bruce Li, so they asked you to fight with them... it was every week; it was unusual if that did not happen. It was hard to fight with them, as western people are taller than us. The police saw maybe 15 of us, they took us away one by one, afraid we would beat the western people. Ireland is really good. There was no racism in Ireland at all then, because Ireland was discriminated by others then. They are the victims. So they won't abuse us Asian. They saw us, always yes, yes, English people won't say such thing to you. The older generation Irish were really polite to us, everything was well. Now is different, the younger generation learn the racism, it is serious. As we have been living in Ireland for such a long time, I saw some kids grown up, they are ok. Those new Chinese walk on the street, the kids would swear at them.

Many of my first-generation participants chose to settled down in Ireland. The Irish economic condition has shaped their economic choices and thus their overall economic experience. There are three distinct phases emerging from my data: The first phase is between the 1970s and the mid-1990s, which I call the development of Hong Kong Chinese restaurant businesses. The second phase occurred during the Irish economic boom which was roughly from the mid-1990s to 2008. I refer to this period as the expansion of Hong Kong Chinese restaurant businesses. The third period started in 2008 when Ireland entered into a deep economic and financial meltdown. During this period, Hong Kong Chinese restaurant businesses started to decline.

Development of the Chinese Restaurant Business: 1970s to mid-1990s

Ireland experienced high unemployment and emigration rates in the 1970s and 1980s. The unemployment rate between 1973 and 1979 was 7.3 per cent and the rate increased to 13.8 per cent between 1980 and 1987. It reached its highest rate of 14.7 between 1988 and 1995 (Aghion et al. 2003). Now, in the context of an economic recession, emigration has come to the fore again in the debates surrounding migration. For example, between April 2010 and April 2011, emigration is estimated to have reached 76,400 while the number of immigrants into Ireland increased slightly to 42,300 over the same period. Of the 76,400 people who emigrated in the year to April 2011, Irish nationals were the largest group accounting for 23,100 (CSO 2011). Despite poor economic development, there were good business and employment opportunities for Hong Kong Chinese migrants. Many interviewees said it was easy to make profits due to little competition in the Chinese restaurant sector.

Although Ireland provided potential development for the Chinese restaurant business, many business owners still faced challenges. Firstly, there were high rental fees for business premises. Many of them did not have access to financial resources, so they chose to partner with other relatives to pool their financial means together to start their businesses. The second challenge was the difficulty to buy certain ingredients. Tin explained that:

> **Tin**: It was easy to do business…It was difficult to get those Chinese ingredients…The Chinese grocery wholesale company in Northern Ireland only delivered once a month to the Republic of Ireland. So it was really complex, you need much space to store your rice, oil etc, Ireland was really conservative, many things cannot be imported, for example, ginger.

Sung has a grocery wholesale business in the Republic of Ireland since later 1980s. He explained the inconvenience for restaurant owners in ordering Chinese ingredients before the establishment of his business.

> **Sung**: Every time [business owners] had to order 100 packs of rice, 500 bottles of oil, put them all in the stockroom. The company in Northern Ireland only came down when their car was full. So you cannot say you will receive delivery tomorrow. Now is different, you can order today and we deliver tomorrow.

The foremost challenge Hong Kong Chinese business owners faced was a shortage of staff. In light of international migration of the Chinese, only a few mainland Chinese migrants came to Ireland until the 1990s because international migration did not open to the world until the 1979 economic reforms. One of the results of the Chinese economic rise in the recent decade was an increase in the number Chinese migrating worldwide (Yin 2007). In contrast, Hong Kong Chinese were able to migrate to the UK at the time. Restaurateurs mostly relied on family members and friends to run their businesses. However, the Hong Kong Chinese community overall was small, so it was not easy to hire other Hong Kong Chinese staff, as explained by Tin:

> **Tin**: [In phase one] it was easy to do business, but it was difficult to recruit staff, so you had to work hard yourself. I had to work more than 10 hours a day. Me, my wife, wife's brother and other two Chinese staff, these two Chinese staff had no legal status, so sometimes there were problems…In the 1980s, really few mainland Chinese, mainly from Hong Kong and Malaysia.

Chain migration played an important role in helping some Hong Kong Chinese to migrate to Ireland, providing the staff resources for Hong Kong Chinese restaurants. Many interviewees did not have good knowledge about Ireland. They migrated to Ireland on the advice of relatives and friends who had already settled in Ireland. 'These kinship networks were central to the start-up and daily operation of their businesses' (Phan and Luk 2008: 312). Family members therefore were a major source of support for these entrepreneurs who relied on family for labour, capital and advice (Phan and Luk 2008; Song 1997). Family members were 'substantial in terms of labour, management and ownership. They were often important contributors and recipients. Therefore kinship networks have become invaluable as an actual or potential resource' (Ip et al. 1992: 7). Fung, a first-generation interviewee, told me that 'when one came out, the whole family come out. When Chinese restaurants opened, all came to work.' The following quotes show common migration trajectories.

Ms Dou: My husband came to the UK in 1966 to study; his dad was in the UK. I went to the UK on my own in 1979, because I have already met my husband...After one or two months, we got married in the UK. There are three brothers in his family. The youngest brother was already in Ireland, he worked in takeaway in suburban Dublin.

Zoe, a second-generation interviewee, talked about the migration trajectories of her family and her family story was not unusual among other Hong Kong Chinese families.

Zoe: My parents did not first come here, they were in Wales. My older brother was born in Wales. They shipped him back to Hong Kong, they went back to Hong Kong after they were 10 years [in Wales], my brother and my grandma [joined my parents to] come back to Wales then. My parents did not like Wales, because it is too quiet, too small...My uncle was working in Ireland at that time, he asked my dad to come over to Ireland.

Family connections built from chain migration enabled businesses to remain competitive. The contribution of family members to the business can reduce labour costs in two ways: family members often work for much less than market wage, and they tend to be very reliable, meaning less labour turnover (Waldinger 1986; Boissevain and Grotenberg 1987). The restaurateurs' preference for co-ethnics is due partially to the convenience of shared culture and language as a basis for building trust (Bourdieu 1989). Language can serve as a symbol for group affinity. Speakers who are multilingual have the ability to use language to indicate membership of particular communities according to their needs in different contexts and roles

(Gee 1996). Language also distinguished between Hong Kong Chinese and mainland Chinese, a trait I discuss later in this chapter.

In terms of shortage of staff, many first-generation interviewees would hire Irish staff, but they often considered Irish staff unreliable. According to Tin,

> **Tin**: I had to mind it. I hired a lot of Irish staff. You need to communicate with them, as they are not reliable. It could cause trouble. It was not easy. It was not possible to rely on staff. Usually we closed the business for two weeks in the summer [to travel].

Ms Tsui also found that 'if Irish staff were not comfortable, they were drunk, they won't come to work or because of something, something. They wouldn't come to work. They are not reliable.' Chu saw the Chinese work ethic as an advantage over Irish workers. 'We have our advantage, at least we work harder. We do things seriously. Irish do not treat work seriously. Maybe because state welfare is good, makes people lazy.' Ma elaborated that:

> **Ma**: Irish people enjoy, have you heard this saying 'working is 36, not working still 36' which means you get the same no matter you work or not work...The Irish work till they have enough money for drinking today. They won't keen on to earn more...They like to use credit cards. If there is business, I work more to earn more money. They, Irish people won't be pushy, force themselves to do...That's enough. So won't continue then. If it is 40 hours, they do 40 hours. Their work attitude is different from us.

The potential of business activities attracted the Hong Kong Chinese and the medium of chain migration also made these restaurant businesses possible. Although the Irish economy was overall not at its strongest, the lack of competition in the Chinese restaurant business at the time yielded strong economic revenue for the restaurant owners. There were big changes during the second phase, starting in the mid 1990s. Chu's quote is a concise summary of this transition. 'We first came to Ireland, Ireland was really poor [phase one], 10 years ago the economy went well [phase two], a golden time. We did earn a bit of money then. So did not think to go somewhere else.' Chu's experience showed the core character of diaspora, they started to put down roots in Ireland beyond economic considerations.

Expansion of the Chinese Restaurant Business: Mid-1990s to 2008

Ireland experienced an economic boom from the mid-1990s. Unemployment decreased from 14.7 per cent in 1988-1995 to only 4.2 per cent in 2000. The rate remained at around 4 per

cent between 2001 and 2007 (Aghion 2003). 1996 was the first year Ireland became a net immigration country (CSO 2011). During this general economic boom Chinese restaurant businesses expanded. Meanwhile competition among them also intensified. The result was that many interviewees noticed their business profits were getting slimmer despite increasing demand for Chinese food. The easy operation of business was due to the following factors. Firstly, the opening of some Chinese grocery wholesale companies in the Republic of Ireland in the late 1980s solved the ingredient delivery problems. Businesses could order a delivery without time constraints and less space was required for stocking up ingredients such as bags of rice and big bottles of oil because they could order goods according to their schedule. Secondly, the biggest challenge in phase one, the hiring of staff, was overcome by an influx of mainland Chinese since 1999. Hon observed, 'more Chinese restaurants were set up since 1996 and 1997 when the Irish economy started to boom, also more mainland Chinese coming. When my brother opened his business in midland in the 1980s, it was really good, not many take away...Was easier to make money.' The following quote from Tin shows the difference between the two phases.

> **Tin**: Business is still alright, but the profit declined. There are more restaurants. My business was the only Chinese take-away in this town. In 1990, there is another Chinese restaurant, in 1993 and 1994, another Chinese restaurant. Now there are five or six restaurants. The competition is fierce. Nearly all the local people know Chinese food. More people eat Chinese food. The newly opened restaurants take some of your business. Although there are more customers, your business is the same, due to the competition, you have less profit. In the 80s, it was easy to do business, but the cost of the lease was more expensive. Once you started, it was easy. Now the situation is different. You could get your lease. The competition is fierce. It is not easy to run your business well.

Chinese restaurants and take-aways were opened not only by Hong Kong but also by mainland Chinese at this period. The influx of mainland Chinese brought both benefits and challenges to Hong Kong Chinese businesses. This increase in the Chinese population brought a direct benefit for Chinese grocery businesses, as explained by Ms Dou. Her business expanded greatly in the 2000s. Her shop was very small when it first opened in the 1980s. The sources of her goods also changed according to customer taste.

> **Ms Dou**: Chinese eat rice and buy some Chinese food. It does help with our business. If everyone buys a pack of rice from you, it is a lot. In the past, the population was too small, there was [nearly] all Hong Kong people, no mainland Chinese. Therefore, we

imported goods all from Hong Kong then. Now it is different, we imported really little from Hong Kong, majority are from mainland.

The biggest advantage was that the mainland Chinese resolved the problem of staff shortages, which had been the biggest concern for business owners until the 1990s. According to Chu, 'it is easier to hire staff, many people look for jobs. In the past, if we wanted to develop our business, it was hard to apply for work permit for [full time staff]. Mainland Chinese [students] coming, helped a lot with our business.' Business owners were no longer worried about finding staff. Mainland Chinese relied on restaurant income to support themselves. Also some mainland Chinese staff required Hong Kong Chinese to apply for work permits in order to work full time.[29] Tin concluded that, 'from 2000, there were mainland Chinese students coming and they can work as well. It changed the whole Chinese environment in Ireland. You had no problem of hiring staff. The Chinese restaurant increased rapidly in a short period of time.'

There were also tensions between Hong Kong Chinese and mainland Chinese during this period. Firstly, the majority of mainland Chinese were young, making them more employable than some elderly Hong Kong Chinese staff like Chiu. According to my interviewees, many Hong Kong Chinese workers came to Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s. When I met them, they were often middle aged. Chiu, in his 60s, complained that younger mainland Chinese staff means less work opportunities for him. There is little research on the care that this ageing group of Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland receives, but there has been discussion about a care home for the elderly in Belfast (see Chan 2006).

> **Chiu:** Long long time ago, Chinese restaurant boss gave the stay [accommodation]. They gave food, three times a day in the restaurant. [It is] different today…Nowadays, anywhere you work in the restaurant, you need to get your own place. I would like to have a job; no one employs me now… They won't employ elderly people. They employ young students from China. They paid them little money. But if I work, I must be paid full money, must ask my boss to pay tax, just cheap labour, of course, I still feel a bit upset. Anyway, everything is over now. I got pension. That's it.

There were differences in the work attitudes between Hong Kong Chinese and mainland Chinese and this could cause conflicts at work. Restaurant businesses are the core business

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[29] For non-European citizens, work permit is needed to work full time in Ireland legally, but students from non-European countries can work 20 hour per week (see http://www.inis.gov.ie/en/INIS/Pages/Stamps)

activities for Hong Kong Chinese. The income from the business is their main survival mechanism. In contrast, many mainland Chinese are full-time students; they work to pay their expenses. Tong found that '[mainland] Chinese work part time. They do not seem to concentrate on this work…They think they would work one more year and go back. Different attitudes.' Tin also mentioned the similar issue:

> **Tin:** [Not difficult in hiring staff], the problem also emerged, those students from mainland did not have much experience, their work attitudes are questionable. They looked for money, but they did not treat the work seriously. It is their biggest drawback. Today, you hire them, but tomorrow, someone pays them higher money, they left you. This is different from our Hong Kong staff. Hong Kong staff work for you, if they want to leave you, they would give you longer notice to give you more time. Mainland staff do not leave you any notice; Thursday they give you notice Sunday they leave. No time to find other staff... Hong Kong people know they work for you, they may come back to you one day as they are working for others.

The restaurants, especially take-aways opened by the mainland Chinese, meant economic threats to Hong Kong Chinese businesses in Ireland. Many Hong Kong Chinese interviewees were aware of the competition, but they did not directly complain about it. They often criticised the mainland Chinese business standards. Compared with the restaurant business which has 'more extensive menus included more specialised dishes, seafood, and special regional cuisines' (Lin 1998: 69), the take-away usually requires less staff and has lower running cost to start. Take-aways sell 'low cost quickly meals of a simple nature' (Lin 1998: 69). Based on my own experience, the majority of take-aways rely on Irish customers. Therefore the take-aways run by Hong Kong Chinese were competing with mainland Chinese. From my observations in Chinese restaurants opened by mainland Chinese, they often have more authentic Chinese dishes with a menu in both Chinese and English, although many customers are non-Chinese, but a large number of their customers are Chinese. Meanwhile Hong Kong Chinese restaurants mostly attract non-Chinese customers. Their dishes developed out of serving primarily non-Chinese clients. 'Hong Kong Chinese restaurants catered for a more cosmopolitan clientele' (Chiang 2004: 164). According to Tin, '[food] here is the combination of Chinese and Western style. The kitchen had to cook both.' Hong Kong Chinese restaurants, in style and commercial orientation, are more contemporary and upscale (Phan and Luk 2008). Ms Tsui also knew that 'mainland Chinese restaurants are a little bit cheaper, theirs are for the Chinese. Hong Kong Chinese pay more attention to Irish

appetite, their taste.' In addition, the decoration of Hong Kong Chinese restaurants could be of a higher standard. The following quote explains these differences:

Chu: We Hong Kong people open high standard restaurants; this could be an advantage. The mainland Chinese don't do it as professional. We are quite professional in this industry. Before the Chinese restaurant were opened by us Hong Kong people. We're at high level. Now the standard has been down. In the past, we invested a lot in decoration. Customers dressed up to eat in our restaurant. Not like these days, it is quite casual. .. We charged a lot, the profit was really high...Now the profit is not good. It is harder. Mainland Chinese opened many restaurants. Now the Chinese (food) has been popularised. In the past, the ordinary people would not afford Chinese, less take away that time.

Hon had similar views. His words also reflected the distrust among some Hong Kong Chinese towards mainland Chinese businesses,

Hon: In the past, earlier people [Hong Kong Chinese] would not open the restaurant in Moore Street [where mainland Chinese started opening restaurants], because of the difference in price. Our Hong Kong people won't go there to compete with [mainland Chinese]. Put business in Dublin 1, it was not easy to run business. The food sold at really cheap prices. According to their price, to have profit, need to pay tax, it is impossible to make the business. We Hong Kong people can't do that. Most of us have legal status, if we have bad reputation, we will be in trouble. We need to obey the laws more...[the other Chinese business] is really risky.

Hon's doubts about mainland Chinese business practices are similar to the findings of Rath and Cloosterman (2000). They argued that in a competitive field like catering, the co-nationals or co-ethnics are often the main competitors. The competition sometimes is largely based on price rather than on quality. In order to survive in the market, some of them have to accept a small profit margin which results in the use of low-wage labour and deployment of informal working practices. They may not always conform to the prevailing laws and regulations (Rath and Kloosterman 2000; Ram et al. 2001). It should be noted that Hou and other Hong Kong Chinese's doubts were based on their informal information channels.

To sum up, the period from the mid-1990s to 2008 was critical for Hong Kong Chinese restaurant businesses. On the one hand, the Irish economic boom brought them more business opportunities and the demand for Chinese food also increased. On the other hand, their near monopoly of the Chinese catering business was broken by the incoming mainland Chinese. The incoming Chinese not only worked in Hong Kong Chinese restaurants, but some opened

their own restaurants or take-aways. All in all, this period of expansion for Chinese catering businesses went into decline from 2008.

Decline of the Chinese Restaurant Businesses: 2008-to date

In 2008, when the Irish economy entered into recession, there were negative impacts on Hong Kong Chinese restaurants. The unemployment rate was 6.4 per cent in 2008 and jumped to 12 per cent in 2009. In 2012, it was 14.8 per cent (CSO 2013). The net migration rate decreased to minus 7.8 per cent in 2007 (compared to 8 per cent in 1996). The net migration rate further decreased to minus 34.1 in 2011 (CSO 2012a). As discussed above, Hong Kong Chinese restaurants' main customer group was the Irish. When Irish customers were affected by the bad economy, they would cut down on personal expenditure such as eating out. In other words, there would be less revenue for the restaurants. During the interviews, many of my participants pointed out the quietness of their businesses. Many of them had to close their business. According to my observations between 2011 and 2012, three well-known and long-established Hong Kong Chinese restaurants in Dublin closed down: the 'Imperial Restaurant'[30] on South Wicklow Street, 'Fan Restaurant' and 'Kingsland Restaurant', both on College Green. Two of them had already changed to different owners, one is still a Chinese restaurant and the other has become a fast-food burger restaurant. Also, a Chinese grocery group, 'Oriental Emporium', closed its branch on Georges Street, which had been its first branch in Ireland. Ma had to close his business and work in a different field. He found that 'the economy is in recession now, people are in trouble...People do not have enough money to spend...Before everyone has money, no matter what Chinese people were doing.' Ms Dou argued that

> **Ms Dou**: Now the industry is not good, so they sold their business or rent it to someone else. They don't work anymore. For their health, they all had hard life. Now the charge is higher, you can't earn much money. Also, there is more competition...now customer have more choices. They don't need to have your Chinese food...the peak time for the Chinese restaurant is 90 and 91 that period. So the 1985-1995, they all made money. Now it was not easy to do business, the electricity price has increased, gas as well. The water charge started. You have to pay income tax, you also have to pay levy. Everything has a lot of charge.

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[30] Imperial restaurant is one of Dublin's longest running Chinese restaurants which could have been trading more than 50 years (Commercial Property 2012). According to my informants, the restaurant was a popular Chinese wedding venue because it can occupy 200 diners.

It is still too early to assess how long the impact of the Irish economic downturn would be felt by the Hong Kong Chinese restaurants. Arguably these restaurants have to compete fiercely in shrinking markets with little hope of progressing beyond mere economic survival (Kloosterman 2000). Hong Kong Chinese still living in Ireland do so not for economic but for family reasons, as I discuss in the next chapter.

From the above discussions it has become clear that their businesses have been developing along with the Irish economy during the last four decades. They have been pioneers in establishing Chinese restaurants which bring Chinese cuisine to the Irish. The arrival of mainland Chinese diversified the Chinese restaurant business in Ireland. In the next section, I explore the interaction between these two groups.

Interaction between Hong Kong Chinese and Mainland Chinese

Hong Kong Chinese hold ambivalent views towards mainland Chinese. On the one hand, they welcomed the mainland Chinese as cheap labour; on the other hand, they questioned their work attitudes. The mainland Chinese transformed the Chinese community in Ireland, challenging the dominant position of Hong Kong Chinese. Tong[31] observed that 'in the 1990s, already Chinese migrants came to Ireland, not that many...Before 1997, you seldom saw Chinese people. After 1997, all the sudden, a lot of Chinese.' Sung expressed concern about the marginalisation of Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland, an issue which also indirectly indicates the rise of mainland China migrants to the country lately.

> **Sung**: Nowadays, less than 100 Hong Kong people come to Ireland each year...so gradually we [Hong Kong people] were the minority group. You [mainland Chinese] have to protect us... Before, the Chinese people in Ireland means us. Now if talking about Chinese people in Ireland, it does not mean us.

The interaction between my Hong Kong Chinese interviewees and mainland Chinese mainly occurred in the workplace. Socially, there is little interaction between these two groups. Mainland Chinese were seen as cheap labour for Hong Kong Chinese restaurants, but a

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[31] In this and the next section, quotes from first- and second-generation interviewees sometimes appear within the same paragraph. In order to identify them, the names of first-generation interviewees are associated with common Cantonese surnames, and the names of second-generation interviewees are popular English or Irish first names.

majority of my interviewees did not share a close relationship with them. Chu admitted that 'I don't have much interaction with mainland Chinese. They work, after work, they go home.'

When I asked them why there was so little interaction after work, many first-generation interviewees identified the different language as a major obstacle. Cantonese is the *lingua franca* for Hong Kong Chinese and mainland Chinese people speak Mandarin. 'A separate language is common criterion for ascription to an ethnic group' (Christiansen 1996: 19). Beck (2007) who compared older Hong Kong Chinese Cantonese migrants and new mainland Chinese migrants from Fujian Province in Chinatown Liverpool found that 'Cantonese culture and language have become the crucial markers that set apart those who can draw upon some form of Cantonese culture and those who cannot' (2007: 145). There is a 'sub ethnic hierarchy' existing with the Cantonese firmly at the top and the Fujianese at the bottom. This sub-ethnicity is an important determination of the density of social ties between the established Cantonese community and recently arrived Fujianese (Beck 2007). The hierarchy determines access to community support, from everyday but vital things such as opportunities for jobs in the ethnic economy, to sources of recreation like a game of mah-jong and a cup of tea in Chinatown (Beck 2007). Chan et al. (2007) also found that mainland Chinese see the use of Cantonese in some Cantonese organisations as problematic. Mainland Chinese people encountered difficulties in participating in what they saw as Cantonese organisations due to the medium of language.

In addition to language, there are also educational and occupational differences between mainland Chinese and their Hong Kong Chinese counterparts who have predominantly rural origins (Chan et al. 2007). Fung, a first-generation interviewee, knows that mainland Chinese come from various cities, but he found that '[mainland Chinese] can't speak Cantonese. That's problem. Communication is really hard.' Tong, another interviewee, has learned more Mandarin so he has more interaction with them. Two female interviewees had some social interaction with their mainland Chinese staff: Ms Dou would care about mainland Chinese staff. She would ask 'how are their kids' schools? How to help them apply? ...we would organise some events, organise BBQ, gather together to celebrate, really rare friends from mainland China.' Only Ms Tsui formed close friendship with some mainland Chinese staff.

> **Ms Tsui:** I would go for meal with them on Sundays. I would invite them out, have a chat....they have been working for us for a long time, about 10 years, 8 years. They like

to work for us, they feel stable. If they have problem within their families, we would help them. We are really close like friends, like family members.

The language difference does cause social or cultural segregation between the two groups and reinforces bonds within both groups (Beck 2007). The language difference excluded members who are non-Cantonese, virtually impenetrable to the non-Cantonese speakers because of distinct Cantonese traits and language barriers (Beck 2007). The result is an internal structure in the Chinese community that is difficult to penetrate, even for other Chinese who are of non-Cantonese origins, producing a situation of 'Cantonese chauvinism' (Guldin 1997: 27). Brewer (1999) studied the attribution of responsibility and morality among Hong Kong Chinese and mainland Chinese. His Hong Kong Chinese participants showed bias in favour of Hong Kong Chinese over mainland Chinese. In-group favouritism extended only to those who shared Hong Kong identity and not all Chinese.

The solidarity formed within Hong Kong Chinese groups can be seen as another explanation for the ambivalent attitudes of first-generation Hong Kong Chinese towards mainland Chinese as 'growth of ethnic business has been facilitated by trust, familiarity with in-group norms, and ethnic identification' (Song 1997a: 690). Trust is a necessary condition for the sustainability of ethnic networks, without which they could not function effectively (Cheung 2004). 'The success of Hong Kong businesses is to be attributed to their ability to mobilize as a group and support one another' (Phan and Luk 2008: 317). This solidarity was established by chain migration. Kinship networks and friendship networks were the driving force behind their migration. Relatives and friends usually helped to arrange initial jobs and accommodation. Individuals rely on personal networks for contacts in seeking jobs and other opportunities, for quick assistance when they are under pressure, for daily needs such as childcare and other practical help, and for emotional support (Wong and Salaff 1998). Such networks provide sources of business inputs including labour from the co-ethnic family and financing from family members and rotating credit associations (Ng 1999; Park 1997).

Chain migration establishes a cohesive kinship and co-ethnic network. Restaurateurs received 'strong cultural support to enter business' (Metcalf et al. 1996: 10). 'Business relation is often built upon a pre-existing social structure of dense and durable social relations, with a clear sense of group identity and relatedness. Trusting is largely a matter of obligation' (Ly-yun and Tam 2004: 24). Ethnic groups came to replace each other as they moved up and out of

the ethnic economy that had sustained them (Waldinger 1996). This process opens up opportunities for newer groups to take advantage of store vacancies and gaps in services left by departing business (Phan and Luk 2008: 296). Asian entrepreneurialism is seen more as a survival strategy in the face of deindustrialisation and displacement from the low-level manual jobs for which Asian immigrants were initially recruited (Phizacklea 1988; Ram 1992, 1994). The family connections formed a strong bond. It was not easy for newly-arrived mainland Chinese to break this bond. Many interviewees like Chiu argued that, 'the first time, my friend introduced me from England here, they got job for me.' Therefore it is clear that the Hong Kong Chinese, despite, or perhaps because of, their small size, are a close-knit community. As Fung, a first-generation interviewee indicated that 'we help each other, they find work for me as waiter. I have helpers.'

None of the first-generation interviewees openly identified the privilege they used to have as Hong Kong Chinese. 'Hong Kong people are sometimes referred to as Westernised, and mainlanders contrast this greater cultural purity in China' (Smart and Smart 1998: 113). Their privileged position could arguably add distance between them and mainland Chinese. Sometimes mainland Chinese migrants are labelled by Hong Kong people as less educated workers with a lower level of moral capital (Tse 2010). Historically Hong Kong was ruled by the UK prior to 1997 and it is one of the most advanced economic regions in Asia. Yip talked about mainland Chinese's unacceptable behaviour, '[mainland Chinese] asked for money, before never happened...They eat and complain about the food...Chinese against Chinese. People from northern China and Fujian.' Chu, a first-generation interviewee, dislikes that the mainland Chinese have brought negative images of Chinese migrants to Ireland.

> **Chu**: [Mainland Chinese helped our business], but they have some bad stuff, such as fighting, killing, caused a lot of murders. We have set up our image, was damaged a bit by the mainland Chinese. The Irish cannot tell the difference, all sallow skins are Chinese.

Although what Tong said below may not be accurate, it nonetheless highlights the dislike towards mainland Chinese among some of my first-generation interviewees.

> **Tong**: Many mainland Chinese had their children born here, so they got legal status, they can drive taxi. Some of them made false plate. The police told me that 'you Chinese are the worst'. They found about 10 [roughly] cases, all fake...Chinese people

always made a lot of fake stuff...I worked in Chinese restaurants, so I knew many Chinese...but there are language barriers between us, it is not that we look down on them, they don't communicate with us...I wanted to help out, you Chinese think you know everything... as in China, people always cheat others. They don't know anything, but they would say they know everything...They like to exaggerate...I do have friends coming from China. There are good ones and bad ones.

If mainland Chinese immigrants used to feel inferior to their counterparts from Hong Kong because they perceived the latter as coming from a more sophisticated and wealthier society, that belief may has now gone. China's successful 'long march' from an impoverished nation to a place of opportunities and a country that can contribute to the rest of the world has had an impact on mainland Chinese immigrants (Yin 2007). Even though some mainland Chinese immigrants may not benefit from China's economic rise, it still brings them a sense of hope and satisfaction (Yin 2007). Cantonese, once the 'standard Chinese' used in daily life in Chinatowns throughout North America, no longer enjoys that status (Yin 2007). Ella, a second-generation interviewee, talked about the experience of her father who may have enjoyed the privilege as Hong Kong Chinese, but she found the advantage of being Hong Kong Chinese was gradually challenged by the strong growth of mainland China. 'I think Hong Kong people tend to think they are more superior. Nowadays, it is the opposite. The Chinese economy does better than Hong Kong'.

Similar to their parents, some second-generation interviewees noticed the arrival of mainland Chinese as one of the changes in Irish society. They noted Ireland's transition from an emigration to an immigration country in the last ten years. According to Maria, 'you notice more different people.' In the past, many of their family could be the only few Chinese families in the area. Patrick thought that 'only the last couple of years, immigration take off. You look around, see a little bit more Chinese people. When I was younger, there were ten Chinese in the area. Me and my brother were the only two Chinese people in our school.' Lucy's experience was interesting. She grew up in a small town in the Midlands. She worked in the States for several years and came back to a new Ireland:

Lucy: While I was in America between 2005 and 2006, Ireland became cosmopolitan. I felt really different; it was not that many Chinese people before, but when I came back in 2006, really cosmopolitan you can image (still in west Ireland) few Chinese people, but really visible in Dublin.

For many second-generation respondents who are not from Dublin, coming to Dublin could be their first experience to see different Chinese people. Lilly found that 'when I moved to this town in Kildare, there would be a lot of Chinese. There would be a lot of Chinese restaurants opening. I remember my first day, I noticed so many Chinese people and in Dublin, you see them everywhere'.

The diversity of Chinese migrants in Ireland made many of my Irish or UK-born second-generation interviewees stand out less as Chinese. Aaron told me that 'there were only two Chinese kids in my school. You kind of thought you left out, as everyone is white, and then nowadays, people everywhere. A lot more Chinese people nowadays.' Zoe also found that 'all of a sudden, not just about Chinese people, there are a lot of African, Indian people coming in, probably make people think Oh, I'm not the only one, which is great! They used to stare at you'.

Compared with their parents, my sample of second-generation respondents interacted even less with mainland Chinese. While their parents appreciated the work ethic of mainland Chinese and also complained that mainland Chinese's restaurants might threaten their business and ruin the image of Chinese migrants in Ireland, the majority of second-generation respondents did not have any direct interaction with mainland Chinese. It was as if the two groups were living in parallel worlds. Lilly's view was quite common: 'they have not really affected me. I haven't really taken notice.' Ryan saw the difference as follows: 'My parents' generation is different from the generation that came over now; a lot of them are mainland Chinese [origin]... we are still a different breed.' It is therefore not surprising when Sean said:

> **Sean**: If my college friend does know them [some mainland Chinese], I might say hi to them. The same you treat anyone on the street, I won't go to say hi to all random people. Same way, I won't say hi to all Asian people. I wouldn't feel any deep relationship.

Many of my respondents have some mainland Chinese classmates, but their interaction did not seem frequent. Eve, a second-generation interviewee, thought their different lifestyles allowed little commonality between them. 'I don't have anywhere to meet, obviously, they do come to the shop, they are a lot older, they have children, they just come to get their shopping and go. You don't really talk to them.' Even Rose, who knows some mainland Chinese people from her father's business, argued:

Rose: People work there all from China…at the beginning, they don't know much Cantonese, they learn Cantonese because of my father. Now it is backwards, everyone learns Mandarin, just one guy works there, who I think is funny, kind of young, anyone else in their 40s, they have children, not much I can talk to them.

Similar to their parents, they often associate this lack of communication with the language barrier. Language is the main vehicle for reaching out to diverse groups. Shared language provides access, but it did not translate into deep and multiple relationships (Phan and Luk 2008). Ella thought that 'we don't speak the same language, don't communicate that much'. William found that 'if they can speak a bit more English, no bother, I can. I would like to socialise with them, I will go out of my way to understand them. Their English is really bad. I don't know Mandarin at all.' Lucas thought that the lack of interaction was also coming from mainland Chinese, 'they see us different…they kind of outside a bit. Feel not belonging here. Because you were born here, you would feel more in the society.' Emma told me:

Emma: They speak Mandarin more. Even though, they usually hang out with their own Chinese people. They speak Mandarin to each other…I don't want to. I can speak Mandarin as well, minimum language barrier, can't get it through, can't communicate as well.

These findings are similar to Louie (2001) who argues that Chinese Americans' interactions with each other are limited, highly mediated, and often filled with ironies and awkwardness due to the sometimes discrepant understandings about their interactions, language barriers, and power inequities. In the following section, I focus on the analysis of the economic experience of the first-and second-generation interviewees.

Business Strategies and Career Choices: Self-Employment by Default?

Almost all my first-generation Hong Kong Chinese interviewees chose to be self-employed in Chinese catering businesses, a traditional ethnic niche job to create work opportunities for themselves. An ethnic niche is a 'concentration of ethnics in one sector in the labour market' (Wang 2004: 482). Catering is a low entry-barrier sector (Kitching et al. 2009) which requires a 'relatively small amount of venture capital, no specific qualifications, simple technology' (Leung 2003: 108). Leung (2003: 108) regarded the Chinese migrants involved in the restaurant business as 'ideal typical' migrants who 'lack appropriate educational qualifications, language proficiency and financial capital'. Also there is difficulty and

unfamiliarity with the work environment and discrimination (Phan and Luk 2008). For restaurant staff like Ma, it was 'easy to get jobs in Chinese restaurants.' The majority of them only had second-level education. Ms Suen, who had third-level education, explained that 'many of those who came to Ireland are farmers. They did not get education. We were the educated ones. They looked after us; they would ask us if we can teach their children some Chinese.' Often, their English was fine to deal with customers in their daily business, but overall their English capacity was basic, definitely not as proficient as that of their children. Another important factor was their limited financial means, which meant they were only able to open small scale businesses often requiring family support in order to reduce costs. Often as described by Ms Tsui, 'when they [some first-generation Hong Kong Chinese] came here, they started from nothing'. Or in the case of Tse, he saved some money and he was still 'looking for business, we did not have that much money'.

Despite low educational qualifications, linguistic deficits and insufficient financial capital, first-generation Hong Kong Chinese interviewees built on their knowledge of Chinese cuisine and culture. Tong explained that 'our English was not good, we only had basic education. It was not possible to become a manager. It was easier to run a restaurant, you know how to do it...we know how to run this business.' Many previous studies viewed the Chinese background as a disadvantage in confronting discrimination. Here they used it as an advantage to support themselves economically. Tin summarised the view of many first-generation interviewees, stating that 'generally, when we came to Ireland, we did not have great hope, same as me, we hoped for work and then have own business, create my own path.'

Entrepreneurship is a given, a requirement of immigration itself (Ley 2006). It takes place in economic and social settings, and most accounts have incorporated these contexts as part of an opportunity structure that may be enabling or constraining in employment options (Ley 2006). Chinese groups commonly experienced exclusion and racism in the societies in which they traded. Such blocked mobility in the mainstream society is frequently invoked as a pre-condition for minority self-employment (Collins 2003), and it continues to encourage them to see self-employment as a 'preferred occupational strategy' (Ley 2006: 745). Waldinger (1996) noted the process of niche succession as immigrant groups found market opportunities vacated by earlier minorities. Niche development implies a break out from immersion in the ethnic enclave economy to 'mainstream' markets (Engelen 2001). Self-employment is therefore seen as a defensive reaction which provides a vital opportunity for economic

advancement (Hibert 2003). Other views on entrepreneurship may be not as positive as the above arguments. Light and Gold (2000: 106) regard ethnic entrepreneurship 'as a form of disguised unemployment'. Although migrants create economic opportunities in niche markets for themselves, they still may not be able reach mainstream customers in their host countries.

The possibilities for migrants to work in niches depend not only on the nature of the sector, but also on work options outside it. Systematic discrimination is seen as restricting the chances of migrants (Schrover et al. 2007). A Chinese restaurant should therefore be understood as a 'negotiated product of the restaurateurs, customers and policy-makers' (Leung 2003: 113). The stereotype of Chinese in Irish society propelled them into Chinese ethnic businesses. Yip tried to look for jobs in other fields in the 1980s and an interviewer asked him 'are there no jobs in Hong Kong?' as a way of rejecting his application. Chu argued that institutional discrimination forced the Hong Kong Chinese to work in ethnic businesses.

> **Chu**: Let me tell you, the mainstream, the majority is Irish, ok?…but you have to be clear, in the foreign culture [Irish culture], foreigners [Irish people] only recognise your Chinese store. If you get into their industry, they exclude you. You must have a lot of troubles. I had friends who worked in different industries, if you are just a worker, no problem, if you do hotel, pubs, it is really difficulty, for example, my restaurant, I had an 11:30pm wine license, the restaurant was busy, the pub saw many customers went for drinks somewhere else, they would be jealous. So they complained, asked the police come to check the license, etc….they thought I steal their business...They trick you. Customers were drinking happily, around 12pm, the police came, customers would wonder why the police came.

Entrepreneurs are in many cases able to increase flexibility and reduce costs (Rath and Kloosterman 2000). Chinese restaurants draw on the local diaspora to supply labour and finance. Co-ethnic employees were willing to work long hours for low pay and presented no language barriers (Chaudhry and Crick 2004). Low pay and flexibility over working hours are essential to business survival in those competitive markets (Kitching et al. 2009). Family members often work for much less than market wages; they tend to be very reliable employees, meaning less labour turnover (Waldinger 1986).

Sanders and Nee (1996) suggested that an important factor influencing immigrant self-employment is the family, which is said to embody a form of social capital. The pooling of family members' labour in an enterprise can be seen as a 'family strategy' to compensate for

the disadvantaged labour market status of many immigrant families (Glenn 1983). Family-run businesses provide an economic basis for stable family life, and resources to support the high educational attainment associated with children (Nee and Wong 1985). Family savings and loans from family and friends is the most common source of capital among informants (Leung 2003). After working for a few years, wife and children joined them. When they had saved enough money, they opened their own restaurant, often with the financial and moral help of their family (Pang 2002).

Family labour as one of the 'ethnic resources' (Waldinger et al. 1990; Light and Gold, 2000), engagement in family labour such as the performance of family labour by children, or 'helping out' (Song 1997a), might benefit the family business but it affects, among other things, the school performance of the children. 'Reliance upon unpaid and committed family labour is said to make many ethnic businesses competitive' (Song 1997a: 690). The children may have received lower wages, but they often got financial assistance with the cost of higher education from their parents. The practice of the 'family work contract' (Song 1997a) generates an intra-generational divide between older and younger siblings within one family in terms of identity and affiliation (Pang 1998; Song 1997b). Almost all of my second-generation interviewees had work experience in their parents or relatives' Chinese restaurants or take-aways. They worked in the restaurant as a family duty in paying for their parents' hard work. As Alison explained, 'I worked in the till, taking their orders, handling money.' Many of them started working at a young age, such as Ella: 'I started working in restaurants when I was 12 or 13 years old. My sister worked as a waitress in the restaurant. Sometimes we worked in the kitchen, like kitchen porter, if they were stuck... so we always worked in the restaurant. Alan found that 'all of us, all my sisters, myself all actually work in the restaurant, spend our teenage life there.'

The work of children must be examined in relation to the intersections of family obligations and relationships, livelihood strategies and pressures, and issues of cultural identity. Ethnic businesses are said to benefit from 'family maturation': over time, children's labour can be 'incorporated' (Finch 1983) into these businesses, and this can give ethnic businesses growth potential. Patrick, a second-generation respondent, admitted that 'if my dad needs my help, I have to say yes... that's our family business. If they don't make money, you don't make money.' Their experience of 'serving' their customers meant that they were often subject to racial abuse and the repertoire of stereotypes that their predominantly white customers held

of them (Parker 1994). Many parents relied on their children for what Song (1997a: 697) called 'caring work' including 'English language mediation in day-to-day matters. Parents' reliance on their children's labour and assistance was largely determined by "need", and it saved them money. This reliance cannot be seen in only instrumental terms'.

Family labour is not only an operational workforce, but also a relatively self-sufficient social group (Song 1997a). Children's working hours were always casual, depending on how busy the restaurants were. Most of them worked as substitute staff. They were often needed to work during holidays. Lilly, a second-generation participant, reckoned that she is not as good a worker as her sister, but 'if it was really busy, I might come up just to wash the cups or sometimes, when I was in town, I go to the restaurant to wait for my dad to bring me home, I might help while I'm there.' When it is the exam period, they would stop working, such as Rose, 'second year during college, Fridays and Saturdays, two days a week... I don't have to work anymore. I'm in my final year, so my father asked me to study. It is really really important.' Amie worked half of the year up to Christmas during her Leaving Certificate year. 'I had to stop working there, because I had to study. ..[After I started college], if I go home, I help out Saturdays, I come back to college Sundays. I worked during summer and Christmas holidays'. Some of them may work full time if they do not find their favourite jobs, like Ken: 'I help out maybe two or three days a week and full time for a while since my graduation in 2009.' With the help of their families, many first-generation Chinese could live well from their businesses and could support their children in schooling and in professional life (Pang 2002).

As argued above, the economic trend for first-generation Hong Kong Chinese is to be self-employed in ethnic businesses. Entrepreneurship is seen as 'form of socioeconomic self-help' (Rath 2000: 663). Self-employment is held in high esteem by Chinese migrants; especially for the independence and status it confers (Ram et al. 2000). Disadvantaged newcomers seeking to improve their living conditions also entered into self-employment. 'Being one's own boss was viewed as highly desirable and a route to greater autonomy, social mobility and self-satisfaction' (Leung 2003). 'Self-employment is an important factor in the economic advancement of immigrants' (Sanders and Nee 1996: 231). However, many respondents did not have sufficient funds to invest in catering businesses at the beginning. Tin argued that 'I came to Ireland, I saved every penny I could save in order to have my own business. When I got my own business, I tried to keep some money. When I had a bit of money, I brought my

mum and my elder brother to Ireland. My elder brother worked for me for two years, and then had his own take-away business'. Furthermore, 'the economic benefits of business ownership enable families to invest in their children's future' (Sanders and Nee 1996: 231). Business owners had more economic resources to send their children to fee-paying schools than those employed by others.

When many of my interviewees migrated to Ireland to avoid competition in other countries, particularly the UK, they also tried to skip competition among themselves in Ireland in order to make a profit with their limited economic resources. Ethnic competition is more likely than cooperation when resources are scarce (McClain and Tauber 2001). Many Chinese in Britain experience 'double social exclusion': they are not fully integrated into the social mainstream and for financial reasons maintain a distance from each other. They have a foot in both the British and the Chinese economies but lack the full support of either (Chau and Yu 2001). 'The dispersed nature of settlement in the UK characteristic of the Chinese catering trade often meant that they experienced isolation from other ethnic communities' (Chan 1997: 212), but it also shows that Chinese entrepreneurs tried to avoid too much business competition among themselves (Garvey 1993).

The concern to avoid competition is more obvious among the Hong Kong Chinese migrants in Ireland. Unlike other countries, there is no Chinatown in Ireland set up by the Hong Kong Chinese. Chinatowns are typically considered ethnic enclaves dominated by Chinese entrepreneurs catering mainly for Chinese speaking immigrants. In countries like the UK and the Netherlands, there is often an economic enclave which is characterized by a geographic concentration of ethnic businesses usually located in major urban centres and employing co-ethnics (as has been found in the United States, see Portes 1981; Portes and Manning 1986; Portes and Jensen 1987). They set up businesses in dense areas where many co-ethnics live, transforming the neighbourhood into an ethnic enclave. However, instead of setting up businesses where 'group members are concentrated as both owners and workers in certain activities' (Logan and Stults 2003: 348), my respondents chose to spread out their businesses all over Ireland. Fung opened the first Chinese restaurant in a small town in West Ireland in 1977. He explained that 'little town, no competition, no other restaurants. Before we came, there were only pubs... Irish like drinking and disco.' Zoe, a second-generation interviewee, explored her parents' mentality in choosing the location of their restaurant business:

Zoe: Chinese people like to set up business when nobody has a business, Ireland was new to the Chinese people... We are Hakka people who are known for travelling. My parents came to Ireland in 1976 or 1978. We were the only Chinese family in the north inner city of Dublin.

Although self-employment remains common, a small number of first-generation interviewees preferred to seek jobs outside the catering business for higher wages and better working conditions (Nee et al. 1994). Over time, when migrants have acquired the necessary social and cultural capital, they often tend to drift away from the 'informal' enclave economy across porous ethnic boundaries (Chiang 2004), but this job option was not their preference, because it always included long hours and hard labour, and sometimes 'ethnic economies generate only fragile benefits' (Logan et al. 2003: 380). Yip told me that he 'prefer[ed] something else, restaurant, long hours'.

Self-employment necessitates working long hours and often involves emotional hardship. It remains an important avenue of economic progress for contemporary immigrant minorities (Sanders and Nee 1996). Similarly, hard work, thrift and self-discipline are often regarded as intrinsically 'South Asian' values (Werbner 1984). Hardship and the need to resort to the use of one's own resources for survival in alien cultures fostered the development of the family business. The majority of first-generation interviewees in this study carried on the traditional Chinese work ethic in their daily work. They are willing to do poorly-paid jobs that come with long and unsocial hours—jobs usually shunned by the majority group (Li 2010). They have drive, tenacity and perseverance (Kasinitz et al. 2008) which enable them to overcome hardship. Chinese bring different cultural psychological qualities such as frugality, ambition, patience and perseverance to the new environment (Chan 1997). A large number of them, including business owners, had to work more than eight hours and sometimes as long as 12 hours. When Chu was young, he 'worked hard no matter where I am going, to earn money, fend myself. Work to a point, start to withdraw, slow down and retired'. Leung found that 'at that time, work was really hard, you have to peel the potato yourself, no machine. Have to grow beansprouts ourselves.' In order to save some money, many first-generation interviewees could not afford to visit Hong Kong for many years. As Tin explained that,

Tin: When I was working for others, I almost did not go home [Hong Kong] at all. The flight was really expensive; it was about 2000 Irish pounds, while we earned 60 or 70 Irish pounds a week at that time. The salary was not the same as nowadays, if you go

back Hong Kong, I won't travel in Europe, if I travel in Europe, I won't go to Hong Kong. We only had two weeks holiday annually.

Ella's parents and grandparents worked so hard, her auntie was 'born in 1966 [in Hong Kong] that was the year my grandfather came to England. So when my auntie was 17 she came to Ireland. That was the first time she saw her father.' Busy work schedules meant parents had no time to look after their children, as shown by Watson (1975). Restaurant workers were 'preoccupied with the everyday difficulties of their jobs and are too busy working to devote much time or energy to community activities' (Watson 1975: 124). Some second-generation interviewees such as Ken, Lucy and Emma had experience in living in Hong Kong while they were young.

> **Emma**: Shortly after I was born, my mum brought me over to Hong Kong, she came back to my dad [in Ireland]… I was brought up by my grandparents and never had childhood with my parents. When I was 7 years old, they went back and picked me up and got me over to Dublin. They did not have time to care for me…They worked in catering business.

Apart from their personal willingness to work in the catering business, the previous Irish social environment also facilitated their work ethic. The majority of them often found life in Ireland boring. There was not much entertainment apart from going to pubs and many of them did not like drinking either. Fung told me that 'a bit simple, no shops opened on Sundays, Don't have much to do.' Leung thought that 'every day we work, after work, go home sleep. It was quite boring... it changed a lot.' According to Tin,

> **Tin:** Life here was boring. There was nothing in the past. You went to Irish disco, dancing, nothing else. Later we started to have the video tape, after you have the satellite. It is a bit better. Travel was our only entertainment, usually twice a year.

Sometimes they played card games or gambled in a casino in their spare time. Lucy, a second-generation interviewee, told me that 'my parents gamble, obviously Chinese know that as a social thing, my parents don't drink. Here what you really do is to go to the pub.'

Their parents' work ethic influenced the attitude of my second-generation participants. Alison believed that she 'work[s] harder definitely, this is the Chinese thing.' Similarly Amie found that 'I think Chinese people, we have to so try hard... high expectation, you have to do good

all the time.' Sarah thought 'It helps me, even working in the restaurant, much faster. You are fast worker, hard workers...See people work differently as well. On the other hand, it made working with parents stressful'. Many shared Ryan's view: 'I help out, if I need a job, I won't ask for a job there.' Adam added: 'I want to be independent, after school, working for my parents. They were really strict. You need to work hardest; I don't really want to work with my parents, but they gave me working experience'. Similarly, Zoe found that:

> **Zoe**: It is different. You work with Chinese people; you have to be there, you can't let them down, you have to be a bit of on time, it is a little bit strict... you can't even call in sick, you can call in sick, but they look down on you.

The work attitude is described by Ben as 'just do it' which he thinks is the old-fashioned Chinese view and is different from the Irish work attitude, as explained by Maria:

> **Maria**: The great thing, Chinese people, they go into work, and just do it. They don't complain about it...even [if] they complain, they just work, work, work, you know Irish people I'm tired... an Irish girl work with me, we get on really well. I'm not happy I'm not having a good day...a job has target every day, you can tell she is just "I am not doing it." If I am not, I will just do it, do it. I think I really get that from my parents, I did a child event the other week, you did not get paid, the girl just standing there, ..they said they would help out; I actually came late...I was busy for 3 hours, running up and down, bring people drinks, so I think there is big difference...I just find it really different mentality.

Some of my second-generation interviewees like Sean found that 'Irish people take things for granted. They don't appreciate. In terms of having work, Chinese people see this work experience to better job that kind of way. Also Eve found that although 'work is hard to get. People are picky about work like they don't work in the restaurant.'

While their parents relied on their Chinese background to make a living, the second-generation interviewees found their Chinese background could be advantageous and disadvantageous in their economic activities. Some second-generation respondents noticed the advantage of having both cultures. According to Alexander, 'as a person, it would help, you have two cultures, different background, you can [do] a lot better.' Also some respondents have other skills like Lucy. 'I can speak Cantonese, studied French and Spanish in college as well. I have these languages. So it definitely helped.' Sean thought it could bring better job opportunities. As explained by Lilly, 'I have an advantage, I'm more open to new

ideas, I'm more kind of understanding people a little more. I kind of get experience both so then I get to judge myself. I have learnt more from my travelling and moving around.' According to Ella:

> **Ella**: [Chinese background] can bring diversity to the company, and language as well, I studied German and French as well…Employers think I am from mainland China. I need visa, they have to sponsor me to work here. That's the only disadvantage. I think when applying for white collar job, that's ok, I don't think I would be discriminated against, but I think, for example, looking for casual job…like a café, bar they ask me where I'm from…they may be afraid my English is not good enough. So I think I was discriminated against. I'm Irish, but still associated with Chinese.

Chan (1997) argued that the negative feelings expressed by second-generation children towards self-employment often came from those who grew up in the ethnic trade and perceive the traditional family business as outdated and restrictive. In particular, the saturation of the market for ethnic food was blamed for the decreasing attractiveness of the catering industry as a viable business opportunity. Profit orientation was a less important concern for the second-generation's choice of occupation. They often 'opt to enhance their quality of life and personal development in preference to material wealth' (Chan 1997: 216). Balancing employment in the family business with full-time education could cause a high degree of stress and conflict for the second-generation (Chan 1997).

The most identified disadvantage is linked with job seeking. Ken thought that 'maybe more disadvantage, Irish names have more opportunities, more advantage, probably?' Rose found that 'put my CV to Irish company; they see your name, not Irish name, as student, reject your CV.' Research found that job applicants with identifyingly non-Irish names are less than half as likely to be called for interviews as those with typical Irish names (ESRI 2008). The most recent ESRI (2013) report found that all national-ethnic groups, apart from White UK and White EU-13 individuals, reported substantially higher rates of discrimination in the workplace than White Irish. In order to promote herself, Eve did the following: 'With a surname like mine, automatically you don't speak English, I have clearly stated in my CV that I speak fluent English, although I should not have to do that'. William elaborated more on the job issues, 'if you don't have fluent English, or if you don't have a degree, certificate, employers won't take a second look. Three years ago, I handed out 100 CVs and I got one interview, that's how bad it is trying to get a job'.

The first-generation interviewees did not want their children to continue in ethnic businesses. Meanwhile the second-generation interviewees did not show great interest in working in Chinese restaurants (see Chapter 5), especially when many are better able to transcend the linguistic and cultural barriers that confined their parents, by establishing themselves outside the catering industry in professions such as medicine, law and accountancy (Chan 1997). Second and subsequent generations are more likely to have access to a wider variety of social connections beyond the diaspora (Kitching et al. 2009). If young Asians now enjoy a greater degree of job choices, those who continue to opt for self-employment are more likely to be the positively motivated and entrepreneurially resourced rather than obliged to use self-employment by default (Jones and Ram 2003). At the time I started my research in 2008, the Irish economy had entered recession which had deflated the job market making it difficult for them to secure professional jobs. During fieldwork in 2009, one female interviewee lost her job and some of my male interviewees were still looking for jobs after their graduations. The family business actually became the backup option for some of them. Alexander was exceptional, arguing that: 'I would say it is a lot easier working with your parents, because you don't have to go out look for job whatever, the wage is bit down, there's also accommodation paid for, your food looked after, you help out with family'. Also, for those who did not have qualifications or skills to fit certain job types, the family business provided some income until they were qualified for 'the good jobs'. While still keeping an eye on new jobs, they have the restaurant to fall back on until they find a suitable job.

> **William:** Before I don't really like working with my parents, but then you realise there is not much out there, and you work with your parents, you get more union, you don't have to do so much, you got privileges, we can order food anytime we want. Eat any time we want...at the same time, when it is busy, we work hard as well. It depends what way you look at it now. I won't mind at this stage.

In terms of job opportunities in Ireland, especially for those who grew up outside Dublin, many chose to study or work in Dublin. Increased course choices and job options were the main reasons for moving to Dublin. Amie's course was only available in Cork and Dublin. 'I know many people go to Cork, go to Dublin because more culture, more mix culture.' After Ella's graduation, she 'worked in an IT company. Then I came to Dublin, not just job, because most my friends have moved to Dublin'.

According to Ying (2007), restaurant businesses were a popular choice among many first-generation Hong Kong Chinese. Catering businesses contained group characteristics such as solidarity (Portes and Zhou 1991), 'utilitarianistic familism' (Lau 1981), and family and lineage ties (Watson 1975). The first-generation chose to work in ethnic businesses to make a living and to survive in Ireland, which did not provide them with many job opportunities. Parents had no other professional choice than opening up a restaurant. Meanwhile my sample of second-generation interviewees had better language skills and education which gave them the option to choose a different career path (see Chapter 5). The Chinese migrants involved in the restaurant trade can largely be classified as 'ideal-typical' migrants…to survive or thrive. The limited entrance opportunities and prospects for the mostly 'ideal-typical' self-employment as a possible route for social mobility is similar to what Hurh and Kim (1989: 512) refer to as 'success stereotype of Asian-American'.

Conclusion

The majority of first-generation Hong Kong Chinese in this study were attracted to Ireland through chain migration by its business potential. They have contributed to the development of Chinese restaurants since the 1970s. In response to unfavourable employment opportunities in Irish society, they pursued self-employment in restaurant businesses as a means to economic survival and success despite their disadvantages in education, limited English capacity and financial restrictions. They relied on their knowledge of the catering business and their hard work ethic in order to achieve economic integration within Irish society. Their business also depended on support from their family and relatives. Gomez and Benton (2004) concluded that the 'Chinese diaspora are united by their common ethnic identity that will eventually emerge as a major economic force' (2004: 3). The majority of second-generation respondents grew up within this ethnic business environment. They all helped out in the restaurants. Compared with their parents they have more career options as a result of their higher education, better English skills, and better knowledge of Irish society.

Along with the Irish economic changes shown in the three phases earlier on, Hong Kong Chinese restaurants experienced their best economic profits in the development phase in the 1970s and 1980s, then the business expanded during the Irish economic boom between the mid-1990s and 2007, followed by a decline since 2008. However the impact of the current economic crisis on their businesses requires on-going observation. It will also be worth

investigating in future research whether Hong Kong Chinese restaurants will be fewer in number as a result of the reluctance among the second generation to work in the Chinese restaurant, decreasing numbers of Hong Kong Chinese migrating to Ireland, and more directly the business competition raised by the large influx of mainland Chinese who came as the second wave of Chinese migration into Ireland since the mid-1990s. There was little interaction between both generations of Hong Kong Chinese and mainland Chinese participants outside the workplace.

Despite the decline of restaurant businesses since 2008, Hong Kong Chinese families continue to live in Ireland, which highlights the rooting phase of their diasporic journey. Although their initial migration incentive was economic this changed when their family joined them and their migration experience turned into a new life cycle. This is also partly explained by Hong Kong Chinese choosing to stay in Ireland during the economic crisis. The next chapter considers their cultural identity, including how Hong Kong Chinese family values impact not only on their work but, most importantly, on their family views which can lead to intergenerational conflict.

Chapter 5: Family Values and Intergenerational Conflicts

While the previous chapter discussed economic experiences, the aim of this chapter is to compare and contrast conceptualisations of family and family values among first- and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese respondents. In doing so, I refer to the cultural production of diaspora, and the differences between ethnic culture and host culture. The diasporic cultural difference can also lead to intergenerational conflicts. My discussions reinforce Bun's (1997) view that family 'plans and plays an instrumental role in each and every stage of decision-making before, during, and after the migration' (1997: 199). Drawing on the findings on the role of family in migration trajectories, chain migration and contribution to ethnic business, this chapter analyses the ways in which family affects both generations, in light of the fact that 'family is active, that [it] constitutes, articulates, and negotiates both with the receiving country and sending country' (Bun 1997: 199).

The first section of this chapter revolves around conceptualisations of family. In particular, I draw comparisons between perceived Irish and Chinese family values. Secondly, I take into account one aspect of diaspora theory, namely, the representation of the cultural bonds, in analysing how parents and children react towards Irish culture and their orientation towards their Chinese heritage. The emergence of a sub-culture, which was identified as a result of the mixed cultural influence, especially for the second-generation, is discussed here. The final section explores how these disparities can lead to intergenerational conflicts in three main areas: use of language, career aspirations and personal relationships. I also illustrate how parents and children handle these tensions.

Before looking into the family values of the Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland, it is interesting to highlight the Irish demographic patterns which are, to some extent, different to their European counterparts and somewhat similar to Chinese family values. Traditionally, Irish society was rather conservative in comparison with other advanced Western countries. Ireland has had prolonged traditional family practices compared to other EU countries with divorce and contraception illegal until the 1990s (Heffernan 2005). Irish Catholics still had the highest level of religious belief and practice in Europe in the 1990s (Ryan 1994). The traditional Irish family type had been shaped by the influence of Irish Catholicism, the family-based character of the economy up to the 1960s and the informal alliance between

Church and State (Ryan 1994: 214). It is noteworthy that the above three factors have diminished greatly in recent years, as shown in increased divorce rates, non-marital births and cohabitation (Ryan 1994: 217). Despite an overall fall in European fertility rates in the late twentieth century, a total fertility of 2.07 in 2010 placed Ireland at the top of the European fertility table (CSO 2012c: 59). The Irish household size was also slightly larger than in other countries: 3.2 people in 2000 compared to approximately 2.6 for Belgium and 2.5 for France and the Netherlands and 3.0 for Italy (Heffernan 2005: 9). The average Irish household size was 2.75 in 2011 (CSO 2012c: 55). Similar to Ireland, most Hong Kong Chinese families in my sample have, on average, three children per household.

Conceptualising Families

Drawing on their varying daily experiences, the majority of first- and second-generation interviewees recognised family as an important institution in their social construction of everyday experiences. Ken, a second-generation respondent, explained that the word 'family' stands for 'father and mother I love you'. According to Lucy, another second-generation interviewee, it was really a Chinese question when I asked her about her understanding of family. Chu, a first-generation interviewee, explained to me his motivation for migrating: 'I have travelled around many European countries, for family, thinking of children. [Living in Ireland for so long] has nothing to do with business. Mainly considering my children's prospect].' His view about family was common among many other first-generation interviewees.

Historically, China has often been seen as a peculiarly familial society. Confucian social theory placed 'special emphasis on the family relationship as the core of a stable and harmonious society' (Stockman 2000: 94). The basic unit for Chinese thought is not the individual, but the family, which is seen as a socialising agent. 'Families support a geographically dispersed social group and constitute a network of assistance, information and obligation' (Boyd 1989: 641). The Chinese 'family' is the dominant concept in Eastern thought in opposition to the Western idea of the individual (Janjuha-jivraj 2004). Individualistic Western culture emphasises autonomy, emotional independence, and primacy of personal goals over group goals (Triandis 1995). Collectivistic Chinese culture traditionally emphasizes 'collective identity, emotional dependence, in-group solidarity, harmony, duties and obligation' (Lim et al. 2009: 85).

In terms of family structure, gender determines family members' roles and responsibilities, which is referred to as the 'gendered division of household labour' (Man 1997). Fathers were seen as the 'chief authority figures, but it was the mothers who had the immediate responsibility for raising children' (Zhou and Bankston III 2001: 141), so the 'position of women is crucial too, they are the center of the household' (Hussain 2005: 22). All my male first-generation interviewees migrated to Ireland before their wives. Once they had secured a job, predominantly in the Chinese catering businesses, their wives and children followed them to Ireland. Fathers took responsibility for business development, and therefore the family income whereas mothers played an important role in helping the family business and taking care of the children. It is often the wives and sometimes the children's unpaid labour as supplementary workers which sustains ethnic businesses, as mentioned in the previous chapter (Phizacklea 1988; Song 1997a). Ms Tsui was a career woman in Hong Kong before she got married. She told me about her experience since she moved to Ireland with her husband: 'I help him out, and I don't have [my own] formal job, because of our children. Also he needs my assistance'. Janjuha-jivraj (2004) found that sometimes mothers played the role of a 'mediator' in easing the distance between fathers and children, which ensures the success of the family business. There appears to be a much closer relationship between mothers and children. In terms of domestic responsibilities, mothers took their children to Hong Kong on vacation and to Hong Kong Chinese parties in Ireland.

Often the non-working adults, particularly female members in the extended family or grandparents, minded the children, allowing other family members to concentrate on their work without incurring child-care costs. Tong, a first-generation respondent, recalled that 'my parents helped out... I have 9 siblings. The siblings looked after each other's kids. For example, the kids stay here for couple days, then stayed the other place for a couple days. You couldn't afford a child minder.'

The divide in domestic responsibilities also extended to the older siblings of the second-generation, especially female siblings, as a result of the stricter gender separation and the accepted gender double standard. While mothers had to work, the dual responsibility for both family and work were 'carried over to the younger generation, since mothers looked to their daughters for help with the house' (Zhou and Bankston III 2001: 138). Many female respondents complained about the unequal treatment among their siblings, as the 'traditional gender roles lead families to exercise greater control over daughters' (Zhou and Bankston III

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2001: 143). The idealised 'virtuous woman' calls 'not only for passive obedience, but also for living up to higher behavioural standards than are expected of men' (Zhou and Bankston III 2001: 143). They were expected to do more housework than their male siblings and the brothers were valued more in the family. Ella, a second-generation respondent, said that 'my parents would always expect a girl to do it [housework], the boys do not need to do it...my dad won't cook, he expects one of us girls to cook'. Zoe explained the hierarchy among her siblings and how this affected her:

> **Zoe:** My family still thinks boys are top, no matter how old I am, boys have their first way, girls then second...You can feel that sometimes. If it is property, my brother gets before me, he carries the family name. They [my parents] are really traditional... They tried to get me [to do more housework], but I rebelled, everybody should be equal. They do think you have to do it anyway. Boys are more senior in the house...There is a ranking in the family...When I ask for anything, you have to work for that. It is different. Boys were spoiled.

Many female interviewees showed 'greater awareness of the contradictions, complications, and frustrations inherent in the changing meaning of appropriate gender roles. Some of them might seek to rebel but found it very difficult to do given the authoritarianism of their families' (Zhou and Bankston III 2001: 138). As shown in the above quotes, many female respondents voiced their frustration about the unequal treatment. Although many of my female respondents disagreed with their parents' gender discrimination, this did not result in severe confrontations with their families. They complained about such unfairness but they still obeyed their parents. For example, Emma argued that '[I] went through a lot of stages, then I realised... no matter how much you hate them, they will still be your parents.'

The majority of my second-generation respondents were 'family oriented' because they prioritised their family needs and responsibilities. This is similar to Cooper et al. (1993) who found that Asian American youths' statements on family sharing and self sacrifice occurred at a much greater frequency than among European Americans. When I asked my respondents what they would do if their personal interests clashed with their family's interests, many addressed the difficulty of making such a choice. For example, Adam thought that 'it is hard to choose, because with a career, it is your own life as well, you have to choose your own life as well. It depends on the situation. But family is really important to me.' Lilly further argued that

Lilly: [It] depends on what it was. If it is very vital, very understandable, whatever, I would definitely stay then, figure something here. But if something like silly 'Oh, I miss you all that' I know they would miss me. If those reasons, I would go then. If it is serious reasons, I would stay.

A small number of interviewees agreed with Lucas who argued that he 'would still go; even though it is not what they want to do it is what I want to do.' It was interesting to see that the male sample had a higher tendency to rank family concerns above their personal interests compared with female respondents even though female siblings often took more domestic responsibilities. This could be attributed to higher family responsibilities among males with regard to taking care of family members. Many female interviewees pointed out that males had priority regarding family property, because they carry the family name and have greater long-term responsibility. For example, Aaron said that 'if I really want to do something, family disagrees, I probably won't do it. I try to convince them. I love my family. Whatever they think, I'm sure they want the best for me'. Ryan was annoyed that his parents did not let him work in Canada for a year, but he still thinks of his family as best friends.

Many second-generation respondents often prioritised their family interests and responsibilities over their personal lives. They showed respect for their family and valued the support they received from family because they appreciated their parents' hardship at work in order to provide them with better life chances, even though most of them only had a vague idea about their parents' migration trajectory or their early work experiences. For example, Lilly thought that 'no matter what happens, you always have family and, you know, support'. Zoe, a second-generation interviewee who is not happy with her parents' favouritism towards male siblings, maintained that family 'is always a place to fall back on. It is a unity; you just feel you are with someone.' Alison highlighted that family 'are there for each other'. One of their contributions to the family was their participation in the family business. John's thoughts on helping out in his parents' business reflected his views on family business and his parents: 'my parents came over here for us, they work their ass off, open restaurants, for me, [working for them] looks like pay back.'

The above discussion on family values indicates a high level of family cohesion within the Hong Kong Chinese community. Family cohesion refers to the 'attitude and feeling towards family' (Zhou 2001: 212). However, this strong family bond did not equate to a close parent-child relationship. Many second-generation respondents were reluctant to share their personal

emotional experiences with their parents. For example, Maria felt obliged to look after her parents which may be different from some of her Irish friends' attitudes. Arguably, in Irish society, it is somewhat more acceptable for elderly people to stay in a nursing home than this would be the case in the Chinese community, where the elderly are minded by their children in their own house. However, Maria's relationship with her parents was distant:

Maria: In my experience, a family, you would hate this, will break your heart, a family is a group of people live together...We are all independent of each other. We don't hang out with each other. We don't talk to each other very much. While I was in school...I did a lot of competitions, you hope someone can bring you to competitions, you can't go yourself...they are not really the proud parents, they never got me anywhere...always friends' parents, my instructor [brought me there]...I have to walk myself...started at 8 or 9 years old, I would walk to school myself, takes 35 minutes...I never see it as problem. I look back now, it is kind of sad at that time. Mum and dad work that's fine. I have to stay home alone...Do my homework and watch TV. My parents did not take part of my life. They kind of thought we need to take control of our own life. I respect them a lot, even though I don't like them, I still take care of them. It is your responsibility, they took care of you, you take care of them. It is quite normal. [But Irish] put them into nursing home.

The above quote also illustrates the infrequent intergenerational communication in many Hong Kong Chinese homes. According to Uba (1994), Asian American families tend to be less verbal and more indirect in expressing feeling and needs. Nonverbal expression is a key part of collectivism. Family members know 'what each other wants and feels without having to engage in verbal expressio' (Leong et al. 2004: 78). Therefore, even though their family cohesion may be high, the verbal expressions of Asian American families may be low (Leong et al. 2004: 68). Many of my interviewees often saw, particularly, their father as a distant figure, as fathers were usually busy working and therefore did not spend time with them. A large number of them associated themselves more with their mother. Adam told me that 'my dad is always working. I talk to my mum ... I can't talk to them problems; I shared most of my secrets with my best friends ... My family just don't share secrets and often those things are really important.' Ella was frustrated with her parents. She saw her parents as housemates, which was quite similar to Maria:

Ella: [My parents] won't talk to us directly and we need to find out from staff; it is not really good. My family is a little bit dysfunctional, because parents just don't really care about us, care more about working, or else go off to Hong Kong, they never really ask us how we are. Ask about school, friends whatever, I don't feel they made an effort

to know my friends; my mum would often say 'your fat friend'... My parents should at least make an effort to know their names.

Many second-generation interviewees interacted less with their parents compared with their Irish friends. In Zoe's family, they neither hugged nor kissed the cheeks, so it was strange for her to hug people. Ella felt annoyed when her mother hugged a stranger rather than her or her siblings:

> **Ella**: My mum kisses us on the cheek, good night, that's the only affection... Sometimes I feel my mother treats strangers better than me. One time in Hong Kong, we had social night out, my mum gave her friend's sister a hug ... I'm like, you never ever hug your daughter; you hug a stranger you barely know... It is really bizarre.

In order to explain why there is little intergenerational communication and physical contact, it is necessary to compare the Chinese and Irish parenting styles, as seen by my Hong Kong interviewees. Parenting style is a reflection of the parent-child relationship (Darling and Steinberg 1993). Such relational quality is seen in warmth and control (Maccoby and Martin 1983). In Asia, the parenting style can, on the one hand, be defined as unwanted domination, and helpful maintenance of order and responsible limit setting on the other hand (Lau and Cheung 1987). Many second-generation interviewees saw their parents as authoritative figures. There were two second-generation participants who were not comfortable talking about their family views. One of them stopped the conversation and concluded her interview because to continue would upset her. Maria told me that her parents see themselves as authority figures: 'we are the parents, you should listen to me.' Eve agreed that 'we are just brought up that way; we have to listen to our parents. There is nothing like what you think, you don't think you just do what they say... I would never think about talking to my parents'.

In contrast, a large number of second-generation interviewees described the close Irish parent-child relationship as including more warmth and less control. Hannah was surprised that some of her Irish friends can call their parents by first names. Amie found that 'maybe Irish are friendlier to each other. They are much closer, some Chinese people, that's mum, that's daughter, not very close.' Alison remarked that 'Irish parents are happy with their children no matter what they do.' Meanwhile she thought her parents' concentration on their business creates a distance in their relationship. 'My family is really hard-working, if I

compared mine with my [Irish] boyfriend's, my mum and dad, work, work, work.' Patrick gave another example of comparison between Chinese parents and Irish parents:

> **Patrick**: I think Chinese parents are very strict, don't do this, don't do that...When I was 14, I wore baggy jeans; my mum asked me 'what are you doing?' It is just the style. It is comfortable. She said 'No, No'. While [Irish people let their children] do things to please yourself.

While second-generation Hong Kong Chinese respondents emphasised the distant parent-child relationship as opposed to Irish close parent-child relationship, many first-generation respondents questioned Irish parents for not being strict with their children. They questioned the Irish parenting style. They thought that Irish parents give their children too much freedom, as illustrated in this excerpt:

> **Ms Dou:** Irish parents are open towards their children. For example, when children are 16 or 17, they would leave. Children live independently if they can. We Chinese won't relax about it. They live outside on their own, how about their financial aspect? They must take part-time job from 16 and they have to start to earn money.

The views among my first-generation sample were similar to Freeman (1989) who analysed the parenting style of Vietnamese American families. Obedience from children is generally expected in Vietnamese families. Parents worry that the greater level of personal freedom might undermine obedience among their children. My interviews found more control and sense of obligation in Hong Kong Chinese parents than in their Irish counterparts. One particular example is that Hong Kong Chinese parents were stricter with their children regarding going out and drinking. Parents were afraid of the bad influence that the Irish drinking culture could have on their children. Ms Tsui argued that 'my children told me that they had no choice, as all their friends drink. I don't know [how to reply to that, but I think drinking is] not good. But my children don't believe you.' Lucy, a second-generation participant pointed out that 'Irish people drink at a really young age, you know by 15 or 16. They drink and go to night clubs; I always want to be out with my friends. The conflict came. I was not allowed to do that.' Sean, a second-generation interviewee, explained that although he is quite sensible about drinking himself, his parents are not happy with the idea of him drinking:

Sean: That would be culture clash, my parents do not like me drinking, I don't drink like other people drink…maximum is two pints in one night. For my father, knowing I drink makes him really really angry... I always tell him that it is not dangerous. It is big culture thing. Chinese people in general are not into drinking.

Eve, a second-generation interviewee, could not travel without her parents' permission. Some parents expect their children to help, which was shown in their ambivalence in 'wanting to and having to help out' in the family business (Song 1997a). Eve told me that 'my Irish friends could go to Galway for four days straight away, but I can't. I need to ask my parents and my parents won't let me go. I had to help with their business.' Many of the other second-generation respondents had a similar experience; parents did not allow them to go out with their Irish peers, not solely due to their parents' worries about potential drinking problems but also due to concern for the business. Many second-generation interviewees were expected to work some evenings or when the restaurant was short-staffed. Ella's experience showed the dilemma some respondents had to face:

Ella: My parents are really proud people, they never say sorry to you if you have other plans, they kind of expect you to change your plans for them…for example, my 14th or 15th birthday, I have already organised to go to the cinema, then my mother at the last minute said 'oh, would you not go out tonight? I know your birthday is important, but some waitress got sick, can't work ... I felt I had no choice, I just said 'ok, fine'. I already had my plan. My mother decided that I should work, because she had plans.

Many second-generation interviewees are expected to obey their parents and fulfil their obligations within the family (Phinney et al. 2000). Maria felt that 'you have to put your hobby aside and not go away. If you don't really socialise in Ireland, you can't do lots of things [with your Irish friends] because you are always in family business...If they want to go out, you can't go out…let you kids actually grow up in the society'. Eve experienced social distance from her friends: 'I always felt I missed out, because my friend were at school all talking about [going out the previous night], you would [feel] smaller than anyone.' In the next section, I refer to the cultural production of diaspora to explore the divergent views of cultural values between parents and children.

Irish-Chinese Cultural Influences in Family

Culture is constructed; it is not just imagined but authorized and institutionalized. 'Cultural discourse includes not only symbols of national identity but, more importantly, it involves the

authority of statements about shared values embodied in language, ethnicity and custom' (Chun 1996: 114). Members of the second-generation are seen as 'enigmatic producers of diasporic cultures and identities. They appropriate their identity symbol as much from global cultural flows as host or home country cultural practices' (Soysal 2000: 11). Cultural orientation here refers to the degree to which they identified with Chinese and Irish cultures. Culture consists of the knowledge, values, perceptions and practices that are shared among members of a given society and passed on from one generation to the next (Leighton 1981).

For the second-generation, their home culture was primarily Chinese, created by their parents. Their parents delivered Chinese values and beliefs to them and their family was associated with Hong Kong. Beliefs and values from their parents' homeland are not deserted in the face of the new social and economic realities (Zhou and Bankston III 2001). By contrast, second-generation respondents' school and societal cultures were primarily Irish. With time spent in the diaspora, ethnic values from the homeland can diminish, children may change their values over time but parents remain relatively stable (Rosenthal et al. 1996). Stress from cultural differences between parents and children was evident when parents expected their children to adhere to traditional cultural values and lifestyles while the children sought more Western values and lifestyles (Leong et al. 2004).

Arguably, the high familial cohesion but distant parent-child relationship was influenced by Chinese cultural norms, which in turn were influenced by Confucianism. Confucianism emphasizes family hierarchy as well as social and familial harmony (Liu et al. 2000). Inherent in Confucianism is the value of filial piety, which demands respect and obligation to ageing parents, honouring the family name, and an emphasis on group harmony rather than individual gratification or identity (Wong 1998). Chinese culture requires that family needs take precedence over the individual. Xu et al. (2007) identified the strengths of Chinese American families as: family support, social support from friends and community, communication among family members, balancing host and heritage cultures and spiritual well-being. In contrast, contemporary Irish culture encourages autonomy and individual development. For example, Lucy, a second-generation respondent, indicated how both her family and Irish culture have impacted on her identity:

> **Lucy**: I can't be fully Chinese. My Chinese is limited. I have family values my parents taught me. I'm always carrying them through. I can't be fully Irish either, because

probably a lot of things, I don't know about it. Different things, because I was not born in Irish families. If you are Catholic, do Catholic things in terms of tradition, but I won't know about that. I'm fully aware of that...I am forgiven if I don't know something Irish, but I'm more hard on me if I don't know something about Chinese, because after all, my parents are Chinese. I feel like I should do this.

Culture is constantly being transformed as individuals negotiate common meanings through social interaction. There is thus a great deal of variability in how individuals negotiate common cultural values and meanings (Raeff 1997). Values represent central or desirable goals that serve as standards to guide the selection or evaluation of behaviour, people and events (Smith and Schwartz 1997). First-generation migrants tend to retain traditional cultural practices and values within the family. Attitudes and values alter as the younger generation is socialised in the host country, leading research to propose various opinions on the cultural challenge of integration. Children valuing collectivism may put less emphasis on self-expression and self-actualisation in favour of honouring family and group obligations (Leong et al. 2004).

In terms of the frequency in contacting relatives in Hong Kong, an indicator of the remaining cultural bond with the country of origin, the majority of first-generation participants kept close contacts with their relatives and friends in Hong Kong. They would call them quite frequently, but the second-generation have much less contact. They would contact relatives on special occasions such as Chinese New Year, Chinese mid-autumn festival and other festivals. Social networks such as Skype or Facebook make communication with family in Hong Kong easier. A trip to Hong Kong would be the only time they would have a close interaction with relatives. Hannah found it took an effort to communicate with her cousins, who she has not spoken for a long time, so she would just hug them when she visited them in Hong Kong. There are no phone calls between them when she is in Ireland. It is not a surprise that within the second-generation, those with better Cantonese contact their relatives in Hong Kong more often than the rest of them.

The first-generation often follow the Hong Kong news and Hong Kong TV programmes via satellite. Most second-generation interviewees did not have a systematic exposure to Chinese culture. In terms of popular culture, they mostly follow western trends rather than Hong Kong Chinese trends. The majority of them did not follow Hong Kong popular music, but many of them would be familiar with some Hong Kong films. All of them had experience watching

Cantonese channels with their parents. Ken gave an interesting example of the media usage among his siblings. He considers himself as more Chinese than his siblings. He listens to a lot Asian music and only five per cent of his music is western music, but his younger siblings 'don't have so much exposure to Cantonese, apart from watching TV' and they listened to a lot more English music, they are more into western movie stars than Chinese actors.

Second-generation participants found their parents 'traditional' or 'old fashioned'. Patrick thought that 'Chinese parents are more traditional. They are narrow-minded.' Sarah gave an example of her mother's view on homosexuals: 'While some Irish people are more accepted as gay or lesbian I know Chinese parents, they won't accept it at all. My classmate is gay. My mum is really socially against it. I think Chinese parents are more traditional.'

Irish Chinese Sub-Culture

First-generation respondents usually maintained close links with Hong Kong and try to preserve Chinese culture. At the same time second-generation interviewees seem to be more integrated into the Irish culture. However, I noticed the emergence of a sub-culture, especially within the second-generation. While preserving their Chinese culture, Hong Kong Chinese families have created an Irish Chinese sub-culture. Traditionally, cultural orientation has been viewed as a unidimensional process in which the acquisition of a new culture is accompanied by loss of the culture of origin (Gordon 1964). Phinney (1990) has criticised this unidimensional approach and proposes a bidimensional model in which orientation to the culture of origin and the host society are not necessarily additive. Many immigrants may strive for and succeed in holding on to their ethnic identity even while taking on aspects of the host culture (Liu et al. 2000). Some cultural exposure reinforces family values and heightens a sense of 'Chineseness' (Zhou and Li 2003).

My respondents' views on Chinese New Year are an interesting example of the fact that changes in cultural orientation are interrelated within the family and may change over time. Family patterns are shaped by cultural meanings and the social practices immigrants bring with them from their home countries as well as social, economic and cultural forces in host countries (Foner 1997). The majority of Hong Kong Chinese parents were aware of the importance of Chinese New Year to their Chinese cultural identity. However there is no public holiday in Ireland for Chinese New Year. The reality of the business routine in Ireland

made the celebration of Chinese New Year difficult. Due to a lack of choice, many Hong Kong Chinese families started to use Christmas as a way of having a family gathering. Pak, a first-generation interviewee, highlighted the change of emphasis towards Chinese New Year:

> **Pak**: If I use the Hong Kong perspective to discuss this, if we still live in Hong Kong, Chinese New Year is foremost, largest and most important festival. After we have been living in Ireland for a while, the importance of Chinese New Year has slowly faded. Meanwhile in comparison, Christmas has become as important as Chinese New Year. The main reason is that the 25th and 26th of December, nearly 100 per cent restaurants are shut. During these two days, people can visit each other and organise something to do together. We still have to run our business during Chinese New Year. In such atmosphere, even you emphasise Chinese New Year in your mind, there is no such context in reality for that. So, you tell your kids that Chinese New Year is really important, but dad has to work.

The second-generation associated Chinese New Year with their family and the 'red packet'. A 'red packet' is a small red envelope which symbolises good luck for the coming year in the Chinese culture. Chinese parents put money inside these red packets and give them to their children on the day of Chinese New Year. The importance they would attribute to Chinese New Year was linked with their families' attitude towards it. While their parents placed less importance on Chinese New Year due to their business constraints, second-generation participants saw Chinese New Year more as a family event than a presentation of 'Chineseness'. There were various attitudes towards Chinese New Year and Christmas, which showed the sub-culture which they have developed. Lucy explained that she 'just see[s] it as a day. Since I grow up, my parents never really [celebrate Chinese New Year]. It was not really a big deal growing up.' Lucy's parents chose not to put an emphasis on Chinese New Year over the years, so she did not feel engaged with this festival. In contrast, Zoe had a stronger association with the Chinese New Year due to family influence:

> **Zoe**: My parents celebrate [Chinese New Year] religiously…They made a big deal about it, I liked it, because everybody is there, family is there. Not just the family now, all friends come as well. It is really a social event, not just my family, friends together…that's what my parents are looking forward to, not Christmas…yeah they would make sure [that they got the day off for New Year]. Yes, they work, but they get off work earlier.

Meanwhile, some interviewees valued Chinese New Year more than Christmas, as shown in the following extract:

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Rose: Chinese New Year is the biggest day of my family, because my sister's birthday is also around Chinese New Year. I feel more attached to Chinese New Year, because it is a really big family thing. My entire family comes together. I could do without Christmas. [Chinese New Year] my family and my mum's family [majority of his mum's family are in the United States] come together.

By contrast, Sarah was more looking forward to Christmas as Christmas was associated with her friends while Chinese New Year is mainly a family event:

Sarah: I have a big family gathering [for Chinese New Year]...We have to go and have dinner...It is important. I like Christmas more, yeah actually it is funny, although I like Chinese New Year, because we used to gather together, dinner and get red- packet. Christmas you go with friends.

Apart from Chinese New Year and Christmas, there were other examples that indicated the emergence of a Chinese-Irish sub-culture among my second-generation interviewees; in other words, a flexible approach to traditional values, allowing them to blend western elements with their own (Wong 1986). All consider that they have various Chinese influences, including using chopsticks and eating rice at home. Amie 'prefer[s] chopsticks to forks and knives, I prefer bowl, it is quicker, I feel so much better.' Or like Ben, who eats rice but also potatoes. His mixture of Chinese culture and Irish culture was not unusual among the second-generation Hong Kong Chinese. The next section discusses how these diasporic parent-child experiences are linked to the quality of intergenerational relationships.

Intergenerational Conflicts

Intergenerational conflicts can be seen as discrepancies between the collectivist values of the first-generation, and the individualist values shared of the second-generation. Immigrant families were confronted with adaptation to another culture and with a more diverse cross-cultural experience; members of the second generation adjusted more quickly than their parents who were reluctant to accept changes from their culture of origin (Phinney et al. 2000). Meanwhile second-generation children may feel 'confused and torn by the conflict between the cultures of home and those of school and the larger society, as well as by the inconsistent values and expectation from their parents' (Ying et al. 2001: 343). Failure to acknowledge such differences can result in misunderstandings, miscommunications, and conflicts in the family (Lee et al. 2000). The three most common topics I identified from

interviews were linguistic decline, career expectations and personal relationships. Many previous studies have linked intergenerational conflicts to a strong predictor of negative youth and family outcomes in families from diverse cultural backgrounds (see for instance Phinney and Ong 2002; Shek 1998; Ying 1999). Rumbaut (1996b) argued that parent-child intergenerational conflict emerged as the strongest determinant of both self-esteem and depression in immigrant youth. Immigrant Chinese families may face greater challenges in negotiating conflicting demands in their process of adaptation. Parents in immigrant families are more likely to hold on to the values and norms of their cultures of origin, whereas children are more ready to accept the values and norms of the receiving societies (Herz and Gullone 1999; Shapiro et al. 1999). Yau and Smetan (1996) showed that the frequency and intensity of conflict were related to lower parental warmth and greater control.

Chinese parents may be used to loving their children in traditionally restrained ways; however for the well-being of their children, they can be encouraged to relate to them through more overt expressions of warmth. This includes encouraging children to make their own decisions and letting them have more freedom. Several of my first-generation respondents argued they were aware that their children were different, because their values were largely influenced by Western values:

> **Tong:** They grow up here, they are quite naïve, their mind is the same as the Irish, our Chinese people, you can walk this way, and you can walk that way. Chinese people would try other way to walk faster. European people if it is straight road, they walk straight. So our kids can't understand why Chinese work this way...They are the same as the Irish people.

Although many second-generation interviewees prioritise family interests and often obey parents without any confrontation, many first-generation interviewees still complained that it was challenging to deal with their Irish or UK-born children. Hon thought that 'it is not what we wish for them; it is about what they want...You are not able to control them. We won't change them.' Ma pointed out that the mentality of his children is different from the traditional one, 'If they want to go somewhere, they go ahead and ignore you'. Pak compared the second-generation with children who have not grown up abroad and who have only lived in China:

Pak: Kids here have more freedom. I won't put it as they are willing to obey you or not. They have space to express themselves as individuals. So we have to respect their thought and their demands. If kids do something wrong, you want to punish them physically. It is definitely not acceptable. You can explain to them that it is not right, it is not good.

I shall now move on to discuss linguistic decline, career expectations and personal relationships as a potential source for intergenerational conflict.

Language

First-generation respondents expected their children to speak Cantonese more often, while second-generation respondents, as a result of growing up and living in Ireland, may be in danger of losing their Cantonese. The linguistic decline referred to in this section is the second-generation's lack of Cantonese language skills. Loss of Chinese language fluency is associated with a loss of the Chinese identity, and an increase in English language fluency is associated with an increase in identification with the host society (Dion and Dion 1996).

There were multiple languages spoken within the Hong Kong Chinese families in Ireland. Below, a second-generation interviewee discusses the confusion caused by multilingualism within his family,

> **William**: I find it really hard to grasp two languages at the same time at such a young age, I don't have to learn Cantonese, but I have to know it to be able to communicate with my parents, Irish and English, obviously you grow up here.

The two most common languages among the interviewees were Cantonese and English. Parents often spoke Cantonese with each other due to lack of English language skills. Some of them can also speak Hakka, a dialect spoken in Hong Kong. Some first-generation respondents also speak Mandarin due to having worked with mainland Chinese over the years, but their Cantonese was still much better than their Mandarin. Rose commented that:

> **Rose**: My dad speaks Hakka to his family, my mum understands Hakka, but she speaks Cantonese [with my dad]. My grandmother only speaks Hakka; I have no ideas what she is saying half time, I look at her 'err'.

All my second-generation respondents are English native speakers. The majority of them can speak basic daily Cantonese to communicate with their families. For instance, William could speak Cantonese phrases such as, 'small things like, how you are doing? Did you eat, are you hungry? Do you have to go to toilet? Smaller things we say in Cantonese, but won't be huge phrases.' Similarly, Amie found that 'you are not speaking Cantonese properly'.

Lack of English language proficiency among Hong Kong Chinese parents can create 'intense generational tensions as parents often are dependent on their children to deal with the outside world. Role-reversal usually leads to weakening parental control' (Zhou 2001: 208), but this role-reversal example did not lead to greater tensions in my interviews. Some second-generation interviewees mentioned that they helped their parents in dealing with the Irish people when they were younger. For example, Zoe was the mediator when helping her parents buy a house from an Irish family. None of my second-generation participants could write Cantonese characters apart from their Chinese names. Only a few of them could read Cantonese characters. Reading newspapers is too demanding a task for all of them, as the Cantonese characters are foreign to them.

In terms of parent-child communication, my sample of second-generation interviewees sometimes had to speak to their parents in Cantonese because their parents' English was not as nuanced as theirs. Meanwhile, due to children's limited Cantonese vocabulary, their parents sometimes had to try to speak English to them. Therefore, 'the lesser proficiency in English of the parents' and the lesser proficiency in Chinese on the children's part could lead to 'concrete obstacles to effective communication' (Zhou 2001: 208). Cantonese and English language skills can vary from person to person. Therefore John's experience was common: '[talking to parents in Chinese], sometimes you won't know how to speak, can't really explain in Chinese. You don't have the vocabulary.' Therefore, the mix of Cantonese and English seems to be one option. Lilly argued that she 'speak[s] to my parents in Cantonese, but sometimes, when I forget about the words, I would put English words, they would understand as well.'

It was interesting to see that second-generation respondents often switched between languages according to their audiences. They spoke English with their siblings and Cantonese with their parents. They regarded Cantonese as the family language but they rarely used it outside the familial sphere, sometimes not even with other Hong Kong Chinese friends.

Aaron would only speak to his Chinese friends, 'some words in Chinese, [when] you cannot say it in English, there is no English for that.' Ben's case demonstrates a sliding use of language: 'I speak English with my sister [and] English to my dad and Cantonese with my mum. My dad speaks fluent Cantonese as well, but I speak to him in English.' Lucy would even associate different sisters with different languages, such as 'speak Cantonese to one sister a lot of time and with other sister, not so much.' Emma's parents, 'talk to her [younger sister], mainly Cantonese, my mum told me to speak Cantonese to her, I just can't, I don't know why. Look at her, I speak English, look at mum. I speak Cantonese.'

Even though they claimed they rarely used Cantonese with their Hong Kong Chinese friends, they used Cantonese as what I call a sort of 'skipping strategy' when they did not want non-Chinese speakers to find out what are talking about, or if they wanted to say something silly. So the language has played a role as mask for their multiple identities. As Maria explained, 'something silly like, [when you are in a shop, and you think] "Oh this top is horrible", you don't want others to hear, anything we can't say it loud, we [say it] in Cantonese.'

At the time of fieldwork, almost all my second-generation interviewees used English as their first language, but many of them told me that Cantonese was their mother tongue when they were younger. They had experienced deterioration in their Cantonese skills. They only picked up English when they started school. Before that their Cantonese was better than their English, due to their family education. Eve told me that 'my granny and granddad have no English. So we always speak Chinese until my sister went school. She brought back English.' As a result, Eve found that 'normally they [parents] talk to us in Cantonese, normally we answer back in English, we used to answer back in Cantonese, not anymore.'

The age profile of my second-generation also played a role in this linguistic decline, as they often pointed out their younger sibling's inability to speak Cantonese. Ryan switched between English and Cantonese with his older sister, but he could not speak Cantonese with younger siblings. He emphasised that the 'younger generation can't be Chinese at all. They are terrible.' It also shows that the level of Cantonese determines Chinese identities, a point to which I shall return further below. Ken explained the differences among his siblings in the following way:

Ken: I started Cantonese first; I did not speak English until I was 8 years of age that was when I got private teacher to improve my English. I think I'm different from my siblings, at their time, we were more settled in Ireland, in my younger age, I still know a lot of Hong Kong people…my younger brothers and sisters don't have so much exposure to Cantonese, apart from watching TV. So their English is much better than mine from younger age. All of them can speak Irish as the result of their education in Ireland.

Similarly, Patrick found that 'when my younger brothers and sisters were born, my parents started English with them. When I was younger, just me and my elder brother, we spoke only Cantonese, we were not allowed to speak English to my parents.' Eve believed that the reason for her parents chose to speak English to her younger siblings was, 'my mum tried to learn English, she used simple English words, [my brother] was younger, he learned small words.'

Aware of the diversity of language within Hong Kong Chinese families, and linguistic decline within the second-generation, first-generation participants would prefer their children, especially the older ones, to be able to speak Cantonese. The first-generation not only regarded the Chinese language as knowledge, but also associated it with opportunities to cultivate a sense of Chinese identity to their children. Possession of the Chinese language provided many Chinese migrants with a mark of being Chinese (Pan 1990) and for Chinese to give this up was a 'major sacrifice' (Redding 1993). Alienation from the mother tongue has decreased cultural knowledge and identification, which in turn has influenced adversely the ethnic identification of some Chinese (Kin 2003). Therefore it explained the reason why many first-generation respondents in my study expect their children to be able to speak Cantonese well. As Ms Tsui put it, 'my kids speak English to me, I don't encourage them speaking English, but they said they could not stop, they think in English. They speak really fast, their first language.' Chu went back to Hong Kong and lived there for seven years and he brought his son with him because he was afraid his children would not understand Chinese.' Pak elaborated on Chu's worry:

Pak: For those kids who were born here, they do not value Chinese at the top of their list. They are surrounded by English speakers, speak Chinese or not does not matter. I think the kid come to [Chinese] school or not is related to their parents' motivation. If the parents are willing to motivate their kids to learn Chinese, no matter how busy their work is, they can manage these problems. Some parents have no choice, they have to work. When kids get little bit older, their acceptance of Chinese would be really low.

Kids can't resist [if parents arrange for them to learn something] if parents can bring the kids despite how busy their own work, kids will learn.

Apart from the family environment, Chinese weekend schools have become important institutions for the second-generation to learn Cantonese. Chinese schools are the most important locale of cultural transmission. Chinese schools are seen as the guardian of Chinese, which ensures the continuity and development of Chinese culture. Therefore, Chinese language schools in Ireland were set up by some first-generation Hong Kong Chinese to preserve their language and cultural heritage.[32] Chinese language schools are 'embedded in the organisational structure of the immigrant community and were the only ethnic institution serving these second-generation children' (Zhou and Li 2003: 62).

The first-generation often forced their children to attend a Chinese language school. Second-generation respondents were not as keen on going to Chinese schools as their parents. Going to Chinese school became a burden for some children and a source of parent-child conflict. Some children stated that going to Chinese school was unfair on them. Tong, a first-generation interviewee, told me about his son's complaint:

Tong: They want fairness, in the past they went to Chinese school on Saturdays and Sundays. They said to me that their classmates have 5 days in school, weekend off, they study these two days. It is not fair?...They have their own thought. Now they have regrets, they should learn a bit more Chinese. My son is working in Hong Kong now. My daughter is working in Shanghai now.

Though many second-generation interviewees lacked enthusiasm and interest, they recognised the practical value of Chinese school as a way to learn Chinese and appreciated with the social role of the school where they got to know others who shared similar racial backgrounds. The Chinese school as a socialisation agency among the second-generation is discussed in detail in the next chapter. Apart from Chinese school, watching Cantonese TV and listening to Cantonese songs are the other main channels for them to learn Cantonese.

Many first-generation interviewees were ambivalent towards the language issue: they wanted their children to excel in school in order to have a good career, and access to mainstream

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[32] There are three Chinese weekend schools in Dublin. Two were set up by Hong Kong Chinese. At the time of this research, only one school teaches Cantonese. The other two schools teach Mandarin due to rising demands.

education required their children to have good English language skills, but meanwhile they feared they would 'lose their children if their children became too westernised' (Zhou and Li 2003: 63) due to their children's neglect of Chinese. Some second-generation interviewees expressed less interest in learning Cantonese, such as Maria who argued that 'my English is much better than my Chinese. I don't like the language [Chinese], I can't write, such a waste of time...I do have ok Cantonese, not great.' Some of them had experience in trying to avoid speaking Cantonese with their family in front of their Irish friends.

> **Lucy**: Before, parents talked to me in Chinese when they picked me up from school. I refused, because my friends were there, I thought it was strange. Now I don't care. When you get older, you are more confident like. To be quite honest, I would be more upset that I don't know some Chinese issues. My experience of Chinese is limited...I'm being more upset stuff I don't know in Chinese culture suppose Irish culture.

Despite parents' desire for their children to learn Chinese language and culture, most parents have to cope with their busy working schedules. The reality of working also made trips to Chinese schools difficult, as Ma explained. He married an Irish woman, so there was less emphasis on Cantonese than in other Hong Kong Chinese families:

> **Ma:** It is not about they [my kids] don't speak, but I rarely home. Before, I taught them a few Chinese every day, but I was in restaurant, not home, how could they speak then; they did not go to Chinese school, as we did not have time. As they don't practice, they forget.

To sum up, members of the second-generation were exposed to their Chinese cultural heritage, reaffirming their ethnic identity, in the Chinese schools. Many second-generation respondents committed to attending Chinese language schools under parental pressure but some would drop out later. Many were aware of the advantages of speaking Cantonese. Some see the ability to speak Chinese as positive for their work experience and identity. Their language skills determined whether they will be able to work in China or not. The ability to speak Cantonese is also a way for them to measure how Chinese they are.

Career

Another source of intergenerational conflict is career aspirations. The second-generation interviewees grew up within Irish society as well as in their parents' ethnic business

environment. Second-generation children are often more integrated than their parents. They also have easier access to information, management skills, market demands and changes in lifestyle than the first-generation (Pang 2002). These ethnic businesses are 'of less importance for the second than for the first-generation' (Rusinovic 2006: 33). Compared with their parents, they have more options in their career choices because of their advantages in native English skills and better education. High level of educational achievement enables the second-generation to enter managerial and professional occupations (Kitching et al. 2009). For the second-generation it may not be necessary to stay in the same ethnic businesses as their parents. However, parental preference for a particular career path can cause problems for children whose interests or talents are at odds with parental choice (Louie 2004; Zhou and Xiong 2005). Of the three sources of conflict identified in this chapter, tensions due to career expectations between both generations were the least common. There was some consensus in their views about career choices.

The difference between collectivism and individualism informs the approach to careers. Western encouragement for individualisation from the family implies that career interests should be individualised and personal desires take primacy over the needs of the groups. Meanwhile behaviours accepted and expected by collectivistic groups place added value on parental advice when making a career decision. More often than not, 'Chinese parents measure success not merely by their own occupational achievement, but by their children's educational achievement' (Zhou and Li 2003: 68), because if children go to a good school, the parents feel rewarded and are admired and respected as successful parents. When children are less successful, the parents lose face (Zhou and Li 2003).

The first-generation in my study preferred their children to work in professional fields such as accountancy, medicine and law rather than in Chinese catering businesses. Tong thought that 'we work in a restaurant, but we don't want our kids working in a restaurant, because it is long hours, now they all work on better jobs...depends on their experience, my son is in the computer [sector], they have nine-to-five jobs.' Similarly Tong pointed out that their children had more career options than they had: 'before we had no choice...we did not have good English, not good at doing other things...they [his children] have walked their own way.' Ms Dou also saw working in a professional job as a normal life for her Irish-born children:

Ms Dou: You don't want them to work in a take-away again. You sleep in the morning; you work in the evening which is not good. They all like to work in western companies. Have a normal life. If they finish at night [in restaurant], and go to disco after, it is not good, they won't be able to sleep…it is not good for your life. Or sometimes you have to fight with others [customers], it is not good. Nowadays, if they can find work in western company, they can have living of themselves; they don't have to reply on their parents.

Patrick, a second-generation interviewee, described his parents' idea of a good job as 'lots of money'. Patrick was interested in becoming a chef, but his chef father disapproved of it because 'he thought it is tough, you swear a lot, the hours are long. Payment is really bad. You just cook constantly.' Therefore his father demanded that he 'go to college so you would get a proper job. 'They [dad] work seriously hard to get money…they want us to start life, not always working, you know, not see your family as much, because you always work.' Meanwhile Zoe's parents told her that 'whatever career you do, don't disgrace family.' Zoe's words clearly show that career choice is closely related to a family concern which is, 'about family ideology about duties and obligations' (Zhou 2001: 212). Maria explained how she convinced her parents about her choice to become a medical doctor:

Maria: I just warn them. I want to be a doctor, so much hard work, I spent years in college. Earn good money. Oh yeah yeah yeah. Obviously, when you mention money, she is yeah yeah yeah. All Chinese people the same, very few [in my family] went to college. Everyone works in business.

In order to work in the so-called 'good job' which is associated with high social status and high income, the first-generation emphasised education so as to equip their children with better skills to have what they call 'a white collar job'. Education is imperative in occupational achievement (Zhou and Li 2003). Archer and Francis (2006) propose a discourse of 'valuing education' as a racialised cultural term and it was 'positioned as a defining feature of Chineseness' (2006: 40). These parental discourses reflected not so much the 'reality of the parents' own upbringing, but rather a discourse of Chinese diasporic identity within the British context' (Archer and Francis 2006: 40). Fung and Tse, two first-generation interviewees, spontaneously highlighted 'higher education, not the restaurant.' Both previous research and popular perception recognise the Chinese second-generation as 'model students', an acknowledgement of their high academic achievement. Zhou and Li (2003) explained that education became the most feasible route for upward mobility when

Chinese migrants faced decades of legal exclusion, social isolation, discrimination and persistent racial stereotyping in the host country. The Hong Kong Chinese families in Ireland are not different from other Chinese families in the United States or in the UK: they identified the 'importance of education as an avenue of upward mobility for their children and encourage educational achievement (Zhou and Bankston III 2001: 133). The socio-economic conditions of the new land, place a new emphasis on scholastic performance and ambition for migrants (Zhou and Bankston III 2001) as shown in the following extract:

> **William**: I grow up they told me that you have to go to school, you have to learn, working in the restaurant is hard business...I don't mind working there, people do affect you...It puts barrier on me, you do want us to [have] happier, better lives than they do... all Chinese people think the same they want to their kids study.

As a result of their experiences in helping out in the family business, the nature of restaurant work made the second-generation disinterested in continuing work there. For example, Amie found the work was 'too much to look after, too much stress. You have to check everything.' Compared with his Irish friends, William cited the low payment as the main reason for not working in the restaurant business:

> **William**: You are hearing people out there, they get part-time job, they are on minimum wage, even they work less hours than I am, they get more money than I am. Working in the family, it is hard that's all towards going to pay for the house, the mortgage.

Although my sample of second-generation interviewees did not see the taking over of the restaurant business from their parents as a priority in their career, it was interesting to note that the ethnic business did provide a security net for them, especially since the economic crisis of 2008, as there are now fewer professional job opportunities. According to John, 'helping family is one [option], not in the long run, at the moment it is grand.'

The first-generation Hong Kong Chinese had high expectations of their children's educational performance. The second-generation are also able to 'read the wishes of their parents, recognize implicit boundaries, and develop particular career interests towards a select career path.' Some alter their interests to maintain harmony in their families, such as Lilly:

Lilly: Maybe Chinese people always want to get top marks. They kind of want their children to be really good, be the top. But maybe Irish parents would say just try your best, maybe Chinese people have a bit more stress, because in Hong Kong, it is really difficult to get in to [good] school. Maybe that's why the parents think you have to be always the number one. [Irish parents] are just proud of what you do. Maybe because of the fact that your parents think once you are number one, you would be ok.

With such a demand on high academic achievement, parents were willing to support their children financially, as the majority of the second-generation interviewees only worked in the Chinese restaurant on an informal basis. In Chinese families, it is culturally appropriate for young people to be dependent on their families while they are still unmarried, especially if they are still in school (Lim et al. 2009). On the other hand, the financial support becomes the parents' control mechanism:

Chu: So I said, before 30, they spend my money... if you want to do some business, if you don't have the start up capital, I can help them out. I asked [my son] who let you go to college, it was me, dad let you. He disagrees; as he argues that everyone goes to college...do you know some kids [in China] did not even have the chance to go to primary school...It is not obligation to get you into college.

Many second-generation respondents in this study felt that their parents let them choose their career path, once it was not in the catering business. Hannah regarded her parents as 'not really Chinese parents, as they do not put too much pressure on me'. Despite his father's disapproval of him being a chef, Sean's father, 'wants me to do something I want to do. As long as I'm happy earning money.' When Lilly needed to decide her school choice, 'my mum said it would be nice to be one [lawyer, doctor and account], she knew I don't like it. They are really supportive'. Similarly, Ella's parents, 'did not say what particular job they would like us to do, no pressure on that, they did want us to have good education, actually get out restaurant business.'

Although some of my second-generation respondents admired their parents' open attitudes towards their career choices, they still noticed that sometimes their parents exercised dominance over their decisions. The collectivist, reserved, traditional Asian ways may affect the manner in which Asian Americans choose a career, tolerating less freedom of choice and emphasizing family options (Leong et al. 2004). Parents could directly or indirectly influence their children's choices. Adam's subject choice was largely influenced by his mother, who was also concerned that he could mind his younger sister:

Adam: I wanted to do medicine, but my mum want me to be politician...I think it is superficial, she wanted me to turn to be a musician, but I liked it as hobby, I don't want to take it as career...So I think about medicine, but she did not think I can get enough [points]. Finance secure, being able to support myself when my dad retires, that's all they care...stable job, be able to support myself. If my sister needs help, I can help that kind of stuff; they don't care what I do.

Parental influence was shown in several ways: firstly, going to college was seen as the minimum, what I called 'bargain basis' for their children to do whatever they wanted to in the future. Peter thought his parents' generation were considered with regard to their children's future, 'still they question their children's ambition because they work so hard to provide us the future...they are not used to the [Irish] culture...They kind of push you to do a degree, and then you can do whatever you want.' In order to meet their parents' expectations, some second-generation interviewees would choose to study their parents' favourite subject. In choosing her college degree, Eve had to 'ask my mum what I was allowed to do. They have to ask my grandparents [in Hong Kong], are you ok with them? My grandparents give me a list, list of what I was allowed to do: law, medicine, business.' Due to parental pressure, many second-generation interviewees are more likely to do something rather different from their qualifications after the completion of their degrees. Rose's sister got very high Leaving Certificate points to study computer science in one of the leading universities in Dublin, but after that she worked in an arts institution which was not linked to her degree. Her parents were angry with her career choice, but she told them she 'did that [computer science] because you wanted me to.'

Other parents would use indirect pressure to make their children follow their advice. Sarah told me that 'my parents say you do whatever you like, but still do something I admire, arts or media or science. My mum would advise.' Alison told me even though her parents did not want her to be a waitress they would not say it, they would mention other people... 'Kind of put you down...you just have to be the best, that kind of thing.'

Although the second-generation found it was not easy to cope with parents' high expectations, many of them still chose to follow their parents' idea.[33] When asked about their career

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[33] Due to the age profile of my second-generation interviewees, the majority of them do not have their own family. Only one female interviewee is married and none of them had children. Although I questioned them how they would raise their children, the answers are based on assumptions.

expectations for their own children, the majority of them thought that they would not follow their parents' education method. They often agreed with the notion, as Sean put it, that 'I don't mind as long as they are happy.' Interestingly, a small number of respondents admitted that they would put pressure on their children to push for better results. Ryan thought he would place such expectations on his children because, 'I want my kids to do better than me anyway.' They all valued the importance of education in the same way as their parents. According to Ben, 'I will always tell them to study.' The notion of 'not working in the Chinese restaurant' was often mentioned:

> **Maria**: I don't mind [what my kids do]; they want to be a doctor that is fine. They want to be something else...in fairness, I don't want them to do take away. I think that is very difficulty life...I see what it has done to my parents, [who are] so stressed all the time.

It is hard to summarise the actual profile of the second-generation interviewees regarding employment outside of the ethnic business. It was not easy to know whether there was direct upward mobility from a job perspective for the second generation in relation to their parents, because the majority of them were still in college at the time of my fieldwork. The strict demands for education from the parents however had ensured a higher level of qualifications for the second-generation. These good qualifications drove second-generation interviewees out of the ethnic businesses. While their parents saw education as an avenue to achieve better financial and social capital, the second-generation did not necessarily agree with their parents' notion of a good job or a good subject, though they generally still took their parents' advice. Although there were some disagreements over career choices, overall, tensions were not severe.

Personal Relationships

Tensions arising from the discrepancy in values surrounding personal relationships were more severe than those relating to linguistic decline or career expectations. First-generation respondents emphasised that 'deep down' they preferred their children to go out with Chinese partners. Tong, a first-generation interviewee, talked about his brother's dating experience to show the Chinese parental preference towards who their children should go out with: 'deep down, I would prefer the Chinese [for my kids], but it does not matter. Before, my brother was going out with an Irish girl, my dad was against it. Before, an Irish girl liked me. My

sister fired that girl.' Chu disapproved of his daughter's Irish boyfriend. He was proud of his daughter's education and career prospects. She studied medicine at university.

> **Chu:** My daughter is going out with a foreigner [Irish], I have nothing to say. I was a bit unhappy deep down. You ask can I accept it? I don't really accept it, I told them that. My daughter is really smart, but I find the boyfriend had nothing. My daughter looks after everything...Last Christmas, she brought him home. I did not pay attention to him. It was hard for me to accept. My son married a mainland Chinese girl. My friends said 'it is better to marry a mainland Chinese than local girl'.

The above quote illustrates that Hong Kong Chinese parents have a hierarchy of suitable partners for their children. Spickard (1989) notes a 'hierarchy of preference' in the attitudes of ethnic groups towards intermarriage. Marriage partners who shared a greater number of affiliations were preferred partners, since they represented a greater degree of shared membership (Kibria 1997). Hong Kong Chinese partners who have either grown up in Ireland or grown up in Hong Kong were seen as the most suitable because of the Hong Kong connection. Mainland Chinese partners were good for their children, they shared a Chinese background, while Irish partners or partners of other races were not seen as the ideal choices. Patrick told me that 'my dad wants to ship me to London to find a Chinese girl. I don't care what colour [the girls] are. Black, white...my parents would mind.' Sean's mother cared a lot about the girls he should go out with:

> **Sean:** My mum wants me to marry an Asian girl, not white girl. It is superficial, as much it is Asian, looks Asian...'Oh, she is Chinese, Oh, that's really good' while it is Irish girl, 'oh we are happy for you' you can read their reaction.

Most first-generation respondents preferred their children to start getting into relationships late. Kasinitz et al. (2008: 348) found that Chinese migrants in the United States often 'put off marriage and childbearing until they have finished school and established themselves in their career'. Many second-generation interviewees disagreed with their parents' idea to start going out with someone after college and securing a job. Amie told me about her parents' idea of her life path. Her parents would like her to have a boyfriend when she has finished college because they thought, 'after college, you have to have a job, education, good qualification...you just have to concentrate, get a great job.' However during the interview, she was still in college and going out with a boy from Hong Kong. Rose told me that she had

her first boyfriend at 17, but 'during that time, my dad would argue with me that I'm too young'. Ella had to hide her boyfriend from her father, as the following extract shows:

> **Ella**: I had my first boyfriend when I was 17, I had to hide him…one time it was really funny, we were in the kitchen, my dad's car just came in, anyway, boyfriend had his shoes off, came to back garden and climbed the back wall, I had to go back to throw the shoes over the wall, and back again, to get his jacket and throw. My dad came and obviously knew what happened, he gave me an education, not to get pregnant, I don't want to be grandpa. My parents never gave us sex education, not even when we had our period, my mum wouldn't tell us what it was, why you had, she just gave us a sanitary towel; I can never talk about personal things with my parents. I can't say the words in Cantonese whatever…they won't support me mentally, I felt my parents more like housemates than parents…they did not give us support, they can support financially, but mentally, even school report, we got good results, I won't show them, what's the point then? They never play with us, usually give out.

The second-generation respondents in my sample understood their parents' view on dating someone within the same ethnic group. Ryan explained that 'my mother does not speak much English, so she prefers someone she can talk to, relate to.' Lilly knew that 'my mum would prefer a Chinese boy because of the language again, because obviously, if it is Irish, you know, my parents' English probably isn't the best …a bit awkward they would find hard to interact with them.' However, the second-generation interviewees did not think it was necessary to date only within the same ethnic group. Most had more interaction with Irish friends than their parents. As a result of more frequent interactions with the Irish in their daily lives, they have more opportunities to meet Irish boyfriends or girlfriends:

> **Rose**: I would say I grow up here, dad. It is just I don't know any Chinese boys; I don't know that many Chinese people here. My dad say maybe you should go and meet them…my older sister is going out with her Irish boyfriend for six years, they are engaged now…when they first got engaged, my dad was kind of ok, a few year ago, I asked 'would it be really funny my sister and xx get engaged' my dad said 'don't talk about that'.

Rose's experience pointed to the difficulties for second-generation migrants to meet a partner who has a similar experience of growing up due to the small Hong Kong Chinese community in Ireland. Lucy, who was going out with an Irish boyfriend at the time of my interview, told me that, 'they [parents] understand not that many Chinese people and the chance to meet Chinese boys would be really small.'

Compared with the second-generation female respondents, more male second-generation respondents expressed their interests in marrying a Chinese girl rather than an Irish girl. Within the second-generation sample, half of the female respondents had gone out with an Irish guy and one was married to an Irish guy. Only a small number of male interviewees had gone out with Irish girlfriends and none of them was going out with an Irish girl at the time of my fieldwork. Both Ken and Max told me that they preferred Hong Kong girls. Ken had dated an Irish girl. At the time, his parents thought he spent too much time with his Irish girlfriend and in the end he broke up with her partly because of his parents' views:

> **Ken:** When I'm getting older, I kind of prefer a more Chinese girl, Hong Kong girls, I don't know why. I suppose Chinese girls know more about our origins, more about our ways of life than most western girl...Probably take them more time, probably need to train them as well.

The second-generation respondents' family orientation also showed in their consideration of a relationship. Many of the male respondents, who expressed a preference towards going out with Hong Kong girls, did so because Hong Kong girls could communicate with their parents. Other respondents thought of family responsibilities. Rose informed her American boyfriend that 'if you marry me, you are not marry me; you are marrying my entire family. My father would say that, when you get married, it is not just about you and your partner.'

On the surface, first-generation respondents supported their children's personal choices but they had concerns about their children's personal relationships. Ms Tsui told me that 'it is up to them. It is not good [to stop them going out with the Irish]...As a mum, I do worry how are they?' Ma's comment was quite typical of the views among other first-generation interviewees. 'What you think does not account. They just go ahead, find their ones. Their mentalities are different from the old ones. They go their ways. The Chinese nowadays, you tell them what to do, they neglect you.' The first-generation respondents often feel as if their opinions were meaningless, as they were aware of the second-generation's individualistic attitude to relationships, so Chu decided to 'say nothing, I give you [his children] a lot of freedom, you choose for yourself, you take the responsibilities'. Many first-generation interviewees took neutral positions, like Ms Dou:

> **Ms Dou**: [I] mainly want my daughter to meet more Chinese people....although she has western friends, I don't encourage that but I can't opposite it either. I don't have any

requirement. I hope she would have her Chinese belonging. But in the end, if she wants to marry a western guy, I won't have opposition, you can't oppress.

Although the first-generation tried to be supportive, their children noticed their parents' indirect disapproval, as illustrated by Hannah:

Hannah: They say they don't mind, but they do another thing. They don't mind. I don't mind. When it really happens to you, I actually don't know. I think my mum would be ok. After Leaving Cert, you can do whatever you want to do. They would prefer Chinese. When I was young, 'would you like marry an Irish guy or a Chinese guy? 'Irish' when I was really young. Now I don't mind at all. I understand where they come from, the cultural way. All the barriers. If I marry an Irish, not Chinese, we have different wedding anyway. One in Hong Kong and a western wedding... communication wise, I prefer a Chinese person they understand, but in the end, it's me getting married.

Taking into account their parents' ideal standard of personal relationships, the second-generation respondents often avoid communicating with their parents in relation to this topic. Zoe would definitely not talk to her parents about relationships:

Zoe: You can' talk to them anything. They are so old fashioned. My parents would react, they would go crazy, boyfriend, where is he from? Has he got good background? Basically the old fashioned thing...You just have to get on with them...Personal things, adolescent, can't talk to my parents; you have to manage yourself...Oh ask you sister, ask you brother, oh, ask your friend, ask your friend's mum. School is not great, small basic thing, mainly we won't talk about. I think that's really the thing in my family.

Facing restrictions from their parents on having a Chinese partner and starting dating late, the second-generation saw their parents as being old-fashioned. It was not easy for them to talk about relationship issues openly with their parents. John thought that his 'parents are really old-fashioned, marry a Chinese they are good for you, don't mind the western people.'

Sometimes the second-generation interviewees in my study found their parents could not do anything to stop their personal relationships. For example, Lilly found that 'they don't mind because they can't really force someone.' Alison was going out with an Irish boyfriend, she knew that 'she [her mother] would prefer me to hang around a Chinese boy... but she gradually got used to him [Irish boyfriend].' Maria's parents did not want to know if she had a boyfriend or not unless she was going to marry someone. Her older sister is married to an

Irish man, 'she is the oldest, so obviously, she had pressure...my parents were not happy at all...then they just get used to it...they would prefer her marrying someone Chinese. We live in Ireland, obviously, we would know Irish boys.'

Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined the views on family and the emergence of intergenerational conflicts and its effects on parent-child relationships. It is accepted that 'family acts as the context in which migration decisions are made' and that migration reshapes family formation and interaction' (Ho 2008: 146). However, the following contradictions among parent-child relationships emerged.

Despite its patriarchal family structure, Hong Kong Chinese families overall enjoy a strong family cohesion where harmony is valued, for example there are high levels of obedience among second-generation interviewees in their acceptance of perceived obligations and expectations from their parents. Many second-generation interviewees took into account their parents' desires to preserve family harmony and traditions. Children's 'individual autonomy were often subordinated to the needs of their families' (Phinney et al. 2000: 529). Although both parents and children respect the strong family bond, the parent-child relationships were remote, and children often criticised their Chinese parents' lack of warmth and their over-protective parenting style in comparison to the perceived close parent-child relationship in the Irish families.

Value discrepancies were evident among the parents and children among Hong Kong families which retained traditional Chinese culture and ethics. Many first-generation interviewees tried to retain Chinese culture, and expressed their cultural heritage within their families. They complained that children did not appreciate their Chinese heritage. The second-generation participants were influenced by both Irish and Chinese culture. They were aware of their parents' values, and understood their parents' emphasis on speaking Cantonese, working in professional jobs and establishing personal relationships with Chinese partners. It was interesting to see how they developed a Chinese-Irish subculture, They agreed with their parents' strong work ethic and devotion to education, they often preferred moving out of traditional Chinese restaurant businesses as a result of their higher educational qualifications, but meanwhile they also felt the pressure from parents in their choices of career. They were

able to speak both English and Cantonese, but many of them may have less interest or sometimes a lack of opportunity to speak Cantonese, so their Cantonese proficiency declined over the years. The greatest divide in opinion was related to personal relationships, many of their parents expected them to go out with Chinese partners, but the second-generation interviewees, particularly the young women, were unconcerned with their partner's ethnicity. In light of different understandings of homeland culture and host society culture, family can also be 'a place where conflict and negotiation take places' (Foner 1997: 961), but overall second-generation interviewees were obedient and avoided direct confrontations with their parents.

Following this discussion of differences in cultural orientation within the family, the next chapter analyses the interaction of experiences and sense of belonging among first- and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland.

Chapter 6: Negotiating Diasporic Identities

The previous chapter analysed the cultural production of diaspora in generational factors within the context of family. There was a continual effort among participants to strike a balance between ethnic culture and host culture. These new blends of cultural identities, 'providing us with 'a model for understanding experience and for sorting out meanings' (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001: 90), relate to evolving forms of ethnic hybridity. The aim of this chapter is to explore further the diasporic identities of first- and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland. According to Hall (1990: 235), diasporic identities are 'defined by the recognition of necessary heterogeneity and diversity. They are producing and reproducing themselves anew along itineraries of migrating, but also recreating the endless desire to return to "lost origins"'. The idea of 'Chineseness' not only represents the ethnicity of Chinese individuals and families; it also prioritises Chinese culture and heritage over that of the host society (Wickberg 2007). Wang Gungwu (2003) argues that the Chinese have never had a concept of identity, only a concept of Chineseness, of being Chinese and of becoming un-Chinese. The meaning of Chineseness is seen as a 'territorial, racial, cultural, and national identity' (Louie 2001: 355). Parker (1995) argues that 'there is a general reconception of identity through the analysis of diasporic culture' (1995: 26).

The chapter is divided into three key sections. The first section discusses various modes of interaction my interviewees had within Irish society. One objective of this investigation is to find out how my interviewees defined notions of friendship and how they interacted with friends in their daily lives. The second section analyses experiences around discrimination and coping mechanisms. The problem of discrimination associated with negative features of diaspora leads to questions of identity. The chapter closes with an examination of the dialectical relationship between 'homeland' and 'diaspora' through concepts of citizenship and sense of belonging. Though the cohort's responses reflect varying degrees of sentimental attachment to such concepts, the idea of the 'myth of return' of diaspora emerged. Veer (1995: 4) argues that these themes are integral to understanding migrants' self-identification because 'belonging opposes rootedness to uprootedness, establishment to marginality. The theme of longing relies on the desire for change and movement, but relates this to the enigma of arrival, which brings a similar desire to return to what one has left'.

Friendships: Between Business and Choices

As discussed in Chapter 4, Hong Kong families used a distinct business strategy of scattering themselves throughout Ireland in order to avoid direct competition with other Hong Kong Chinese businesses. On the one hand, this strategy increases economic opportunities, but on the other hand, the physical distance between groups leads to a social distance which determines their chances of interaction and contact (Chau and Yu 2001). Hence, many Hong Kong Chinese migrants may not only disassociate from the host society, but also, for financial reasons, maintain a distance from each other. In light of this 'double social exclusion' (Chau and Yu 2001), this section analyses how such business strategies pattern their capacity to create friendships and how my sample defines their friendship with others.

Business Acquaintances among the First-Generation

The majority of first-generation respondents embedded themselves in an ethnic business such as Chinese catering businesses and thus their economic performances have shaped their experiences when interacting with Irish society. Business links with their Irish customers were their main avenue of socially interacting in Ireland. Chu, who had more than one Chinese restaurant, recalled that '[interaction] with the Irish, less these years. When I was setting up business [in the past], had to interact with Irish'. As indicated by Chu, communication with Irish people was necessary for the development of the business, particularly in the start-up phase when it was necessary to negotiate retail lease space terms with Irish landlords or retain a good standard of customer service. When communication went beyond their ethnic business setting, the interactions of first-generation respondents with the Irish became narrow. Pak, an owner of a Chinese takeaway, had many close contacts with other Hong Kong Chinese. He summarised the level of communication they had with the Irish as follows: 'Their English is not good or they do not have a good understanding of Irish culture, this communication is limited. This kind of communication won't flow as smoothly as that between Chinese'.

Based on research into Chinese migration to New Zealand, Pawakpan (2003) argues that the nature of Chinese occupation was one of the main factors that caused communication misunderstandings between the Chinese and the New Zealanders. He went beyond the typical concepts of language, familiarity of ethnic culture and host culture and experience of

discrimination in explaining the limited communication with the host society. The creation of social distance between two groups was a matter of economics rather than social or racial prejudice. This work echoed the experience of my sample of Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland. They commented on how their anti-social working hours (often six days per week) and little leisure time have impacted their ability to establish proper relationships with the Irish outside of work.

The concentration in the ethnic business among first-generation interviewees could contribute to their in-group relationships with other Hong Kong Chinese. Indirectly, this illustrated the social exclusion they experience in Ireland. It is worthwhile to point out that many first-generation interviewees did not portray themselves as isolated from the Irish; however, based on an analysis of some second-generation interviewees' narratives, many second-generation interviewees were aware of some degree of isolation experienced by their parents. For example, Ella felt that her parents did not see communication with other Irish parents at school as 'a big deal' and therefore did not choose to engage in conversations with them. Maria cited how she was disappointed that her parents never came to any of her competitions in school due to their restaurant business. She thought that the reason why her parents did not turn up to these events was that they found nothing to talk about with Irish parents.

Arguably, one reason why many first-generation interviewees did not see themselves as isolated from Irish people was that they still have frequent interactions with other Hong Kong Chinese and therefore did not feel excluded. Speaking the same language and arriving to Ireland from the same locality played a role in bringing them together. As a result, a large number of first-generation respondents were keen on keeping friendships with other Hong Kong Chinese; they felt it was easier to talk to them and they felt most comfortable with their peers. Sung, a member of a Hong Kong Chinese-led organisation, used the example of the Cantonese spoken in their meetings to explain how using the same language bonded them together. All of my first-generation interviewees spoke Cantonese:

> **Sung**: When we meet, we speak Cantonese, when we have meeting, we talk in Cantonese, our Mandarin is not proper, not fluent, so how can we have meeting or communicate with each other...we can speak English, but we Chinese have our meeting, speaking English is bit strange.

The social activities most first-generation respondents engaged in included having meals in Chinese restaurants, playing cards and, time permitting, playing golf together. Chu described a common social experience with other Hong Kong friends: 'have a chat, have tea, have drinks, have meals; eat good food, drink good wine'.

The ability of social mechanisms to create friendships or peer bonding experiences can be undermined by a potential conflict of interest (Chau and Yu 2001) so while the above types of social activities worked for many of the respondents, they did not suit every interviewee. For example, class distinctions in terms of the difference in their occupational roles such as business owner or waged staff could prevent friendships forming between those groups. Chiu, who had retired at the time of our interview, spoke about keeping distance from other Hong Kong Chinese:

> **Chiu**: I don't want to have too many close friends. No, no, only to say hello and then that it is. I want to keep my distance. They are really busy, don't have time. You keep close friends, sometimes, argue, argue, argument, make trouble. No use, no use.

Some participants, who worked in the Chinese catering businesses, interacted more frequently with the Irish than the average Hong Kong Chinese. Three male interviewees who married Irish women indicated their frequent interaction with their Irish relatives as a result of their marriages. Two interviewees still kept up close friendship with their Irish college mates since their graduation more than ten years ago. Another female interviewee became really good friends with other Irish parents through common interests in their children's schooling.

Friendship Choices among the Second-Generation

In contrast to first-generation interviewees, the second-generation in my sample often saw themselves as having more 'exploration' into Irish culture and Irish society than their parents. This is directly related to their educational experience as almost all of them were educated in Ireland.[34] As a result, they met their Irish friends mostly through schools and universities. Since they had more social interactions with the Irish through their schooling, they have more

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[34] Only one second-generation interviewee, who was born in Ireland, was brought back Hong Kong when she was one year old, and stayed in until she finished primary education. Her parents brought her back to Ireland for secondary education. The rest of the sample had all been educated since primary school in Ireland.

friendship choices and, as a result, their friendship patterns are more complex. The 'Chinese friends' they referred to had a similar background, such as having parents from Hong Kong and growing up in Ireland. Even though they all used the term 'Chinese friends', when I asked them who these Chinese friends were, none of them included the second wave of mainland Chinese who arrived more recently to Ireland.

Unlike the first-generation, geographical location played an important part in how the second-generation interacted with others. For example, those living in places outside County Dublin often had more Irish than Chinese friends. This was due to the strategy of scattering Chinese businesses around Ireland. In some cases, their family could be one of only a few Chinese households in the immediate area. In those cases, Hong Kong Chinese children would mostly interact with Irish classmates and other Irish people on a daily basis and the only way for them to meet other Hong Kong Chinese children was through their mothers' parties which often included playing cards. These parties were also the communication channel for many second-generation participants in County Dublin to meet other Chinese children, but it was not the only channel. For those living in County Dublin, they had more opportunities to meet other Chinese friends. The population of Hong Kong Chinese in County Dublin was higher than anywhere else in Ireland. Other meeting places which did not exist outside County Dublin were Chinese schools and Chinese churches.[35] There are three Chinese schools in County Dublin. One of the schools was set up by the Hong Kong Chinese in the 1980s. The Chinese church in Dublin also runs Cantonese classes along with their worship service on Sundays. Lucy, who is from a small town in the middle of Ireland, compared her situation to that of Hong Kong Chinese in Co Dublin.

> **Lucy**: My interaction with Chinese people was quite limited. Not many people I know. We are in [midland Ireland]…we were the only Chinese family in town. They have Chinese schools [in Dublin] every Saturday. We did not have that. So it is different… Because in Dublin, you have a lot more, we do not, unless we go to my mum's friend's house, really she is friend with the other, you did not have choice [in deciding who you want to be friends with].

William, who has more Irish friends, explained the difficulty for him to retain friendships with the other Hong Kong Chinese because he was living in a small town in the Midlands and therefore far away from other Hong Kong Chinese friends,

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[35] There used to be a Chinese school in County Limerick, but it was closed in approximately 2000.

William: You won't have contacts with your Chinese friends as much as you would have with Irish friends. When you do not always meet, you always have to break the ice again, in a way, because they don't know what you are thinking of.

Some second-generation interviewees pointed out that as well as the geographical distance between Hong Kong Chinese across Ireland, their busy schedules could be another reason why they interact more frequently with their Irish friends. Sarah, who lived in the south of the country, valued her Chinese friends, but still she had more contact with her Irish friends, apart from the physical distance between her and her Chinese friends, she found that 'Chinese friends are really important but now everyone is so busy...So I meet Irish friends. I know my Irish friends more, because I meet them more.'

Despite the difficulty of keeping frequent contacts with other Hong Kong Chinese, especially for those living outside Dublin, my sample of second-generation interviewees knew and formed various levels of friendships with other Hong Kong Chinese. However, some respondents would form close friendships with other Hong Kong Chinese friends, while others may not have similarly intense friendships. The following quotes from different respondents showed the various levels or bonds of friendship between Hong Kong Chinese and Irish friends:

Ryan: If I have problems, I could ring William [Hong Kong Chinese friend, another second-generation interviewee] and talk. I have Irish friends here; I talked to them as well. So really depends on the view...I have a choice. To be honest I probably share with all of them, different opinions.

A majority of second-generation respondents, especially those living in County Dublin, differentiated between Irish and Chinese friends depending on their mutual activities which echoed Ryan's discussion about exercising choice when it comes to maintaining friendships. The majority of my respondents often went drinking and clubbing with their Irish friends and had meals and sang karaoke with Chinese friends. Both Aaron and Lucas are from County Dublin and they gave another interesting distinction in terms of time and social location. They socialised with their Irish friends while they were in university or during weekdays, but after university, especially at the weekend, they mostly met with Chinese friends in the church.

Four friendship patterns emerged from my data. The first pattern was that some interviewees had more Chinese than Irish friends and they saw Chinese friends as close friends because they found it was easier to talk to them:

> **Aaron:** Most of my friends, Chinese born in Ireland...I do have [Irish friends], but we do not hang around a lot...I think the Chinese people is more stable, you know and when I talk about something, they have similar view... most of my Irish friends always go for drinking, clubbing and drinking, I do not drink.

The second friendship pattern was that some interviewees had more Irish friends than Chinese friends and regarded their Irish friends as their closer friends. They also addressed the importance of having Chinese friends who shared a similar racial background and held a similar Irish mentality:

> **Zoe:** My friends are mainly Irish, because I grow up with them, play the game, go out parties, everything. We did go to Chinese school. I got to know some Chinese friends, very good friends...[going to Chinese school was] like a gathering, it was not great to learn Chinese, it was great to get to know people like yourself...my close friends are more Irish...my Chinese friends are really Irish as well.

Lilly had more Irish close friends than Chinese, but she found that the connection with other Chinese friends through their parental network was somehow more stable which was similar to Aaron's view:

> **Lilly**: Most of my close friends are [Irish] from school...I have a few close friends are Chinese. You know they claim the same situation as I am. So it is easier to talk to I guess...I did a lot [moving], moving from this town to that town, always took me a while to get used to, a lot of that. That's why my Chinese friends are closer, because I know them since beginning...it is always there.

In the above quote, Zoe highlighted the important concept that Chinese friends are Irish too in relation to their youthful experiences growing up in Ireland. Ben regarded it as 'more of a connection. More of something in common, just like growing up together.' Similarly, Lucas gave a detailed definition of the notion of 'sameness': 'Chinese friends were all born in Ireland, were all kind of Cantonese as well. Parents in the restaurants, that kind of small society, we were born here...more in common.' Lucas's definition also corresponds to Chiang-Hom's (2004) findings on growing up in the United States. 'The US-born Chinese

have an instant connection with those who speak their language, experience similar childhoods, shares similar beliefs and values, observe the same norms and customs, and follow the same popular culture from their homeland' (2004: 152).

The third friendship pattern, found only among a small number of interviewees, included those who socialised mostly with Irish but had difficulty interacting with other Chinese friends. Nevertheless, they found it was easier talking to their Chinese siblings or particular Chinese friends:

> **Maria:** I would normally speak to Irish people, I have no choice there, in college, all my friends would be Irish. School, my friends were Irish as well. I hang around with them [Irish friends] a lot. I have really close friends in college, we go out the night together...I did try to be friends with some [Hong Kong Chinese] but it just did not work out, I think we are too alike. Do not really get along...I probably think my sister. I find easy to talk to her because she understands Chinese Irish, you know, it is a big fact...We are from the same family, same values.

Maria found having the same racial background prevented her from being close with other Hong Kong Chinese. Meanwhile her family background brought her and her sister closer together. Although Rose knew some Hong Kong Chinese friends through her friend Iris and had attended a Chinese language school for nearly ten years, she still did not form close friendships with other Hong Kong Chinese apart from Iris. Again, she regarded Iris as a close friend due to their same racial background.

> **Rose:** Finding non-Chinese people easiest to talk I remember when I was with Iris [Chinese friend] and all her Chinese friends, it was really hard to communicate with them, because they talked about things I don't know about and then they know each other a lot. Irish, I hang out all the time. I'm more friends [with close to] Iris than my cousins, we really talk a lot, because my Chinese roots. Most of my friends would be Irish, I kind of like to have Iris around, we can joke about Chinese jokes, we talk about Hong Kong, Irish jokes; Irish people have a really different humour.

Both Maria's and Rose's friendship choices may seem ambiguous, but these were good examples of how complex second-generation interviewees' friendships patterns were as a result of combined knowledge of both Chinese and Irish cultures.

The fourth friendship pattern went beyond the Irish-Chinese distinction. A few interviewees such as Adam and Rose talked about their good friends were second-generation children of

other ethnic minority backgrounds. This choice was based on common experiences of different ethnic groups in living cultural difference (Hall 1990). Rose befriended an India girl because the Indian girl had similar migration experiences and is also living between two worlds:

> **Rose**: [One of] my close friends is from India. She moved here when she was nine. It is nice having her around, even though she spends a lot of her time in Ireland, she won't think the things Irish people would, she does not drink a lot.

To sum up, first-generation interviewees maintained a reasonable economic interaction with the Irish. Such business links became the main or arguably the only channel of establishing contact with the Irish. They were more closely related to their Hong Kong Chinese peers in their private time due to their similarity of cultural heritage and language. Compared with their parents, second-generation interviewees in this study had more choice as to who they would like to socialise with as indicated in the various friendship patterns discussed above.

Experiences and Consequences of Discrimination

Diasporic identities can be shaped negatively by experiences of racism. Racism is related to 'cultural difference, upon the "natural" preference of human beings for their own cultural group, and the incompatibility between different cultures' (Modood 1997: 154). According to Jo and Mast (1993: 418), racism has been 'constant and vital in shaping images of Asian-Americans which can be easily aroused with the slightest provocation. Racism or racial discrimination is a relationship of power, a process 'whereby social groups categorise other groups as different or inferior, on the basis of phenotypical characteristic, cultural marker or national origin' (Castles 1996: 31). Based on Asian-Americans' racial visibility, Jo and Mast (1993: 432) argue that no matter how many generations of citizenship they represent, they will continue to be the target of opportunistic scapegoating and manipulation by the dominant group for its own purpose. In Chapter 4, I highlighted the types of discrimination experienced by my first-generation interviewees in Ireland. These negative experiences impacted on their sense of identity.

Compared with their children, most first-generation interviewees were more reluctant to reveal their encounters with discrimination. Their negative experiences were often illustrated

in the subtext of their conversations. For example, Chiu not only worked in Chinese restaurants but also in Irish pubs and factories due to his good command of English. He regarded his Irish colleagues as 'good friends, good company.' When I asked whether he had experienced any form of discrimination or prejudice, he emphasised that 'everyone is my friend. They really like me. I met quite a lot [of English and Irish] friends, they are very friendly with me. I got no enemy.' Yet when talking about his overall work experience in Ireland, he referred to institutional discrimination: 'Employers see me as Chinese. I'm a foreigner, still a little bit…still get a little bit discrimination, something like that. That's discrimination…doesn't matter. Don't mind them. Still be ok.'

Most first-generation respondents experienced discrimination at work. The most common form was the constant trouble with customers who deliberately refused to pay their food bills. Although the different levels of discrimination experienced by first-generation interviewees could be one of the obstacles in their interaction with the Irish, other factors included language barriers and anti-social working hours. Discrimination in Ireland was less than what they had experienced in other countries such as the UK. This factor was one of their pull factors to Ireland, as discussed in Chapter 4.

By contrast, second-generation respondents were more open towards questions regarding their experience of prejudice or discrimination. It was interesting to see that the differences in their geographical locations came up again, which, to some extent, determined the possibilities of discrimination. For example, families of a business owner were often able to live in a well-established housing estate whereas waged staff, such as Max, lived on various estates due to his parents' business location:

Max: I lived in Dublin, a posh area, so not much racism or discrimination. Then I moved to [this town] in Meath, that's more like a knacker area. Not fond people. So there was more racism because there are less Chinese people there.

Similarly, Emma reported little experience with discrimination because she lived in a good area in Dublin, while Zoe, whose father works in a Chinese restaurant, described her inner-city Dublin upbringing environment as rough; she had to stand up to discrimination or prejudice.

Apart from the geographical factor, the increase in migration into Ireland has also affected the experiences of my sample of second-generation respondents. The majority encountered varying levels of discrimination while they were educated in Irish schools or colleges in the 1980s and early 1990s. At that time, the Irish public did not have much experience with people from other racial backgrounds. However, due to increasing diversity of people from other countries, Irish people began to be more tolerant towards migrants from different cultures. Even though Aaron's judgement may not be accurate, to some extent it shows the early schooling experience many of them had faced. When I asked him about his experiences, he thought that 'ya ya, of course, I think Chinese kids probably all got bullied.' Similarly, Sarah pointed out that 'discrimination is everywhere. You still get it. [Though] not as much as before'. Patrick further explained the transition in Irish society:

> **Patrick:** Because Ireland is a small country, only the last couple years, immigration took off. So you look around, now you see Chinese people, a little bit more. When I was young, how many Chinese people there? [Perhaps] ten, just me and my brother were the only two Chinese people in school. So you know it is a big difference.

The most common form of discrimination they experienced in school was name-calling such as 'chiang chang', 'small eyes', 'mini eyes', 'Japanese dad, Chinese mum'. Zoe summarised her experience as follows:

> **Zoe:** Indirectly and directly. [The Irish] would say really bad words...you don't really know what the words mean...any name you can think of they would say, kids were cruel, as they didn't know what they were saying, there were couple of times, [primary] school did not educate it [about respect the others], everything is just Irish as well [the school was predominantly Irish]....by the time I went to secondary school, they teach more respect there...the secondary school was more strict, which was good. I didn't have that much problem, except might be pick to answer [questions]...because your name is strange, different culture...you don't get first choice. That was the only thing. Everything [else] is fine.

Such discrimination experienced at a young age could have had a profoundly negative impact on the interviewees, as it made a few of them feel that they were disliked by Irish people. These discriminatory experiences based on their appearance made them feel that they were rejected by Irish society and consequently their racial difference made them seen as 'the other' to the Irish public. According to Rose:

Rose: When you were smaller, you didn't understand really well, so at the beginning, you just think people don't like you and then when you were in secondary school, you were kind of more aware. When we walk down the street, someone say to me, really racist, ching chang ching, they were just ignorant. You still get that. Sometimes, I walk down street, I completely forget, they don't do that to my (Irish) friends...they do something to you, you suddenly, feel you stand out, different mindset. You look Chinese, different mindset, it is really hard to let go feeling then. I don't think it is too bad as it used to be now I can do it better.

One of the interviewees discussed below how his sister negotiated her identification and how prejudice could impact upon the second-generation interviewees' identity negotiation. His teenage sister, who often performed Chinese traditional folk dance in various Chinese public celebrations, had refused to communicate in Cantonese, an important sign of Chineseness, since she was four years old. The reason for such contrast was explained by her brother:

Adam: My sister stopped speaking Cantonese when she started school, because she had bad experience. The teacher [thought it was] bad, she always spoken Chinese to another Chinese pupil, so she stopped speaking. She understands everything. She does not talk.

I call the above reaction 'rejecting behaviour', which was common in respondents when dealing with discrimination. Such a situation had happened to Zoe, who experienced difficulties in her early schooling:

Zoe: When I was younger, it was not [because] my English was not that good, just I did not speak, I understood what everyone was saying, but kind of afraid, they treated me differently. Treat you differently all the time. How I explain [this]? I went to Catholic school, they were not sure if I'm Catholic. I could not join other kids. Or they would afraid they offended my parents. We speak Chinese at home, then we go to school, everything is slower, because when you go home, there is no one help you, you just have to do it yourself, get on with it. I was kept back one year in school, because they thought I could not speak English. It was not I could not speak, just afraid to speak, I don't feel I was wanted, because they thought I was a bit slow...there is a lot of prejudice as well, because there were no other Chinese students.

While many second-generation interviewees openly talked about their negative experiences, it was interesting to note that they sometimes did not label such experience directly as 'discrimination' or 'prejudice'. Instead they preferred to see it as the Irish stereotype of the Chinese. Meanwhile the theme of stereotyping did not occur often among first-generation interviewees. Stereotyping by the host society is based on the ethnic criteria of the ethnic minority groups (Crissman 1967). The stereotyping that the second-generation often

experienced arose when Irish people thought they could not speak English. Ryan recalled that an Irish guy did not think he could speak English due to his physical appearance: 'I don't think they are being racist, maybe Irish humour, they come out like that...when they are drunk, they take piss whoever, just drunk...for the laugh, it is all right at the end of the day. We won't get mad about it.' Patrick was annoyed when people saw him as another Chinese person who could not speak English, 'the stereotype, we are living. The stereotypes can't help it.' While some second-generation interviewees struggled with Irish stereotyping of the Chinese, as revealed in the above quotes, they themselves stereotype their Irish peers, mostly in terms of the drink culture in Ireland. Generally, immersion in 'drink culture' was an indicator of how Irish the respondents considered themselves to be, which is discussed further below.

In light of the ways in which both generations handle discriminatory behaviour, a tendency I see as 'defensive' emerged to avoid tension for the purpose of self-defence, protection, and more importantly, survival. This corroborates Jo and Mast's (1993) argument that the stereotype of Chinese migrants' being non-confrontational in dealing with discrimination did not happen by chance. Chu, a first-generation interviewee, told me that he had worked in many European countries before coming to Ireland. No matter where he lived, he always made sure he did not live more than one hour away from the nearest airport; the reason was 'for survival, I have been [working in] many European places, many countries, because we are Chinese, some anti-Chinese incidents in the history. So I understand how to escape. Sound strange?' Ma, another first-generation respondent, was working as a taxi driver since he closed his restaurant business several years ago. Passengers often judged his ability as a taxi driver by his physical appearance. He recounts his experience as follows:

> **Ma:** I had some [discrimination] experiences. I got really drunk passengers. When they see me Chinese, they won't get into my taxi. It still happens these days...My attitude is that, if you don't want to sit in, don't sit in then. People got in your taxi, say 'you are Chinese' usually these people have no education. Those with higher education won't do that. Dublin is like London, multinational, multicultural...We Chinese don't discriminate foreigners [in Hong Kong], but they discriminate [against us here].

Similar to their parents, many second-generation interviewees used what I call 'avoidance' strategies which correspond to one of the strategies Parker (1995) identified. This involves accepting negative experiences such as being teased as part of growing up and ignoring it and

seeing it as normal. Their maturity level played a role in handling discriminations. Many second-generation interviewees chose to ignore verbal insults and just got on with it. Other strategies Parker (1995) identified were used by some second-generation interviewees, but they were not as common.[36] Many interviewees recognised a change in self-perception. When they were young, they often tried to be Irish because they wanted to fit in, which was what Parker (1995) referred to as feeling the pressure to win acceptance and be normal to fit into the host society. When the Irish did not accept their Irishness, they often got frustrated, but when they grew a bit older many of them would face questions about their identities:

> **Aaron:** You had to live with it, like going through it. Then you adopt it…a lot of time. I got standing problem, (people start bullying me), then I start bullying people. You know the type of gang. They won't go near me anymore, because I was one of them…Ya, I learn to adopt it.

The experiences of interaction and discrimination by my sample of first- and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese had an impact on their identity negotiations, which I now turn to.

Identity Negotiations and Sense of Belonging

The 'making and enacting of citizenship' (Soysal 2000: 3) makes migrants' diasporic lives possible and, although citizenship is only the formal face of belonging, it has implications for migrants' identity formation. The discussion of belonging in a diaspora is conditioned by the orientation between host country and homeland. According to Joppke (1999), citizenship is legal and fixed which can also act as a method of excluding members:

> As a legal status, citizenship denotes formal state membership (nationality), as an identity, it refers to the shared understandings and practices that constitute a political community, the identity aspect of citizenship is linked to the question whether culturally distinct groups should be granted special group rights or not (Joppke, 1999: 632).

After the handover of Hong Kong in 1997, under the Hong Kong Immigration Ordinance, a Permanent Identity Card holder enjoys the Right of Abode in the Hong Kong Special

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[36] The other two strategies in Parker (1995) are to stick up for yourself and to become part of Chinese people in terms of culture and society.

Administrative Region (HKSAR). [37] Almost all my first-generation interviewees are permanent residents in Hong Kong because they were born in Hong Kong. The second-generation interviewees, who were born outside Hong Kong, need to apply for Hong Kong Identity Cards which did not give them the Right of Abode but rather a re-entry permit. They can apply for a Permanent Identity Card once they fit the criteria. [38] According to Ong (1999: 6), flexible citizenship is the 'cultural logics of capitalist accumulation, travel and displacement that induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions'. Flexible citizenship, a paradoxical claim, is also the result of familial strategies of regulation (Ong 1999) and 'a popular strategy that some members of diasporas are using to take advantage of political and economic conditions in different parts of the world' (Li 2001: 3). Apart from the permanent Hong Kong Identity Card, the first-generation Hong Kong Chinese respondents could be holders of overseas British passports as a result of the colonial history of Hong Kong pre-1997 or of an Irish passport as the result of their migration experience. When it comes to their children, citizenship status is more complex, since their Irish-born children, born before 2005, are often Irish passport holders according to the *ius soli* principle. [39] 'Ius soli' defines citizenship 'accorded upon birth in a country, independent of the parents' citizenship, while the 'ius sanguinis' principle defines 'blood principle: citizenship granted as a result of parents' or 'ancestral citizenship'(Faist 2000: 205). Some British-born second-generation interviewees are British passport holders depending on their parents' overseas British passports. The application process for a Hong Kong Identity Card was therefore one of the reasons for some second-generation going to Hong Kong every two or three years.

The flexibility citizenship provided the mobility to be able to live a life. Li (1999: 3) described as 'living between two worlds' one is the world of their origin, a physically distant but psychologically familiar world, and the other is the world of their everyday life, which remains psychologically distant despite its physical presence. For example, Ley and Kobayashi (2004) researched the Hong Kong Chinese in Canadian society and found that their respondents escaped a life in Hong Kong which was dominated by the single-minded

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[37] The Right of Abode in the HKSAR allows the person to land in HKSAR, free of any condition of stay and not to be deported (see www.gov.hk/en/residents/immigration).

[38] See www.gov.hk/en/residents/immigration/idcard/roa/eligible

[39] The 2004 Referendum on Citizenship changed Ireland's long held 'ius soli' citizenship entitlement; While prior to 2004 all children born on the island of Ireland were entitled to automatic citizenship, after 2005, only children born in Ireland one of whose parents was a citizen or entitled to citizenship, had citizenship rights (see Lentin and McVeigh, 2006).

pursuit of economic advancement, and that they were attracted by positive quality-of-life dimensions of Canadian society, including a slower pace of life and an environmentally attractive and family friendly setting. In reality the two worlds in reality are not so clear-cut; the relationships between them can be more complex and shifting at different stages of the individual's life, a key feature of diaspora inherent in Ong's (1996) concept of 'cultural citizenship.' Cultural citizenship refers to 'cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the criteria of belonging within a national population and territory' (1996: 738).

Nearly all second-generation interviewees often went back to Hong Kong with their family, which also involved the task of applying for a Hong Kong Identity Card. The majority of first-generation respondents travelled back to Hong Kong and/or mainland China more frequently than their children. The male first-generation interviewees travelled to Hong Kong more than their wives because of their business connections in Hong Kong or mainland China. Their wives usually took up the responsibility for bringing their children to Hong Kong during the summer holidays. First-generation interviewees who were retired also tended to travel more to Hong Kong without the restraint of work, because 'retirement is a significant status passage, frequently associated with migration, for many it is a time to move away from metropolitan cores towards quieter settings with enhanced quality of life. For some, it is a time to go home' (Ley and Kobayashi 2005: 120).

Changes in communication and transport technology made the connection with China much easier. Many respondents were able to use the internet to keep in touch with families and friends. Wang Gungwu (1991a) predicted that such changes made it both convenient and imperative for Chinese migrants to maintain at least partial Chinese identity in the global Chinese culture. First-generation participants directly benefited from the accessibility of air travel. Their journey to Hong Kong became much more frequent than before. Tin told me the flight to Hong Kong could cost about 2000 Irish pound in the late 1970s. Ms Dou, who came to Ireland in the 1980s, only went back to Hong Kong for the first time after seven years in Ireland due to the demanding nature of her business and the expense of the flight. The only reason for her to go back after so many years was her father's serious illness. Since the early 1990s, when her business developed rapidly, despite the high demand of business responsibilities, she could still go back to Hong Kong at least twice a year. However, for

those with a big family, flying can be a financial and logistical burden so families take turns visiting Hong Kong.

While citizenship may represent identity and is associated with the journey between Hong Kong and Ireland, despite the diasporic travel some first-generation interviewees, such as Sung, still thought that 'many of us living here, hold citizenship of some other countries, but in terms of race, it won't change.' Therefore, in the following section of this chapter, I aim to uncover how diasporic travel has affected their sense of belonging. The concept of diaspora 'offers a critique of discourses of fixed origins while taking account of a homing desire, as distinct from a desire for a 'homeland'. This distinction is important not least because not all diasporas sustain an ideology of return' (Brah 1996: 16). Diaspora can be seen as 'an alternative to the essentialisation of belonging but it can also represent a non-territorial form of essentialised belonging' (Brubaker 2005: 12). The multiple-passport holder 'embodies the split between state-imposed identity and personal identity caused by political upheavals, migration, and changing global markets' (Ong 1999: 2).

Legally Irish, Culturally Chinese?

In order to get a better understanding of the cohort's sense of belonging, I asked them questions centred on their attachment to Hong Kong and Ireland. The process of migration retains ambiguities of its own, based on what Veer (1995) referred to as the dialectic of belonging and longing. 'Belonging opposes rootedness to up-rootedness, establishment to marginality whereas longing is when one harps on the desire for change and movement, but relates this to the enigma of arrival, which brings a similar desire to return to what one has left' (Veer 1995: 4). The diaspora of others 'fortifies the sense of belonging among the so-called "established" or pre-existing ethnic group, while one's own diaspora tends to strengthen the longing to be elsewhere' (Veer 1995: 4). Hall (1990) argues that the diaspora contains a space of hybridity that cannot reference the homeland as a place of unmediated identification or easy return. Rather than being reclaimed through a permanent return, the ancestral homeland is a place that must be recovered through the work of the imagination (Louie 2001), as indicated in the diasporic 'myth of return'.

According to Yang (2000), many first-generation migrants are 'the hybrid of sojourners and settlers in both home and host countries and they constantly sojourn and settle in pursuit of

maximal opportunities' (2000: 254). Similar findings were evident among the majority of first-generation interviewees. They settled in Ireland in the last two or three decades for economic reasons and were joined by their families. It could be argued that for them 'passports have become less and less attestations of citizenship, let alone of loyalty to a protective nation-state, than of claims to participate in a labour market' (Ong 1999: 2). For example Chu, who worked in other European countries and finally settled down in Ireland where he owned a few Chinese restaurant businesses, thought that 'I'm really realistic, here [Ireland] is the place I make money. It is this simple. Once I earn money, I'll go back there [to Hong Kong]. Now I'm here'. Chu's contemplation of home reflects the concept of sojourner, because Ireland was a place to try his luck and the idea of returning to China was reflected in the Chinese term, 'falling leaves returning to the roots'. Chu further explained such mentality:

> **Chu:** I come from Hong Kong, Chinese people, the falling leaves return to the roots, you must return home. Nowhere is as good as your birthplace. I sold a lot of my businesses, I only have one business now. Let my kids gradually take over, I start gradually to withdraw. When I was young, I worked hard no matter where I am going, any concern of the world. To earn money, find work, fend for myself. To a point, start to withdraw and retire, set up my life after retirement. Now I have sort out my property in Hong Kong, it is there welcome me back after retirement. I don't know I'm satisfied (with my work in Ireland) or not… as I don't long for the life here.

Analysing the cohort's narratives, there is a clear disparity between being 'legally Irish' and feeling 'culturally Chinese'. Almost all of the first-generation interviewees still refer to Hong Kong as their first home and Ireland as their second home, even though some of them have been living in Ireland longer than they ever did in Hong Kong. This group were consistent in their collective response that Ireland was not the country they felt they belonged to. This sense of 'non-belonging' was revealed in their limited interaction with Irish people and concentration on their ethnic business. Again, the experience of discrimination could be another factor in preventing them from having a feeling of 'belonging' to Ireland. A small number of first-generation interviewees experienced the problem of recognition of their Irish passports as valid. Chu reported that he was stopped more often than any other western passengers in many international airports in Europe despite his European passport.

In addition to many first-generation interviewees' self-defined 'Chineseness', as well as their acceptance and knowledge of Chinese culture, none of them thought it was possible to be

both Irish and Chinese. Despite their frequent professional interaction with Irish people, and their admiration of Irish values, even those who had more interaction with Irish relatives and Irish college friends still strongly asserted that they would always be Chinese. Ms Dou, a successful businesswoman, who claimed to be very 'Western' in her work attitude and avoided being too involved in the complex Chinese network and Chinese politics within Ireland's Hong Kong Chinese community, still asserted she would always identify with being Chinese, having Chinese blood.

Diasporic Journeys and the Myth of Return among the First-Generation

The diasporic journey refers to 'settling down, about putting roots elsewhere' (Brah 1996: 182) thus creating a new imaginary for Hong Kong. The majority of the sample of first-generation interviewees regarded Hong Kong as the place they belonged to and expressed their willingness to return to one day. 'Homeland' shapes the people who emigrated from it and homeland is a transformer of Chinese consciousness overseas (Kuhn 1997). According to Louie (2001:371), 'how the ties to China are crafted, mediated, and experienced as shown in how China is experienced as a political, historical, social and cultural place'. For Shi (2005),

> Return implies a sense of 'pastness' temporally and a sense of that is imagined as natural, unified, and stable, awaiting re-discovery. It is the very feeling of being uprooted from the past and the difficulty of identifying with it in a foreign country that re-creates the endless desire to return to 'lost origins' (Shi 2005: 61).

In general, it was the 'family ties, ownership of land and business connections as well as pure sentimental attachment' (Sinn 1997: 375) that bonded the first-generation interviewees to Hong Kong. The prospective return to Hong Kong carries their burdens as well as their hopes. The class differences between business owners and workers determine the likelihood of being able to return to Hong Kong. For some entrepreneurs, the ownership of property there attracted and guaranteed their belonging to Hong Kong. By contrast, Ma emphasised his poor economic conditions as a setback for returning to Hong Kong: 'I'm still Chinese. If I have opportunities, I will go back to Hong Kong. Now I do not have money. If I have money, I will go back Hong Kong.' Another example is Chiu, who despite his familiarity with Irish culture still claimed to be Chinese. He strongly expressed his wish to return to Hong Kong,

but in reality he was not able to return. He felt disconnected to Hong Kong due to his limited financial capacity:

> **Chiu:** Where I belong to? I belong to what?…you don't understand, of course I like to belong to my own place [Hong Kong], but I couldn't, that's why I'm still staying here. I bought [a house] in Ireland a long, long time ago. I gave it to my wife. Then we argue, argue, argument, my wife threw me out. Then I was homeless. I stayed in the hostel, anywhere. So now I got flat here…I still miss Hong Kong, because it is my own place, you know what I mean? I contacted Hong Kong for what? There is nothing, nothing. Just sometimes, telephoned my family people, 'how are you keeping?'…I feel like to go back Hong Kong. I still feel…at the moment, I couldn't do anything, just stay here. I sold my property in Hong Kong, if I go back to Hong Kong, where I stay? It is a problem. I sold my property in Hong Kong long, long time ago.

Chiu's excerpt is telling. In his case, the prospect of returning to Hong Kong is slim. He has endured economic and personal difficulties in Ireland but there is not enough of an incentive for him to return to China. The sojourner's homing desire cannot be put into practice due to family commitments or other personal reasons. The sojourner 'clings to the cultural heritage of his own ethnic group and tends to live in isolation, hindering his assimilation to the society in which he resides, often for many years' (Siu 1952: 34).

One reason for returning to Hong Kong has been retirement. Health permitting, many would prefer to travel between Hong Kong and Ireland more frequently. Tin sees Ireland as his base and Hong Kong as his holiday destination but in the future that might be reversed. This is a typical example of lifestyle choices:

> **Tin:** When (my daughter) finds work and has anything. Maybe we will go back Hong Kong, because the living cost is lower in Hong Kong. The money last longer. There is high possibility. So why I'm in Ireland now? The main reason is because of my daughter. She is in college. We would like to take more care of her.

Some first-generation interviewees had already spent most of their time in Hong Kong after their retirement, but their children and relatives in Ireland have brought them back to Ireland. The following excerpt illustrates this further:

> **Hon:** Half Hong Kong people stay in Ireland, half went back never return. My brother will come back Ireland, because family and kids are all here. My kids are working here. You could stay Hong Kong longer, but you will come back. Go between the two places.

With the idea of an actual or imaginative return to Hong Kong one day, it does not mean many first-generation participants had no attachment with Ireland beyond economic opportunities. First-generation participants appreciated higher pay and a better standard of living in Ireland, but the recent economic crisis in Ireland has made many of their catering businesses difficult to run. Also, they found that Ireland is slower and quieter compared with the vibrant lifestyle of Hong Kong. Many mentioned that in the earlier days in the 1980s and early 1990s, there were no shops open on Sundays and there were not many means of entertainment such as Chinese DVDs and the satellite facility to receive Chinese television programmes. Some of them went to casinos or played cards with other Hong Kong Chinese as part of their leisure activities. According to Ma, 'Hong Kong has everything. Ireland, you know does not have anything, except pubs. Hong Kong is a twenty-four hour [city]. Here is different.' Tong explained this further:

Tong: When people ask me about Ireland, I would say Ireland is good. The economy is good, the living is pretty good. In Hong Kong, when you walk about, you won't walk as fast as them. When you are in Ireland, life is different, relaxing, working, it is quite comfortable.

Apart from economic reasons and family concerns, 'their lifestyles and cultural practices had changed and they feel incompatible with their lives back home after their migration' (Shi 2005: 61). Rose, a second-generation interviewee, told me that she thought her father 'loves living in Ireland...he likes the tea, he likes the bread here, peanut butter, he likes the milk...every time back Hong Kong, huge box of tea bag.' The ambiguities are further expressed by Tong and Yip:

Tong: I'm Chinese, Chinese heart. Having been living here (Ireland) for so long. I don't feel much about Hong Kong, I saw a lot of Hong Kong news, Chinese news at home...I don't say I'm not Chinese...I have been here for so long.

Similarly, Yip talked about his wife's changing perception of Hong Kong:

Yip: I'm used to here [Ireland]. My kids are here...It is easy life [in Ireland]...Maybe after I getting older, I will spend sometimes here, spend sometime there...when my children can live by themselves. My wife wanted to go back Hong Kong everyday in the first 5 years, now she does not want to return to Hong Kong for good at all.

Despite their inherent Chinese identity, British or Irish citizenship and settlement in Ireland, the first-generation interviewees in my study all share a similar feeling that 'they are "neither here nor there" always in space of flows, routed but rootless, they never quite left home and hence are never really home' (Huang et al. 2008: 7). These experiences resulted in 'layers of "in-betweenness" and a sense of ambivalence and fluidity about where their future and "home" lie. They are living the old and new, the "here" and "there"'' (Huang et al. 2008: 8).

Homeland Trips and Connections to Ireland among the Second-Generation

As shown in Chapter 5, my sample of second-generation interviewees was caught between cultures with individuals using different coping strategies to deal with the shifts in cultural identities they experienced in their lives. Chan (1997) argues that second-generation children are ambivalent about the degree of 'Chineseness/Westerness' they possessed. One conclusion drawn from my analysis of the second-generation is the notion of hybridity. Hybridity is described as the co-existence of various forms of partial identification with none overriding the other. According to Bhabha (1990), a hybrid identity has emerged as a result of the interconnection between diasporic or ethnic affiliations. Hybridity can be used to show both Chinese and Irish cultural traits are mixed, so it is a viable solution to reconciling one's identity.

While most of my second-generation interviewees hold Irish passports as a result of the *ius soli* citizenship principle prior to 2004, they were not automatically entitled to the Hong Kong Identity Card because they were born outside Hong Kong. Consequently, their trips to Hong Kong often involved applying for the Hong Kong Identity Card. Such an application could be complicated and stressful for them. Often, they found it difficult to follow the application criteria as most of them had limited aptitude in reading and writing Cantonese. While first-generation interviewees often believed that their children did not realise the importance of holding a Hong Kong Identity Card, second-generation interviewees were quite earnest in their desire to apply for one. William explains this as follows:

> **William**: We were born here [Ireland]. We have freedom, we have Hong Kong Identity Card, can go to Hong Kong, have another ID to go to China as well. Our parents want our options to be open, so when we want to go back to parents' homeland, we can go back anytime without having to do visa.

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The second-generation respondents were aware of the convenience of the Hong Kong Identity Card but they often did not link it directly with their sense of Chineseness. In contrast to their parents' intentions, many would share Alison's view: 'I do not particularly mind having Hong Kong ID or not'. Others were frustrated about this application process and felt a sense of discrimination. As a result, it strengthened their emotional links with Ireland. Zoe argued that:

> **Zoe:** I missed one year (in Hong Kong ID application criteria). I was told that I'm not allowed to have full citizenship, I'm not too bothered, to be honest…does not matter, I feel Ireland is my home anyway…as far as I understand, my parents care about our future…you better have the visa [ID card], so you can claim the land…I married to an Irish person, I don't intend to go back. It is like no win game [in getting Hong Kong ID]; no matter what I say…I consider I was not wanted there; probably I'm strange on my own….Homeland, my father's motherland, they treat you like a stranger, even my accent, when I talk Chinese, I have an accent, so they don't want that, they just want straight Chinese. If you are outside Hong Kong for so many years, they won't accept you, so why should I accept that…I do feel more Chinese, but they don't want to accept me…I'm not going to waste my time fighting, there is plenty of places to go. That's what I'm thinking of. My parents may think otherwise.

Zoe's experience shows her intention to identify the link with Hong Kong more. However, the rigid legal procedure for a Hong Kong Identity Card made her not 'legally Hong Kong Chinese'. In contrast to their parents' generations' homing desire for Hong Kong, the second-generation did not view Hong Kong as their homeland due to a lack of meaningful connection to Hong Kong and to what Zoe and William called 'their parents' homeland'. They had less emotional attachment to Hong Kong which explains why the Identity Card was more of a convenient choice rather than an expression of loyalty. Initially, the second-generation interviewees learned about Hong Kong second hand, often through 'multiple, mediated sources, including the stories their parents told, media portrayals, image of China and Chinese people in popular culture' (Louie 2001: 347). Kibria (2002: 304) demonstrates this notion of 'difference': second-generation children frame their homeland trips through the lenses of sameness and difference; 'there existed a sense of belonging in a place where they were surrounded by people "who looked like them", accompanied by a sense of difference due to the inability to speak the language and tap into the norms of social behaviour'.

Unlike their parents, almost all second-generation interviewees saw Ireland as their first home which they associated with their families and good friends and Hong Kong as their

second home or as holiday destination. As Maria argued, Ireland was associated with 'my friends, my education and my teacher'. Max also thought that the birthplace played a role in his association with Ireland: '[I feel I belong to] Ireland supposes...when you were born, you just feel a kind of connection there. If I was born in Hong Kong, I might feel Hong Kong belonged to me.' In relation to their emotions towards Hong Kong, Rose told me that 'my sisters really like Hong Kong. They like shopping, buying things cheaper, but they would never go back Hong Kong, just a holiday for them'. They had much less exploration with Hong Kong than Ireland, as shown by Sean: 'Ireland is like home, you know everyone around you. In Hong Kong, you know things around you, but you don't know them.' Similarly,

> **Rose:** I think because I only visited (Hong Kong) summers, every two years, I don't really know it that well compared with here. I would understand lifestyle here more...and you know, born here, obviously, I would think Ireland is my home, definitely.

Also, some interviewees appreciated the connection between Hong Kong and Ireland in relation to the different cultural values mentioned in Chapter 5. Lucy thought that 'Hong Kong and Ireland play important roles in my life. I'm kind of lucky to have both. I think I'm more flexible...lucky to have exploration of both.' Emma found that 'when I live in Hong Kong, I kind of miss Dublin. When I'm in Dublin, I kind of miss Hong Kong.' Overall, in terms of their sense of belonging, the majority of second-generation respondents felt a greater attachment towards Ireland while their parents had more attachment towards Hong Kong. Adam spoke about his attachment to Ireland and how his mother feels differently:

> **Adam**: I attached to a lot of people in Ireland, my friends...I love my family and speak to my friend and work at the same time. I know they [his mum and dad] would definitely go back to Hong Kong [when they retired]. My mum has said this in the last twenty years. She wants to go back to Hong Kong when we grow up.'

The notion of 'myth of return' was evident in the sample of second-generation interviewees because a majority of them did not plan to work or live in Hong Kong in the future. Hong Kong is 'the place to which one is connected through ancestral ties' (Louie 2001: 350). Although a large number of second-generation interviewees visited Hong Kong with their families, they had never resided there for a substantial time and therefore had fewer links apart from their relatives. These trips to Hong Kong did not entail a sense of going home.

Maria knew that her parents would move back to Hong Kong in the future, but she did not want to live in Hong Kong.

> **Maria**: I would never live in Hong Kong, would really be OK to visit my parents (when they move back to Hong Kong). It would not be a big deal that they move away, but Hong Kong I don't know why but I still don't like the people, you know, I don't know the people in China.

Maria's lack of connection with Hong Kong and Chinese people showed that they were, to some extent, 'excluded from "authentic" Chinese identities because of their cultural, physical and temporal distance from their ancestral homes in China' (Louie 2001: 350). The busy and competitive lifestyle and the relatively lower living standard in Hong Kong were major barriers identified by a number of second-generation interviewees. Alexander found that 'the standard of work [in Hong Kong] is really high, a lot of competition, the wage is low, and expense is high.' Many of them had been used to the relatively easy and slow pace of Ireland. Amie told me that 'I'm used to the lifestyle here [Ireland], probably easier, quieter, more peaceful'. In contrast, as Patrick put it, 'you need to be smarter and sly in order to survive in Hong Kong', otherwise according to Amie, 'they [Hong Kong people] think you are really stupid.' Similarly, Ryan explained the difference in workplace expectations in the two places, 'People got a job [in Hong Kong]; they had to fight for the job. If you get the job [in Ireland], as long as you work away, not causing any problem, you keep your job.'

Apart from the above differences in terms of customs and lifestyles in Hong Kong, the limited capacity for speaking and writing in Cantonese was another big difficulty for second-generation respondents who attempted to 'fit into' the Hong Kong lifestyle. Language skills and literacy are crucial, because they influence the extent to which one 'can access ethnic media and internet sources in the ethnic language that serve as symbolic bridges to the homeland, and feel "at home" in the parents' homeland' (Louie, 2006: 566). As highlighted by William:

> **William:** I see myself in Ireland. We go back to Hong Kong, we can't look at signs...the menu...I think Ireland offers me a lot, either you go out to achieve yourself or not. If I go to Hong Kong, teaching English probably is the only profession I can think of...you always have Ireland as your backbone.

There were only a handful of respondents who speak multiple Chinese languages. For example, Hannah could speak both Cantonese and Mandarin well because she studies Mandarin at university and she speaks Cantonese at home. Still, she would only live in Hong Kong as a last resort. Although she is multi-lingual, she questioned whether or not she could ever survive in the fast-paced, competitive Hong Kong, 'have you ever [been] on the [Hong Kong] underground? …Oh, my god. You wait, the door opens, then get on another train. So quick.' Ben, who appreciates Hong Kong as it gave him the chances to explore his Chinese heritage, claims that in terms of work, he still prefers working in Ireland:

> **Ben:** Hong Kong seems so stressed and tired. Too fast. Life is too fast. Hong Kong is for culture and just being Chinese…Socialising and getting to know kind what Chinese people are. I feel Hong Kong home, I feel home here as well. I don't mind, more opportunities in Ireland…too much competition [in Hong Kong].

Zoe, who mostly socialises with Irish friends, and is married to an Irish man, felt that she could only be herself and enjoy herself in Ireland because of the 'strangeness' of Hong Kong and how the Hong Kong people perceive overseas-born Hong Kong children:

> **Zoe:** Would feel stranger again, that's like try to break again. I can't say a word of the whole language, found strange…you don't feel you belong there. It is hard. It is hard…I think Hong Kong is little bit more cosmopolitan…there is a lot of prejudice in Hong Kong, for people grow up abroad, because they think ok you have money, why you come back here, they look down at you, either they feel they were looked down…we don't have choice, we were born then…they tell you what to do, what you are not doing well…I think I'm more westernized, I'm more open-minded. I'm actually a lot tougher than someone, you have to fend for yourself, so you have to be independent…more exposure, that scares people, like I have opinions…even I go back to Hong Kong, I said they would [see that I] should not say that. I was like why not, you grow up, your life. I'm not afraid to speak my mind.

Most were not interested in permanently remaining in Hong Kong but would consider living and working there for a short time. Sarah was thinking of living in Hong Kong for two or three years, even though she knows very little Cantonese, but her Hong Kong boyfriend has helped her improve her language skills. In our interview, she drew interesting comparisons between how Hong Kong and Ireland have impacted on her own experience and how the distance to Hong Kong has motivated her to explore it more:

Sarah: I think the reason I love Hong Kong so much is because I don't live there. Probably if I live there, I probably get stressed. I have not seen that at all. It was good to have holiday. It is hard to say what role it has played. But it is different. I don't really know really [how Ireland has impacted on me]; probably keep you grounded, compared to Hong Kong, people [in Ireland] are more friendly. Different from Hong Kong, not much crime here.

As discussed earlier, some first-generation interviewees had adjusted to life in Ireland over the years in spite of their longing for Hong Kong. Similarly, a few second-generation interviewees felt they belonged to Ireland, but they had a different orientation towards Hong Kong which changed over time. Rose, who did not originally like Hong Kong and went there only to visit relatives, was willing to experience Hong Kong more to explore her racial roots at the time of my fieldwork. Yet, Ireland had always been her back-up during those transitions:

Rose: Even I don't like Hong Kong that much, I still wanna to go back to visit my grandparents, because my grandparents don't fly anymore...I used to not like Hong Kong, now I actually do like Hong Kong, because it is different. I'm not so scared as I used to be, because when you were smaller, your Chinese was not good, you face with everything Chinese, can't understand everything. They talk to you something, you kind of look at them, they give out to me...you were like, oh my God...I still wanna to live in Hong Kong. I do want to experience Hong Kong, I wanna see more of it, attach to your roots. I want to go back to Hong Kong, live there for one year, if it is not good, I come back.

Despite the comfort they felt in Ireland and their association with Ireland as home, most respondents planned to leave Ireland in the near future, which corresponds with the limited opportunities due to the current recession. Alison explained that 'you know how small and how boring Ireland [is]'. The boredom of living in Ireland was frequently mentioned and was considered to be an influencing factor in their decision to move elsewhere. For example, Alison befriended mostly Irish friends and she often positions herself as Irish, but it was interesting how she positioned herself as Hong Kong Chinese when she explained the following: 'I'm just bored of it. Boredom, especially for us people who come from Hong Kong. [In Hong Kong] you go out and you have everything.' Even though Hong Kong was not boring, going back to work and live there was not a popular idea for them either. They often considered living or working somewhere else such as Canada or America. Adam talked about his desire to leave Ireland: 'I don't see myself stay in Ireland, basically because of my career choice'. Also, the flexibility of their Irish citizenship permits them to live in another

European country. Ryan argues that 'we belong to where we want to be. I will definitely leave Ireland, that's true even though we grow up here, live here. We all want to get out of here…you know how boring Ireland is. There is nothing to do.'

Using the concept of belonging as a basis for understanding affiliation with Ireland and China, I shall now delve deeper into the formation of their identity over time. Identities are constructed, represented and changed. Contrary to their parents' ethnic identity as Chinese and their assertion they are not culturally Irish, almost all second-generation interviewees agreed that it was possible to be Irish and Chinese at the same time. A popular term, 'banana', is used informally by the host society to describe Asian Chinese who are 'yellow outside and white inside'. Lucy was upset when she was being called 'banana' by a mainland Chinese classmate. 'I was like that it was not my fault…If I don't know certain thing Chinese. Just that's how I brought up. My experience of Chinese is limited'. Meanwhile Aaron asserts, 'now you have Chinese at home. In college, you speak, become Irish'. Similarly Ken stated that 'Ireland got me Irish background. Hong Kong got me Chinese background.' Therefore Eve called her Hong Kong Chinese group 'Irish born Chinese, they know the Irish side, but then they also know the rules Chinese people stick to'. This line of sentiment corresponds to Hall's (1989) notion of 'cultures of hybridity' which simultaneously inhabit different material and symbolic spaces, negotiate different languages. This concept of hybridity seems to 'open up the possibility of new combinatory cultural forms' (Parker 1995: 25).

Many second-generation interviewees were aware of the fact they are physically Chinese, something reinforced through the years of discrimination they experienced in Ireland. Their physical features were different from white Irish people and this difference could affect and limit how they chose to identify themselves (Zhou and Lee 1997) because identity is not only about how they perceive themselves but also how the Irish perceive them. A number of second-generation interviewees talked about how the Irish would not see them as Irish once they saw their Asian face. Ben thought that 'even though you are Irish, won't change your skin colour.' Hannah found it difficult to accept some of her Hong Kong Chinese friends when they denied their Chinese racial background. She said, 'Look at yourself, you are Chinese'. Similarly, Zoe showed confidence in her appearance and the unchangeable fact of her ethnic heritage, so 'I can't change myself, so I get on with it.' Lucy's experience was shared by other second-generation respondents,

Lucy: I don't mind telling people, but they don't believe me. I hear people question me afterwards. I don't mind mistaking, then I tell them, but they don't accept that. That is different, you know. That's why I get upset. They question me 'Are you sure?' 'You don't look like from [this town in midland Ireland]. That bit annoys me, really annoys me, but other than that, I'm comfortable...they question my identity. I get really annoyed.

Based on their own self-identification and Irish society's perception of them, the sense of incompleteness of being both Chinese and Irish emerge:

Alison: My parents are Chinese, like me to be more Chinese. I can't. I was born here. Mostly, I'm proud to be Chinese. We are all different this kind of way. I am not coming from a Chinese background. I'm coming from an Irish background. Chinese people want to be the first, they are very smart like that, but I'm not.

The 'in-betweenness' provides greater flexibility in the identity choice for second-generation children (Zhou and Lee 2004: 22). Patrick saw himself as 'not completely Irish, not completely Chinese.' Or as Lilly put it, 'you can be both basically. Not as such as pure Irish or pure Chinese'. Also Alexander did not see himself as 'either Chinese or Irish' but 'some other'. His parents called him 'half ghost, half human'. In light of this, Alexander therefore felt 'I guess we are what we want to be'. The incompleteness of either occurred when they were both in Hong Kong and Ireland, a situation described by Ella:

Ella: When I go to Hong Kong, I feel Irish, because I don't think the same as Hong Kong people. Obviously, I look Chinese; I don't feel Chinese, because it is just different culture. When I come to Ireland, I feel myself Chinese, I look Chinese and was treated like a Chinese person.

Notions of identity are seen as a 'paradoxical combination of sameness and difference' (Lawler 2008: 2). On the one hand, people are identical to others. On the other hand, identity suggests people's uniqueness, their difference from others (Lawler 2008). 'Everyone must, consciously or not, identify with more than one group. This is about more than combining multiple identities in an "additive" way' (Lawler 2008: 3). 'Defining the "self" in relation to the "other" is a "pick-and-mix" approach with different strategies for inclusion and othering' (Anthias and Cederberg 2009: 911).

The second-generation interviewees in this study are aware of how their Chineseness and Irishness have impacted on who they are as people and how this concept of 'incompleteness' in being Chinese or Irish, results in them 'choosing' identities (Song 2003) depending on different contexts such as a particular situation or time. As discussed by Ryan:

> **Ryan:** I probably do think I'm really Irish, but someone thinks I'm Chinese. Really depends which way…when you speak Chinese, you speak it different from when you speak English. Sometimes it is easy to express things in Chinese…pick up different culture. Sometimes, I act different way, depends on the situation.

Hannah calls herself 'Chris', a term which refers to being both 'Chinese' and 'Irish'. The following extract shows how fluid her identity is as she switches when interacting with different groups of people:

> **Hannah**: When I'm with my friends, my friends forget I'm Chinese. They are so used to me. Then say a person does not know me. They think I'm Chinese. So I might think, I'm an Irish, but with Irish people, a Chinese one. That's why I'm Chinese and Irish at the same time. I think you can, usually.

Evaluating Identity Affiliation

Identities can be fluid and shift according to situation and circumstance. The second-generation interviewees' sense of belonging was often incomplete. In order to explore the extent of this 'incompleteness', it is necessary to unpack how much weight they put on 'being Irish' and 'being Chinese'. According to Maria, 'I grow up both, I kind of, I really have to think of it hard, Ok, what is Chinese? What is Irish?' This was a difficult question to answer for most of the participants as evidenced in the following excerpts. Sarah thought that 'I'm more Chinese than Irish. Probably having (Chinese) boyfriend has impact. When I go out with my boyfriend, probably have more Chinese friends. I don't know. My boyfriend came here seven years ago. We speak Cantonese to each other. Sometimes we speak English'. There were second-generation interviewees who chose to be Irish. Maria's association with Irishness was indicated by her high level of Irish language:

> **Maria:** I was in Hong Kong for two months [one year]; I hated it, because no one talks to me, because I was a fat child. You know, the way, in Hong Kong. I decided not doing

something I hate...I don't want to be Chinese anyway, then I decided to put all my effort into Irish. That's why I'm really into Irish, Irish college.

John discussed how it was possible to have multiple identities but one identity could weigh more than the other:

John: I love my Chinese background, I won't change who I was...I would be 70 percent Irish. I do speak Cantonese, but I don't really write Cantonese...I'm totally happy with my background, my Chinese background....I would say Irish people are really friendly. I like Guinness, I like Dim sum, I love both...I live my life here; I would say I belong to Ireland.

These excerpts are indicative of the extent to which multiple fluid identities exist for my second-generation interviewees. William pointed out the difficulty in choosing identity: 'things like being Irish, just being Chinese, which actually hard to be Chinese than being Irish. I was born here, I don't feel Hong Kong this way.' Overall, the second-generation interviewees in this study who identified themselves as Chinese more often had more Chinese friends than Irish friends and those who considered themselves more Irish tended to have more Irish friends.

In light of their definitions of being Chinese and Irish at the same time, it was interesting to see their labelling of 'being Chinese' and 'being Irish'. The ability to speak Cantonese was the foremost evaluation in determining the extent of their Chineseness. They would see those who cannot speak Cantonese as non-Chinese. In other words, to be Chinese, one needs to be able to speak the language. 'The authority of language can be understood not only as a function of a speaker's implicit interpretation but also as a purposive strategic act' (Chun 1996: 112). Language was seen as the essence of Chinese identity and it is the yardstick to measure real Chineseness.

The second evaluation of determining identity association was lifestyle choice. Hanging around with Irish friends, and going out drinking were often considered to be Irish traits. The quotes revealed how second-generation interviewees often associated Irish culture with drinking alcohol and it results in a stereotype of their Irish peers:

Alison: [I have] more Irish friends, probably the lifestyle, they enjoy going out, you know the Irish drinking thing. I see myself social drinking, get a bunch friends...They

go out drink and get locked. I'm quite happy to have friends over each other's house. I used to go out. I'm done with it. I don't really like going, maybe just my lifestyle.

When talking about Ireland's 'drink culture', they often distinguished themselves as 'we' and referred to the Irish as 'they' and then other times, the 'we' and 'they' pronouns were blurred because they often located themselves as part of Irish culture, despite their sense of incompleteness of 'being' Irish. They were quite familiar with Irish culture, and nearly all of them had experience of going out drinking as a way of socialising with their Irish friends. Often they disliked the 'drink until you drop' attitude. Rose, who would consider herself 'Irish' due to her interaction with mostly Irish friends, pointed out that she is 'being Chinese' when she knows her limits and stops drinking. Maria describes herself as Irish but has a strong feeling toward Ireland's drinking culture:

> **Maria:** I hate the drinking culture, I think Irish people drinking too much. I drink myself, be honest, I have done it, have been there, I know exactly what is it like; I know so much. If I really want to have children, I don't want them to have that mentality.

The other distinguishing feature for evaluating their identity was based upon specific characteristics of their personality. Often interviewees could not put a precise definition on this category. It was shown in dressing, make-up and ways of talking and their general attitude. Ryan reckoned someone was more Chinese or more Irish by how much they 'take Chinese attitude towards things'. Ben thought that 'the personality (Irish) more laidback and the way they talk. They are just kind of more Irish in culture, the way they behave. Just really, personality in general.'

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed identity construction processes as associated with several factors: interaction experiences, perceptions of discrimination, and links between citizenship and sense of belonging. Identities are a 'structural representation of self and others, creating images of order, permanence, belonging, unity, distinction and moral superiority' (Bastos et al. 2006: 204). The findings in this chapter clearly indicate that identity is often 'fundamentally shaped by generational changes' (Song 2003: 5).

First-generation interviewees in this study travelled more frequently between Ireland and Hong Kong and saw themselves as more Chinese than Irish. Almost all second-generation interviewees considered Ireland as their first home, whereas their parents often considered Hong Kong as their first home. The concept of 'myth of return' in diaspora occurred among all, but it was more evident in the sample of second-generation interviewees, because the majority of them had a distant feeling towards Hong Kong and considered it as their parents' homeland, not theirs. They did not see trips to Hong Kong as 'home return', but rather spoke of the possibility of migrating to other countries, especially in the current Irish economic climate. Despite first-generation interviewees' homing desire towards Hong Kong, their returns to the homeland, either imaginative or actual, were decided by their age, their financial condition, and family commitments.

Almost all interviewees experienced discrimination, but the second-generation respondents were more conscious of every-day discrimination than their parents who chose to ignore clearly discrimination, perhaps as a strategy of survival. Overall both generations had to live with stereotypes and took defensive strategies in handling such negatives experiences. The majority of first-generation interviewees' communication with Irish society were largely related to their economic role and were constrained by their discrimination experiences. However, they still kept close friendships with their Hong Kong Chinese friends. Compared with their parents, the second-generation had wider choices as to which friends to choose. They developed various levels of bonds with Irish, Chinese and other ethnic minority friends as defined by geographical locations and their personal preferences.

Many respondents had developed hybrid identities but the second-generation had more choice in defining their identities than their parents. Almost all first-generation respondents claimed their Chineseness and ruled out their possibilities of being Chinese and Irish at the same time due to their experience of discrimination and their close bond with Hong Kong Chinese friends. Their hybridity surfaced in their attitudes to homing desire towards Hong Kong which was decided by their decisions on becoming 'sojourner' or 'settler' in Ireland. Such decisions were often related to their personal financial ability and family concerns. Meanwhile there was the desired identity of being Irish and Chinese among all second-generation interviewees. Their hybridity was represented in their choice of friends and their self-identification. Similar to Song (2003: 104), 'second-generation can be invested in a wider range of ethnic identities, and may want to assert their claim to more than one'. The

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hybridity in the various feelings of 'incompleteness', being neither completely 'Irish' nor completely 'Chinese'. How the second-generation interviewees weighed the discourse between 'Irishness' and 'Chineseness' was determined by their language skills, lifestyle and perception within Irish society. As a result of their fluid identities, they were able to choose identities depending on the situation and time.

In the next chapter I move on to assess the main findings of this study and discuss limitations of the study and avenues for future research.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The exploratory nature of this dissertation sets out to investigate the economic, family and identity experiences of first- and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland. This chapter outlines the main findings that emerged from fieldwork. There are three sections in this chapter. The first section illustrates the contribution of this work to research on Chinese migration by highlighting the unique case of the Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland, adding to the burgeoning Irish migration studies literature. In the second section I discuss the relevance of the research method and my theoretical approaches: the push-push-pull theoretical model that I develop from the more traditional 'push-pull' approach, and diaspora theory, asking how they were applied to this study. This section also cross-contextualises themes drawn out from the findings. In the last section I discuss the direction for future research in relation to the limitations of this study and the changing trends of the current Chinese community in Ireland.

I want to start this chapter by sharing an informal conversation I had with an Irish NGO worker at the beginning of my fieldwork. Her view on my research topic reflected the important contribution this study makes. After finding out about the objectives of my research, she shared a story about interacting with a Hong Kong Chinese person in Dublin. She talked about how she always ordered Chinese food from the 'take-away' restaurant near her house and saw that the owner was busy all the time and that she never talked to him, until one day she met the owner in the airport when he was on his way to Hong Kong. They recognised each other and had a short conversation. She realised later that it was her first time to hear his voice after all those years being his customer, and thought about how she had never placed him within the context of having a life in Ireland, only thinking of him as a business object with not much occurring beyond the take-away counter.

Contribution of this Study

The above story illustrates how Chinese food has been part of the Irish dining experience as a result of the development of Chinese restaurants and take-aways in the last three decades. The aim of my research was to make the life of Hong Kong Chinese 'visible' by exploring their rich and varied lived experiences beyond the economic sphere. There is limited research on the lived experiences of Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland, and this dissertation fills a gap in

knowledge through an in-depth qualitative study of Chinese migrants, both those who arrived to the country in the 1970s and 1980s and were one of the few ethnic minorities at the time and the second-generation Hong Kong Chinese who are living through changes bringing Ireland from a monocultural society to a multicultural society.

As the pioneers of Chinese migration to Ireland, the Hong Kong Chinese used to be representative of the Chinese people in Ireland. As I found through documentary research on various Irish government sources and the *Irish Times* newspaper, Chinese migration into Ireland started in the 1960s, with most migrants relocating to Ireland via the UK. For the past 50 years, the Hong Kong Chinese have experienced first-hand major changes in Irish society. As explained in Chapter 4, they came to Ireland between the 1960s and 1990s, when Ireland had poor economic performance and high rates of emigration. They witnessed the Irish economic boom from the beginning of the 1990s and are now experiencing difficulties resulting from the Irish economic crisis since 2008.

However, the position of Hong Kong Chinese as the only Chinese migrants in Ireland has been challenged since the boom of mainland Chinese migration to Ireland from the late 1990s. My contribution in this area is to illustrate the heterogeneity of the Chinese community in contemporary Ireland and more importantly to distinguish Hong Kong Chinese from other Chinese migrants and acknowledge their unique experiences in the country. The research of mainland Chinese has become popular in the last ten years in terms of the volume of research (see Chapter 1 for an integrated discussion on this topic). The lived experiences of the Hong Kong Chinese and their contributions to Irish society have therefore been overshadowed by those of the mainland Chinese. Therefore, it is essential to acknowledge the position of Hong Kong Chinese in establishing themselves in Ireland, and their experiences in the country can serve as a reference point for other Chinese migrants.

Compared with the mainland Chinese, the following features of Hong Kong Chinese made my research an interesting case study. Based on semi-structured interviews, firstly, I found that almost all of my first-generation Hong Kong interviewees worked in the Chinese catering business either as business owners or waged labourers. However, the majority of the mainland Chinese in Ireland are students, as what I call 'target learners' (Wang and King-O'Riain 2006). Secondly, almost all of the Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland are located within a family unit. The family acts as the decision-making and risk-bearing unit for their migration.

Sometimes they brought their extended family through chain migration to Ireland. On the other hand, according to the 2006 and 2011 Irish Censuses, a large number of mainland Chinese are young single migrants. Therefore, the generational dimension in my study had implications in addressing the family factor in shaping the Hong Kong Chinese diasporic experience in Ireland. The third feature of the cohort is linked to their settlement patterns. Although the Hong Kong Chinese community is small in comparison to the mainland Chinese, due to their family structure the movement of Hong Kong Chinese is affected less by Irish economic changes. As shown in Chapter 5, despite the homing desire among first-generation Hong Kong Chinese, many of them still live in Ireland to be close to their family in the currently poor economic climate. In contrast, based on my observation and conversations with mainland Chinese friends, the movement of mainland Chinese students largely depends upon the transformation of Irish society. The mainland Chinese group, especially students who first came in the early 2000s when the Irish economy was performing well, either migrated to other countries or have returned to China after their graduation to pursue employment opportunities. For example, based on my own experience, when I came to Ireland to study a business foundation course in Dublin in 2002, 20 Chinese students in my class and all but another woman and I, have left the country.

Having discussed the contribution made by my research, I now move on to discuss how my research design and theoretical approach helped to answer my research questions and relate them to the interrelated findings which emerged from the data.

Review of Thesis

The qualitative research design and theoretical aspects of the dissertation provided the interpretive framework I needed to gain insight into my interviewees' lives. The overarching research question asked: How do economic, family and identification experience shape the lives of first- and second-generation Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland?

The data I collected from the fieldwork helped me to answer the following aspects of the research question: I identified how they started their diasporic journey to Ireland and how they made their living in Ireland. I explored how the second-generation interviewees negotiated socio-cultural issues with their parents, and how both generations negotiated their

identities based on their sense of belonging to both Hong Kong and Ireland. I added the generational dimension to my research design after my pilot study because the first-generation stressed the importance of family at various stages of their migration experience. Indeed, the generational dimension made my research questions more complex, reflecting the traditional Chinese values which see the familial interest as the primary consideration (Lau 1981). Individual Chinese migrants place familial interests above the interests of society and of constituent individuals and groups. Each findings chapter analyses one main theme across generations, the three themes are: economic experience, family views and identity negotiations. These themes were drawn from narrative interviews with the first-generation interviewees in the pilot study. In my main fieldwork, these three themes were explored further in the semi-structured interviews with both generations of interviewees. The complex and sometimes ambivalent relationships in these three themes across the generations emerged from the data. The assessment of the findings is described below.

The interview data revealed that the concept of diaspora is an appropriate theoretical approach for my research due to its flexible theoretical position (Safran 1991). It enabled me to fruitfully examine the complex relations emerging from the research. I argue that the diasporic experience of Hong Kong Chinese is that of an economic diaspora. Their diasporic experience is similar to Cohen's (1997) traditional concept of the Chinese trade diaspora because their diasporic journeys aim to seek economic opportunities abroad, as described by Crissman (1967), 'Chinese migrants did not set up adventurously to begin a new life abroad, but were pushed out of their homes by economic necessity, the unwilling victims of pressure on the land and lack of local opportunities for earning a living' (1967: 187).

The relatively high level of involvement in the catering business is one of the interviewees' primary economic strategies of survival in a host country. Their economic motivation to succeed also indicated the voluntary nature of the Hong Kong Chinese's diaspora which did not have a catastrophic or forced dispersal origin. Instead of encountering the loss of homeland, uprootedness, and oppression, the Hong Kong Chinese have a strong connection between homeland and host country and a desire to return to the homeland, a core feature of diaspora. 'A membership in a diasporic community implies a self-conscious attachment to the place of origin as well as a sense of being somewhere else' (Hussain 2005: 6).

In this section, I highlight the important relations between all the findings which emerged from my case study and speculate about their implications. Importantly, the main aspect of the findings is that what we are talking about here is an economic, not a cultural diaspora. Hong Kong Chinese people migrated to Ireland, sometimes via the UK, primarily for economic reasons. This is not to denigrate them, but rather to state the main motive, which colours all other aspects of their lived experiences in relation to their family relations and the construction of their identities, and from here emanate all other aspects of the findings of this dissertation.

Firstly, I look at the three main themes drawn from the data analysis. Although I analysed these themes independently in each findings chapter, in fact they are interrelated because the migration experience is complex and not encountered as a singular experience. Next, I highlight another distinguishing feature of this study, the generational analysis which compares and contrasts the similarities and differences in the lived experience of two generations of Hong Kong Chinese, especially in relation to the family context and identity negotiations.

Following up my theoretical argument regarding the economic diaspora of Hong Kong Chinese, it is apparent that economic participation has played a huge role in their family relationships as well as their self-identification. Meanwhile, their family relationships directly relate to their economic experience. Consequently, their understanding of economic performance and family responsibilities also determined their notions of identity.

Relying on the practices of chain migration, the first-generation Hong Kong Chinese presented a self-sufficient and self-reliant community. The business potential in Ireland attracted many first-generation Hong Kong Chinese respondents to migrate to Ireland. They left Hong Kong and sometimes the UK between the 1960s and the 1970s due to limited economic opportunities. With support from their families and other Hong Kong people, many of them set up catering businesses. Their concerns for improving the lives of family members were another important economic motivation. Their migration trajectories were explained in the push-push-pull model outlined in Chapter 2. Their business success contributed to their families, as evidenced by being able to afford better schooling for their children.

An 'entrepreneurial familialism' (Wong 1992) generated by economic dynamics was a common business approach among the Hong Kong Chinese families in Ireland. According to Parker (1995), the catering business is a 'fundamental factor in many Chinese migrants' families' lives' (1995: 155). Because of limited English language skills and financial means, low educational attainments and unfamiliarity with Irish society, the first-generation Hong Kong migrants formed self-contained ethnic niches based on restaurant operations (Nyíri 2002). Family members are important labour sources for their businesses; for example, almost all of my second-generation interviewees experienced working in their family restaurant. In terms of gender division, the female first-generation-interviewees often worked with their husbands and took on childcare responsibilities. The female second-generation respondents often did more domestic work than male siblings within a family, but male siblings had to take on duties such as providing financial support to the family. Parker (1998) argues that Chinese migrants in the UK are active in the Chinese catering industry as a result of their good attitude to work and the flexibility of the job market. The history of Chinese immigrants in the UK is therefore one of striking out for survival in the private market. The Irish case is similar to Parker's findings. Many of my first-generation interviewees had made a living out of the catering business and some achieved financial success from the 1970s to the mid 2000s, as I identified in Chapter 4.

One of the cohort's business strategies was related to Parker's (1998) description of Chinese migrants' attitude to work. Their ethic of hard work corresponds to the popular media portrayal of Chinese migrants as a 'model minority'. They put their heads down and work long hours and are known locally as good workers. They also often downplayed the negative experiences or social problems they confronted. The anti-social working hours and reliance on family members as staff make their businesses competitive, but on the other hand such long working hours distance them from their children. Many of the second-generation participants reported a less intimate relationship with their parents. The demanding nature of a Chinese catering business also explained by why the majority of first-generation interviewees interacted with Irish people mostly within the work sphere, and why they socialised less frequently with other Hong Kong Chinese. The economic participation of first-generation interviewees therefore determined their interaction patterns with the rest of Irish society. Their limited knowledge of Irish society and their identification as Chinese strengthened their actual or imaginary identification links to Hong Kong.

First-generation interviewees often experienced discrimination in the workplace and were often confronted with the stereotype of Chinese people as only being able to work well in the traditional Chinese catering businesses, which prompted their concentration in a niche area. These stereotypes are a more subtle form of racism which provided the conditions for identity to be shaped. Castles and Miller (2009) found that 'even if serious attempts were made to end all forms of discrimination and racism, cultural and linguistic differences would persist for generations, especially if new immigration took place' (2009: 311). Similar to their findings, second-generation interviewees often experienced discrimination at school, especially before the early 1990s immigration boom. Irish people presumed Chinese migrants could not speak English due to their apparent racial difference from typical Irish people. They were perceived as different as shown in their comparison of 'us' (second-generation Hong Kong Chinese) and 'them' (mainstream Irish). Both generations of participants often took what I called 'defensive' strategies to handle such discrimination or prejudice. The perception of 'difference' from many Irish people often compelled the first-generation interviewees to fully identify as 'Chinese' whereas the second-generation interviewees did neither feel 'completely Irish' nor 'completely Chinese'.

Similar to their parents, economic factors played a central role in the second-generation interviewees' understanding of family, and impacted their identity negotiations. They closely associated with the economic activities of their families and almost all second-generation interviewees grew up in the environment of Chinese restaurants. They often saw their contribution to the family business as a norm and a way to offset the financial hardship their parents suffered in supporting the family during their migration experience. Song (1997b) relates such willingness to help out in Chinese restaurants as one aspect of the representation of 'Chineseness'. Many of my second-generation interviewees may not remain in their parents' business for the long term and may move on to other professions or seek work opportunities abroad, particularly in the current weak Irish economic climate, demonstrating that their career choices were motivated by economic concerns. They retained a materialistic interest as priority over non-materialistic interests (Lau 1998).

Now, I want to focus on the impact of the cross-generational dimension in relation to family relations and to the identity context and its analysis in this thesis. Overall, there was a high level of family cohesion, evidenced in the children's perceptions of their obligations and responsibilities towards the family. Indeed, many of them admitted that they would prioritise

their family interests over their personal interests. However, and perhaps surprisingly, this strong family cohesion and support did not always lead to close parent-child relations. It was found that communication and intimate conversations between parents and children were often infrequent.

In terms of the relationship between Hong Kong and Ireland, all of the first-generation interviewees grew up in Hong Kong and migrated to Ireland as adults. They regarded Hong Kong as their homeland and Ireland as the host country. Meanwhile, almost all of the second-generation interviewees grew up in Ireland. Unlike their parents, they saw Ireland as their first home and Hong Kong as a second home. As a result of their schooling experience, the second-generation interviewees were more integrated into Irish society than their parents, and exhibited broader choices in friendship patterns, future career paths and self-identification. I can identify several reasons for this difference between the first- and second-generation.

Firstly, the second-generation interviewees enjoyed higher human capital than their parents in terms of their English skill, high educational attainments and familiarity with Irish society. Therefore, they had more career choices outside the Chinese catering business niche. At the time of the interviews, the majority of the second-generation respondents were studying computers, business, engineering, sciences and other professional courses in university. These subjects would help them to move on to jobs other than those chosen by the first-generation interviewees. However, the family restaurant business provided them with a safety-net to fall back on if they were unable to find a suitable job during the Irish economic crisis.

Secondly, the second-generation interviewees had broader choices in who they wanted to be friends with, because they had more contact with Irish people, had a better command of the language and more modern opinions in comparison with their parents. Their parents' interaction with Irish people was mostly limited to the workplace and for working purpose, so their friends were mostly other Hong Kong Chinese peers. Nearly all second-generation respondents had both Irish and Chinese friends. Chinese friends were referred to in the interviews as 'other Hong Kong Chinese children', had a similar upbringing in Ireland and were rarely in contact with the newly arrived mainland Chinese. They knew their Irish friends mostly from school and their Chinese friends through their parents' links with other Hong Kong Chinese. Different interviewees developed different bonds with both Irish and Chinese

friends. Some had closer friendships with Irish friends while others developed friendships with Chinese friends. In chapter 6 I identified four friendship patterns.

Thirdly, the second-generation interviewees had greater choices than their parents in terms of their diasporic identification. Their ethnic hybridity was due not only to their capacity to maintain multiple friendship patterns, but also to a shifting sense of belonging between Hong Kong and Ireland. According to Ang (2001:25), 'Chineseness is a category whose meanings are not fixed and pregiven, but constantly renegotiated and rearticulated'. This changing nature of identity construction occurred with both generations, but is more apparent among the second-generation interviewees. For almost all the first-generation interviewees who identified themselves as Chinese, it was deemed impossible to be Chinese and Irish at the same time. In contrast, nearly all second-generation participants acknowledged their identity as a condition of 'in-betweenness', as being Irish and Chinese simultaneously yet neither 'completely Irish' nor 'completely Chinese'.

In terms of the homing desire identified by diaspora theorists (e.g. Brah 1996), particularly with respect to the relationship between homeland and host country, almost all first-generation interviewees expressed a wish to return to Hong Kong, though this wish may not be fulfilled due to economic factors or family commitments, identified in Chapter 6. This corresponds to Ang's (1998) finding that people root themselves in ideas rather than places, in memories as much as in material things. The diasporic 'myth of return' was uncovered in the narratives of the second- generation interviewees who did not see a return to Hong Kong as 'a must'. For them Hong Kong is rather a holiday destination and their parents' homeland; in terms of their future orientation, many expressed their interest in migrating to another country but would still refer to Ireland as their home. The children of immigrants orient not to their parents' pasts but to their own futures (Rumbaut and Portes 2001).

Having discussed the multiple choices experienced by the second-generation interviewees in comparison to those embraced by their parents, and even though I have identified Hong Kong Chinese's migrations to Ireland as an economic diaspora, I now follow up with another aspect of diaspora, the cultural production of diaspora, and argue that culture still counts in the discussion of the parent-child relationship. The samples of both generations have grown up with different cultural norms. Although many first-generation respondents expressed their worries about their children's lack of interest in Chinese culture, I found it interesting that a

large number of the second-generation interviewees still retain various influences of Chinese heritage. My argument is that the second-generation interviewees developed a subculture which mixed both Irish and Chinese cultures, as discussed in Chapter 5. The second-generation interviewees refer to Chinese cultural values as an 'unduly familial obligation to obey their elders and repay parental sacrifices' (Zhou and Lee 2004: 15) which led to less direct confrontation or fierce rebellion from the second-generation against their parents when there is a clash of interests. Despite the contradictions in the parent-child relationship, overall the relationship is still harmonious in these Hong Kong Chinese families.

However, this does not negate the existence of intergenerational conflicts caused by value discrepancies when parents tried to transmit their traditional ethnic values, morals and customs to their children, while the children were exploring Irish culture despite their awareness of their parents' Chinese values. The three conflicts I analysed in Chapter 5 are linguistic decline, career aspirations and personal relationships. Of these three issues, the parents had the most ambivalent view on language use; on the one hand, they appreciated their children's native English skills as an essential asset towards upward mobility in Ireland. On the other hand, they were also disappointed that their children could not master Cantonese, a cultural vehicle, an essential marker of Chineseness. Both generations shared quite similar views on the issue of running a restaurant business. The parents did not expect their children to work in a restaurant, and their children did not see it as a permanent job choice either. In order to reach high occupational achievement, the parents often 'place an enormous amount of pressure on their children to excel in school, but they also provide the material means to assure success' (Zhou and Lee 2004: 15). Their children often had more of an understanding of their parents' high expectation for education. The strongest conflict between parents and children centred on personal relationships. Parents strongly wished their children would date and socialise with Chinese people who shared a similar ethnic background, but the children were willing to form relationships with Irish people too. Attitudes regarding personal relationships differed according to the gender of the second-generation participants. Female interviewees were more willing to form relationships with non-Chinese people while male interviewees preferred to date Chinese girls.

My work contributes to understandings of new diverse global migratory movements. King (2002: 90) implies that defining and studying migration needs to 'blur further the never-straightforward boundary between migration and mobility, and to melt away some of the

traditional dichotomies'. Migration studies traditionally consisted of two rather separate literatures; on the one hand, it studies the process of migration which includes movements, determinants and patterns across space. On the other hand, it is the study of the ethnic communities and diaspora as the product of migration in the receiving societies (Castles and Miller 2009; King 2002). The two subfields are 'analytically distinct, the linkages between them have been insufficiently explored' (King 2002: 91; Castles and Miller 2009).

There is still relatively little engagement with such diverse forms of mobility within migration studies. In light of such limitations, my study blurs the above distinction (King 2002) and shows the 'lived reality' of migrants (Castles 2000). Firstly, my original theoretical 'push-push-pull' approach challenges the 'binary polarisation of origin and destination' (King 2002: 101) in the traditional push-pull model (Castles and Miller 2009; Koryś 2003; Lee 1966; Ravenstein 1885; 1889). My revised model contributes to the full understanding of the more diverse and flexible varieties of mobility in all societies involved (King 2002). It denotes that migration involves several steps. A majority of my first-generation interviewees migrated to Ireland through a transit country, the UK. So their migration trajectories are not simply from one sending country (Hong Kong) to another receiving country (Ireland). The UK played a unique role as both receiving country and sending country at different points in their migration trajectory. My findings on this specific multi-sited and multi-faceted mobility are good examples of new global movements, which show that 'people migrate repeatedly between two or more places where they have economic, social or cultural linkages' (Castles and Miller 2009: 30). Secondly, Castles and Miller (2009) argue that products of migration such as studies of ethnic community and diaspora should not only be discussed in relation to the perspectives of receiving counties, because 'migration brings about change in both sending and receiving societies' (2009: 20). In discussing post-migration experiences after Hong Kong Chinese settled in Ireland, I used diaspora theory to explore homeland/hostland connections, identity construction embracing diasporic and hybrid identity, and inter-generational relations within diasporic communities. I identified specific migration patterns in terms of their future orientations. First-generation interviewees expressed their homing desire for Hong Kong because diasporics 'never quite arrive at their destination because they never quite leave home' (Ley and Kobayashi 2005: 113). For some, their return to Hong Kong could become a myth due to their economic experiences and family commitments in Ireland, so they may choose to travel repeatedly between Hong Kong and Ireland. For others, their return migrations to Hong Kong 'extend the linear model of migration to a circular

model with an imputed readjustment and assimilation to the country of origin' (Ley and Kobayashi 2005: 112). Meanwhile the second-generation interviewees' orientations may extend beyond the distinctions of Hong Kong, the UK and Ireland. They create new migration patterns, which could involve other destination countries than their parents as a result of their economic experiences and hybrid identities. I found that 'migration is undertaken strategically at different stages of life cycle in both receiving countries and sending countries' (Ley and Kobayashi 2005: 111). Therefore movements are better described as continuous rather than completed (Ley and Kobayashi 2005). Though the qualitative research and the theory of diaspora and the push-push-pull model enabled me to reach my research goal, the study had some limitations, which I explore in the last section.

Directions for Future Research

Identifying the limitations of this research indicates the direction for a future research agenda. The first limitation is related to the gender imbalance in my first-generation sample. Accessing first-generation participants was the biggest challenge in my fieldwork. Many first-generation Hong Kong Chinese, especially the females, were reluctant to take part in my research due to language issues as they only speak Cantonese and I speak Mandarin. This was different from their husbands who sometimes picked up Mandarin when working with mainland Chinese. However, more than language, I think the bigger barrier was the women's lack of familiarity with social research and this led to an overall unwillingness to take part in the interviews. Many of them told me that they do not have much to talk about or directed me to their husbands. There were only three females out of a total of 16 first-generation interviewees. The small sample size could not represent the entire female first-generation Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland. The gender imbalance of the sample weakened the analysis in terms of the role of gender in the migration of Hong Kong Chinese. However, in the second-generation sample, I was able to achieve a better gender balance. In light of this shortcoming, future research should explore the lives of female first-generation Hong Kong Chinese, their roles in the family, their contribution to the family's economic performance, and their identification in terms of being female and being migrants. Such a study would fill the gap in relation to the impact of gender on the experiences of Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland.

With increasing interests in researching members of second-generation (Zhou 1997), there is still a gap between the strategic importance of the second-generation and current knowledge

about their lifestyle (Portes 1996). I would propose future research to find out the actual career paths of the second-generation Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland in comparison with second-generation Chinese in traditional Chinese migration countries such as the United States or the UK. This further research could find out whether second-generation Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland attain economic upward mobility. Due to the age profile of my sample, it was difficult to find out how many second-generation young people would work in other professional careers and move beyond the catering business, because a majority of them were still pursuing study at third-level educational institutions. This was a structural limitation of the sample of the second-generation because at the time of the study the majority of the second-generation Hong Kong Chinese were in their 20s. One of my second-generation interviewees actually suggested that I should 'go back to them in 15 years' in order to present a clearer picture of their career mobility over time.

Having illustrated the two main limitations of my research and possible implications for future research, I want to look at the current changes in China and Chinese communities in Ireland to pose some questions. The People's Republic of China (mainland China) is a major political and economic power on the world stage, and is thus a key player in the global migration system, having moved away from its exceptional and marginal phase of international migration (Skeldon 2004). Such transformation has instilled a sense of pride and confidence in Chinese people, as evidenced by the example of the formation of the Irish Chinese Sichuan Earthquake Appeal Committee in 2008 (Wang 2012) by a number of Hong Kong Chinese-led and mainland Chinese-led associations to raise funds for the victims of the earthquake in the line-up to the Beijing Olympics in August 2008. The committee organised the largest-scale collective action of Chinese migrants in Ireland performing their Chineseness, claiming what I called 'it is good to be Chinese' (Wang 2012).

Hong Kong returned to Chinese Sovereignty in 1997. Currently, mainland China is expanding its international influence, and accordingly, the presence of mainland Chinese migrants in Ireland is also increasing, while the number of Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland is in decline. Migration from Hong Kong decreased since the mid-1990s according to the observation of Hong Kong Chinese interviewees. The Hong Kong Chinese community is at a crossroads: when members of the first-generation are reaching retirement age, they start thinking about returning to Hong Kong or at least travelling more frequently between Hong Kong and Ireland. I also found out that that some second-generation Hong Kong Chinese are

leaving Ireland to seek better working opportunities or different lifestyles in other countries. All these changes could have an impact on relations, and even raise tensions between mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland in relation to what it means to be Chinese in Ireland. In light of the ageing first-generation Hong Kong Chinese participants and non-interest in the Chinese restaurant business from second-generation respondents, it would be interesting to see whether the mainland Chinese groups would follow in the footsteps of the Hong Kong Chinese in the Chinese catering business or not. In the UK, ethnic succession has already been undergone, as Hong Kong Chinese businesses move out and are replaced by other Chinese businesses (Jones and Ram 2003).

My study found that there were limited interactions between Hong Kong Chinese and mainland Chinese. The first-generation Hong Kong Chinese had closer working relations with mainland Chinese than their children, because the first-generation business owners often relied on mainland Chinese workforce in operating their businesses. The arrival of mainland Chinese solved the shortage of labour. Based on my observation, more mainland Chinese are taking part in the catering business; examples are the typical mainland Chinese restaurants on Capel Street and Parnell Street in Dublin. Often the owners of these mainland Chinese restaurants establish their families and have children in Ireland, which is similar to the family patterns of the Hong Kong Chinese two or three decades ago. So it would be interesting to see how similar the economic experience of mainland Chinese is to that of Hong Kong Chinese. In addition, with the increasing age of the-second-generation mainland Chinese, further research could investigate whether mainland Chinese would experience the same intergenerational conflicts I identified in this study, or whether there would be other challenges for mainland Chinese families.

To conclude, this thesis has closed the knowledge gap in understanding the experiences of the Hong Kong Chinese in Ireland, marked by distinctive migration trajectories and unique economic, familial and cultural experiences which have so far not been addressed by social researchers. The study explored the richness and diversity of this group of migrants who arrived in Ireland long before the 1990s growth in immigration. Researching the Hong Kong Chinese, this study argues, provides an opportunity to analyse and make visible the lived experiences of this mostly economic diaspora group whose contributions to Irish life, both economically and culturally, have hitherto not been examined.

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Appendix 1a: Profile of First-Generation Interviewees

Pseudonym	Birth	Age at Interview	Year of Migration	Other Country before Ireland	Arrival in Ireland	Chain Migration	Place of Residence
Sung	1941	67	1966	England	1983	Brother	Dublin
Pak	1959	49	1970s	UK	1970s	Brother	Dublin
Chiu	1945	65	1964	England and Scotland	1979	Friends	Dublin
Ma	1950s	50s	1968	Direct from Hong Kong	1968	Brother	Dublin
Tong	1956	54	1979	Northern Ireland	1988	Brother	Dublin
Yip	1960	49	1970	Direct from Hong Kong	1970	Father	Dublin
Yeung	1961	47	1980	Direct from Hong Kong	1980	Brother	Outside Dublin
Chu	1955	55	1970	Netherlands and Scotland	1986	Brother	Outside Dublin
Tin	1940s	60s	1970	Panama and UK	1974	Aunt	Outside Dublin
Hon	1950s	50s	1981	Direct from Hong Kong	1981	Brother	Outside Dublin
Leung	1940s	60s	1968	UK	1970s	Father	Outside Dublin
Fung	1950s	50s	1960s	UK	1973	Brother	Outside Dublin
Tse	1955	55	1960s	UK	1973	Father	Outside Dublin
Ms Dou	1953	57	1979	England	1981	Husband	Dublin
Ms Tsui	1960s	40s	1980s	United States and UK	1990	Husband	Dublin
Ms Suen	1960s	40s	1980s	UK	1980s	Father	Dublin

Appendix 1b: Profile of Second-Generation Interviewees

Pseudonym	Gender	Birth	Age at Interview	Occupation	Parent arrival in Ireland	Other Country before Ireland	Country of Birth	Place of Residence
Zoe	Female	1979	31	Working	1976	Wales	Ireland	Dublin
Eve	Female	1989	21	College Student	1980s	UK	Ireland	Dublin
Emma	Female	1989	21	College Student	1990	Northern Ireland	Northern Ireland	Dublin
Maria	Female	1988	22	College Student	1974	UK	Ireland	Dublin
Rose	Female	1988	22	College Student	1979	Northern Ireland	Ireland	Dublin
Lucy	Female	1981	29	Working	1973	England	Hong Kong	Outside Dublin
Ella	Female	1983	27	Working	1973	England	Ireland	Outside Dublin
Sarah	Female	1988	22	College Student	1994	England	England	Outside Dublin
Lilly	Female	1993	17	College Student	1994	England	England	Outside Dublin
Hannah	Female	1993	18	College Student	1974	Direct from Hong Kong	Ireland	Outside Dublin
Amie	Female	1990	20	College Student	1979	UK	Ireland	Outside Dublin
Alison	Female	1989	21	College Student	1975	England	Ireland	Outside Dublin
Adam	Male	1989	21	College Student	1980s	UK	Ireland	Dublin
Aaron	Male	1989	21	College Student	1975	Northern Ireland	Ireland	Dublin
Lucas	Male	1988	22	College Student	1975	England	Ireland	Dublin
Max	Male	1990	20	College Student	1991	Direct from Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Dublin
Ben	Male	1991	19	College Student	1972	Direct from Hong Kong	Ireland	Dublin
Samuel	Male	1984	26	Working	1980s	Direct from Hong Kong	Ireland	Dublin
Sean	Male	1990	20	College Student	1980s	UK	Ireland	Dublin
John	Male	1980	30	Working	1975	Northern Ireland	Ireland	Outside Dublin
Ken	Male	1984	26	Working	1979	UK	Hong Kong	Outside Dublin
Patrick	Male	1989	21	College Student	1997	England	England	Outside Dublin
Ryan	Male	1989	21	College Student	1980s	UK	Ireland	Outside Dublin
William	Male	1987	23	College Student	1977	England	Ireland	Outside Dublin
Alexander	Male	1990	20	College Student	1977	England	Ireland	Outside Dublin

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

Introduction
1. How long have you been living in Ireland?
2. Can you please tell me something about your family members?
3. Which language(s) do you speak?
4. Which passport do you hold?
5. Where are you working and living in Dublin now?

Working and/or Studying
6. What has been your experience of working and/or studying in Ireland?
7. What have you gained from working or studying in Ireland?
8. How satisfied are you with your work in Ireland?
9. How has your Chinese background helped/prevented your employment in Ireland?
10. How do you think your work attitude differ from that of non-Chinese?

Families
11. How would you define a family? What is your understanding of family?
12. According to your knowledge, to what degree do the Irish view family differently from you? What are your thoughts on this?
13. How important is family to you?
14. On which topics do you find difficulties in reaching agreement with your parents/your children? Please give examples.
15. Which occupation would you prefer your children to have?

Interaction
16. In your work place, who do you talk to and socialise with the most? How often do you socialise with the above people outside the workplace?
17. Could you please tell me something about your friends, where they come from, and what you usually do with them in your spare time?
18. How comfortable do you feel in Ireland? Have the recent socio-economic changes affected your views?
19. Have you experienced any form of discrimination or prejudice in Ireland?
20. Who do you find it the easiest to talk to and socialise with? Why/why not?

Identity/Positioning
21. Where do you feel you belong?
22. What role has Ireland and Hong Kong played in your life?
22. To what extent do you think is it possible to be both Irish and Chinese at the same time? Why/why not?
23. What do you associate with Ireland?
24. How important is Chinese culture in your life?
25. Is there anything you would like to add to our discussion?