Researching second-generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants' identity in the UK

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Researching Second-Generation Chinese Hong Kong Immigrants' Identity in the UK

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Acknowledgements

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Finally, I dedicate this thesis to my family in Britain and China, and all the Hong Kong friends who I have made during the whole project.

Abstract

In this thesis, second-generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants' self-identification will be examined in a British context. The research aim is to document a current portfolio of Chinese Hong Kong immigrants' self-identity in familial, societal and national spheres. Having employed the situationist framework, this work will attempt to move beyond the previous theoretical assumptions that generalise Chinese immigrants as a whole. Instead, the target research population's self-recognition in different areas - language and accent, gender, class and employment, etc - will be examined.

The research draws on two different sets of data: four focus group discussions and five semi-structured interviews. Thematic analysis (TA) as the analytical approach has been employed to examine the audiotape data (transcribed). The findings and conclusions have been drawn in three analytical chapters by the dominant themes.

First of all, how the different choices of language have constructed second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' sociocultural identity in Britain will be explored and analysed. The choice of using different languages according to various cultural contexts will reveal the research population's overlapping identities under a historical dimension.

Secondly, the research data will be examined on familial and societal levels through parental, gender and class perspectives. The findings of gender and class stratification in this section will draw conclusions which might potentially change some existing academic assertions in the literature.

Finally, the research data will be looked at from the national level, focusing on community cohesion and neighbourhood diversity. The conclusions will suggest how Hong Kong immigrants integrated into the British society quietly with a lack of a united sense of Britishness. It might indicate an effective effort to promote national identity in the UK. In the end, there is a possibility that second-generation Hong Kong immigrants have started rethinking their self-identification under the new Sino-British relations.

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Introduction

This thesis will examine second-generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants' cross-cultural identities in the UK. It is concerned, in particular, with how language (dialect and accent), family setting, gender roles, class and the local community have influenced the construction of their self-identification. Having examined the above factors surrounding the construction of the research groups' self-identification, and through theoretical reflection of the existing literature and empirical data, this thesis aims to contribute towards: 1) the way in which second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' self-identification has been constructed in relation to various factors: language, gender roles, class, community; 2) the way in which the local British community has affected and shaped these immigrants' cross-cultural identities.

Research Background and Scope:

A central question for people born in a country to which their parents have emigrated is their capacity to move between different cultures and negotiate a path towards forming their own identity. Identity is strongly intertwined with socio-cultural factors, such as language, societal norms, history and belief systems. The traditional and classical models of identity such as Primordialism and Situationism (Constructivism), have inspired this research to investigate second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' cross-cultural identity in the UK at the early stage.

However, as international migration has expanded at an unexpected rate, along with an ever-changing situation in economics, political climate, etc., it seems reasonable to re-evaluate these conceptual models and consider the implementation of new characteristics related to today's situation.

One of the contemporary focus in studies on immigrant identity has favourably in correlation with multiculturalism and super-diversity in a self-constructing manner. The three most debated contemporary attempts in this regard – Primordialist Multiculturalism, Civic Multiculturalism and Liberal Multiculturalism - have been widely favoured by cultural immigration studies in order to establish the relationship between multiculturalism and group/social identity at local and national levels.

To investigate second-generation immigrants' identities in different dimensions, an integrated theory, which combines the concepts and central propositions from two or more prior existing theories into a new single set of integrated concepts and propositions has been adapted by cultural researchers. An integrative theory served as an ideal tool for evaluating early immigrants and their offspring's cross-cultural identity development, especially regarding cultural adaption, cross-cultural assimilation, and the negotiation of transnational cultural spheres. In this way, an integrated theory has been employed in my research to examine the acculturation and deculturation of immigrants' identity development within their ancestral cultural context and their host cultural context.

For this specific project in Sheffield, the research group's cross-cultural identity will be analysed in relation to the following factors: lingual adaptability,

accent, family setting, gender roles, class and community. The main reason for the choice of these variations is that the aim was to examine second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' identity in both private and public spheres. Gender and class especially, as two distinct factors which hugely influence immigrant identity development, have been overlooked in discussion and assessment in Chinese immigration studies. In light of this, a comparison between gender and class respectively across my participants would potentially fill a gap in the literature, as well as provide several potential implications for future research in this regard.

Finally, the target group's identity will be considered in a national context, which reflects on the British government's efforts towards community cohesion. Having done so, the participants' national identity will be assessed at the micro-community level, which could potentially enrich the knowledge of how to promote a sense of Britishness in an ethnic minority group in the UK.

Research Methodology

The principal goal of this project is the exploration of bi- and tri-cultural second-generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants' self-identification in the UK with reference to their perceptions, knowledge, views, understandings, interpretations, experiences, and interactions. To address these issues comprehensively, a qualitative method combining focus groups and semi-structured interviews will be used. This is because the cross-cultural identity and experiences of Chinese Hong Kong immigrants remains an under-

researched area, and therefore quantitative data may potentially be limited and inaccurate.

A series of focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews will be employed to audio-record informants' life experiences in the UK. The combination of focus groups and semi-structured interviews serves as an ideal way to investigate the phenomena of interest as it recognised as a tool which can explore one's perceptions in-depth. Meanwhile, both methods give a flexible and organic approach to investigate the topic which will give participants more freedom to express their ideas in their own way and also provide the potential for new understandings in undervalued topic areas. The qualitative data will then be encoded efficiently into themes and patterns for a thematic analysis.

The analytical approach is a thematic analysis, which is not another qualitative method, but an analytical process which can be used to transfer qualitative data into depth. It could be seen as a beneficial bridge between researchers and the data of varying orientations and fields. Given that the research aims covers several different areas (identity construction, language, gender, class, community, etc.), the thematic analysis will allow for a comprehensive understanding of phenomena/patterns which appear during the encoding phase.

Thesis Structure:

Two issues will be addressed: 1) the way in which second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' self-identification has been constructed in relation to various factors: language, gender roles, class, community; 2) the way in which the local British community has affected and shaped these immigrants' cross-cultural identities.

Therefore, this thesis will first describe and analyse the three classical conceptual models – Primordialism, Situationism and Multiculturalism – which have been traditionally central to identity studies (**Chapter 1**). Having adapted the classic situationism model, three contemporary attempts in discussing multiculturalism - primordialist mode, civic mode and liberal mode – will be further analysed to illustrate the interplay between multiculturalism and cultural identity. The empirical evidence will then be reviewed and analysed which draws on the civic mode, which has been adapted to guide the whole project.

In **Chapter 2**, the way in which language, gender and class have influenced immigrants' cross-cultural identities will be highlighted in relation to their acculturation and social integration in the UK. During the literature review and analysis, it will be discovered that Chinese immigrants (including Hong Kong immigrants) have been neglected in this regard, which reveals a gap in the literature.

The common features shared by both early and second-generation immigrants will be summarised in **Chapter 3**, which provides a detailed and systematic review of ethnic minorities' cultural-identification from different periods in different countries. The common features in their early settlement

and self-identification will be summarised in this chapter a general picture will be sketched of immigrants' diasporic lives in their host societies. Again, discussion of Chinese immigrants in the existing literature is limited, as most of the academic evidence reviewed has been in relation to well-established Muslim population or Indian groups. There is also a lack of clarity around the different flows of Chinese immigration: immigrants from different social backgrounds or even different political situations in their host countries. Hence, the scope will be narrowed down to examine Chinese immigrants and especially second-generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants in the UK in the next chapter.

In **Chapter 4**, Sino-British relations before and after the 1997 political transition will be reviewed in order to provide a rationale for my participants' historic yet complex relationship with both countries. Also reviewed is the way in which the ever-changing relationship between China, Hong Kong and Britain has affected Chinese Hong Kong immigrants' self-identification in multiple cultural contexts. A government survey which included Chinese immigrants will be presented and analysed and a clarification will be suggested in relation to the current imprecision of combining all Chinese immigrants as a whole in academic studies, as well as a clarification of the unique cross-cultural self-identification in a triple – Chinese, Hong Kong and British – cultural context. The research methodology (**Chapter 5**) will be followed by the four literature review chapters, which demonstrate the research methods, analytical approaches, recruitment procedures, materials and lead to a reflection at the end.

There are three analytical chapters in this thesis (**Chapter 6, Chapter 7, and Chapter 8**), which will discuss and address the research questions in relation to, respectively, lingual adaptability, family setting, gender, class and social integration. To evaluate the way in which second-generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants have constructed their cross-cultural identities, an extensive body of literature will be recalled and analysed in these three chapters to support the findings from the patterns across the data. By doing so, conclusions will be outlined as below:

In **Chapter 6**, it will be argued that there is a negotiation between triple socio-cultural identities – Chinese, Hong Kong and British – through an analysis of the shift in language use, as well as the relationship between the local British accent and Cantonese dialect. Having drawn on the data, it will be argued that for the participants, these three identities have not been mutually exclusive but overlap each other depending on 'in-group' and 'out-group' situations. It will be suggested that the reason for this negotiation of identities could be its reflection of the historically triangular Sino-British-Hong Kong relations during Hong Kong's political transition, to a certain degree.

Chapter 7 will address the way in which Confucian Chinese culture and individualist Western culture have influenced the participants' cross-cultural identities in the family sphere. It will be suggested that the hardship in the early settlement of Hong Kong immigrants greatly impacted the development of the participants' Chinese-selves in their private lives. Moreover, a consideration of gender roles and class, as two other variants, will also bring out insightful comparisons across the data sample. In short, female

participants in this project indicated a higher degree of social integration into British mainstream society than their male counterparts. Also, the data suggests that female roles in the gendering process have led to a higher level of self-recognition in British society, which challenges several pieces of existing academic evidence. Finally, class differences in this project have been greatly reflected in the influence of different educational paths on participants' self-identification in Britain. This finding itself has drawn a clear boundary between the traditional catering class and the affluent middle-class Hong Kong immigrants in the local area, regarding their self-categorisation into British or Chinese groups.

In **Chapter 8**, the target group's self-identification will be evaluated at a national level through a focus on and analysis of the concept of community cohesion. Under examination is a review of the local community, which has contributed to the growth of the participants' British identity at a community level. This finding has filled a gap in the literature which has investigated neighbourhood diversity as it has been slightly more centred on segregation and discrimination in previous research. Even so, a lack of united sense of 'Britishness' (which is one of the aims of community cohesion) has been discovered at a national level. Because of this lack of a sense of 'Britishness', the participants have also drawn their cultural boundaries away from other ethnic groups leading to saturation in their own ethnic enclaves. Finally, it will be suggested that the participants' cross-cultural self-identification can be reconsidered in correlation with the recent Sino-British relations.

The final chapter (**Chapter 9**) will contain a concise summary of the analytical

chapters, pointing out limitations of the empirical project and giving future

recommendations for similar studies.

Chapter 1: Primordialism, Situationism and Multiculturalism

In this literature review, we will be reviewing and discussing a series of topics related to the ethnic minority groups' ethnic/cultural/social identification in their host countries.

There will be two main dimensions related to the research goals: one based on a review of the theoretical frameworks by introducing and analysing well-established conceptual models which have been applied/employed in the existing literature; the other is a detailed review that captures the factors in identity formation and common features of early and second-generation immigrants' ethnic/cultural identification and cultural adaptation amongst different ethnicities in the UK and other relevant Western countries.

For this specific project targeting Chinese Hong Kong immigrants, Sino-British relations before and after the 1997 political transition will also be considered, as well as mainland-Hong Kong relations under the framework of "one country, two systems". This will be followed by historical evidence and up-to-date statistics related to early and second-generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants after their settlement over decades in the UK.

In the first chapter of this literature review, the focus will be on three theoretical frameworks - Primordialism, Situationism and Multiculturalism – in relation to discussing identity in different cultural contexts. The two polar positions of Primordialism and Situationism offer us an opposite understanding of people's identity development; and the interplay between multiculturalism and cultural identity enables us to examine cultural identity through societal and political perspectives.

1.1 Primordialism, Situationism and Identity Development

In this section, two conceptual models related to the construction of identity - Primordialism and Situationism - will be examined. From a theoretical perspective, these two conceptual models represent two polar positions, which have guided research on ethnic minority identity and related topics in different directions.

In the Primordialism model, ethnicity is viewed as fixed with deep allegiances and attachments to kin, territory and religion(Liebkind, 1989). In this view, ethnicity is a fundamental tie that connotes unity and solidarity among people who have similar biological and cultural characteristics(Liebkind, 1989). Based on this explanation, people born into an ethnic group tend to distinguish themselves from others through sharing a similar language, nationality, religion and physical characteristics such as skin colour and body shape. For example, Arthur Stein highlighted primordialism as an "instinct of human primates" and ethnicity as an "unquestioned and taken for granted" statement through human life (Stein, 2017). Moreover, drawn from his series of work, "ethnicity" (or another more popular term "ethnic groups") is defined as sharing some combination of common descent (real or supposed), cultural or physical features and set attitudes and behaviours(Stein, 2008). Primordialism highlights ethnic and cultural identities as a fixed property of individuals; however, Situationism views this issue in a different manner. Situationism tends to take ethnic/cultural identity as a series of flexible meanings which can be constructed based on the surroundings as a strategy for pursuing a position in society. It is noticeable that situationism is also often

described as constructivism, in which "behaviours would be guided by the domain-specific cultural theory that is salient or activated in a particular situation (Hong, 2011). Moreover, amongst identity studies -Constructivism is frequently accompanied with cognitive self-development, which focused on the "construction and reconstruction of self through the organisation and reorganisation of personal constructs" (Hermes, 2003). One of the advantages of using Situationism/Constructivism in identity research is that it associates the ethnic/cultural identity with self-consciousness, cultural influence, political and economic desires, etc. Therefore, researchers could examine ethnic/cultural identity in multiple and variable dimensions that might be associated with a broader social context.

Given the multicultural sphere globally, primordial approaches have rarely been assessed in empirical research, as Situationism/Constructivism provides cultural studies with much more empirical implications. Even so, there is some early academic evidence from before the 1990s which indicates that minority immigrants either evaluate themselves in terms of purely ethnic ties or not at all. For example, Cochrane and Stopes-Roe's (1981) empirical work argues that, after 20- or 30-years' settlement, the overwhelming majority of the Indian immigrants still believe that someday they will return to their region or country of origin. Both researchers believe that the reason for this urge to return is that the early immigrants still identify themselves by their ethnic ties with their country of origin. They further argue that it does not matter how long these immigrants have settled down in a foreign culture, or to what extent they have adapted to the foreign culture, they still identify themselves as an "ethnic outsider" compared to the majority ethnic groups (Cochrane, 1981:177). This

argument suggests that early immigrants tended to adopt a primordial view, which took their ethnic/cultural identity for granted.

However, with the different waves of immigration, an increasing number of empirical results tend to challenge this inflexible notion of ethnic/cultural identities. Commentators have argued that culture, as well as cultural identity, is always dynamic and can frequently be "adapted and assimilated" (Kim, 2011).

In most empirical research, results related to intercultural adaptation and assimilation have been highlighted. Intercultural adaptation, Kim (2013) argues, occurs when "individuals upon relocating into an unfamiliar cultural environment, establish (or re-establish) and maintain a relatively stable, reciprocal, and functional relationship with the environment" (Kim, 2013). Kim (2015) further investigated a group of early southern American immigrants living in the United States, after having been settled for 50 years. He argues that this group of immigrants frequently experienced a dynamic and integrative cultural identity because "an open-ended, adaptive self-definition" has been taken into consideration by the immigrants (Kim, 2015:35). Ethnicity-wise, South American immigrants' situation in the US is not unique; there have been a series of empirical research carried out on Indian and Pakistani and Cypriot immigrants' self-identification in the Birmingham and London areas which have reached similar conclusions. Given that Situationism focuses the interplay of ethnicities and their diasporic surroundings, as well as portraying the ethnic minority groups' performances comprehensively, it has been selected as a more popular conceptual framework in recent research. More importantly, Situationism guided the

researchers to examine identity in a broader societal and political sphere, which more or less reflects the reality in today's situation.

1.2 Multiculturalism and Cultural Identity

In this section and related sub-sections, the three well-established contemporary approaches – primordialist multiculturalism, civic multiculturalism and liberal multiculturalism - which have been used to demonstrate the interplay of multiculturalism and cultural identity through a political perspective will be examined. The reason for the selection of these three approaches in discussing multiculturalism and cultural identity is due to the fact that they occupy key positions in the field and have often influenced the fundamentals of the latest research pieces. Because of this, this series of work will be viewed and analysed as a consistent and comprehensive approach to understand my research population's self-recognition in the British society.

1.2.1 Primordialist Multiculturalism

The primordialist multiculturalism model follows and extends the critical arguments of primordialism in identity development, but leaning towards a political level. In primordialist multiculturalism, our identity is not something we make up ourselves, but it is determined by the cultural communities in which we are nurtured and live(Taylor, 1994). According to this theory, the emphasis on the concept of communities provides the moral and social

frameworks we use to describe who we are; and more importantly, we build

up a relationship with other members of our ethnic groups or nation based on

which cultural communities influence and guide us (Taylor, 1991). To further

illustrate the primordialist mode to multiculturalism and identity, Charles

Taylor's extensive and thoughtful pieces should be reviewed as he occupied

the crucial position in this regard. Taylor, as a political philosopher, created a

link between the political recognition of cultural communities and membership

of the communities. For example, in a series of his work he investigated

"cultural survivance", which requires creating new members of the community

in order to maintain mainstream culture. Under his review, political

recognition within ethnic groups goes further than protecting individual rights

to culture; it has collective goals and entails a politics of the common good

(Taylor, 1992).

Moreover, Taylor further argues, cultures are also affirmed as worthy and the

members within the cultural groups should decide what culture is "worthy" or

"not worthy" to survive. However, this approach has been challenged by other

researchers in debating multiculturalism who ask, "who decides what is

worthy? How are we to avoid the dominant cultural groups imposing their own

criteria on minority groups?". To answer these questions, Taylor provides a

solution: a political dialogue about the recognition of groups and their

practices. To illustrate this solution, he analysed the French Quebec area,

where he observed the French immigrants' cultural identity. In his multiple

pieces of work, he claimed the French immigrants showed their respect for

indigenous natives as they presumed that the indigenous cultures have some

"impact" on "all human beings", as well as by sharing some values and by the

process of intercultural dialogue and critique(Taylor, 1992:78). At a theoretical level, Taylor's point of view was a reasonable attempt to reconcile the desire of minorities to maintain their cultural assets while constructing their newly established cultural identity with freedom and equality against the majority groups.

However, one could always wonder if there are any exceptions to his primordialist point of view. One of the problems is that his effort of organising the framework of multiculturalism and cultural identity in itself had little to say about which specific frameworks or communities should be recognised. To be more specific, in his examined population - French-Canadian immigrants in Quebec – the French cultural framework is not at all evident within the migrated individuals involved. Instead, the French Canadian found all kinds of frameworks as relatively important in the local area: French, British, native culture, etc. Given this, a simple question could challenge Taylor's primordialist multiculturalism- which specific culture shall be survived in this case? And who shall be recognised as the new members from the cultural groups? In Taylor's later work on French Canadian, French culture is hardly present in non-French speaking immigrants' identity. On the contrary, they feel all cultures in the local area are equally important and are against the attempt of the local government to make French culture the main pillar of Quebec's cultural identity.

To evaluate Taylor's primordialist multiculturalism, he aims to create new cultural communities by presuming that all members relate to each other collectively and that the cultural identity within the members should be decided by their political recognition and their practices. However, this

presumes a degree of a strictly divided boundary between "us" and "them" in Taylor's case, which is less noticeable in today's reality. More importantly, the degree of individual commitment to a specific cultural cohesiveness is declining in the present-day situation. In these circumstances, civic multiculturalism has been advocated by cultural study researchers.

1.2.2 Civic Multiculturalism

The main difference with the primordialist mode is that civic approach does not see cultural identity as "fixed" and "given" by communities. Instead, cultural identity is seen as:

"…a cluster of interrelated and relatively open-ended tendencies and impulses pulling in different directions and capable of being developed and balanced in different ways…" (Parekh, 1994:504)

In addition to this theoretical aspect, a cultural community has an open-mind to welcome all conversations rather than challenging or dismissing other's beliefs. In order to achieve the "all conversations", the civic approach highlights the role of "spokesmen", appointed by members, who define and defend the group to the outside world. In Bhikhu Parekeh's work, "Cultural Pluralism and the Limits of Diversity", he further revised the "spokesmen" to "minority spokesmen" (Parekh, 1995). He demonstrated their responsibility as, demonstrating the rationale or the internal rationale of practice, showing how it is interlocked with other practice and sustains their way of life, and why disallowing or abolishing it would destroy or weaken the latter (Parekh, 1996).

Generally speaking, the civic multiculturalism seems to have advantages over primordialist ones, given that communication and open dialogue are encouraged across the minority and majority boundaries. It emphasises internal variety and mobility within cultural communities; it acknowledges cultural characteristics and multi-faceted differences between the minority and majority; and it reconciles the overlap and conflict between different cultures. In theory, this attempt has the potential to deal with the stratification between cultural minority and majority groups. However, certain critical cultural conflicts that cannot be cast into a civic mould might be excluded in the civic normative approach, for example, if certain people cannot or will not enter the conversation, and in turn defend their practice. In my view of the work in civic multiculturalism, the over-emphasis on communication and interaction could easily be challenged by questions such as: what if the "minority spokesmen" fails to debate for the minorities? What if some subjects cannot be put into words or made a topic for discussion? Moreover, how should one deal with the situation where civic dialogue or defence of their practices that happened inadequately because of, for example, a language barrier or unfamiliarity with local election procedures.

Civic multiculturalism advocators, like Parekeh, do not provide a convincing answer to these scenarios, and in civic multiculturalism there is a fuzzy and unclear boundary or definition between minority and majority. In the light of self-recognition, this civic strategy also creates confusion to a certain degree. It is not difficult to argue that an equal opportunity to communicate does not mean equal political participation overall. Given this, cultural minorities are likely to develop a sense of consciousness that they are distinct from the rest

of society as they need to find a voice to be different or find a spokesman in the first place. Parekeh's ideas followed Taylor's "membership" concept; however, it brings a real pressure within the groups to abstain from criticism and conform to the majority for the sake of being heard.

Parekeh's work on choosing and establishing the "spokesman authority" for minority groups has also been further argued and challenged by liberal multiculturalism activists.

1.2.3 Liberal Multiculturalism

From a liberal perspective, cultural identity in the multicultural sphere is neither a matter of receiving a given culture from the surrounding cultural environment, as the primordial approach believes, nor of maintaining a coherent and consistent way of life through communication, as suggested by the civic approach. Instead, a liberal perspective emphasises the protection of cultures by "defending others one's principles, convincing them to accept their value, and dealing with those who refuse to do so"(Kymlicka, 1999).

In Tempelman's(1999) review, Kymilcka's work may serve as an exemplar of this liberal approach, which supports "individual autonomy", the capacity to choose one's own ideas when integrating into the surrounding cultural sphere (Tempelman, 1999). Kymilcka also created the term "liberal state" where cultural identity is based on overarching beliefs, which are likely to view "outsiders" as mistaken or guilty. Unlike Parekh, who refer dialogue to deal with external relations, Kymilcka's approach has a solid sense of mission. In other words, Kymilcka believes that a liberal state only has a duty to support

minorities' efforts to maintain their own cultures where individuals are deeply affirmed to their culture of origin, or where the costs of integrating them into the majority groups are unduly high (Kymlicka, 1994). For members of the cultural majority, this is not an issue, as they benefit from national cultures which are supported by states. Minorities, however, often face the dilemma of either being assimilated into the dominant culture or trying to maintain their own cultures at a considerable cost. Moreover, according to Kymilcka's illustration, the liberal state would not to preserve minority's original culture, unless this is necessary for the practice of integration and participation in their host cultures.

Given these above features of liberal multiculturalism, which highlights individual autonomy and the conditions regarding the different situations of minorities, there is also the danger of exclusions. To review the work that draws on the liberal approach, there is a hierarchy between majorities and minorities in their work. The claims of nations and majorities are privileged above those of minorities, including their religions, languages and beliefs. Given this, it is easy to argue that the "liberal state" in Kymilcka's view could give the vulnerable and disadvantage minorities special protection, or simply leave them behind. Moreover, liberal multiculturalism generates "central principles", which exclude everyone and everything that does not "fit into the principles" (Kymlicka, 1999:42). However, what "central principles" are in everyday practice remains unillustrated. In reality, minorities are more likely to be seen as the "enemy" of the majorities, if they fail to accommodate to certain principles. In Kymilcka's approach, those "outsiders of principles" have been called "illiberal cultures" (Kymlicka, 2011), which is a rather strong term

in my opinion. Although Kymilcka emphasises peaceful negotiation as the solution to conflicts with "illiberal" groups, there is no real moral definition to distinguish between "liberal" and "illiberal" groups in most of his research pieces.

Of the three accounts examined here, it is reasonable to argue that a civic approach to illustrating cultural recognition in the multicultural sphere seems the most defensible and fits into today's situation, although the over-emphasis on the narrative conversation might not work when social and political boundaries between groups are at stake. However, the civic approach does not confine people to strictly separate cultural groups, as the primordialist mode does, and it also avoids the liberal-missionary burden that tries to convert certain groups to certain principles.

Overall, the civic approach provides minorities with a chance, an opportunity to change, to integrate into another possible cultural sphere, although the method to achieve this is still in question. However, it is important to point out that these three attempts to discuss multiculturalism are in relation to the societal and political situations of the times in which were written, so up-to-date implications in today's situation need further review. In this empirical project, the aim of examining the targeted research population's integration into British society by adapting a civic framework could potentially enrich current knowledge in this regard.

To conclude this chapter, we have outlined and analysed two classic but polar theoretical positions - Primordialism and Situationism – taken in discussing ethnic/cultural identity. By doing so, we provided a general knowledge of the

fundamentals for identity studies, as well as explaining the rationale behind adapting a Situationism (Constructivism) position to further review the existing literature from different research areas.

We have also summarised the main features and arguments of the three most debated approaches - primordialist mode, civic mode and liberal mode - in discussing multiculturalism and cultural identity from societal, cultural, and political perspectives. Following the review, a civic approach which diminishes the cultural boundary between minorities and majorities would potentially contribute to my empirical work in Sheffield, given its all-round features in covering as many possible cultural scenarios as possible.

Having mapped the theoretical frameworks and approaches which examine cultural minorities in a multicultural sphere, we now move to the empirical research which has been conducted in multi-disciplinary fields to look at this issue in greater detail.

Chapter 2:   Lingual Adaptability, Gender Negotiation and Super-Diversity

In this chapter, we review and analyse literature across multi-disciplines using an integrative method to address the self-identity evaluation of bi- and tri-cultural immigrants in multiple cultural spheres. The reason for this is based on the concept of integrative theory which combines two or more theories to analyse the dynamics of identity development and could be an ideal tool to investigate the identity of the second-generation immigrants who I aim to investigate. In this integrative theory context, three dimensions which contribute to bi- and tri-cultural immigrants' identity formation are highlighted, and the research outputs are presented below.

2.1   Lingual Adaptability and Identity Development

In this section, we will illustrate and review how language and dialect as mediums of communication help to construct people's collective identity in different cultural spheres. The reason for this is that, for immigrants, lingual adaptability in their diasporic country is crucial in everyday practice. It is also self-evident that a cross-cultural adaptation process has occurred to some degree. More importantly, linguistic adaptability has also influenced the constructive and self-organised relationship between national/group identity and ethnic identity in a multicultural sphere amongst immigrants, which is also one of my research interests considered below.

Linking language centrally to identity-development, we need to explain and assess some basic concepts. In the majority of immigrants' cases, language naturally falls into two categories: the heritage language which they obtained from their parents and the learnt language of the host country which they need to adapt to. In previous writing, we have mentioned ethnicity as a fixed property in one's self-identification. Heritage language could be seen as one of the solid characteristics of this; however, learning a new language is an extension of ethnicity, given it adds to one's belief in mainstream characteristics and desire for acculturation in new cultural spheres.

Norton (2016), through a poststructuralist perspective, describes the inextricable connection between language and identity. She describes language as "discourse", as "language is thus theorised not only as a linguistic system but as a social practice in which experiences are organised and identities negotiated"(Norton, 2016:351). This process of negotiation within an individual's identity is discussed by Norton and other researchers' extensive range of work. For example, Peirce (1995) stated that the meaning of what is said by an individual can never be separated from the individual who spoke it. Also, the individual can never be considered separately from society (Peirce, 1995). In every day practice, we are negotiating and reconsidering our sense of self whenever we communicate with a larger society. At the same time, we rethink and reoccupy our sense of self through time and space(Norton, 1997).

Both Norton and Peirce's arguments have been supported by Phinney's empirical work on how the heritage languages used by the youth of three

minority groups (Armenians, Mexicans, and Vietnamese) played a significant role in the process of their ethnic identity formation(Phinney, 1991). Phinney concludes that "in-group" language (heritage language in Norton's work) served as a symbol of ethnic identity and cultural solidarity amongst his research population. It is an extension for "transmitting group feelings, and for excluding members of the out-group from its internal transactions" (Phinney, 1992: 160). The role of heritage languages in identity formation has also been argued by Val and Vinogradova (2006) who state that the identity of a heritage language speaker is highly complex, due to their "dynamic and socially constructed" and also "linguistically constructed, multicultural identity" (Val and Vinogradova, 2006:2). The identity of a heritage language speaker is constantly exposed to multiple communities and multiple languages. They identify the heritage language speakers' efforts at discovering their place within society through the language(s) they decide to speak, as they refer to "ingroup" and "outgroup" languages.

To further examine the existing literature in this regard, Jenkins's series of work has paid particular attention to the relationship between English language and identity (see Jenkins, 2001, 2007 and 2011). Much of her work on English language as a lingua franca, has been widely assessed amongst native or non-native speakers' identity development. According to Jenkins, the findings regarding the English language as a fundamental element in constructing immigrants' identity are conflicting. On the one hand, the interviewees "expressed an attachment to their mother tongue and nationality" as well as showing some evidence of a shared sense of community with other non-native speakers(Nelson, 2012). On the other hand, they still expressed a

strong desire to be part of a native English community, especially in their role as the second/third generation of immigrants, as the mainstream society expects "lingual fluency" of them (Jenkins, 2007: 281).

Jerkins' findings have echoed Edwards' latest work (2012), whose study on language and identity is described as the "construction and maintenance of groupness". Slightly differently to the previous argument, Edwards distinguishes dialect from language in order to achieve a clearer view of "constructive groupness" within minorities (Edwards, 2009 and 2012: 72). However, Edwards did not specify how specific dialects influenced minorities' choice of "groups" - in other words, the local multicultural group or their ethnic groups in many cases. However, in the empirical field, Edwards' argument has been tested by a large-scale research on the Chinese-Canadian community in Toronto(Bourhis and Sachdev, 1984; Sachdevl *et al.*, 1987). In this early 90s' work, the use of English and Cantonese were related to social identification in the local area. Cantonese, as a dialect of the Chinese language, was used and evaluated most favourably by bilingual first-generation Chinese immigrants who strongly identified themselves as Hong Kong Chinese. Conversely, English use and evaluation were most preferred amongst second-generation Chinese immigrants in order to identify themselves mostly as Canadian rather than Hong Kong Chinese and they spoke English (not Cantonese) fluently. The data from the Canadian research dates back to the 1990s; however, the interplay of intergroup identity and language usage/evaluation still applies in the recent research outcomes.

One of the highlights of recent research is Vijver and his co-workers' interest in linking the super-diversity of community and language. In his recent work, Vijver deployed a methodology that combined longitudinal ethnography and a sociolinguistic technique called "linguistic landscaping" by analysing publicly displayed language(van de Vijver *et al.*, 2015). The drive to use such methodology is that Vijver believed an extremely sensitive dialogistic of rapid social change would be sensed by the members in the multicultural neighbourhood, i.e. the continually changing linguistic details in multicultural communities, it was suggested, is perhaps the most immediate indication of who has occupied what space, what social status they have, and what are there relationships with others.

Vijver's idea is a prominent example of a mixed method to investigate the migrant community and their relationship with the surrounding environment. Even though my research project and interest are not entirely focused on linguistic perspectives, the choice of language (Cantonese or English in my research project) at home or in public could be a potential area to investigate. Moreover, I expect that the choice of different languages indicates their cultural self-identification to some extent.

Nevertheless, a large sample of empirical data in this specific regard is still lacking. In fact, most of the research interests in language and group identity have mainly focused on the process of acculturation and deculturation, and language and dialect are usually seen as an indicator of when the process has occurred. There is no doubt that this academic preference has its own advantages regarding examining immigrants' linguistic adaptability and

identity development in a broader context; and it is almost certain that with the process of acculturation, the various dialects of heritage languages will be associated with different extents of deculturation amongst minorities. However, in my project, I am trying to understand a triangular relationship between the English language, Cantonese dialect and second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' negotiable self-constructed identification in Britain. By doing so, I believe we can have a clearer picture of how language and dialect construct immigrants' "in-group" and "out-group" identity respectively in a British context; and more importantly, we can have a more comprehensive understanding of self-constructed identification through a lingual perspective.

2.2   Gender Negotiation and Identity Development

In this section, the focus will be on gender - one of the crucial factors of cross-cultural identity development - and we will look at the theoretical claims and empirical evidence of how identity is constructed through a gendering process in multiple cultural spheres.

The role of gender in identity formation was first declared by Erikson (1968) who claimed that similar processes of gender identity development can be found equally in males and females by increasing separation and individuation(Erikson and Erikson, 1997; Frable, 1997). However, other scholars, such as Gilligan (1977) and Miller (1991), differ from Erikson's theory, claiming that there is a considerable gender difference in adolescents' and adults' identity development (Gilligan, 1977; Brabeck, 1983). They found that females and males develop different priorities regarding forming their

ethnic identity after adolescence, for example, females identify themselves as cultural conservatives while males, on the other hand, are more likely to feel separate from their home cultures and, in turn, are psychologically prone to the dominant culture (Miller and Hoffmann, 1995) . In a similar vein, Qin's series of early research also indicated at gender differences in ethnic identity formation. According to Qin, minority girls are more likely to develop undetachable ties to their ethnic culture and community while boys tend to raise awareness of cultural obstacles, to achieve equality in the dominant society (Baolian Qin, 2009; Qin, 2009).

Apart from indicating the general gender differences in ethnic identity formation, researchers have also documented how a gendering process differs in the home sphere specifically. For example, some studies show that immigrant girls are conventionally monitored more closely than boys due to the perceived uncertainty of the dominant society (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2001). As a result, immigrant girls are more likely to be influenced by and inherit from their ethnic/home culture (Baolian Qin, 2009). Narrowing down the research population into Chinese immigrants, Yip and Fuligni targeted Chinese immigrants in Canada. Amongst their multiple works, they suggest that Chinese immigrant boys are less likely to have a strong sense of ethnic-Chinese identity than their female counterparts. More than that, they also mentioned that Chinese daughters were subject to stricter parental control and socialisation, which could be responsible for the effect on their sense of Chinese identity (Yip and Fuligni, 2002). Having been inspired by the case of Canada, we wonder what the reality is in the UK, given that empirical studies have always shown contradictory results in this regard. For

instance, Kroger and her colleagues (2010) systematically reviewed empirical studies published between 1966 and 1995 and discovered some gender differences in different domains: for example, there was a greater salience for females than for males in discussing sexuality and family roles (Kroger, Martinussen and Marcia, 2010). To list a few examples from Kroger's review, Lacombe and Gay (1998) tested how gender differences played a part in the structure and content of identity of 120 school students by providing them with 20 scenarios of identity dilemmas. They found, contrary to Gilligan's (1982) conclusion, that male participants chose relationship-oriented resolutions that highlighted intimacy and family support while females chose autonomy-oriented ones that emphasised personal awareness (Lacombe and Gay, 1998). This is a completely different result to Yip and Fuligin's study in Canada that we reviewed above.

Although it is hard to find agreement on the similarities and differences of how different genders construct their ethnic identity, researchers do agree upon some conclusions towards immigrants' gender negotiations during cultural assimilation. Much of the literature has highlighted gender as one of the leading factors in cultural assimilation in the descendants of immigrants. The inherent differences between Western and Oriental cultures (in most cases, Indian or Chinese) can induce cultural conflict, which makes the process of gendering harder and more complicated for both males and females. For example, in the Confucian Chinese culture, females are traditionally relegated to a more subordinate position (Baolian Qin, 2009), which seems to be echoed in Gilligan's conclusions. However, recent research on second-generation Chinese immigrants in Australia has argued a contradicting reality,

as female working immigrants had gained stronger social recognition than their male counterparts (Ho, 2006; Piper, 2008; Cooke, Zhang and Wang, 2013). Although a few single cases in Australia is not enough to challenge all the gender conclusions for females, it does provide us with a different perspective to evaluate gender negotiation in the process of cultural assimilation. Is it possible that the various cultural spheres, or cultural conflicts in previous academic writing are gradually shaping and changing female immigrants' gender/cultural identity in a more liberal direction more easily than their male counterparts?

Not only has the female role been constantly changed under the previous research conclusions, but also male gender expectations have collided with different cultures. One of the main pillars of discussing the male gendering process is masculinity. However, masculinity has been interpreted in various and even contradictory ways in different cultural contexts. To list a few contradictory findings in this regard, in Chinese Confucian culture an overemphasis on physical strength is often associated with weak mental control or less intellectual capacity but not masculinity, while in popular Western culture masculinity comes with physical strength and the power of control (Qin, Way and Rana, 2008). Demonstrating this polar view of masculinity, an early study conducted in America provided a vivid example: Sung (1984) compared Chinese and American schoolboys' identity development by recording their activities. Sung came to completely contradictory conclusions related to Chinese and American boys' gender formations; he found that the traditional Chinese way of thinking limited influence on the development of the physique, whilst Western culture strongly

promoted physical strength as an essential part of male masculine development (Sung, 1984; Qin, Way and Rana, 2008). Masculinity in males' gendering process has also been associated with social exclusion, for example, Cunningham and Swanson (2003) found that ethnic minority boys, particularly African Americans, were likely to be hyper-masculine against perceived discrimination and inequality in the dominant society. However, for the Asian male, this "hyper-masculine" scenario has been mentioned less in their gendering process and social integration (Swanson, Cunningham and Spencer, 2003; Kroger, Martinussen and Marcia, 2010).

Given the mixed conclusions in the existing literature, this empirical research has been inspired to take gender as one of the investigating factors in the fieldwork to look at how second-generation Hong Kong Chinese male and female immigrants self-construct their identity differently. The reasons to do so are: 1) gender variation in British-Chinese immigrant studies is relatively small in consideration, as most of the academic evidence reviewed is from American, Canada and Australian research - first-hand research data could potentially contribute to the sample pool; 2) given the complexity of cultural assimilation, there is a presumption that Hong Kong descendants in Britain will have their own unique characteristics in the process of gender negotiation in a British context - it might provide later researchers with a new approach to look at how cultural assimilation and/or conflicts could potentially shape immigrant descendants' gender and ethnic identity.

2.3 Super-Diversity – A Broader Class-Theory and Identity Development

In this section, the focus will be on how social diversity and social cohesion construct ethnic minority identity in a super-diversity sphere. The reason for doing so is that social diversity has been introduced and highlighted in identity studies in the last decade; in the meantime, the rise of social diversity happened in the early 1990s, correlated to the political and economic changes that have taken place in many areas. Vijver (2015) has summarised these changes as a transition from "diversity" to "super-diversity", a "diversification of diversity due to changes in migration patterns worldwide" (van de Vijver *et al.*, 2015).

Notions, such as community, identity, citizenship and class have been more frequently associated with shaping people's everyday lives. Much of the literature has provided justification to social diversity, or super-diversity, and the majority of it seems to have drawn its concepts from Bourdieu's social class theory. In Bourdieu's class-theory framework, there are two central dimensions of class analysis: economic structures and social manifestations of inequality, which provide a link between social class and super-diversity (Bourdieu, 1984). Based on these two dimensions, Bourdieu's social class theory is not entirely about "class" but also about "social space" (Bourdieu, 1988: 23)- a position of a large group of members who share similar situations in a social space. To be more explicit, class is not perceived as a material entity in Bourdieu's assessment, but as a series of theoretical terms which construct people's shared understanding of a group's situation and interests.

More than that, the emphasis on economic structures in Bourdieu's review also illustrates the interrelationship between class and consumption through empirical studies of consumption habits (Bourdieu, 1984, 1989, 2013).

Based on Bourdieu's theoretical framework, recent research has made several empirical implications about the current situation. For example, Vijver's multiple studies have paid attention to the effect of economic status in multicultural societies amongst second-generation immigrants, which is strongly linked to social re-stratification in his fieldwork. In one of his most recent works, he thoroughly examined new migrants in Antwerp's multicultural community. Similar to Bourdieu's economic and consumption claim, Vijver concluded that the relatively low real estate prices were one of the main reasons for social re-stratification in the local area. The so-called diversity in the congregated super-diversity neighbourhood was a result of the limited choices of affordable housing. Further to this conclusion, it is reasonable to wonder whether social diversity is combined with socioeconomic stratification in UK situations. Does economic status play an essential part in defining stereotypical descriptions of social class? Moreover, to what extent different social class constructs my research population's identity in diverse neighbourhoods is worth investigating.

Following the theoretical and empirical claims of social stratification, a considerable amount of empirical work identifying patterns of interactions between ethnic minority groups has been examined as well. This consideration has been driven by the concept of social cohesion and conviviality. There are many different directions to follow these two notions in

the social sciences field; however, in this literature review, my emphasis is on the interactive relationship between diverse communities and ethnic minority groups. Most research interest has been focused on the Turkish minority scattered across Western Europe (e.g., Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010; Yağmur and van de Vijver, 2012).

However, there is a downside review in this regard as most of the empirical work does not suggest an ideal diverse community in the Turkish case. Even so, researchers were able to draw some interesting outcomes by looking at ethnic minority immigrants' cases as an effect of the specific infrastructural organisation of the local neighbourhoods. For example, Ersanilli and Saharso observed the interactive neighbourhood of the Turkish community in Berlin. According to their work, superficial and limited routine exchanges, such as greetings or passing orders in the local area, generated a level of community cohesion in very vernacular German. However, the value and importance of this level of cohesion has often been underestimated in discussing second-generation Turkish immigrants' social integration in Berlin's cohesive community (Bainbridge, 1993; Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010).

In a similar vein, Vijver's empirical work on the Turkish in Antwerp also highly emphasised the role of neighbourhood interaction in creating community cohesion. Vijver believes that a "superficial, inconspicuous and dynamic structure" of so-called "weak" ties between people who come from different ethnic groups can generate a general sense of peacefulness, security, and comfort in the area (van de Vijver *et al.*, 2015). In everyday practice, Vijver's work is an up-to-date example to inspire future researchers to conduct

empirical practice in observing minority immigrants' daily practice and interaction with their surroundings, and, in turn, to make their initial assessment of social outcomes in super-diverse neighbourhoods.

Having reviewed the literature related to class theory and social cohesion, I am inspired by the dynamic interplay of class theory, super-diversity and identity development. The Chinese Hong Kong immigrants in my project are not newcomers to the UK, especially in certain cities and towns. However, only a limited amount of work has been dedicated to Chinese immigrants and their community. Moreover, given that diverse communities of immigrants are growing in an ever more complicated way, I am going to push my empirical investigation even further in Sheffield. I will investigate how those Chinese Hong Kong immigrants and their offspring evaluate their neighbourhood community bearing in mind Bourdieu's class differentiation. Also, how does this multicultural community reshape its cultural identity to a certain degree? If Vijver's conclusion of social cohesion could be tested and approved in the Chinese community's case, I wonder how those Chinese immigrants associate within their multicultural neighbourhood. To examine this hypothesis even further, I wonder if a higher degree of social/community cohesion has combated exploitation, or even politicised intergroup hostility, in the case of the UK. Do they try hard to fit into vernacular Britain or is this an easier process since Hong Kong used to be a British colony? I am hoping to evaluate their ethnic/cultural identity in a broader social context to some extent. If possible, even examine them in the context of the Hong Kong-China-Britain political sphere. It could also help us to understand the second-generation immigrants' cultural self-identification in a much broader socio-

political context. Also, more importantly, it will be exploring the dynamic of Bourdieu's social class theory and could identify new implications.

To sum up this chapter, we have reviewed and analysed how language (dialect), gender, class and social cohesiveness construct cultural minorities' identity in their receiving countries (societies). These multiple factors contribute hugely to self-identification in different cultural contexts and, more importantly, these factors themselves are important in the self-negotiation of relationships between culture of origin and host culture. The somewhat mixed conclusions from existing knowledge indicate several gaps in the literature, which has inspired me to conduct an empirical research towards Chinese Hong Kong immigrants in terms of the above dimensions. To do so, I am hoping to fill the gaps in the literature, as well enriching the knowledge of how these factors construct Chinese Hong Kong immigrants' identity in the UK.

Chapter 3:   Common Features of Early Wave and Second-Generation

　　Immigrants

In this chapter, the common features of early wave immigrants - identified as people who immigrated to their diasporic countries after the Second World War to seek a better economic and political situation which was not available in their home countries - will be summarised. This will be followed by a systematic summary of second-generation immigrants' common features in different cultural contexts. By doing so, I am hoping to sketch a detailed and systematic picture of ethnic minority immigrants' cultural-identification from different periods by presenting different wave of immigrants' common features in identity studies, as well as discovering more potential gaps in the literature.

3.1   Common Features of Early Immigrants

In this section, I will be summarising common features of early wave immigrants. There are two common features identified among first-generation immigrants: one is that the degree of acculturation is relatively low; the other is that economic assimilation outweighs the cultural/value system.

First of all, there are two key dimensions to acculturation that have to be taken into consideration when applying the term to early wave immigrants' situations: first, the extent to which early immigrants established a cultural relationship with their receiving society; second, the extent in which they found it was important to maintain their original cultural systems. However, for first-generation immigrants, the degree to which they found it important to

establish a cultural relationship with the host country has raised much more concern than the other dimension of acculturation.

More precisely, much of the researchers argues that first-generation immigrants tended to maintain the language, values, beliefs and norms of their mother countries because the age when they moved to the diasporic countries was after their adolescent period (Mok *et al.*, 2007; Zimmermann, Zimmermann and Constant, 2007; Algan *et al.*, 2010; Casey and Dustmann, 2010). Hence, native ethnic or cultural identity would be unlikely to be replaced with a newly acquired one due to a lack of motivation to do so.

Besides this age concern, many scholars believes the main reason for the "poor degree of cultural adoption" is that there was a concern about "surviving" rather than "living" at early settlement (Ong *et al.*, 1996; Allen and Jobson, 2016). Hoersting and his co-workers (2010) further this argument at a cultural level, presuming that early immigrants had low motivation to integrate into the mainstream society, which may "respond in culturally incongruent ways" (Hoersting and Jenkins, 2011).

It is not difficult to see that previous research was aware of the issue of intercultural adaptation amongst first-generation immigrants. However, there has been a historical stereotype to focus on commonalities rather than differences amongst early waves of immigrants. There is a possibility that one specific ethnic minority group might be more inclined to accept cultural adaptation than another, or alternatively that the desire to integrate into their diasporic culture is stronger. For example, elite Hong Kong immigrants who immigrate to the UK already have successful careers in various industries.

There are no language barriers or difficulties in surviving for them (or the degree of both concerns is relatively lower). Is there a higher probability that they will integrate into the mainstream society substantially more smoothly than existing research expected? However, the literature related to this aspect is relatively lacking.

As previously noted, the second common feature identified among first-generation immigrants is that economic assimilation outweighs the cultural/value system. Much of the research on explaining this issue has emphasised social stereotyping (Berry, 1997; Birman, 1998; Benet-Martínez, Lee and Leu, 2006; Moore and Barker, 2012). Meanwhile, a good deal of literature has concluded that the consequence of stereotypes caused first-generation immigrants stick to their home culture and value systems (Esses *et al.*, 2006; Lee and Fiske, 2006; Rohmann, Florack and Piontkowski, 2006). To a certain extent, mainstream society took the initiative by excluding first-generation immigrants from bonding with their value system and then the first-generation immigrants reacted to these "stereotypes" passively. Over time, they became comfortable with "only making a living, financially supporting themselves, e.g. catering businesses" (Smallbone, Bertotti and Ekanem, 2005:52).

However, this strong interest in investing in small businesses/catering businesses amongst ethnic minorities is considerably explained by the social class theory that I have previously reviewed. Also, much of the literature related to this issue emphasises the default of social stereotyping. However, there is very limited exploratory work to illustrate how this "social stereotyping"

affected first-generation immigrants' motivations in assimilating into their external culture.

These two common features have been found in early wave immigrants' situations during a period in which economic, political and societal structures were different from today's situation. Hence, how the offspring of this early immigrant group has coped with different cultures following their settlement in their receiving countries is my primary concern. I shall review the literature related to second-generation immigrants in a cultural context below.

3.2   Common Features of Second-Generation Immigrants

In this section, I am going to attempt to capture some of the common features among second-generation immigrants when they identify themselves in a cultural context. There are three common features emphasised in much of the literature. Firstly, and predominantly, they are comfortably bicultural. Then, there is a complicated sense of belonging among second-generation immigrants. Finally, there is a conflict between second-generation immigrants' ethnic ties and their surrounding culture. I shall discuss each common feature respectively in greater detail below.

3.2.1   A Bicultural Self-Development

Definitions of second-generation immigrants usually refer to "individuals born in diasporic countries who have at least one foreign-born parent or are the offspring of first-generation immigrants" (Moore and Barker, 2012:558). From

this definition, we can argue that they are born in their host countries as native citizens, which provides them with an opportunity to easily becoming bicultural.

Indeed, much of the literature agrees that second-generation immigrants have a higher chance of being bicultural. Two prerequisites to becoming bicultural have been highlighted within the literature. One is the flexibility to shift between different cultural identities (Adler and Adler, 1998; Sparrow, 2000; Moore and Barker, 2012) The other is intercultural communication competence (Chen, 1989; Arasaratnam, 2006; Korzilius, Bücker and Beerlage, 2017).

Under these two prerequisites, a good deal of empirical research has proved that second-generation immigrants are more flexible in shifting their cultural identity, according to the cultural context they are in. For instance, Sparrow (2000) have conducted a research series to investigate how second-generation immigrants cope with different cultures; most of the participants believe that they are able to shift between different cultural environments according to the moment of need (Sparrow, 2000). Similarly, Moore (2012) summarise this feature of bicultural individuals, as "a communion of different cultural beings who have developed several cultural identities that diverge and converge according to his or her own needs" (Moore and Barker, 2012:560). Moore further highlights such shifts in identity as taking place "intuitively rather than as an intentional effort to fit in" (Moore and Barker, 2012: 564). Under the review of literature in the latter prerequisite, most researchers believe that this shift in identity is an ability which comes to the second-generation as a

second-nature, depending on what kind of cultural context they are exposed to.

Much of the literature has also highlighted the relationship between cultural intelligence and bicultural-self-development.   The cultural study scholars summarise cultural intelligence as an intuitive ability to negotiate, respect, understand and integrate cultural differences according to the cultural surroundings (Chen and Starosta, 2000; Earley and Ang, 2003; Ang *et al.*, 2007). This conclusion has been tested empirically by Moore and Baker's series of studies again on bicultural individual's identity shifts. For example, they chose a quantitative methodology to examine at a large-scale second-generation immigrants' ability to communicate effectively and act appropriately across different cultures. The quantitative results showed that sensitivity to cultural differences and adaptability in associating with people who came from either country of origin or diasporic country scored the highest in the two columns in their sample pool (Moore and Barker, 2012).

Given the reality that second-generation immigrants are prone to assimilating cultural differences, they generally have positive attitudes towards different cultures. However, previous empirical research has problematically taken second-generation immigrants as a generic term when applied to multiculturalism. In reality, there might be ethnic differences between different second-generation immigrants specifically. In this case, I argue that the chance to become bicultural could be higher for one particular second-generation immigrant group than another, e.g. the Chinese second-generation. Chinese immigrants have a strong cultural attachment back to

their country of origin, as well as a strong desire to be successful in their diasporic countries. In this case, to what extent these two "strong desires" affect Chinese immigrants is worth investigating. Moreover, to what extent Chinese second-generation's acculturation might be affected by gender/education/class, etc. is worth considering.

3.2.2 A Conflicted Self-Identity

Much of the literature agrees that second-generation immigrants have a complicated sense of "self" since their cultural identity development is constantly disrupted, and they have to gain the ability to adjust to different cultural environments (Fail, Thompson and Walker, 2004; Grimshaw and Sears, 2008; Walters and Auton-Cuff, 2009; Lyttle, Barker and Cornwell, 2011). However, the assessment of this complicated sense of self is polarised within the literature.

One dimension has been concluded from the evidence is that people who has this complicated sense of "self" is due to a lack of a sense of belonging because of the difficulty of fitting in to the receiving society; in other words, second-generation immigrants may feel rootless. To name a few examples, Hoersting (2011) developed "culture homeless" as a term to describe "individuals who feel a lack of cultural or ethnic group membership" (Hoersting and Jenkins, 2011: 28). He further described this group as having an emotional detachment from any cultural group and a need for a cultural home (Vivero and Jenkins, 1999; Hoersting and Jenkins, 2011).

The other dimension towards a complicated sense of self is that empirical evidence indicated that this accelerates the acculturation of second-generation immigrants. Much of the literature emphasises the flexibility and mobility of shifting between different languages, cultures and mindsets, etc (Ang *et al.*, 2007; Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010; Hong, 2011). Practically speaking, this complicated sense of "self" provides second-generation immigrants with a broader worldview; most predominantly they have an open mind. However, there is a very limited amount of scattered literature about how this open mind to different cultures could contribute to second-generation immigrants' self-identification.

In evaluating this complicated sense of "self", there is a tendency for the first dimension to draw more attention in the existing literature than the second one. However, what if we focus on the second dimension about this complicated "self"? Is there a possibility that second-generation immigrants could take advantage of their acculturation to contribute to the cultural diversification in the UK, for example? There is a need to do more work, both in quality and quantity.

Apart from acculturation, the conflict between second-generation immigrants' ethnic ties and their surrounding cultural environment is also worth mentioning. Ethnic ties in this context are caused by parental control to a certain degree. Depending on family values and social conventions, second-generation immigrants have to listen, accept or take into consideration at least some parental suggestions (Ghuman, 1994; Gillespie Marie, 1994). Many Greek Cypriot second-generation participants in Gillespie's study admitted

that they had experienced periods of trying to hide their Greek identity while attending British cultural activities because they wanted to integrate or at least mix with their British peers. However, they were willing to accept Greek culture when they were at home with family members, which made them more comfortable with their parents (Gillespie, 1994). It is a very significant case study to explain how the second-generation immigrant is affected by their ethnic ties and their surrounding culture. There is an inseparable family tie that stands between their culture of origin and the surrounding culture, which leads them to internal conflict due to different cultural contexts.

To summarise the conflict of self-identification in second-generation immigrants in the literature, we can see the impact on second-generation immigrants' self-identification in the familial and societal sphere. The conflicted self could be seen as an internal process of negotiating different cultures norms, beliefs and values in private and public spheres. Followed by the existing academic conclusion, my project focused on Chinese Hong Kong immigrants' cultural integration in Britain could be potentially continuing contribute to this issue to some extent.

3.2.3 A Problematic Self-Recognition

Much of the literature has a problematic view towards second -generation immigrants' self-recognition in a broader societal, political context. There are two perspectives used to discuss social pressure within much of the literature: one is related to the urge to be culturally assimilated; the other is the urge to avoid social exclusion.

On the one hand, to be culturally assimilated, there is the quest for social and cultural identity, which is no longer associated with ethnic ties but based on peer interest (Bourhis *et al.*, 1997; Sabatier, 2008). These second-generation immigrants entering the adolescent stage intend to be fully aware of their ethnic origins by comparing them to the dominant group, which in most cases is native white. This argument is also supported and furthered by Jennifer Crocker and her colleagues' research on African Americans' experiences. African Americans have been a popular target group in cultural identity studies (Crocker *et al.*, 1994; Blaine and Crocker, 1995; Rogers, 2001). However, despite the passing of time, the similar conclusion that regarding how African Americans evaluate themselves by comparing themselves to the mainstream white culture can always be found in the empirical practices. The only significant difference over the time is that the level and degree of discrimination towards the black diasporic population had reduced. The latest study on black identity produced by Ackah(2016) matches the earlier findings that African Americans seek a projection from the white group to prove themselves to the mainstream society (Ackah, 2016). This long-term empirical research on African Americans is critical to explain why second-generation immigrants the urge have to be culturally assimilated. They have suffered from social pressure by dominant white groups; this, in turn, led to them wanting to be accepted by the mainstream culture.

On the other hand, the urge to avoid social exclusion is also highlighted in the existing literature. There are two main approaches to explaining this urge: one is from a religious perspective; the other is regarding social integration/cohesion.

From the perspective of religion, the large-scale immigration of Muslims to Western Europe has raised a religious crisis among second-generation Muslim immigrants(Alba, 2005; Fleischmann and Phalet, 2011; Güngör, Fleischmann and Phalet, 2011; Fleischmann *et al.*, 2012). Take Fleischmann and Phalet's work for example, they conducted a comparative research in four European capital cities (Amsterdam, Berlin, Stockholm and Brussels) indicates the high possibility of second-generation Turkish immigrants gradually giving up or reducing their commitment to their Islamic religion to avoid potential social exclusion (Fleischmann *et al.*, 2012). This empirical research is stimulating. Strong religious beliefs have been a cultural symbol of Muslim groups and have usually been associated with negative stereotypes or even outcomes; however, with the process of cultural assimilation, there has been a tendency for some second-generation Muslim groups to start leaving their culture of origin and instead start establishing relationships with other cultures (Alba, 2005). Muslims are not the only minority with long-established social norms and values. The Chinese population, which has a five-thousand-year history of absorbing Confucian culture, along with Buddhist beliefs, has been neglected in this respect. The common features that reflect the unique history linking Hong Kong, China and Britain, and how this history has and will shape Hong Kong immigrants' self-identification should be captured in my empirical work.

The other approach to explaining the urge to avoid exclusion draws upon a political perspective that focuses on the interplay between cultural diversity and social cohesion. And particularly debated the impact of rising cultural diversity on social cohesion has drawn the attention of political

scientists(Citrin and Sides, 2008; Letki, 2008; Helbling and Reeskens, 2013; Helbling, Reeskens and Stolle, 2015). For example, Helbling and Reeskens (2013) have claimed that ethnic and racial diversity diminishes various aspects of social cohesion. Based on this argument, many second-generation immigrants from all ethnicities suddenly become a factor in damaging social solidarity; in particular, by jeopardising various forms of social trust between community members at the local level(Helbling and Reeskens, 2013). Much of the research interest in this regard has been particularly fond of exploring the troubled relationship between ethnic fractionalisation and the majority's neighbourhood. Ethnic minority communities are often associated with socioeconomic deprivation and, in turn, become harmful for social cohesion. For example, a study conducted by Natalia Letki (2008) in Britain found that once socio-economic status became a factor in the community, ethnically British neighbourhoods did not relate themselves to other ethnic minority neighbours at all(Letki, 2008). In a similar vein, Edward Fieldhouse and David Cutts (2010) conducted a comparative study in the UK and US, and found a negative effect, regarding a hostile mentality to viewing neighbourhood norms and participation once the local socioeconomic situation had been affected(Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2008, 2010). However, there have been some findings in other diverse international communities which contradict these trends. In Canada, generalised trust between the minority and majority in a neighbourhood has been found to have less of a relationship with economic-capital concerns towards the minority population, but focussed more on shared Canadian values (Stolle, Soroka and Johnston, 2008).

These somewhat mixed findings suggest that the well-settled second-generation immigrants has been eagerly avoiding the hidden exclusion from the mainstream society. However, there is very little literature drawing attention to second-generation immigrants themselves on how they avoid the exclusion at a political level. In this case, in my project, I will seek to establish an evidenced view of the role of second-generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants in the process of social cohesion and cultural diversity at societal and political levels.

To conclude this chapter, I have summarised the common features amongst early wave immigrants and their offspring. The bicultural environment provided second-generation immigrants a series of advantages and disadvantages in dealing with their original and host cultures. Under my review, the negative effect of being a bicultural individual has slightly outweighed the positive ones, which potentially indicates a gap in the literature and the reality. Having provided a rationale for the problematic self-recognition amongst second-generation immigrants from a societal/political level, I argue that there is a need to re-establish the views of second-generation immigrants about how they contribute to social cohesion at the local/national level.

Chapter 4:   Sino-British Relations and Hong Kong Immigration

In this chapter, I will be reviewing the ever-changing Sino-British relations based on the 1997 political transition, as well as examining Hong Kong emigration patterns and characteristics in the UK, based on existing empirical evidence.

In the last two to three decades, the UK experienced a high diversification of migrant population among the Chinese migrants. Compared to other ethnic minorities, Chinese migration is relatively recent, beginning in the 1990s, which is partially due to Hong Kong being returned to the Central Chinese government after 1997.

4.1   Sino-British Relationship in Hong Kong before 1997

The relationship between mainland China and Britain in Hong Kong before the 1997 political transition has been widely discussed within different disciplines. Much of the literature in this regard has focused on two themes: the debate over different legislative schemes and the particular solution to escape political uncertainty. The pressure of the mainland government to take over Hong Kong has been widely examined by Hong Kong, Chinese and British scholars. The relationship between mainland China and Britain went from "negotiation-tension" to "honeymoon period-compromise" (Lam, 2001). During the negotiation period, a variety of agreements covering a wide range of issues in Hong Kong were signed by the two countries. For example, the new form of the police force, the withdrawal scheme for the British forces, the new

pension scheme and, most importantly, the issue of new identity cards (Shen, 2003). From a propaganda perspective, regular meetings were held between China and Britain, and the outcome seemed to be promising. There is some literature documenting the Hong Kong residents' thoughts in this period. Miners (1986) reported that Hong Kong residents believed the British government would not give up on them and let the Chinese government take away the democratic system (Miners, 1986). More than that, it is worth noting that emigration to Western countries was not on the majority of Hong Kong families' minds. For example, Fung recorded family emigration in Hong Kong during two decades, and he found that emigration to Western countries was not a favoured choice, given the rapidly growing economy of the Hong Kong island and religious attachments to family and community settings back to 1990s' (Ma and Fung, 2007).

However, Sino-British negotiations were soon replaced with tension due to the uncertainty of the political reform after 1997. The introduction of "Basic Law" exacerbated strain between the mainland, Hong Kong and Britain, given that the main purpose of "Basic Law" was to confirm that China was "solely responsible for drafting and ratifying the law as the future constitution of Hong Kong" (Lam, 2001:22). Based on this definition, Britain would no longer be welcome to interfere politically in Hong Kong in any regard, which was against many Hong Kongers' expectations. The literature in this period was ideologically orientated to a huge extent. British political scholars have actively commented on this issue. Many of them claimed that a "non-democratic future for Hong Kong" and "communism" would not be suitable for Hong Kong governance, given that the "British rules and spirit have been

embodied into Hong Kong" (Brewer, 1999; Shen, 2003; Ma and Fung, 2007).

It is reasonable for British scholars or pro-British media to make such

assumptions because during the negotiation period, the British Foreign

Secretary, Geoffrey Howe, had firmly stated that, "Britain would never

sacrifice Hong Kong' s interests in pursuit of better relations with the Chinese

central government" (Lam, 2001:33). However, a certain number of scholars

believed that Hong Kong had been sacrificed for the sake of smoothing

political negotiations with China (Siu-lun, 1992; Lam, 2001). In the meantime,

Chinese scholars have undoutfully supported the Communist Party, and

almost all the literature favoured "Basic Law", as well as the "one country, two

systems" proposal without reservation. Communist propaganda, Chinese

people and mainland Chinese culture were widely introduced and circulated in

Hong Kong in order to re-shape Hong Kong residents' pro-colonial mentality.

Despite the ideological differences between China and Britain, Hong Kong

scholars in this period expressed their own opinions regarding Sino-British

relations. The news agencies and media groups at this time had produced a

considerable amount of work debating "Basic Law" and "One Country, Two

Systems" in a similar "pro-Britain" or "pro-Beijing" manner. At the same time,

the British government announced that there would be 50,000 full British

citizenships granted to selected Hong Kong families, which made Hong Kong

residents start to seriously consider their future after 1997(Ma and Fung,

2007). Kuah has documented this emigration wave of Hong Kong residents to

Britain over many years. In his empirical work, "anxiety about 1997" is

frequently mentioned. He studied families that emigrated from Hong Kong,

which echoed Wong's survey based on four subjective social indicators of

anxiety level about returning the power to mainland China (Kuah-Pearce, 2001; Wong *et al.*, 2004). Linking Kuah and Wong's work together he concluded that Hong Kong people were naturally worried about the anticipated deterioration of Hong Kong's civil rights, individual liberty, legal system and living standards. In these circumstances, many Hong Kong people became reluctant emigrants.

The "honeymoon-compromise" period in Hong Kong's political transition was relatively short and ended when Hong Kong Governor Patten finally decided to scrap the political reform bill in 1993 (Lam, 2009). From 1993 onwards, Communist China gradually took over media propaganda in Hong Kong and attempted to promote a "Chinese national identity". During this time, there was a surge of emigration to Western countries by qualified Hong Kong residents. The popular destinations included the United States, Australia, Canada and of course the UK, based on its 50,000 families' migration plan (Skeldon, 1993). The Chinese government expressed its concern about this sudden emigration wave, mainly because Hong Kong senior and principal civil servants would be granted full British citizenship without application and it could have jeopardised Hong Kong's constitutional development after 1997 (Ma and Fung, 2007). This group of 50,000 Hong Kongers who emigrated to Britain during such a complicated political period has inspired me to research their self-identification due to their unique triangular cultural context, given that they may be slightly different from other Chinese descendants in the UK.

To summarise Sino-British relations before 1997, the focus was on the constitutional development of Hong Kong and different interpretations of

democracy. The different stages of political transition covered a wide range of topics in Hong Kong's future. Moreover, it did bring deep anxiety to a majority of the Hong Kong residents. Given the uncertainty over their future, a wave of emigration started and surged as 1997 transition became closer.

4.2   Mainland Hong Kong Relations After the Political Transition

Based on the Sino-British Joint Declaration and Basic Law, Hong Kong was supposed to experience a high degree of autonomy, and be officially identified as the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) by political leaders after 1997. In this section, I will review Sino-British relations under the framework of "One Country, Two Systems" (OCTS) from 1997 to 2016.

Beijing's promise of OCTS and "fifty years of unchanged high autonomy" was put into practice on July 1st, 1997. Much of the literature and government reports documenting the early years after 1997 have praised Beijing's "self-imposed restraint" over Hong Kong's affairs(Lai and Ho, 2005; So, 2011). During the early years after 1997, Beijing adopted a position of non-intervention and in fact allowed the HKSAR government members to rule Hong Kong. The HKSAR government reports in this period also praised the policy of non-intervention for enabling Hong Kong to remain a vibrant financial centre with continuous economic growth in the international community (Lam, 2009). Moreover, the attitude from Beijing in its initial years effectively side-lined potential political and ideological conflicts between Beijing and Hong Kong, and even with the UK (Horlemann, 2003). During its initial transition years, the remaining Hong Kong residents on the island had a cautious

attitude to Beijing and the UK. Wong followed the participants in his emigration families' research, and "keep an eye on both sides" was frequently included in his work (Horlemann, 2003; Wong *et al.*, 2004). It was reasonable for Hong Kong citizens to have such an "in-between" mentality, given the fact that Communist propaganda had replaced stereotypes of mainland people as being uncivilised by a series of much more favourable terms. To push this "in-between mentality" to an ideological level, the researchers suggested "peripheral nationalism" in Hong Kong, and indicated a "new Hong Kong identity in flux" (Fung, 2004; Fong, 2017).

But soon after 2003, Beijing gradually adopted a "new Hong Kong policy" by implementing new HKSAR security legislation. The turning point was July 1st 2003, when Beijing officially put an end to its non-intervention policy (Cheng, 2004). According to Cheng, Beijing believed that "foreign forces" were exercising significant "behind-the-table" influence in Hong Kong. Although the "foreign forces" were not specified as the UK, Sino-British relations went quiet over this period. Worried that Hong Kong would develop into a "proxy" of foreign powers in its territory, as well as a "gun to confront the central government", Beijing became firmly involved in Hong Kong political development. Much of the research from 2004 to 2008 emphasises how Beijing's policy affected Hong Kong residents' feelings towards their triangular attachments to China, Britain and Hong Kong (Horlemann, 2003; Fung, 2004; Poon, 2007; Pepper, 2008). For example, Poon, a senior Hong Kong affairs researcher, claimed that the British colonial administration had successfully "won the hearts and minds of the Hongkongnese by cultivating anti-Communist and anti-China sentiments", which "makes it hard for Beijing to

introduce nationalism to Hong Kong residents" (Poon, 2007: 231). Moreover, Poon and other Hong Kong researchers commented that Beijing's sharp change of policy intensified the anti-China mentality and steps should be taken to slowly facilitate the new Hong Kong identity and a return of the Hongkongnese sense of belonging to China" (Fung, 2004; Poon, 2007; Fong, 2017). During the same period, Western scholars on Hong Kong affairs also noted the changing policy of Beijing and much of the work concluded that Beijing had embarked on an assimilationist state-building nationalism, which emphasised incorporating culturally distinctive peripheries in order to render the boundaries of the nation and government unit congruent" (Postiglione, 1988; Pepper, 2008; Luo, 2009). While the actual practice of incorporation may vary across different contexts, its ultimate aim was to assimilate culturally distinctive individuals into the dominant culture.

Beijing's incorporation strategies since 2003 until now have had three different aspects: political control, economic control and the promotion of a homogenous Chinese national identity. Firstly, based on the HKSAR government record since 2003, mainland officials have taken over supreme power to decide on Hong Kong's democratic future (see government report of China, 2005; 2009 and 2012). For a majority of Hong Kong residents, this multi-year political reform meant the locality retained no residual power and Beijing had the final say over how autonomous the HKSAR could be at any time. "Anxious" and "angry" were again two frequent words to come up in discussion; however, because of the tightening policy of access to Western citizenship, Hong Kong people were in a dilemma as to how to deal with the political reforms. Secondly, with the fast development of the Chinese

economy, absorbing Hong Kong into its economic sphere had been central to Beijing's strategy in recent years. Many scholars believe the Eleventh Five-Year Plan in 2006, which for the first time included Hong Kong, was a clear signal to officially announce its incorporation into China's unique socialist market economy. This approach sped up cross-border economic integration to a vast extent. During the last decade, Beijing has energetically promoted cross-border agreements, tax-free zones and even cross-border infrastructure, and signed up to various regional eco-platforms (Lam, 2001; So, 2011). By doing so, Hong Kong's economy has become heavily dependent on the mainland; in particular the gas/electricity sectors now rely on the mainland to survive, which somewhat goes against the Basic Law to let Hong Kong develop its own economic autonomy. There has been very little research focused on Hong Kong residents at this time, mainly because ideological incorporation was also taking place and local independent research and media groups had been replaced by Communist Party's political surveillance.

The promotion of a Chinese national identity as part of China's official ideology also took place after 2003 in Hong Kong. Unlike the straightforward economic incorporation, ideological reform took place in a much subtler way. Many scholars believe it was conducted mainly through various measures affecting Hong Kong's education system (Fung, 2004; Choi Tse, 2007; Yuen and Byram, 2007; Iris Kam, 2012). National education, along with national identity, have been emphasised in the school curriculum compulsorily; the Chinese language, Chinese cultural heritage and morality and other "soft content" of the modern and developed China have also been promoted (Choi

Tse, 2007). Many Hong Kong scholars claimed that this soft approach in invading Hong Kong's education system was "brainwashing" and "a conscious effort to promote a homogenous Chinese national identity in Hong Kong" (Fung, 2004:402; Yuen and Byram, 2007: 30).

Despite the debates between the mainland and Hong Kong over many topics, both have reached a "political harmony" under the framework of the OCTS to a certain degree, and the vast majority of Hong Kong residents have accepted this unique political equilibrium. However, this does not necessarily represent the view of those ex-Hong Kong residents who have already emigrated to Western countries. In the next section, I will be focusing specifically on Chinese Hong Kong immigrants in the UK.

4.3   Chinese-Hong Kong Immigration Into the UK

In this section, the Chinese (Hong Kong) immigrant community in the UK will be explored through a review of recent literature and government documents. However, there is a mixture of ancestries in the ethnic Chinese population in the UK under review. Therefore, the academic evidence on Chinese immigration will be presented in general, but any related cases will be highlighted which focus on Hong Kong backgrounds specifically.

Much of the literature highlights Chinese immigrants' catering businesses in their early settlement in the UK. Early Chinese immigrants have been described as being part of a low-paid, catering business class by early academics (Siu-lun, 1992; Su and Conaway, 1995; Wong and Salaff, 1998). The research preferences that focussed on the catering business in the UK

has led to the conclusion that Chinese immigrant community have been traditionally perceived to be "separated into enclaves from the host community with little integration" (Wong and Salaff, 1998:358). There is a fair amount of literature which has drawn attention to these separate cultural enclaves. For example, Kay Anderson conducted several research projects over decades, particularly focused on Chinatown in western countries. According to him, Chinatown - an ethnic enclave made up of local Chinese businesses - reminded immigrants of home and their ethnic identity (Anderson, 1987, 1990, 2014).

Further to Anderson's research, in the last decade there has been a growing interest in investigating Chinese immigrants' bicultural social worlds in the UK through examining their ties with UK Chinese and UK British people. In this regard, scholars were able to generate a relationship between their transnational identity through their social integration in the UK. To highlight some evidence in this regard, Kuah documented the new Chinese Hong Kong immigrants' social networks in the UK and Hong Kong. In Kuah's work, Hong Kong immigrants' life experiences in the West Midlands have been discussed through their "refugee mentality" and with reference to "passport families" (Kuah, 1996:60). According to Kuah, a majority of the Hong Kong immigrants had been "reluctant exiles" before the 1997 transition and had been torn between the "financially sufficient but politically unstable Hong Kong and the politically democratic but possible unemployment and recession-ridden UK" (Kuah, 1996: 66; Kuah-Pearce, 2001). In this circumstance, they generated a refugee mentality which refused to integrate into the British society, but instead focussed on their social network with other Hong Kong immigrants in

the local area. "Passport families" refers to those immigrant families who constantly travel back to Hong Kong to work, visit or even stay once they have claimed their British passports. And again, it suggested a lack of motivation to integrate into the local British society.

To relate the existing literature to this project, a potential link can be suggested between Chinese immigrants' cross-cultural identity based on their distinct Hong Kong cultural roots and their lack of integration into British society, given that previous studies have illustrated these concerns. Also, I wonder if the second-generation Hong Kong immigrants continue to have their parents' mentality towards the British society. However, generational differences have been slightly neglected in academic research, as the choice of the Chinese immigration research in the UK has been towards considering ethnic Chinese (Peoples Republic of China, Hong Kong, Malaysia Chinese, etc,.) as a whole. This approach has covered and included Chinese immigrants as much as possible, which has sketched a general picture of Chinese immigrants in the UK; however, there has been slightly less concern about different social classes, genders, education levels and migration flows amongst Chinese immigrants which might potentially reveal different conclusions when investigated in relation to self-identification. Therefore, in my project, I specifically chose second-generation Hong Kong immigrants in order to potentially clarify some of this blurriness, and aimed to sketch out a more detailed picture of their life experiences and self-identification in the UK.

In order to sketch a general picture of Chinese immigrants (including Hong Kongers) in Britain, a 2011 Labour Force Survey (LFS) could also be reviewed. According to the survey, 102, 241 migrants from Hong Kong were

living in England and Wales in 2011 (LFS, 2011). However, this data included both international students (short-term migrants) as well as permanent migrants (LFS, 2011). Therefore, an accurate figure of permanent Hong Kong immigrants is missing.

In this multi-purpose LFS survey, Chinese migrants' integration was analysed in terms of education, the labour market and citizenship. Given that the target group in this research project is focused on the second-generation of Chinese (Hong Kong) immigrants who have been naturalised to the British citizenship, only education and labour integration will be presented and analysed in this section.

In the LFS survey, Chinese migrants were highly positioned in relation to the educational integration index. To review the statistics here, Chinese migrants constituted 91.4% enrolment rate in formal education in the 15-25 age group, while the ethnic British rate was 41.6% in the same category. In the 25-35 age group, Chinese migrants' enrolment rate in formal education was 43.9%, while the ethnic British rate was 9.4% (LFS, 2011). This series of data indicates that Chinese migrants aged between 14 and 35 had moved away from their migrant parents who had been recognised as low-skilled and under-educated. Given this, I wonder how this high rate of enrolment of formal education could potentially affect second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' self-identification. In my empirical project, I should pay extra attention to this regard.

In the same survey, in contrast with the educational index, in which Chinese migrants achieved higher rates than the ethnic British, the ethnic British were much better integrated into the labour market than the Chinese, with 69.3% and 45.3% respectively (LFS, 2011). However, this figure included student

migrants in the Chinese population, which may or may not reflect accurate statistics on permanent citizens from a Chinese (Hong Kong) background.

Even so, this set of data still somehow indicated a mismatch between educational and employment rates, ignoring the lack of clarity due to the data combining mainland Chinese immigrants, student immigrants and Hong Kong immigrants together. With the age stratification in this category being 15-34, a generational difference in the index is possible and a different generation or mixed migration flow could potentially indicate a different result in the labour market. Given this, in my project, I shall also consider the labour market and other career choices amongst second-generation Hong Kong immigrants; in order to investigate the relationship between labour market and their self-identifications.

The LFS survey sketched a general picture of the different migration flow from different ethnicities in the UK. However, Chinese immigrants, especially second-generation Hong Kong immigrants have been a series of hidden figures in academia, and now the aim is to sketch a much more precise and vivid image of them. The reasons for this are: 1) Hong Kong immigrants have had a relatively longer history in the UK (starting in the 1960s and surging before 1997) than Chinese immigrants from other backgrounds who are scattered across Britain, which has provided them with greater opportunity for association with British norms and values in all walks of life and also a chance to generate their own community; 2) there has been a lack of clarity due to the mixing of different generations and different migrant flows in recent research, which needs to be clarified and addressed; 3) there has been a historic triangular relationship between China, Hong Kong and Britain, which has

been of less concern in cross-cultural identity studies following the 1997 transition, as most research in this regard has categorised Hong Kong as being part of China and more emphasis on the development of Chinese national identity within the Hong Kong population.

In order to solve the above concerns, this empirical project aims to capture the second-generation Hong Kong population's unique characteristics regarding their self-identification in relation to multiple cultural contexts: China, Hong Kong and Britain. More than that, an attempt will be made to establish the relationship between their bi- and tri-cultural background and how this could have influenced the construction of their cross-cultural self-identifications. In the next chapter, the research methodology has been outlined, including the fieldwork process, in detail.

Chapter 5:   Research Methodology

In this chapter, my focus is to provide the rationale of the chosen methodology, as well as the specific procedures for conducting the fieldwork amongst second–generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants in Sheffield, South Yorkshire.

To portray the real-life experiences of my target group, the methods/approaches used for collecting and analysing the data will be reviewed and outlined, as well as the recruitment procedure, and this will lead to a reflection on the research. Before the whole process of the research is illustrated, there will be a summary of the pilot conducted prior to the formal interviews.

5.1   Introducing the Research Methods

In this section, the focus will be on providing the rationale for the research method - a combined methodology of focus group and semi-structured interview - as well discussing the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches, respectively.

The primary research aims that will be addressed by the chosen methods are:

RA1: the way in which second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' self-identification has been constructed in relation to various factors: language, gender roles, class, community.

RA2: the way in which the local British community has affected and shaped these immigrants' cross-cultural identities.

To address the above questions comprehensively, a qualitative method has been chosen to address the primary research aims, since the cultural identity and experiences of Chinese (Hong Kong) immigrants remains an under-researched area in the academic field and the research questions require a profound and long-term investigation.

To be more specific, focus groups and semi-structured interviews were employed as a mixed method in the research project; however, focus groups were the primary method of collecting talk data, and this was supplemented with individual semi-structured interviews. From a methodology perspective, focus groups and semi-structured interviews are similar in the way in which they collect data through relatively semi-structured or unstructured, open environments. However, the way in which the group integration and research control are relatively different. I shall demonstrate the general advantages and disadvantages of each method respectively below.

In focus group settings, the number of members is generally recommended as being ideally between four and six people who gather together and discuss the topics which have been prepared by the researchers (Kitzinger, 1995). The aim to arrange such a setting is to create a free-flowing conversation with moderate guidance. Much of the literature has highlighted the advantages of focus groups in discussing social science topics, such as its "open, supportive environment where participants can talk in-depth" (Asbury, 1995; Powell and Single, 1996; Greenbaum, 1998; Kidd and Parshall, 2000). Slightly unlike the

semi-structured one-to-one interview, focus groups offer a group of participants the chance to engage with each other's discourse and interact with each other to ask questions, challenge and disagree with each other. Given these interactional features, researchers are able to explore how the connotations behind the talk data are logically negotiated and constructed. Linking this feature to the project at hand, focus groups could provide sufficient information towards the research hypotheses, and in particular, allow for direct comparisons through the setting of group members (i.e. by gender, class, occupation, etc.).

Considering focus groups as a method used in previous research on cultural identity brought out a wide range of examples related to immigrants' identity in their host countries. For example, a considerable amount of early research towards the second-generation of Indian immigrants in Birmingham, UK, was conducted in this manner. Researchers often went to the Hindu cultural centre to organise group chats for the discussion of the immigrants' everyday lives and their interactions with the local British community (Crocker *et al.*, 1994; Ghuman, 1994; Smallbone, Bertotti and Ekanem, 2005,etc,.). By doing so, they demonstrated a complex relationship between Hindu ethnic identity and their developing British identity. Similarly, the majority of Kim's work on topics such as "cultural shift" and "cultural integration" utilised focus groups as the primary method as well (Kim, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2015).

However, the chosen method of focus groups for discovering second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' cultural identities also involves practical concerns. Given that people's identity as a topic is deeply implemented in

their everyday lives, it is not something that is willingly discussed in public without any consideration. In a focus group environment, participants will sit together with someone who will probably share the same or similar background in a comfortable place; this might reduce the tension of the researcher and the participants being alone to some extent. In terms of desiring a method which is as unbiased as possible, focus groups also reduce the power and control of researchers, as participants can talk and interact with each other's opinions.

Furthermore, focus groups offer researchers a way to avoid "artificiality and decontextualization, researching people and their interactions in a content-driven basis" (Kitzinger, 1995); while still allowing for the choice of topics and research questions. The risk around over-control of topics/themes has been argued by scholars who suggest that the semi-structured interview method could create bias as a qualitative research. However, with the focus groups method, the power and control of the researcher is minimised. Given the very nature of their emphasis on interaction, focus groups may additionally allow for members in discussions to develop a collective critical consciousness, which could potentially be contributing to unknown areas. Because of the underrepresentation of this project's research population in cross-cultural identity studies, several focus group discussions might lead to interesting or novel results.

In the meantime, semi-structured interviews served as a supplement to complete empirical projects, given its excellence for "research with a purpose", especially in the disciplines of psychology and social psychology

(Drever and Scottish Council for Research in Education., 1995; Flick *et al.*, 2004; Harrell and Bradley, 2009). The main reason for this excellence per se is that semi-structured interviews give participants a general direction to talk/ discuss without being fully under the researcher's influence. They are also "flexible and versatile, allowing the researcher to clarify, discuss, and follow-up (unanticipated) points of interest, if and when they arise, and to explore different responses participants may make." (Harrell and Bradley, 2009:15). Moreover, semi-structured interviews allow for access to individual narratives in depth and enable conversation with participants who might not feel comfortable in focus groups, being potentially silenced or excluded by particular unwanted interactive settings(Flick *et al.*, 2004). From a research perspective, it allows for the discovery of selected participants' narratives in a more personal and detailed way.

In relation to this research topic, semi-structured Interviews have been widely employed to explore the second-generation Muslim population's cultural identity in Western Europe (e.g.,Fleischmann and Phalet, 2011; Güngör, Fleischmann and Phalet, 2011; Yağmur and van de Vijver, 2012,etc,.). In a similar vein, a considerable amount of research on Chinese immigration in Australian has been conducted through semi-constructed interviews and led to several new findings (e.g.,Ho, 2006; Cooke, Zhang and Wang, 2013; etc,.). Given that this project will assess my participants' self-identification related to several variations and given that the self-identification of second-generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants in a British context has been neglected in the literature, semi-structured interviews, as a mixed method in my research,

could generate detailed pictures of how my participants evaluate their identities in selected contexts.

There are two central reasons informing the decision to use both focus groups and semi-structured interviews in this project. The first reason is driven by the fact of "super-diversity" in today's situation. The South Sheffield Community (London Road, S3 area) is recognised as a diverse cultural community in Yorkshire (Sheffield City Council, anniversary report, 2014). However, Chinese Hong Kong residents' daily experiences vary in diversity. Some Hong Kong households encountered in this area contain residents who barely interact with British people, whereas some others have had no Chinese or Hong Kong contact at all. This polarity of situations reflects the reality of the S3 area. In practice, it was reasonable to assume that if participants from these two opposite situations sat together, one of them could stop engaging in certain discussions. This concern has been raised by Kitzinger (1994), who claimed, "existing social relations between participants may silence individuals, and the revelation of certain things in the group might have implications for the individual within their social context..."(Kitzinger, 1994:105). Moreover, she have further suggested that research which "intrudes into the private sphere or delves into some deeply personal experience is potentially sensitive" (Kitzinger, 1995:300). During the group discussions, talking about one's ethnic/cultural identity was sensitive in the sense that it transgressed certain normative boundaries of everyday conversation, as one would not consider such topics in a group setting.

Given this concern, it was assumed that talk about such topics in a public group setting would not be favoured by some of the participants. In fact, it was surmised that some participants would only contribute without anybody present but themselves and the researcher.

The second reason was for practical purposes, and it partly reflected the first reason, but also the reality that a majority of the participants were at least acquainted with the local Hong Kong community. Given this, it indicated that a local Hong Kong community existed and was worth investigating. However, given that Chinese culture can be extremely competitive, comparisons amongst group members were brought out, which some of the potential participants wanted to avoid.

In light of the concerns above, researcher-moderated focus groups were chosen in situations where my presence would decrease the interactional distance between members (e. g. a takeaway owner in an all-professional middle-class group, or a slightly older participant in an otherwise youthful group). With potential researcher interference, for those participants who were willing to have a one-to-one conversation with a semi-structured interview protocol, a date could be arranged for a private dialogue with them. The advantage of having this mixed method is that participants would be placed in different focus groups (if willing) which would meet my research purposes. In turn, the most efficient data for further comparisons between different groups was collected. However, the individual semi-structured interviews served as a supplement for those participants who were keen to have a private and in-depth conversation.

Even so, the negative aspects of this mixed method are worth mentioning: 1) the researcher has insufficient control of the focus groups, and sometimes is not able to follow up all of the points of interest throughout the discussions. In this case, the focus groups might need to repeat their sessions or even take part individually in replacement semi-structured interviews; 2) researchers could over-influence the discussion by asking leading questions, which could happen inadvertently (in this project, towards the end of the analysis, a part of the focus group discussions was redone due to unconscious leading questions proposed in earlier group discussions - a reflection will be written in later sections; 3) the mixed method requests for slightly different interview schedules/protocols based on the nature of each practice; however, the mixed methods might result in the conclusions that contradict to each other, depending on how the dialogues flow. Given this, during the analytical process, the researcher needs to carefully validate and compare all the themes/patterns which emerge through the data.

To conclude this section, the chosen methodology that consists of semi-structured interviews and focus groups as a mixed methodology has served the purpose of this empirical project in Sheffield. The advantages and disadvantage as a combined methodology have been illustrated by linking them to the research topics and aims. In the next section, I will provide a pilot summary that was conducted prior to the formal field work.

5.2 Pilot Summary

Several pilot interviews were carried out to enhance the validity and accuracy of the later work. They also provided directions and unexpected discussion topics from the participants. The pilot interview was planned back in early November 2015. The initial plan was to interview several part-time employees of local restaurants. However, the responses to hold interviews were underwhelming and there was a lack of participation due to: 1) they were not prepared to open up their private lives with a stranger; 2) they were confused about the academic topic and the association of British culture and identity in their way of life.

In these circumstances, a snowball sampling procedure was adopted to pick up potential participants from a selected group. There were two respondents at the very beginning; those initial participants introduced further two participants who satisfied the interview criteria and who were willing to contribute. After the research, interests and objectives were proposed, under which they agreed to have a group discussion using the previously designated interview protocol.

The pilot session was held on the 14th of November 2015 in the City Loft building, Sheffield. The session started with general questions about their daily lives. I gave the group members a 10-minute ice-breaker session, then the first part of the interview protocol about their daily practice in Sheffield was recorded (see appendix 1 later for details), and this was followed by a discussion of their integration into the local community in private and public spheres. The second part of the discussion took about 45 minutes to observe

and allowed for all the participants to speak out amongst themselves. The third part of the discussion was about their community, social-networking and working conditions. During the whole group discussion, reluctance was seen from one of the participants. However, the other three were able to open up and share their parenting and points of view from their life experiences so far. Overall, the pilot group discussion went smoothly and efficiently; however, a few unexpected issues occurred.

The first issue was that the phrasing of either "Hong Kong Chinese" or "Chinese" caused some debate, as it was provocative, controversial and had to be clarified multiple times during the discussion. Deciding that this issue might lead to potential academic importance, this term was carefully adjusted in later group discussions in a self-exploring manner. By doing so, I could collect the most neutralised data to analyse their self-identification through their Chinese (Hong Kong) heritages.

The second issue was the confusion around the over-lapping labels for second-generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants in a British context. In the pilot session, the participants were tentatively called "Chinese" or "overseas Chinese"; however, one participant was adamant that I should identify him as "British". However, the group opinions and confusion vanished when the discussion moved to the third part about family life. All the participants agreed to label themselves as "Chinese" at home. Details like this were an inspiration while conducting the pilot focus group discussion, providing several implications to investigate my participants' cross-cultural identity in different spheres. Again, I let the phrases of "Chinese", "overseas Chinese", "British

Chinese", "British" or "British Hong Konger" to be self-explored and flow naturally in later discussions.

Last but not least, there was an issue around the tendency to shift languages. During the pilot, the participants chose to speak English during the 'chatting' time (greeting, general chatting); however, they gradually shifted to Cantonese when the discussion moved to topics which led to some emotion. The change of language brought out new thoughts related to this project, given that linguistic regard has been widely highlighted in identity research, but dialect and accent have been slightly neglected. Given that language itself has been identified as a cultural asset, it could now be a potential direction to assess the participants' self-constructed identity in a British context. In this case, extra attention was paid to the preferences of different languages/dialects in the later practice.

After the pilot group discussion, the pilot individual semi-structured interviews were started with a volunteer from Loughborough University. Although he was not from Sheffield, he was a second-generation Hong Kong immigrant who met the research purposes. The pilot interview was conducted in office B204, Brockington Building, Loughborough on the 21st of November 2015. The interview protocol was emailed to the participant in advance, which gave him time to prepare for the topics. The interview protocol was designed in a similar way to the group discussions. However, given the flexibility of semi-structured interviews, some questions were revised during the session. Overall, the pilot interview went slightly smoother than the pilot focus group discussion because the interviewee was fully aware of my research project to some

extent; also, this one-to-one interview erases possible discomfort towards certain sensitive topics to certain extent.

In summary, the advantage of having two pilots with both methods was apparent. It provided an opportunity for the practice of interview skills, in relation to phrasing certain definitions, e.g., Chinese, British Chinese, etc., which reminded me in the formal sessions to let the terms be self-explored.

In the meantime, it also allowed for further opportunity to find initial participants in the selected area via snowballing. Moreover, it inspired the consideration of the research topics from various perspectives not considered before, which helped with the perfecting and shaping of the focus group schedule, and the interview protocol to some extent. After these two pilot sessions, the formal focus group discussions and individual interviews went ahead between the 23rd November 2015 and the 14th January 2016 in the London Road area, Sheffield.

5.3   Participants

In total, 22 participants took part in this project: four small group discussions (sizes ranged from three to five participants) and six participants interviewed individually. I shall provide two tables for the focus group members and individual interviewees. Here is Table 1 for detailed information of the focus group participants (FG1, 2, 3, 4 = Focus Group 1, 2, 3, 4)

Code	Details
FG1	Four college students aged between 17 and 19. Two males and two females. All working in the local Chinese catering business in part-time jobs.
FG2	Four professionals aged between 26 and 32. Two males and two females. All of them previously resident in the London Road area with their parents, but recently moved to other areas.
FG3	Three Sheffield University students aged between 21 and 25. Two males and one female. None have taken any part time job in the London Road area, nor have family/friends resident here. However, they are regular visitors to London Road for leisure purposes.
FG4	Five business owners aged between 31 and 40. Two females and three males. Businesses encompass a Chinese restaurant, a travel agency, a pub, an independent insurance company and a mid-scale Oriental shop.

As well as these four focus groups, there were six individual interviews conducted in a private manner. There were four males and two females who contributed to the data in this way. Table Two provides detailed information:

Name and Age	Gender	Occupation	Date of Interview
YiFei Song (mid 30s)	Male	entrepreneur	6th January, 2016
Jin (early 40s)	Male	University lecturer	7th January, 2016
Wong (late 30s)	Male	Takeaway shop owner	8th January, 2016
Josh (mid 20s)	Male	Masters graduate	10th January, 2016
May (early 30s)	Female	Ex-business owner	10th January, 2016
Aimee (early 40s)	Female	Business woman	14th January, 2016

5.4 Materials

The focus groups and semi-structured interviews were guided by a schedule and protocol (see Appendices 1 and 2). Several variations of the schedules

used in the pilot were revised for the different focus groups due to career differences. There was an interview protocol designated for individual interviews shared by all the individual participants. By doing this, it was hoped that the data collected from different groups would be more comprehensive. It is crucial to point out that none of the variations jeopardised the research aims, and there were only minor corrections in each schedule for the sake of mentoring the groups for the discussion of the relevant topics. The initial schedule was developed in relation to the research purposes/hypotheses based on the researcher's in-depth knowledge. The later modifications were made to accommodate different groups of participants who had various careers, and belonged to different social classes and life situations in order to establish a better understanding of my research questions.

In addition to the schedule, there was a semi-structured interview protocol used for the individual interviews. Due to the nature of semi-structured interviews, the protocol was designed with open-ended questions, leaving space for the interviewees to convey their opinions.

5.5 Procedure

In recruiting participants, groups were chosen where the majority were resident or had previously resided in London Road, Sheffield. However, some of the participants were visitors or regular customers in the area.

In order to recruit the initial participants, leaflets/notices were posted in Chinese restaurants and Chinese churches in the local area. Flyers were left

in a busy Chinese restaurant "Noodle Inn", in London Road. An advertisement was placed in the Chinese church where the Chinese community have their weekly gatherings. Undergraduate and postgraduate students who had taken part-time jobs in local Chinese businesses and regular customers of the local catering business were approached and asked if they would like to contribute to the project. After the pilot sessions, snowball-sampling from these initial contacts was adapted in order to recruit more potential participants.

The advantage of snowballing is that the participants knew each other and were aware of the research purposes to a certain extent, which eased the nervousness around discussing sensitive topics. During the process of group discussion, the friendly environment of each group decreased the tension between group members. More importantly, an acquaintances-based group setting also stimulated further conversations relatively easily when certain topics went silent in certain situations. For the individual interviewees, the semi-structured interview informants were approached either by the researcher or were introduced by members of the group discussions.

After the recruitment of participants was completed, there was a brief explanation of the research, and several potential locations for interview and focus groups were provided for them at their convenience. At the start of each session, I presented 10 to 15 minutes of detailed briefing on the research content and also encouraged the participants to ask any questions about concerns they may have. A consent form (hard copies attached) was also read out before each session officially started, and, under University regulations, each participant was requested to sign.

With the participants' permission, the discussions were audiotaped with time durations from fifty minutes to two hours. Participants were allowed to leave the conversation at any point if they did not want to further contribute to the discussions. It is crucial to note here that an ethnic clearance form had been completed and submitted to the social sciences department before the field work was conducted in Sheffield.

5.6   The Analytical Approach

The data analysed in this project was drawn from two sets of data: one was generated from the four focus group discussions; the other was drawn from the semi-structured interviews with each individual second-generation Chinese Hong-Kong immigrant. The primary analytical approach used to analyse the data in this project was thematic analysis (TA), where themes are identified across the data-set.

The aim of TA is not simply to summarise the data content, but to identify, and interpret key, but not necessarily all, features of the data, guided by the research questions (Boyatzis, 1998). In practice, TA is favoured by qualitative researchers in many areas, given the fact that it can be associated with multiple qualitative methods, e.g. interviews, focus groups, case studies, etc. (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012). Moreover, TA is used to identify "patterns within and across data in relation to participants' lived experience, views and perspectives, and behaviour and practices; 'experiential' research which seeks to understand what participants' think, feel, and do"(Clarke and Braun, 2014:6627). Given the fact that Chinese Hong Kong immigrants are

underrepresented in existing research, the qualitative data collected should be experimentally tested in different variations. Given the research aims which cover several different areas (ethnic/cultural identity, gender, class, social cohesion, etc.), TA allows for the acquisition of a comprehensive understanding of phenomena/patterns which might be raised during the coding phase. Finally, TA can also be employed to analyse the critical framework and enable researchers to discover integrated patterns within possible interpretations around the topics, and also to develop future implications from these (Clarke and Braun, 2014). In this research, the aim was to consider the research group under several theoretical frameworks (class theory, super-diversity, etc.). By choosing TA, it was hoped that the research questions listed above would be answered; more than that, it could potentially lead to contributions to existing theories and sample pools.

The choice of TA also allowed for flexibility during the process of analysis. In practice, TA leads researchers to generating codes and themes from the qualitative data. The codes should reflect the features of the data worth investigating which are relevant to the research questions. However, researchers have full power to decide what and which words and sentences should be coded and encoded in order to build blocks of themes: larger patterns of meanings, concepts, etc. At the end of the analysis, each theme provides a framework for discussing and reporting the researchers' analytical observations. In these circumstances, the research question is not rigorously fixed but can evolve throughout the coding and thematic development. Linking this flexible potential to my project enabled the underrepresented research

group to speak for themselves, as meaningful implications were generated from their own words.

To employ TA in this project, the audio data was first transferred into transcript form. In choosing a transcription style, a fine balance of theoretical and practical concerns should be considered (Drever and Scottish Council for Research in Education., 1995), as I carefully selected the talk context that most related to the research aims. In most of the extracts, my focus has been put on both the broad thematic patterns of the talk, as well as considering how those patterns constructed it. Considering the inclusion of both focus groups and individual interviews, the raw information was processed to avoid conflicts in the following manner, and I shall provide a step by step summary below:

Step One: the raw information was reduced and labelled to five subsamples (FG1, FG2, FG3, FG4 and individuals). In this stage, a "conceptually clustered matrix method" was used (Mirkin, 1998). It was a useful tool for reducing the qualitative data and slowly forming the codes by into matrix futures. At this stage, codes were identified through listening to and reading transcripts of the data. Apart from words and phrases related to the prominent research aims, such as *"identity" and "self-identification"*, there was an attempt to establish other aims related to specific questions from the scheduled focus groups/interviews. For example, *"Cantonese at home", "hard working parents", "boarding school", "cultural differences"*, etc., emerged, and were highlighted by markers. At the end of this stage, I generated around 20 codes that needed to be further clustered.

Step Two: the initial codes within these five samples were combined and labelled. It was crucial at this stage to treat the emerging codes through knowledge of the research topics, in order to categorise them. Given this, the clustered codes emerged and were generated from the initial codes but also based on my research aims, which included *"British accent", "Cantonese dialect", "Confucian influence", "Chinese and Western cultures", "Female and male", "Middle-class or take-away kids", "Hong Kong and Mainland", "Hong Kong and Britain", "Britishness", "New China",* etc. Given that the nature of TA could lead the analysis in various research directions, the categorised codes were carefully selected which fitted into the research purposes most closely, and were labelled with coloured markers. In this phrase, previous writing was constantly consulted in order to decide if the clustered codes served the purposes of the research aims, yet also offered most of the qualitative information itself. In this step, I aimed to cluster the codes that strictly followed the research questions that were suggested from the literature review and was hoped for the best outcomes.

Step Three: the potential themes were developed which would accurately depict the data by using the combined codes. At this stage, a list of candidate themes emerged and was compared throughout the subsamples. This was the most time-consuming stage as it was necessary to identify whether the clustered themes would be worth analysing in later writing with appropriate and suitable academic support and evidence. At this stage, initial themes, such as *"language preferences and identity-negotiation", "class differences and identity development", "gender differences and identity development",*

identity categories and British society", "cultural enclaves and community cohesion", etc. were listed for further analysis.

Step Four: the themes were validated by applying them to the entire sample pool to see how their patterns revealed the data in a valid and efficient way. According to Boyatzis, at this stage the revised themes should follow three rules: "(a) maximises the differentiation of all the subsamples; (b) facilitates coding of the raw material; and (c) minimizes exclusions" (Boyatzis, 1998:184). In this project, by now, a coherent recognition of the data had been constructed, and planning had started on the final themes which would apply to later analysis. Although a majority of the themes were valid across the subsamples, the third main theme indicated biased patterns which were partially due to the interview protocol. In this circumstance, a return was immediately made to the raw data and the group discussions and semi-structured interviews were re-organised towards certain questions.

Step Five: the final themes were defined and interpreted in relation to the research aims and theoretical framework which guided the study. The three main themes were identified as *"accent, self-conflict and historical reflection", "family setting, class and gender" and "community cohesion, society diversity and ethnic capital".* Three sub-themes clustered and were validated in each main theme for future analysis and discussion. It is important to point out that at this stage, facts were not only recalled, but their deep connotations were interpreted within all of the themes based on solid academic support. Giving that the thematic analysis is prone to subjectivity based on the researcher's

own knowledge, life experiences, political views, etc., the daily practice of analysis was attempted in a way which would reflect a neutral position.

At the end of the thematic analysis phrase, it was vital that the contributing literature was returned to, and the discovery of new academic evidence be attempted for later analysis and discussion. By doing so, not only was knowledge of the chosen topic enriched for the purpose of analysis, but there was a reminder of the importance of standing in the least subjective position possible to produce the analytical work.

5.7   Reflection

Several reflections were made while conducting the empirical work over six months' time. Firstly, interview skills were an issue in doing this research, especially when the term "cultural identity" was chosen for many open-ended questions. Terms used in research, no matter how participants perceive or interpret them, also have connotative meanings, which generally lead to them being confused at some point. The use of "cultural identity" during group discussions, was suggested by many respondents as "too academic" (e.g. Grace, FG4, Wong, individual interviewee, etc.) and a term they definitely would not consider or discuss themselves, which undoubtedly produced certain breaks and silences in the focus groups and interviews. Given this, I practised the interview skills by recalling work conducted in a similar vein (particularly with Kim, 2011, 2013; Yağmur and van de Vijver, 2012, etc,.). These researchers had used phrases such as *"your real home or root"* in interviews with second-generation immigrants, and their participants had

mirrored this use. In reflection, it would have been better to give respondents the opportunity to choose what terms they felt comfortable with, as well allow the terms to be self-explored and clarified within participants' talk content. Another particular term that caused confusion and silence was the self-defined *"Chinese"* or *"Hongkongnese".* The subtle manifestation of these terms in focus groups hit some participants' sensitive nerves deeply. In this situation, participants' terms may reveal their political points of view, which might conflict with others. The prevalence of the debate between the use of the terms *"Chinese"* and *"Hong Kong Chinese"* was only revealed subsequently after the completion of the pilot interviews. For later groups, careful attention was paid to the phrasing of questions in an attempt to eliminate discomfort. In practice, participants' comments and implications towards those terms were not disrupted or challenged, given the rapport was already tenuous.

Secondly, choices of language are particularly worth highlighting. All of the participants in this project had Hong Kong roots, so the different choices of language used to complete the focus groups and interviews are worth considering. During the pilot session, English was spoken at the beginning; however, the whole interview ended in Cantonese, given the conveniences of understanding according to the participants. At the later stage of the focus group sessions, all discussions followed a similar pattern, starting with English and then shifting to Cantonese by the end. However, the six independent interviews were all conducted in English with no Cantonese involved. This choice of language was an unexpected finding during the fieldwork; what made the participants shift conversation between English and Cantonese

when they sat together was considered. More importantly, the reason for the lack of shift between languages during the semi-structured interviews was considered. Given that language itself has been identified as a cultural asset, whether connotative meaning could be explored from this perspective was also given consideration. This finding will be explored in detail in the first analytical chapter later.

Thirdly, it is worth reflecting on how the focus group discussions can be controlled and influenced. Because discussions occur in group settings, heard by all participants, the issue of confidentiality is exaggerated. Given that the topics can include private and/or sensitive information (i.e. how their parents moved to the country or what life conditions were like), some participants might not want their experiences to be heard by other informants. In fact, it was discovered that some of the participants in the group discussions were worried about how previous life experiences could affect their lives in the present. In this case, how to skilfully remove participants' nervousness was vital in order to have conversation flow. In this project, I encouraged the less active participants through eye contact, or subtly inviting them to engage in the discussions more by avoiding overly personal discussions related to the topics.

Further to this point, the very lack of control that the researcher has over the content of the group discussion raises dilemmas over how to deal with offensive comments (e.g. racist comments, considering race was a frequent topic in this research) should they occur. In practice, this did happen several times between participants who disagreed with each other's comments. For example, two participants from FG4 had an argument about how their British

neighbours evaluate them as a minority. One participant referred to her British neighbour in Cantonese slang which offended the other participant who suggested this slang itself has obvious bias and shows racism to the local British residents. Initially I let the conversation flow; however, it broke out into an argument when it became too personal and so I shifted the topic temporarily.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that biased or leading questions which contradicted my participants' life situations could have potentially jeopardised the quality and objectivity of the discussions. For example, in the third part of the interview protocol, one of the questions proposed was, *"Have you ever encountered any discrimination at any point in your career?"* This might sound like a normal question in everyday conversation, yet it brought out biased comments during the whole group discussions. One of the individual interviewees provided a reminder of this point, as she believed her "not so happy career choice" was not entirely based on discrimination, but many other factors. The other leading question that was asked and later led to reflection was, *"Could you tell me about your local community, and how they treat you as a minority"?* Negative comments were expected, since so much previous research indicated that this would be the response. In fact, the participants praised the multi-cultural community in the local area highly; and, without my knowledge, had already started to contribute and promote cultural diversity themselves. In light of this, group discussions were re-organised immediately, and several questions were asked again with less personal bias and subjectivity. In the repeat group discussions, I changed leading words such as *"discrimination", "Chinese in the local area", "hostile neighbourhood"* into more

neutral phrases. One example is with the leading question, *"Could you please tell me about your experiences in the local area as a Chinese?"*, which I rephrased as, *"Could you share your experience with me in the local community?"* In later questions, I let the participants speak out themselves, rather than implying a Chinese identity by myself.

To summarise this chapter, a qualitative method was chosen to conduct the empirical work given that the research population was underrepresented in cultural studies, as a quantitative method may not have been able to provide enough accurate data for the research purposes. A mixed methodology of focus groups and semi-structured interviews would capture second-generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants' life experiences in a dynamic way. The reason for the choice is to ensure data to be produced in context for purpose – all the participants in this project took part in the research were encouraged to express how they would evaluate themselves in selected cultural contexts.

The choice and the employment of the methodology has enabled identity as a topic to be explored within a range of socio-cultural possibilities. Second-generation Chinese Hong-Kong immigrants' identities are a subject of the discussions and discourses producing connotations, which suggested possibilities for the creation of new meanings/representations based on an in-depth understanding of the existing literature. In the next chapter, the first analytical chapter will be presented, which focuses on accent, self-conflict and historical reflection from a linguistic perspective.

Chapter 6:   Accent, Self-Conflict and Historical Reflection

This chapter will explore the first three prominent themes which have emerged from the data. It will discuss the relationship between language choices and the participants' self-conflicts in their everyday lives. At the same time, it will indicate the historically triangular relationship between China, Hong Kong and Britain in a colonial context. The cultural identity of second-generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants will be discussed through their choice of languages in both public and private spheres, followed by an analysis of their unique British-born Chinese identity in a British context. By doing so, a general picture will be sketched out based on my participants' self-identification under multiple cultural contexts: Chinese, Hong Kong and British.

6.1   Discussing Identity with a British Accent

In this section, the data will be explored from a lingua franca perspective by marking a series of terms – Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, British Chinese, Hongkongnese, British – in different contexts. The reason for marking these terms during discussions in different contexts is that the connotations behind them can be analysed. In turn, a constructive relationship can be demonstrated between language and self-identification.

At the icebreaker stage, a majority of the participants from the group discussions started by sharing their experiences of answering "Where are you from?", a typical question for minorities which they had been asked constantly

by the local majority. Noticeably, most of the participants agreed that their British accent answered the question by itself. For instance, Focus Group One (FG1) included four part-time restaurant workers who provided their opinions:

Steve: I've always been asked if I am a Chinese student here.

Dan: I am the same; they think everyone here are Chinese students…

Vivian: I am about the same, but then, they realised I am British, cos I speak proper English without any Chinese accent…

Mary: well, I guess you just need to educate them about what we are? To be honest, I am sometimes confused…Chinese accent? What is that?

Steve: They always assumed we are not local unless they visited here [London Road] on a regular basis…To be fair, I only speak Cantonese with my Cantonese customers to bring us closer…

Vivian: well, I only speak Cantonese with my mom. I try not to have Cantonese conversation with my Cantonese customers… I want to be professional and be British during work, speaking English will help...

From these extracts, there is no doubt that the British accent plays a crucial role in how local British people identify ethnic Chinese as "Chinese" or "British". In Steve and Vivian's experience, having English conversations throughout their working hours is vital to revealing their British identity; while Mary and Dan prefer to shift their language/accent depending on the situation.

There is a linguistic negotiation amongst second-generation Hong Kong immigrants, which suggests their self-recognition in the local area. They have an initial motivation to be recognised as locals or insiders, in Britain; however, they would like to maintain their language/cultural affiliation to the home of origin, as most of them did agree Cantonese is an at-home language.

A similar conclusion can be drawn from Focus Group Three (FG3) which was composed of three university students who are regular customers of London Road:

Tom: I try not to speak Cantonese here, not just because English is my first language, I just do not want people to think I am an "outsider" …

Kay: Well, I don't really care, I speak both, depends on who I am speaking to. I think most us can speak fluent Cantonese, that's a strong language. But sometimes you do need to hide your Cantonese side a bit…

Linda: I speak English most of the time. People here tend to reckon you are Chinese.... They will know immediately if you speak English... I mean, they will give me a 'surprise look' and say, 'your English is very good… '

In this focus group, the three participants discussed their similar experiences of London Road when they encounter local British customers at the restaurants. Not surprisingly, Linda pointed out how her fluent English without accent revealed her British background while Tom and Kay were trying to

avoid their Chinese background by speaking proper English deliberately in public.

Both focus groups placed an emphasis on the importance of using the English language during social interaction. In this analysis, speaking in-group English with a British accent gave the participants' confidence that they would be recognised as British, and more importantly, it constructed their British identity to a certain degree. There is some circumstantial evidence for the importance of having this "British accent"; it can be found in cases of older generations. For instance, Focus Group Four (FG4) reveal their parents' experiences of London Road:

Hannah: my mom told me some really bad experiences about her… She still has a very strong Hong Kong accent if you know what I mean, and everyone has it… People used to mimic her accent before… I guess it is just the old days really, they could be called 'racist' if they do that now.

Shelly: my daddy opened his first takeaway shop here about twenty years ago, people here used to call him "Chinese fat (fa-la)" … you know, the old generation speak Hong Kong English with a lot of "lah, hah, etc." Thank God, I don't have any of that…

Kevin: I always speak Cantonese with my parents; they do not like me speaking English at home. The way they pronounce certain words… well, just different… I guess that is the 'London Road influence…', you know, people here even know that famous Hong Kong 'lah' word.

Grace: That is definitely the London Road effect. I still remember one of my mom's customers used to mimic her accent with a lot of 'lah"s, well, in a good way. I am glad that people nowadays don't do that anymore. It did make me feel like an alien somehow… but I like that 'lah' is the end of each sentence. It is my unique identity, although I don't pronounce any of them now.

From these extracts above, a link can be suggested between different accents and different generation's sociocultural identity in the local community. While the older generation saw their accent as assessing them as outsiders, the second-generation has a stronger sense of being the in-group British. The primary concern is how British accent influences the second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' sociocultural identity in a British context. Accent, in particular, is often seen to touch on sociocultural identity almost immediately in an interactive way (Norton, 1997). In many of the participants' comments, it seemed to a very solid piece of proof that they were *"British",* rather than *"Chinese immigrants"* (Patty, Focus Group 2). To further explain this desire to use a British accent, Dalton and Seidlhofer (1994) also argue that pronunciation is so much a matter of self-image that immigrants may prefer to remove their parents' accent deliberately, in order to "retain their self-respect or to gain the approval of their peers" (Dalton-Puffer and Seidlhofer, 1994:35). In the fieldwork, maintaining a British accent was one of the most efficient methods employed to distinguish second-generation Hong Kong immigrants from other Chinese people in the population (e.g. students, migrant workers, etc.) in the local area. To a certain extent, the British accent was the first signal that the participants could send to their local British peers that they

were somehow affiliated to British culture as well. In an individual interview, May, a Birmingham-born second-generation immigrant, stated,

"I was born and raised in Birmingham, you know, we people have our unique accent I guess it could be my identity? People here recognised that accent, too."

It is worth noticing that May uses *"we people"* in this context, as well as suggesting a relationship between her unique Birmingham accent and her British identity. For these second-generation Hong Kong immigrants, raised to be bilingual speakers, who grew up with different local British accents, it can be argued that this lingual advantage provided a natural affiliation to Britain. There is some evidence from previous research which has supported this argument. For example, Jenkins (2000) proved that bilingual speakers of English can develop their in-group English identity through their accent, and express this identity to other members in communication. Furthering her own point, Jenkins (2007) continued to claim that it is possible to expect immigrants (non-origin speakers) to remove their original accent; and developing and maintaining a local accent in English can be attributed to their "conscious and subconscious feelings of group identity" (Jenkins, 2007: 284) . In this empirical project, the participants' emphasis on their British accent echoed Jenkins' theory, as they had constructed their sociocultural identity within their British group by maintaining a local British accent.

However, as mentioned above, most of the participants were raised to be bilingual (English and Cantonese). Hence, Cantonese, as the official language

in Southern China, has been constantly mentioned and highlighted throughout the discussion. The second theme is correlated with the use of Cantonese, discussed below.

6.2   Discussing Identity with a Cantonese Accent

In this section, the relationship will be explored between the Cantonese language – as one of the symbolic and unique characteristics of Cantonese culture – and the participants' self-identification under a triangular historical background.

As pointed out in the methodology chapter, there was a shift between English and Cantonese halfway through the discussions of many topics. The discussions in Cantonese were allowed to flow as much as possible; the reason for this was so the participants' choice of different languages could potentially contribute to the project productively without outside interference. The extracts are shown with analysis below; all of the extracts have been translated into English by the author. In most of the Cantonese conversations, the participants discussed the complex relationship between mainland China (as a "Chinese" person) and Hong Kong (as a "Hong Konger"), under a British context. For example, Focus Group Two (FG2) included four professionals discussing their opinions of mainland China:

Patrick: I don't associate with mainland people, they are just not very civilised, like we are…

Patty: how dare you to say that? Be careful, mainland people are taking over Britain. But yes, I guess we are different …I am not very sure what culture they have got…

Jayden: To be honest, I don't think we are from the same culture; even the language is completely different. Personally, I would categorise myself as a Hong Konger with British citizenship…

Raymond: I wonder if they do history at high school. They called us "Chinese" before and after 1997. That is part of our identity, too…

In these extracts, the participants debated the troubled and complex relationship between being Hongkongnese and Chinese in a British context, which reflected their triangular background and how they negotiate their multiple identities. Jayden has a specific definition of her own situation while the other participants are negotiating and self-constructing their dual or even triple identities to some extent. Patty interrupted Patrick's comment about mainland people being uncivilised by replacing it with a more diplomatic but ironic description, *"I am not very sure what culture they have had. China is so powerful now…"*, which somehow indicates the problematic relationship between mainland China and Hong Kong. And more crucially, an almost-failure in the attempt to form a Chinese national identity after 1997 in Hong Kong.

Chinese, which is the historical heritage of all the participants, seems to be an inevitable identity for second-generation Hong Kong immigrants when they are examined in a broader British context. However, a majority of them have

their unique Hong Kong identity on hand at the same time based on the earlier review. This finding reflects the previous research on Hong Kong identity as being in flux. There is a considerable amount of research which has explained the process of Hong Kong identity during the political transition. Most of the researchers argue that the early-found Hong Kong identity was largely media constructed, concentrating on separating Hong Kong residents and mainlanders (Fung, 2004; Ma and Fung, 2007; Pepper, 2008). In these circumstances, mainlanders were typically stigmatised as "uncivilised and uneducated outsiders and intruders", while Hong Kongers defined themselves in opposition as "modern and cosmopolitan" (Kuah-Pearce, 2001). This previous research result probably explains why Patrick *"does not want to associate with the mainland people"* to a great extent.

However, in the final years of the transition period, the re-invented and re-conceived Chinese national identity has been hugely promoted by the local media for the sake of smoothing the political conflicts. As has been reviewed in the literature review chapters, the distinct Sino-Hong Kong identity border, which has been then re-mapped and obscured as Hong Kong was placed within the context of Chinese history and tradition and directly under the canopy of nationalism. This newly-found Chinese- influenced Hong Kong identity can be observed throughout the focus group discussions as well, for instance Focus Group Four (FG4) reflected on Hong Kong's return to Chinese government:

Andy: I mean, I am not fussed about Hong Konger or Chinese, ethnically, we are all Chinese …we have the same culture…

Kevin: True, no point to deny that, Hong Kong is so different now, I would like to go back and try my luck… it's a part of China now. Should it have always been?

Grace: I am not sure about that, my mom always told me Hong Kong was great during the past, but she was not sure after the return to the China. I don't really care, and I am British, also Chinese to certain degree.

Andy: We are all Chinese here, no differences, Chinese face, you see… that's something called "the first impression" …

In the extracts above, the participants shared their opinions about being "Chinese" or "Hong Konger" in a wider British sphere after 1997. It is noticeable that more than half of the interviewees use "Chinese" to define themselves in a British context; however, they quickly move to their Hong Kong background to distinguish themselves from mainland Chinese if necessary. This finding is an echo of previous research about dual Hong Kong-Chinese identity (See Ma and Fung, 2007; Pepper, 2008,etc,.). Fung and Pepper argue that a unique Hong Kong identity has been developed and implanted in Hong Kong residents' self-identification during the historical separation of Hong Kong from China in the colonial era. However, after 1997, with the central government's "decolonisation and re-nationalisation", this established and accustomed Hong Kong identity might have clashed against the ideologically-promoted Chinese national identity, and to a certain extent even led to hostility towards the Chinese identity. From an understanding of existing literature, the term "Hong Kong people", which signifies the participants' parents' distinctive life experiences, is what the old and even new generation valued and adhered to. However, these cosmopolitan and

democratic Hong Kong characteristics were politically devoid of any meaning in the eyes of the Chinese government after the political transition. This tended to create tension between Hong Kongers and the mainland Chinese population, and easily generated disagreement over a united national identity under Chinese authority. For majority of the Hong Kong population, the conception of Hong Kong identity is historically and culturally real, even for emigrants. As one of the individual interviewees, Aimee, claimed:

"I am Hong Konger for sure; we have that Hong Kong spirit no matter where I am…"

For those British-Hong Kong immigrants who are not resident in Hong Kong any more, their view of the well-promoted "One Country, Two Systems" promise seems sceptical from observation of this project's discussions, since most of the participants were reluctant to comment on this issue directly. In reality, they received a biased opinion from British or pro-British local propaganda, or, even more directly, from their parents who had left Hong Kong well before the political transition even started. The participants' parents, who represented the Hong Kong population during the colonial period, indicated this conflicting history. For example, one participant recalled:

"My dad believes he is Hong Konger and will always be. That's why he left Hong Kong in the 90s just so disappointed…" (Patty, FG2)

Similarly, another participant gave an even more drastic comment:

"My mom was not sure what was going to happen after 1997, that's why all my family separated to different Western countries. We just feel safer without the Chinese government..." (YiFei, individual interviewee)

Due to the misunderstanding or miscalculation of political change by the old generation, who had gained a strong Hong Kong identity/pro-British identity during the colonial period, it would have been difficult to shift that into a dual Hong Kong- Chinese social identity as the mainland government wanted. What is evident is that for the old generation there is a strong sense of Hong Kong identity rooted in their cultural identity, which seems to have passed onto the second-generation to some extent, because they had already relocated to Britain and hugely separated from further mainland government's influence.

Having mapped three sociocultural identities (British, Chinese and Hong Kong) which have risen from the data, the focus will now move to how second-generation immigrants manage their multiple identities in a British context. As analysed so far, those three identities are not mutually exclusive. They overlap each other, which leads to the third theme of this chapter: British-born Chinese identity.

6.3   Discussing 'BBC' – British-born Chinese Identity

British-born Chinese (BBC) is a very popular and precise term to define the participants' socio-cultural situation in a British context. However, there are different ways to interpret this term. During the group discussions, this term was discussed, analysed and interpreted by most of the participants from different perspectives. In this subsection, the focus will be particularly on the self-conflict of being British-born Chinese (BBC). It is worth investigating that most of the participants agreed that they had had a particular time period of

self-questioning and self-conflict when they encountered the British and Chinese cultures. However, the degree of this self-questioning and self-conflict varied. For instance, FG2 discussed their early memories of private schools:

Patty: I guess that it is normal for people like us; we are ethnically different, but we are the same at some point… I have definitely questioned myself when I was in year one or two… but not anymore after year six, seven, maybe? I am just who I am… I have good relationship with my girls, I mean, British girls…

Patrick: my first memory was nobody wanted to pass the football to me, I started thinking is it because I am Chinese? I might be just being too sensitive, though. I used to play a lot of sports too… at least…to try to get more manhood… you know what I mean?

Raymond: like you said, play rugby all day?! Hmm, nah… I don't feel like I belong, I feel like a tourist when I go to Hong Kong or China. Yet, I feel like I don't really belong to Milton Keynes… my school had no Chinese around ... But you know what? I've never fully fitted into British kids…

Jayden: oh really? I think I am alright. In the beginning, it was difficult to get on... Then I realised that I am the same… my pals and me are in good terms…

Raymond: of course, you are the same… all women are the same. But for us, those two natures always fight against each other…

In these extracts, four participants discuss their experiences of self-questioning during their adolescence. The central concern is how they deal with their 'Chinese-Hong Kong-self' and 'British-self' during social interaction.

The most noticeable finding is that gender seems to play a crucial role in this issue. In this group, two of the male interviewees clearly had a longer period of feeling ill-fitted to their British peers while the female interviewees had more confidence having their peers around them. This conclusion can be observed even more directly in the third focus group (FG3) which included three university students:

Tom: I definitely had some difficult times in Hillsborough … guys here are rough, but I was a skinny Chinese kid… I do want to make some British friends, but I guess that's down to chance…

Linda: Oh, no… I have my girl-gang; I mean, you just need to make a move initially. Otherwise, how do they know you are British culturally?

Kay: Are we 100% British? I doubt it; I have been questioning that quite a lot. I rent a house with four white lads; they are alright, but I don't think I want to associate with them all the time, too care-free…

Linda: What is wrong with being care-free? I love to drink and party, I love to have my makeup done and have some fun. Is this a British way of life only?

Kay: Yes, it is, I am afraid. Never seen any other girls like this…

In this discussion, the female interviewee had a more positive experience than the male interviewees in dealing with their British peers. In fact, a majority of the female participants engaged in this topic from different groups placed their British-self in a more dominant situation than their Chinese-self in terms of integrating into the 'British way of life', while the male participants generally

identified as 'social outsiders'. These findings challenge some previous

academic writing which suggested that female immigrants had a lower degree

of integration compared to males, due to gender roles or educational

disadvantage (Espiritu, 2002; Mahler and Pessar, 2006; Suárez-Orozco and

Qin, 2006; Qin, 2009). Examining the talk data, partying and drinking, along

with other social activities stated by my participants could be interpreted as a

series of typical British youth/university cultural activities, the polar opposite of

the Chinese cultural system which regulates female into conservative,

submissive and vulnerable situations. To investigate this further, some

previous theoretical claims could be referred to. The similarities and

differences between genders in the identity process and outcome have been

mentioned by Schwartz and Montgomery's work. However, their work has a

specific focus on the impact of acculturation and gender on migrants' identity

development. Therefore, to what extent females or males are culturally

assimilated differently has been slightly neglected. They made some vague

comparisons between males and females during acculturation, but did not

reach a solid conclusion(Schwartz and Montgomery, 2002; Schwartz,

Montgomery and Briones, 2006). In the same vein, Dion (2001) examined

Hispanic females' roles in cultural adaption by observing their behaviour in a

migrant community in the US. Controversially, he concluded that females in

the migrant community had more behavioural change regarding language,

beliefs, life styles, etc. during their acculturation (Dion and Dion, 2001). Even

so, there is a gap between early academic writing on cultural assimilation and

current reality, as the dynamic of assimilation has changed over time.

Theoretically, it seems obvious that gender plays a crucial role in cultural

assimilation; however, the specific ways in which gender differences contribute to assimilation is lacking in empirical evidence. In this specific project, the female interviewees showed a higher degree of integration into British norms and lifestyles than their male counterparts. Moreover, the male participants were fully aware of this difference and clearly expressed their own explanations, as one of the individual male interviewees, Josh, described:

"I don't think BBC guys in Sheffield are that different/special, apart from those really rebel ones, but you get those people in China, too… However, BBC girls are a totally different story; they are way more adventurous than us, at least than me. They have been Westernised too much… They have a British life with a Chinese appearance."

"Westernised" is another term used to demonstrate cultural assimilation; it was also agreed by many participants as a suitable label for the female interviewees in this project. The negotiation between Chinese and Western culture has gained attention from scholars across different academic interests. However, one of the central questions for this negotiation is whether having a cross-cultural identity or even a British identity eases female participants' social integration, given the fact that female participants in this project have been shown to be more flexible and adaptive to cultural differences and cultural uncertainty as a British-born Chinese.

It possibly is a bit too early to conclude that female second-generation Chinese-Hong Kong immigrants have a higher degree of social integration than their male peers, considering that random scattering could occur in the data of this project. Therefore, given that Chinese immigrants have not drawn

enough attention in cultural studies, the finding of the gender differences in acculturation across samples, at least, could be seen as a stepping stone to further investigation of second-generation Chinese-Hong Kong immigrants or even a larger migrant population from a gender perspective.

To conclude this chapter, most of the participants had their own critical understanding of being a British, a Chinese and a Hong Konger. The relationship found between accent, identity and self-conflict is constructive and is reflected in the existing literature, with an up-to date picture. Because of colonial history, second-generation Hong Kong immigrants have triple identities to access. Their British identity has been embedded into their self-identification by law; and, in practice, it has been assimilated through social integration and acculturation. The English language, local British accent, as well as the British way of life, have become the research groups' motivations to integrate into British culture. This attempt has constructed their British identity and provided them with a fundamental sense of belonging to Britain. However, Chinese culture, along with their unique Hong Kong affiliation have also left my participants a Chinese-Cantonese self to explore, in a family or Chinese community sphere. Inevitably, after 1997, the Chinese mainland government promise of "one country, two systems" has complicated their self-identification to a certain degree. For most of the participants, those three identities - British, Chinese and Hong Kongese - are not necessarily mutually exclusive, nor does one necessarily outweigh the others. The discussions suggested that these three sociocultural identities are parallel and negotiate with each other depending on the situation. In the long run, these three

identities are the cultural capital which influence the construction of the participants' unique British-born Chinese identities in Britain. Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to understand that most of the participants agreed that they have all had a time of self-questioning/self-conflict; however, this cultural uncertainty weakened over time - instead, they developed their unique cross-cultural identity which negotiates different cultures depending on the situation.

In this project, the findings suggest that female participants have a stronger sense of British identity than males in dealing with everyday situations as British-born Chinese. However, it would be hasty to conclude that females have a higher degree of cultural assimilation than their male counterparts because a lot more reliable academic evidence is needed.

The participants' unique cross-cultural identity in lingual and historical regards has been addressed. In the next chapter, the relationship between the familial/societal sphere and the participants' self-identification will be explored.

Chapter 7:   Family Setting, Class and Gender

In this chapter, a series of topics will be analysed which emerged from the talk data by analysing the participants' everyday activities and life experiences. Previous research has suggested that daily practice serves as the primary channel to enable second-generation immigrants to negotiate their identity between their culture of origin and their receiving societies' cultural norms and values. Given this, the data will now be looked at from the perspective of life experience to provide an up-to-date document of how Confucian Chinese culture and individualist Western culture have influenced the construction of second-generation Chinese-Hong Kong immigrants' identity in Britain. Based upon the talk data, the findings will be presented from three directions: family setting, class and gender.

7.1   Negotiating Identity through the Familial Sphere

Family value and tradition, as two of the most significant Chinese cultural characteristics, were discussed many times amongst my participants. This pattern suggested a link between their Chinese cultural roots and their identity development in a familial context. During the migration period, Hong Kong immigrants relocated to Britain for different purposes with different backgrounds, financial statuses and social classes; however, one thing they shared in common was that first-generation Hong Kong immigrants had had strong Chinese cultural characteristics embedded in them before they relocated to Britain. In these circumstances, the participants discussed their

opinions of how parenting and family tradition had constructed their identity in Britain. For instance:

Linda: my parents are very traditional; they are very 'Chinese'. You know what I mean? I don't know how to explain that, you can tell when you see them… so I am sort of traditional in certain things…

Tom: same here and I have got to be a Chinese son back home. Otherwise, they will be very disappointed…

Kay: my mum has forced me to stay with her at the moment, not just for saving money. She told me, that's our tradition, our way of living. I can't say I like it but I have got to. She is my mum… I do want to be like my British mates who left home after university.

Linda: well, don't you think it's very common in the Chinese community; we can't really separate our lives from our parents… British people will never understand that.

In this extract, three participants suggested a significant difference between Western and Eastern parenting culture, as they cannot separate their personal lives and their parental family attachment, which is almost contradictory with the British family tradition. In the family sphere, behaving and living in a Chinese way seems to be an irreplaceable rule for second-generation Chinese-Hong Kong immigrants in most of the participants' cases. From the individual interviews, one of the interviewees, May, shared her experiences of being a *"Chinese daughter"* at home:

"Yes, you have to hide your British-self at home. My mum has high expectations of me. She is really strict and protective. She wants me to be a proper lady… like those submissive, conservative sorts of Chinese women… I have to be like that at home or with family friends… but I won't ask for that from my own daughter. She is two now, I wish her all the best in her future adventures."

Similarly, another individual interviewee, Josh, discussed his familial experiences in South Yorkshire, home to one of the biggest Chinese communities in the UK:

"Every Chinese here knows each other, somehow, I really hate that. Those parents will compare with each other, and are really competitive. I wasn't a brilliant student at school, but someone they knew was extremely good. Can you imagine how hard they pushed me to go to Oxbridge? Anyway, I ended up in Sheffield, that boy went to Oxford I think… my mum was really disappointed. One day, if I become a dad, I will not push my kids at all… I will let them choose whatever they want…"

In these comments, the participants criticise traditional Chinese parenting which hugely emphasises the unquestioning acceptance of parental authority, as well as academic/social achievement (Chao, 1994, 2001). At the same time, they also indicate that this Chinese way of responsibility and obedience to parental demands, would potentially not be passed on to their offspring.

There are two potential dimensions to discuss this pattern which emerged from the talk data. One is driven by the Confucian culture; the other is in

regard to eco-political insufficiency. First of all, to understand this Chinese familial tradition, some previous literature should be employed. Chinese culture rates moderately highly in relation to the importance of "harmony within hierarchy" (Bond and Hwang, 1986: 260). In practice, hierarchy between generations suggested a particular emphasis on obedience and conformity to parental demands (Baker and Clammer, 1979). During the analysis of the data, the themes of strict discipline, proper behaviour and the fulfilment of social obligations indicated that these characteristics of Chinese culture had been implanted into my participants' conception of being Chinese. Under this cultural root, it is not difficult to understand why May felt the need to behave properly as a Chinese daughter, while Josh felt he had no choice but to focus completely on educational advancement. The strong influence of Chinese Confucian culture from the older generation can be seen, which highly reflects the values of filial piety and submission to parental wishes. In the limited literature on Chinese migration studies, filial piety has been highlighted as one of the most significant cultural symbols of "being Chinese", which has even been emphasised as "a virtue of the nation" (Baker and Clammer, 1979; Su and Conaway, 1995; Choi Tse, 2007). This 'virtue' can clearly be found in the second-generation Chinese-Hong Kong immigrants, gradually guiding them in the construction of their Chinese-self to a certain degree.

Even so, filial piety as a rather general term seems not convincing enough to explain the participants' obedience to their parents in a broader British context. To investigate the issue by linking to the research aims, it can be

suggested that their early stage of settlement in the UK needs to be taken into consideration. Evidenced from the data, their obedience could also be driven by financial difficulties amongst early immigrants. This argument is also echoed by the early Chinese immigrants' settlement in the UK. During their early settlement, despite a small number of affluent early Hong Kong immigrants, the majority of first-generation Hong Kong immigrants who settled in Britain had real struggles with financial insufficiency. Having grown up in this low-income familial environment, the second-generation witnessed their parents' hardships during their families' early settlement, which in turn reaffirmed their sense of empathy for their parents (Rosenthal and Feldman, 1990). Moreover, this familial sphere provided them with a sense of being an outsider to the local society, considering they were not allowed to access national and social benefits immediately (Kuah, 1996). To combine early academic evidence and this project's talk data, it can be suggested that their Chinese-self grew strongly within the familial sphere, showing respect for the older generation's hardship, as well as self-defence against the new British cultural system. This argument could be proved by multiple sets of data. Themes of sacrifice, empathy and obligation were frequently brought up during discussions. For instance, Aimee, who comes from a low-income background, stated:

"I have seen how difficult my parents worked in the kitchen, how can I just simply leave them behind and pursue my own happiness like my British friends? I have to connect with them more now as I am able to help them more, well, with cash, you know... And that's not necessarily the British way…"

Aimee's statement represents many of the participants' opinions, who are accustomed to the residents in London Road (which now remains crowded with Asian catering businesses). They have seen the sacrifice that their parents made, which, in turn, enhanced their filial piety when they grew older. It can be seen that this sacrifice influenced where their Chinese-self in the familial sphere was constructed and affected emotionally.

However, as the second-generation who have been widely associating with Western culture and norms and potentially having a better financial situation, the second-generation participants also had a second opinion of those Chinese familial norms. The family environment in the Western culture is in contrast through its promotion of individual growth and development. Moreover, independence is highly valued and encouraged(Rosenthal and Feldman, 1990; Nauck, 2001; Portes and Hao, 2004). The concept of separation from their parents, both physically and psychologically, has been taught and practiced at early stage, which potentially indicates an opposite path for second-generation immigrants. Given these differences in family dynamics, the second-generation immigrants in this project have also shown a clear tendency to change their core values in relation to family function. This is probably why May and Josh no longer focus on the unquestioning acceptance of parental authority. Instead, they encouraged their offspring to pursue *"whatever they want"*, as least in a more Western parenting way for now.

However, there is a gap between the findings in this section and the literature on how second-generation Chinese immigrants' parenting could influence their offspring: the third generation's self-identification. In this project, the participants indicated that they would no longer be emphasising generational compromise and sacrifice. Instead, they had adapted to a British way of parenting focused on individual achievement and development. However, in the literature, there has been a tendency to over-emphasise Confucian roots which may not reflect on second-generation immigrants' accurate situations. To explore their cross-cultural identity in the familial sphere, their British roots should not be ignored and the way in which the shift between Chinese culture and British culture could influence the research group or even their offspring's self-identification should be analysed.

To continue the investigation of the participants' self-identification, other variations, such as class, gender, education, etc., have also played a huge role in this issue and need to be considered. The data will now be analysed from a class perspective.

7.2   Negotiating Identity Through Class Variation

The relationship between ethnicity and class is frequently discussed and considered in immigration studies. During the group discussion, the participants shared their opinions of their experiences of being part of an ethnic minority group in Sheffield. Through an examination of the data,

several implications can be outlined from the second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' talk data which could enrich the existing knowledge. Participants from different social classes gave contrasting opinions about their cultural identities. Participants from low-income or self-employed backgrounds (catering businesses in this project) tended to categorise themselves as part of the Chinese cultural group, while participants from middle class backgrounds (professional occupations in this project) were more likely to identify themselves as British or British Chinese. The low-income/self-employed background participants will be analysed first. Here are some important comments from FG4:

Kevin: I think of myself as Chinese. I have been working in the Chinese catering business. I eat Chinese food, I speak Cantonese at home and I have a Chinese wife from the mainland… I don't see why I would call myself 'British', apart from speaking English. Culturally, I am Chinese from Hong Kong… well, it's getting complex now.

Andy: I agree. My family got a small shop here at the beginning and then I expanded our family business. But they are still Chinese businesses - a lot of cheap labour work. What do you expect in London Road? I don't really have time to think about 'my identity' a lot; we are Cantonese businessmen in Sheffield. Does that answer something?

Grace: it is not just about who we think who we are, it is also about how white people here see us… we are cooking Chinese, we are Chinese… I personally question that but I am not going to argue…

Hannah: to be honest, I guess everyone is different here; but for us, we have to understand a bit more about Chinese customers, Chinese culture… that's why we become more Chinese than other BBCs…

Shelly: yep, and because of that, white people will be stereotypically putting us in that 'Chinese category'…

In this extract, five participants from FG4 who have various businesses in London Road shared their opinions on being part of an ethnic minority group in the local area. Due to the nature of their work – Chinese catering businesses which serve most of the Chinese population in Sheffield – they genuinely consider they are recognised more as 'Chinese' than 'British' in the local area; however, it is not necessarily their personal choice. There is a small amount of early research on Chinese migration which has suggested a link between ethnic small businesses and identity development, mainly focused on disadvantage theory. For example, Reitz has summarised the main reasons why certain ethnic minority groups preferred to be self-employed. Under his analysis, the labour market disadvantages for them due to "a lack of proficiency in the lingua franca of the host society, inferior or invalid credentials, or discrimination on account of their ethnicity"(Reitz, 1980: 35). In this self-employed environment, minorities have been and will be isolated from majority groups, as well as the labour market. Light (1990) furthered this theory of labour market disadvantage, by emphasising the relationship between certain ethnicity groups and their access to employment. According to Light, cultural characteristics as an indicator during employment has influenced minorities' job mobility because of their race or ethnicity in the

labour market (Light, 1973; Light and Rosenstein, 1990). This, in the long term, has affected second-generation immigrants' access to different careers and limited them to their familiar small business circles. In this project, the reason some of the participants still run family businesses on London Road will not be focussed on particularly; however, the data from those participants who work in self-employed environments did indicate the same conclusion that labour market disadvantage has somehow consistently been real for them. As one of the individual interviewees, YiFei, argued:

"I have got my degree in marketing. Somehow, I decided to go back to my family business. It is tough, but I don't think I can get an office job without any effort, either. Same story, really… So why not just focus on what we have already got: our shops?"

In this argument, it can be seen that a certain number of second-generation Hong Kong immigrants are still not confident enough (or not willing enough) to leave their 'comfort zone' - their small family business - to pursue other career possibilities. Despite labour market disadvantage, recent sociological interests in minority enterprise have also paid particular attention to small businesses and welfare among Chinese, Japanese, and black people in their migrant countries. For example, Basue and Savannah have studied minority small businesses over decades and have reached the conclusion that minorities' ethnic solidarity, not individualism, was probably responsible for Chinese, Japanese, and West Indian immigrants' success in the small business environment (Basu, 1998, 2009; Basu and Altinay, 2002). Some of the successful Chinese business owners' comments in this project's data have suggested support for this hypothesis. Andy (FG4), who owns several

different businesses in London Road, strongly believed that his 'Chinese work-ethic' and social networking were two crucial factors in his success:

"My Chinese cultural-capital has definitely made me who I am today. I came from nothing, but we Chinese people always work extremely hard and save as much as we can… and that is how you should do business here…"

"Culturally I would want myself to be more Cantonese, and always have that 'prepare for the worst scenario' mind-set. Does this answer your question? Would I like to be more British, carefree, more relaxed? But I do not think that will help my business here..."

Andy's multiple comments emphasis how he believes that his Chinese work ethic helped him to establish his successful business in Sheffield. He further indicates how Cantonese cultural capital – hard-work, social friendliness, financial saving, etc. – played a crucial role in maintaining his success in the local area. Andy's experience provides us with a vivid example to understand the second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' self-identification, which has potentially been influenced by their work environment and work ethic.

Hannah (FG4), another successful entrepreneur on London Road, believes that ethnic networking has played a crucial role in the construction of her cultural identification:

"I am definitely becoming more Chinese nowadays; currently I am doing some cultural services for the Chinese community in Sheffield. Initially, I only volunteered,

and then it became my responsibility to spread our Chinese culture and values to the next generation. It is also part of the cultural diversity plan in Sheffield."

"My restaurant is like a catch-up place for many Chinese people in the past 20 years ago. We do promotions, along with networking among Chinese people. If any British people want to come, they will probably get a free Chinese language class, too."

Slightly unlike Andy's emphasis on personal devotion to his businesses, Hannah believes her success is down to social networking – "guan xi" (relationship) in Cantonese – which she inherited from the Cantonese culture to a large extent. Hannah's highlighting of "guan xi" and her businesses enabled an examination of the participants' identity through their small business environments, along with the Chinese work ethic. In this circumstance, Chinese small businesses have potentially had an impact on constructing the self-employed second-generation immigrants' cultural identification in Sheffield. The request for cheap labour and repetitive working skills secured the first-generation's finances in Britain (Basu and Altinay, 2002). The work ethic discussed above, along with their "guan xi" business strategies, have been inherited by the second-generation who stay along similar paths. This, in turn, is slowly distinguishing the second-generation small business owners from their British or even British-Chinese peers culturally. This unique Chinese small business environment has led to more understanding of their home culture than other Chinese population in the local area. As many participants from this Chinese small business background claim, *"we are Chinese business owners who have British passports"* (Grace-FG4, individual interviewee, Wong, etc.).

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Even so, the nature of small Chinese businesses has been slowly changing over time, as well. Hannah believes that her various Chinese businesses in Sheffield are no longer purely a way of making a living, but a series of cultural symbols of China, Chinese lifestyle or even Chinese people, as she commented, *"It is not just a restaurant, it is how we settled here with historical reasons. It is a window for British people to know a bit more about China…."* It can be suggested that these second-generation business owners have partly become representatives of Chinese culture in Britain.

However, other participants who chose their careers along different paths or from upper middle-class backgrounds, have contrasting opinions. For example:

Patrick: I consider myself British out of my family home, really. I spent my childhood in a boarding school which had no Chinese kids 20 years ago, and then I went to college, university and, again, there were not many Chinese people around. I do not have many Chinese contacts here, just my mum.

Raymond: I know what you mean. My parents worked so hard to send me to grammar school to separate me from those 'takeaway kids'… I am not here to judge but they do want me to be as British as I can… I was too young to choose who I wanted to hang out with, until one day, I realised that I couldn't even understand basic Cantonese. From this perspective, I guess I have got to identify myself as British. Maybe it was not even my initial choice…

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Patty: I don't know… I am British, I was born and raised here, I have a British lifestyle… I have a Chinese face, but that doesn't mean I have got to understand Chinese culture or whatever. My parents never forced me to study Chinese… I'd definitely put myself into the British group culturally…

In this extract, the three participants from an affluent family background with different professions have clearly indicated a contrary opinion to FG4. From the choice of elite British schooling to the attempt to consciously avoid any Chinese influence locally, the upper middle-class first-generation Hong Kong immigrants led a different route to relocating their families in Britain.

The affluent middle-class first-generation might have achieved financial sufficiency and lingual fluency when they immigrated to Britain. The economic success in their home country had potentially separated them from the low-skilled migrant workers in the local area. However, as foreign immigrants, they were not fully integrated into the dominant British culture either (Wong and Salaff, 1998). This rather awkward social segregation accelerated their pursuit of social acceptance and social status in the mainstream society for their offspring (Kuah, 1996). The relationship between class identity, achievement and schooling has a long sociological history, and the majority of this has been based on Bourdieu's social class theory as reviewed in the literature review chapters. In this project, class clearly has influenced, implicitly or explicitly, the idea of who "belongs to which culture" and "who does not". Jin, an individual interviewee who currently lectures at Sheffield University, stated,

"…my parents were students here before they emigrated. I was naturally following my dad's path to integrate into British society. I probably understand British norms and values a bit better than others…"

Jin is reluctant to explain what *"better than others"* means in his opinion, but did admit he could "*see the differences between me and those Chinese takeaway kids from a very young age"* because he believes, "*the upbringing and future probably are different…*".

Patty (participant from FG2), who is a daughter of an ex-senior Hong Kong governor and now works as a senior Business consultant, had a similar thought when she admitted,

"I was selected to study in boarding school at the Hong Kong government's expense. It is hard for me to imagine myself running a takeaway shop here. Don't get me wrong, a job is a job, it is just not for me…or my upbringing…"

To link those extracts together, it suggests that the group of privileged second-generation Hong Kong immigrants benefited from, and enjoyed, a greater opportunity to access to Hong Kong's financial support, as well Britain's education and social norms. Given this, this group of Hong Kong second-generation immigrants had a much easier experience moving between two cultures and more importantly, maximised the possibilities on offer within the British context than those less privileged Hong Kong immigrants.

Educational stratification played a crucial role in defining the cultural identity of second-generation participants. Take Patty, for example, who enjoyed privileged schooling from a young age in South Yorkshire. She is also the

participant who probably held the strongest belief that she was British across all the samples. As she claimed:

"*I have generally enjoyed my life so far, my education has given me a lot more confidence to compete with my British peers… it's your life experiences which makes you who you are, not your blood…*"

Another participant, Patrick, who had had similar experiences, also supported this argument:

"*I don't really know what Chinese culture is. I mean, am I Chinese just because my parents are Chinese? But I have never received any Chinese education. I went to Bolton school, a private boys' school here. I literally grew up with British people and as a British person…*"

Patrick and Patty's self-identification seems to have been hugely influenced by their family background and their educational path. Their continuous highlighting of their elite British schooling suggests a potential route to evaluate their cross-cultural identity, driven by Bourdieu's class theory but also indicating new contemporary features.

To be more specific, the second-generation Hong Kong immigrants, who have been categorised by previous researchers as "a low-paid, racialised catering class" (Anderson, 1987:23), experience lower levels of social acceptance and increased difficulties in accessing public and social services (Brewer, 1999). The recent government LFS survey (see the Literature Review for details) did show that this historical classification can still be applied in today's Britain,

given the ethnic Chinese are still categorised as an "inactive low-income labour work group" (LFS, 2011). However, there is a lack of clarity around the combination of different social classes and backgrounds of Chinese immigrants into one category in the literature so far, at least in the class theory classification. It can be seen from the talk data that there are a fair number of early Hong Kong immigrants who had brought their professions and economic capital when they first came over; moreover, they also provided their offspring with a lot more social/economic capital than previously assumed in order to develop their own cross-cultural identities in Britain. Given this, the conclusions I draw in this regard could enrich the knowledge of class theory, and also inspire later researchers to rework the conception and perception of Bourdieu's class theory in today's situation.

7.3   Negotiating Identity Through Gender Variation

The dynamics of gender in shaping immigrants' cross-cultural identity has been highlighted in previous writing in discussions of cross-cultural identity. In this section, this research's findings will be presented and discussed through a comparison of the participants' gender roles during their cultural assimilation.

Upon examining the data, several findings can be concluded. First of all, the female participants, in general, showed a higher level of awareness in British culture than the male participants. This reflects the female groups' gendering

process in cultural assimilation. For example, May, an individual interviewee who was raised by her single mother claimed:

"I was raised by my mum and that is absolutely unacceptable in Hong Kong. However, we managed to survive and made an okay living in Sheffield. I am doing well now, and I do not want to associate with any culture that judge women, looks down upon women, etc…"

"I think Chinese women are very vulnerable in general, I am not one of them. I would say the toughness we have been through here made me stronger than who I was meant to be. Maybe that is why I am more British than Chinese culturally, I really don't think subordinate Chinese culture for women will do me any good… I do not need a man to provide for me..."

In contrast, Raymond (FG2), a male participant who came from a similar parenting background showed a lot less opposite towards Chinese culture/family norms:

"I was raised almost by my mum here; we definitely had some tough times. But I just grew up like every other kid. I think my mum sacrificed her happiness a bit during the past. But I am a good son, just like many Cantonese lads; I am very Cantonese at home."

May and Raymond came from a very similar parenting background; in fact, they had resided in the same area when they first came to Sheffield for a short time. However, they have polarised attitudes to British and Chinese culture, which indicates some potential differences in their self-identification in

Britain. Despite differences in parenting style, gender could potentially have played a huge role in this light.

There is a fair amount of literature which has discussed gender differences and cultural assimilation. From early academic interest in Muslim second-generation migrant workers in Western Europe to the latest topics in Chinese/Japanese saturated societies in the United States, gendering in cultural assimilation has been closely investigating the female role in the construction of the next generation's self–identification. For example, Dona and Ferguson (2004) carried out a thorough investigation of Chinese American women's gendering process and cultural identification in the Bay Area, California. In their work, Dona and Ferguson identified the gender roles (mother and daughter) in cultural assimilation by highlighting the independent female role in family settings. According to them, financially-independent women were much more likely to challenge Chinese traditions and men's authority and participate more equally in decision-making with their offspring. In the long run, their offspring, especially the daughters gained a stronger sense of self-worth and self-recognition in the wider society. A sense of pride in their economic achievement, as well as an expanded social network in society, might have constructed the second-generation female immigrants' gender identity which contradicts Chinese cultural norms and tradition(Dona and Ferguson, 2004). In this project, almost all the female participants have made statements which lead to similar conclusions in this regard. For example, May suggested,

"I was financially sound before getting married and also had my own circles in Sheffield. Basically, I didn't expect my husband to pay for everything, as many Chinese women did… or provide me a life if you know what I mean…" (May, individual interviewee).

Thanks to feminist activity in Britain, the ideology of gender equality and female independence has been recognised as a social norm in Britain. In this cultural sphere, second-generation female Hong Kong immigrants have reconstructed their gender roles along with the cultural assimilation process. The evidence from this research suggests the pace of cultural assimilation through gender variation is different between males and females, especially in terms of gender roles and self-recognition.

Secondly, female participants in general demonstrated a higher degree of acceptance from British mainstream society, which suggested a relatively stronger sense of belonging in Britain than the male participants. For example, FG3 – three Sheffield university students – had a debate on why Chinese girls are more socially accepted than Chinese boys in university:

Tom: I think it takes some time to be friends with British lads. They have a natural offensive mind-set when I approach them or they think I know nothing about their game. It does take some time, but it's all good after a while. [Pointing to Linda] *Anyways, you girls are so popular here; you girls are the exotic experience…*

Linda: are you being sexist? We are just more willing to communicate with people…

Kay: not just that. Here is the "lady first" culture. However, I am amazed how Chinese girls are effortlessly integrating into "British culture" …

Linda: are you trying to pull my leg? What is wrong with hanging out with British guys and living a British way of life?

The debate continued with Kay and Tom insisting that young Chinese females had a prestigious and greater social popularity and acceptance than Chinese males. Despite the potential personal bias from the male participants, this finding in the research has challenged other earlier research to a certain degree. The early research on social integration tended to stereotype women as vulnerable or dependent on their husband/family. For example, there is a considerable amount of literature that has analysed young women's vulnerable or even miserable migrant lives, which has particularly focused on second-generation Hindu or Bangladeshi women in Britain (Lindridge, Hogg and Shah, 2004; Kerrane, 2017). However, there has been very little academic interest in Chinese women's acculturation in their diasporic countries. Previous research in gender studies has categorised the Chinese population as a whole for academic convenience. However, in this project, gender role is a crucial factor to consider as indicated by different levels of acculturation in Chinese immigrants' cases. This finding echoes Bhawuk and Brislin's cultural sensitivity framework from the 1990s. According to them, for the majority of second-generation immigrants, cultural sensitivity enables them to modify behaviour appropriately and successfully in different cultural contexts. Moreover, in the bicultural self-system, it enables an individual to switch between collectivistic and individualistic modes, depends on their

cultural sensitivity(Bhawuk and Brislin, 1992). In this project, this culturally sensitive bicultural self-system can also be seen in the female participants, as Aimee, an individual interviewee, summarised, *"…. we women are just sensitive to our surroundings and easily adapt to a new environment…"*

In this project, female participants showed evidence of this level of modification as they were more prone to accept differences and embrace the British way of life. Further to this point, because of their willingness to modify their lifestyle, second-generation female immigrants had more potential to be socially welcomed. The data suggests that female participants play a unique role during the acculturation process; in most cases, they are the main consumer in the local society; they are the primary caregivers to their families; and they are the medium to connect the familial sphere and social sphere on a daily basis, as Aimee stated, "*I have got to look after my kid, as well as handling several businesses… you have just got to be flexible and versatile in many ways…".* However, there is more to explore in a broader sociological context. In this project, female participants clearly showed a stronger sense of belonging in Britain than the male participants, especially regarding cultural sensitivity and cultural assimilation. However, to investigate this argument further, a quantitative methodology (i.e., survey) could be employed with a larger sample pool in the future.

To summarise the findings in this chapter, the negotiation between conservatist Eastern culture and individualist Western culture can be seen in the familial sphere. In this negotiation, the targeted research group displayed

huge sympathy for the older generation's sacrifice, which potentially pushed them to hold on to their Chinese-self to some extent. However, as the second-generation which was exposed to Western culture, there has been a clear shift towards British lifestyle, values and social norms away from their Chinese culture. During this process, social class and gender have played critical roles in polarising the research population's opinions about their self-identification. Having employed class theory across the data, it can be suggested that the middle class/affluent second-generation immigrants were able to access better social resources, especially educational privileges, which fundamentally contributed to their integration into British-dominated societies. In these circumstances, the varied levels of second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' acculturation led to a variety of opinions about their cultural self-identification which depended on their different social backgrounds.

Gender roles, as a long-established but underestimated agent in the acculturation process, in this project has also indicated several implications, as female participants displayed a higher level of self-assimilation in British culture than their male counterparts. Moreover, compared to the male participants, the female groups indicated more willingness to adapt to British norms, values and lifestyles. Nevertheless, extensive research with combined methodology is required to explain this willingness across a larger sample pool. This willingness to adapt to British norms, values and lifestyles leads to the next chapter, which examines and discusses the findings from a national perspective with a focus on community cohesion, neighbourhood diversity and ethnic capital.

Chapter 8:   Community Cohesion, Neighbourhood Diversity, Ethnic

   Capital and Self-Identification

In this chapter, the data and discussion are presented from a national

perspective based on three dominant themes: community cohesion,

neighbourhood diversity and ethnic capital. The main reason for doing this is

that the Chinese-Hong Kong community, as one of the racial minorities, has

established their settlement for a considerable time; however, the extent of

their impact on their settler societies, and also in what way the multicultural

neighbourhood could have influenced and shaped the second-generation

Hong Kong immigrants' self-identification is currently underrepresented in the

literature. In this project, the participants were able to provide several insights

based on their review of the local community, their career choices and their

ethnic capital. The findings and analysis of these dominant themes are

outlined below.

8.1   Community Cohesion, Britishness and Self-Identification

In order to discuss the participants' experiences in their diverse community,

several government reports and statements were provided in relation to

cultural policies and racial regulations before the group discussions and

interviews took place. One of the terms which applies to the

multicultural/diverse community, "community cohesion" – defined as a

cohesive community which "works toward the wellbeing of all its members;

fights exclusion and marginalisation; creates a sense of belonging"

(Alexander, 2004:530)– was frequently mentioned and debated amongst my

participants. In this analysis, the data suggested several implications, described below.

Overall, there was a somewhat positive attitude to the multicultural sphere in Sheffield, which provided my participants with a sense of a cohesive community in which to negotiate their triple identities. For example, FG1 discussed their experiences in the local community as a minority:

Steve: …I don't really understand what "cohesion" is, but our community harmony is OKish…and I don't need to worry if I am British enough, or too-Chinese, like somewhere else…

Vivian: I agree. Sheffield is a welcoming place for all…and people respect that…

Dan: …and every entertaining, unlike some towns I visited, …I'd say those places are not for "us" …

Mary: …we are foreigners and local at the same time… but we are good people here in their book, because we never make trouble…

The emphasis on community harmony in this data set suggested a positive outcome for community cohesion, which agrees with the home office's suggestion of "common vision and sense of belonging'" alongside a discourse of "managing diversity" (Alexander, 2004; Worley, 2005:490).

In this project, the outcome of this political effort seems optimistic in Sheffield; multiple testimonials have given a positive review of their community, such as:

"Sheffield is an Asian friendly place, and we are contributing to this experience now." (FG 1-Dan, FG 4-Andy, etc.)

"I feel safe in the local community and I trust the local authority will act if any inappropriate behaviour or racism happens. I am being treated as a proper citizen here." (individual interviewee, Josh)

To link those comments to the literature, there is a considerable amount of evidence from the UK which has supported this positive outcome. For example, Sturgis and Kuha (2014) have documented ethnic diversity, segregation and community cohesion in London, and they suggest that age stratification has played a crucial factor in declining racially prejudiced attitudes, given that the younger generation which grows in diverse communities will be more familiar with different cultures(Sturgis *et al.*, 2014). Further to this point, scholars also suggest that local contact appears to be more significant than political enforcement in achieving equal status between different ethnicities when face-to-face interactions are oriented towards the achievement of common goals and values, shared interests and especially when contact is supported by social institutions (Forrest and Kearns, 2001; Levitas, 2001; Worley, 2005; Helbling, Reeskens and Stolle, 2015). The united sense of community based on the participants' experiences of London Road area clearly agrees with this above argument, as they showed trust in

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their neighbours and local authorities, felt positive and willing to achieve shared goals – "community harmony" – in most cases.

Despite the positive review given to this diverse Sheffield neighbourhood, the other aim of community cohesion should not be ignored: to build up a sense of belonging. The sense of belonging in the home office's recent race relation plan has been interpreted with having the aim of creating a "sense of Britishness" (Britain and Denham, 2001). Considering this project's data, the success of the attempt in this regard remains ambiguous. For instance, four participants with professional backgrounds from FG2 who had indicated a strong sense of British-self in most of the discussions were confused by this concept:

Patty: but what is "Britishness"? Am I British? I think I am, but I have Chinese blood, it's a very personal thing, not a "societal thing". I am definitely recognised as British in my area, but what about in London? I doubt it.

Patrick: I think the British government needs to do something about it, to make us second or third generation immigrants feel that affiliation to Britain, I mean, as a countryman…Is this something called national identity?

Raymond: it is very difficult, trust me on that, Welsh people call themselves Welsh, Scotland wants to play its own game. There is no so called "national identity" here, it's really… a loose term to me…

Jayden: I agree… I think we should have something like America, as they are genuinely proud of the concept of "being an American".

In this extract, the participants discussed their opinions about British identity from a national perspective. The lack of understanding of what constitutes "British identity" or national identity has a long history of debate amongst scholars and policy-makers (Jacobson, 1997; Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism., 1999; Ware, 2007). The debate around "Britishness" is probably rooted in the late 1990s New Labour approach in the UK, which placed a greater emphasis on promoting a "vision of society" rather than national unity and identity (Keddie, 2014). By emphasising the role of community, policy-makers bound multi-ethnic/cultural communities together. The aim was to generate social connection and cohesion at the expense of potentially flattening out a strong sense of national identity, where greater social harmony could be realised through emphasising a stronger commitment to the local sphere. At the local level, the effort to make such a cohesive community can be found in a series of evidence from Sheffield, for example, Kay (FG3) stated, *"I am not sure what Britishness is, but I am very sure I am a Sheffield lad and love my community…"* and Vivian (FG1) stated, *"I guess Britishness is a bit too far away from me, I mean, I don't need to keep mentioning I am a Brit on daily basis, local people will know anyways…".*

The continuous mentioning of *"good local atmosphere"* and *"welcoming Sheffield"*, but not *"Britain as a whole"* in defining the participants' national identity indeed suggested no obvious discrimination and prejudice, but instead harmonious and respectful atmospheres at the local/community level. However, without a

united sense of Britishness, the members in a broader national context also had a greater potential to exclude ethnic outer-groups, where the Anglo-Saxon white society created cultural boundaries with the ethnic minority groups. As many of my participants admitted:

"In Sheffield, yes, we are British… elsewhere, I don't know, and I don't want to know…could be something else…" (Kevin, FG4)

"… I can't say people in Duffield where my parents live would recognise us as British… they still live like in the 70s… but we are British, for sure…" (Patrick, FG2)

"Why is Britishness being so important here? I don't get it. Being British is a natural choice for me, so is Chinese… Well, I guess Britishness is important for some of the people because that's their national identity? But for me, it is really not…" (Dan, FG1)

"Britishness", whether it is a political slogan or a sociological term, had vague definitions amongst my participants, or even in the national debate. To a certain degree, the vagueness of the definition and lack of understanding potentially decreases second-generation immigrants' affiliation to Britain because, as Raymond (FG2) pointed out, even indigenous ethnic minorities – the Welsh, the Scottish, etc. - have a very sceptical reaction to "Britishness". Therefore, it is not clear why this united sense of Britishness would be generated in relatively late Chinese Hong Kong immigrants. For a majority of the participants in this project, being British/maintaining a British identity

reflected on several but similar things: speaking the English language with a local accent, cultural assimilation in private and public spheres, contributing to their local communities, etc. There is no doubt all those efforts to construct their British identity were at a personal, community level. However, in terms of generating a united sense of Britishness as a step to building up their national identity in Britain, they were far behind the home office's integration framework: *". . . for those settling in Britain, the Government has a clear expectation that they will integrate into our society and economy because all the evidence indicates that this benefits them and the country as a whole . . . we consider that it is important for all citizens to have a sense of inclusive British identity*…" (Jacobson, 1997:195). In this project, it is indeed suggested that part of the purpose to *"integrate into our society and economy"* has taken place to a satisfactory level; however, at the national level, a sense of Britishness for *"all citizens"* may need re-considering.

8.2   Cultural Boundaries, Ethnic Enclaves and Self-Identification

In this section, the data will be analysed through the participants' perception of how the local community had shaped their cross-cultural identities, as well as their integration into the local community.

First of all, a pattern emerged in the data which indicated that second-generation Hong Kong immigrants have drawn cultural boundaries to separate themselves from other ethnicities in the local area. For example, FG3 discussed their feelings of their neighbourhood diversity:

Tom: I am cool with my neighbours, but I can tell there is a boundary between us and them… like, being very polite to you and treating you as their own people is different. It's hard to explain by words… it's just... they always wonder if you know certain things…

Dan: I know what you mean… it's a subtle thing if you lived here for long enough…an invisible boundary I'd say…

Vivian: It's not subtle. It's just… they have to, or they have got used to treat us nicely. Because we are citizens. But not citizens at the same time…to be honest, I don't blame them...

In this extract, three participants offered us a series of insights on their perceptions to the local community. The "boundary", which my participant mentions, is a sociological concept which has been widely analysed in previous academic writing. The theory behind the "boundary", or "cultural boundary" to be more specific, was originally driven by Marx's "conflict theory", but was expanded and applied later by several scholars to investigate diverse social environments (Miyamoto, 1974; Drever and Hoffmeister, 2008). To apply this framework to the data analysis, my participants' comments indicated that a diverse community induces "a feeling of threat and anxiety between minority and majority groups", arising especially due to "real or perceived competition over scarce resources" (Sturgis *et al.*, 2014:1300). In this project, London Road has been recognised as the *"dirtiest and busiest road in Sheffield… and local people think it's us who are responsible for it…"* (Kevin, FG4) and it has been stated that "*local people love us but hate us at the same*

time, because we are good Chinese, contributing to the local economy… however, we are bad Chinese as well, we are taking money away from them…" (Wong, individual interviewee).

Because of such perceived threats to the indigenous British population resulting from a potential rise in ethnic out-groups, in everyday life a sense of "boundary" occurs, which separates the Hong Kong immigrant population in this project from the local British people to a certain degree. For example, participants from FG2, who firmly categorised themselves into the British group in earlier discussions, indicated this pattern in a more obvious way than other groups. For example, Jayden (FG2) argued, *"In this city, am I British? Yes, I am. Am I Chinese? Yes. Hong Konger? Definitely. So, who am I then? I guess I just need to be adaptive in certain boundaries…"* Raymond (FG2) further explained what boundaries are to him: *"something that you cannot explain by words, but you will know if you are comfortable or not when you are there and adjust your behaviour, perceptions, expectations… I guess everyone has certain invisible boundaries here …".*

Patty (FG2) gave an insightful summary to this discussion: "*I am not sure about negotiating identities because an average Joe would not care… we are negotiating boundaries indeed though..."*

To look at this negotiation of cultural boundary a step further, the participants provided their own solutions to this social segregation, which constitutes the second pattern emerging from the data in this regard. Most of them highlighted the importance of Chinese community networking in the local

area. For instance, YiFei, a local entrepreneur and also a missionary, gave me his opinion:

"I am working for the Chinese church in Sheffield. We organise activities, we try to bring people who have a similar background together, and the council encourages us to do so. I guess they want to accommodate us somewhere, so we feel assured. It's a win-win situation…"

May, another individual interviewee, supported YiFei's idea:

"I was not interested in any religion, not even Buddhism. But I do not mind going to the local Chinese church to have a chat. You just feel like you find your true self there, you do not feel awkward explaining who you are… I am not saying that I don't associate with British people, my husband is white. It is just somewhere unique, and people there understand this uniqueness…"

In these extracts, apart from practising Christianity, the nature of the Chinese church in Sheffield has also functioned as a social networking place for the participants. Recently, Chinese Churches, as racialised venues in this project, have had more or less other purposes, e.g. providing social support services. The increasing amount of research which has suggested the relationship between the church and ethnic networking amongst young immigrants in Western countries is worth recalling (Krause and Wulff, 2005; Güngör, Fleischmann and Phalet, 2011; Stein, 2017) . For example, Krause and Wulff's have particularly emphasised the role of the church in social support and ethnic networking amongst Chinese American (Krause and Wulff, 2005).

However, Chinese Churches in Sheffield in this project have gone beyond the US scenarios. The purpose of the Chinese church has more or less been to serve as a cultural boundary segregating older immigrants, along with their offspring, from their local neighbours. As Jin, stated, *"Going to Chinese church every Sunday is like a break…you can have a touch of your Cantonese roots…".* Jin later admitted that the local Chinese church "*probably gives Hong Kong immigrants a break, as some of them will not need to try hard to be British, or associate with mainland Chinese…".*

Apart from the cultural segregation from the local population, Chinese Churches in this project have also functioned as a crucial part of the support for labour equality and small business networking, which again excludes other local residents. This argument can be supported from the data, as well. For example, Aimee, an individual interviewee, stated:

"I think it's one of the places that you can get some information for your business. It is a very Hong Kong thing, I'd say. But it's also a local thing, you can't just chat with a random group of Chinese people here; he or she has got to understand our businesses and situations…"

"I would not consider any other networking here, apart from going to Church. It targets a very specific population, I'd say. Like the mainlanders, they will go to another one because we communicate in Cantonese. It's our Chinese Church…"

Aimee's comments, along with other participants' discussions in this regard, suggested a negotiation across their triple – Chinese, Hong Kong and British

identities – in the local area. On the one hand, given the long settlement in the UK, the participants have slowly integrated into the British society and even started building up their well-recognised domain in the local area. On the other hand, they have also drawn a cultural boundary separate from other ethnicities, as they *"do not want to associate with other people sometimes…"* (Jin, individual interviewee).

To link these two patterns as whole, it is suggested that second-generation immigrants' triple identities have been negotiated through their cultural boundaries with the indigenous British, the mainland Chinese population and their Hong Kong roots. Further to this point, in my project, the local authority holds a rather supportive opinion of this "cultural territory", as they recognise most of the venues as part of neighbourhood diversity. For example, Shelly (FG4) stated, *"I guess the local authority would like to see us to gather in certain places, otherwise why are there so many Mosques in Hillsway (a local Muslim community), I don't know those terms, but I think they are happy with where we are…"* and Grace (FG4) added, *"I thought the council would like to see so, no? Otherwise why are there so many multicultural centres here?"*

To a certain extent those cultural territories did offer the participants' Hong Kong identities to grow and to negotiate with other identities; however, the data has also indicated at a potential decrease in social integration and also a lowering of affiliation to Britain amongst second-generation Hong Kong immigrants. As one of the interviewees, Jin, stated:

"It's a double-edged sword: I have lost some of my British friends because I need to attend Sunday services and organise activities with them (church members). You can't please everyone, can you? For now, I have got to serve my people first…"

Jin was reluctant to define what *"my people"* meant in later questions; however, he later on suggested *"my people"* in Sheffield as a loose term that represents the second-generation Hong Kong immigrants who have businesses on London Road. This situation is reminiscent of the case of saturated South Asian communities in Britain, which has caused a national debate about whether they are responsible for the decline of the local white population (Musterd, 2005; Gorbunova, Ambrasat and von Scheve, 2015; The Economist, 2016). Having analysed the testimonials so far, a somewhat similar pattern to the South Asian's cases in Britain is indeed suggested, as a majority of the participants have voluntarily isolated themselves from other cultural groups to a certain degree. While the UK is becoming increasingly diverse, levels of integration are not keeping pace - second-generation Hong Kong immigrants have a distinct preference to stay away from other local residents but "pick and choose" people who come from a similar Cantonese background. The common interests amongst Hong Kong immigrants have had a substantial impact on their networking, which has led to an ethnic enclave in the local area.

To summarise this section, looking at the participants' cultural identities from a national perspective, it was found that both main variations – British-self and Chinese-self – had not been developing distinctly in reality. This has clearly suggested the government's policies on social integration are worth re-considering. From the participants' experience, the negotiation through their

triple identities across different cultural boundaries indicated that a cohesive British context should not solely be looked at through a community/neighbourhood perspective, but also with a focus on eliminating the invisible cultural boundaries as well.

8.3 Ethnic Capital, Institutional Limits and Self-Identification

In this section, the themes that emerged from the talk data are discussed at an institutional level with a focus on ethnic capital, career limits and self-identification. The importance of considering the participants' cross-cultural identities in this regard is that personal career achievement could reflect on the macrosystem, which consists of the ideological components of a given society (Klinthäll and Urban, 2016). Based on this, the talk data will now be examined through analysis of the participants' opinions about career choices, ethnic capital and self-identification.

Firstly, the interplay of ethnic capital and institutional disadvantage has suggested a strong impact on second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' career choices. For example, participants from FG2 with different professions discussed the mismatch between their degrees and careers:

Patty: I did International Relations at university but ended up in Consulting. I mean, I would like to be the first MP in my area, but I know it is almost impossible. The Consulting job gives me financial security; we are the silent minority and never pursue any politics…

Raymond: but have you tried? Do we actually have Chinese-origin MPs? I did Sports Study in university. You know, when you are young, you don't think about the future, but it was very obvious they were not interested in a "tiny Chinese man" ...

Jayden: I think this is not just about careers; it is about salaries, as well. I did Theatre Study in university. You know, when you are young, you don't think about the future, but then I realised I couldn't afford to "daydream". Your parents are looking at you, your Chinese relatives are looking at you, even your local Chinese friends are doing better than you. You have got to do something realistic, i.e. finance...

Patrick: Don't you think this could be a Chinese way of thinking, or at least partially? I did find a career that matches my degree, but I have never really enjoyed it. It is a job, and pays my salary. We were born to be pragmatists…

From these comments, thee four participants demonstrated a mismatch between their degree and career choice, which indicated an interplay of Chinese cultural roots and labour market preferences amongst the participants. The mismatch of degree and career choice reflected the wider Chinese population's lower visibility and lower advantage in employment: their employment rate, at just 57%, is much lower than that of other, less well-qualified groups (i.e. Pakistani, Caribbean African, etc.) (Drever and Hoffmeister, 2008; Lancee, 2016; The Economist, 2016). Considering Patty's question on political influence, statistics have shown that Chinese political figures have been almost invisible in occupying influential civic positions (LFS, 2011; The Economist, 2016). YiFei, an individual interviewee who was trying

to get a position in the local council, gave me a potential explanation for this awkward silence:

"We are by culture inward-looking. We look after our families first, we don't want trouble, you know, political debate and campaign are never our culture…"

YiFei's argument echoes recent studies on the Chinese community in London. Although there is a lack of clarity to the combination of all Chinese population as a whole in recent studies, the conclusion can still apply to the researched group. According to them, the Chinese have in many ways been a model minority as well as a silent one. Because of their effective silence in influential institutions, coupled with the Chinese culture emphasising financial sufficiency, many second-generation Chinese have chosen to go into solid professions such as accountancy, medicine or engineering;(Lindley, 2009; McGuiness and Wooden, 2009; The Economist, 2016) as Patrick claimed: *"a rather practical decision"*.

Having analysed the talk data so far, a connection between Chinese Confucian culture and second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' career choices could be suggested. The Chinese Confucian culture of "action-less governance" in political education has influenced a vast majority of the Chinese population over thousands of years. This influence can still be found in their overseas descendants' life paths: a reflection on their limited interests in engaging in societal and political decisions. Wong, an individual interviewee, gave a vivid example:

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"I don't think we need to blame the UK system. I mean, we can vote, we can work for the local authority, we can… but, do we really want to? We'd rather spend that time and energy looking after our own businesses/families. I know a lot of British people call us "rich people" nowadays, but we need that financial security and I am not ashamed about it… Having a say in Parliament is never our priority."

Wong is a representative of many of the participants in this project, who devoted themselves to the pursuit of better financial status. Under the respectful diverse sphere in the local area, they have been comfortable staying in their small-business circles, looking no more than to *"avoid troubles"* (Kevin, FG4). This low visibility at institutional and political levels suggests a near-failure of integration from an ideological perspective. While the UK is recognised as a multicultural place, Chinese immigrants are still satisfied with their quiet and isolated enclaves in the local area, for example as Josh, an individual interviewee, commented, *"I don't know if I can get a job any time soon, I prefer to work with Chinese/Cantonese people if I can, but it is not easy. I would like to go other cities but… I don't know…"*. Josh's struggle is not solely his own, as the FG3 group discussion – three university students – revealed a similar concern: *"it would be ideal if I can get a job nearby… big cities have their own down bits…"* (Linda, FG3).

In this ethnic enclave, the long-established Chinese value system and labour market disadvantage have potentially influenced second-generation immigrants' career choices at societal and political levels. The influence of Chinese Confucian culture that emphasis on self-sufficient has led the

research population to over-emphasise financial advancement as opposed to social integration.

Secondly, the interplay of ethnic capital and career mobility has caused second-generation Hong Kong immigrants to rethink their cross-cultural identities. For example, FG3 – three final year university students – discussed their career options:

Tom: I feel like being a BBC gives me more options than others. I am confident to get a job in those Chinese companies. We have huge Chinese investment in Britain now; it is an opportunity for us…

Linda: I guess so. China is on the fast track now. Washing dishes in Chinatown is not the only job for us anymore. I would like to work in the culture sector in the future; they need more Chinese to participate in it…

Kay: I think being British-Chinese means that you can find jobs in both places? I like that mobility; it does make me feel like I belong to two places, not just one.

In this extract, the three participants highlighted career mobility in a dual- and triple-culture context. Given policy and employment regulations in Hong Kong, second-generation Hong Kong immigrants could access the Hong Kong job market without needing permission. More than this, after 1997, they had easier access to the mainland labour market than ever (Wong and Salaff, 1998; Kuah-Pearce, 2001). In this project, this convenience, along with China's strong performance in economics in recent years, has indicated a

pattern of a number of overseas Chinese descendants having started to rethink their dual ethnic/cultural capital in the UK. Patty, from FG2, who firmly advocated her British-self most of time, shifted her attitude towards the end: "…*I know, China is so strong now, sometimes I do think an open mind would be better… even my parents have started changing their opinions now; they used to be so sceptical towards the Chinese government…"* Patty's thoughts agreed with another three participants in the discussion. Take Patrick as an example: "*...The Chinese Prime Minster visited Rolls Royce a while ago. I didn't have a chance to meet him, but all my office mates were asking me how I felt, etc. It was a mixed feeling really. I didn't have too much affiliation to China before, but I do feel proud of being a Chinese descendant here nowadays. That's a big deal for Rolls Royce…* (Patrick, FG2).

This pattern emerged across the data set, suggesting that bi- and tri-cultural Chinese descendants had started to turn their ethnic/cultural capital into labour advantages in both countries. This finding matches Cohen and Duberley's recent research into how scientists of Indian ancestry turned their ethnic/cultural capital into a global impact on science (Cohen, Duberley and Mallon, 2004; Duberley, Cohen and Mallon, 2006). In their research, they suggest this global impact is the result of the interplay between two cultures, which, in turn, builds a stronger affiliation to both cultures. Whereas the Indian community has been central to almost all migration topics, the findings of this project could potentially provide a new perspective to viewing Chinese immigrants' cross-cultural identity. It is firmly tied up with their ancestral culture and, more specifically, the attachment to their ethnic/cultural capital. Because of this affiliation, they are prone to attach to their Chinese identity

more once the economic and political situation in China improves, or if the cooperation between China and the UK strengthens over time. In pointing this out, the changes in Britain itself should not be dismissed: attitudes and policies towards the new China have also shifted to a more favourable and cooperative vein. Under these multiple changes in China and the UK, it can be suggested from the data that second-generation Hong Kong immigrants have started rethinking their cross-cultural identities. However, given the small sample pool in the research, the findings in this regard could inspire other researchers to examine the relationship between ethnic/cultural capital and identity development among immigrants on a bigger scale.

To conclude this chapter as a whole, second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' self-identification was analysed through a national perspective. In the multicultural sphere of Britain, second-generation Hong Kong immigrants have been quietly integrated into the local community. This "quietness" reflects the effectiveness of community cohesion to a certain degree, as a majority of participants positively reviewed their ethnically mixed neighbourhood. This positive review of their neighbourhood diversity provided the participants with an ever-growing sense of "being British". However, this "quietness" also suggested less effectiveness in building a sense of "Britishness" under a cohesive community model. Having examined the data set, the possibility was explored of rethinking the construction of cross-cultural identity through ethnic/cultural capital and social mobility. By linking China's current economic cooperation with the UK, it can be suggested that there is

the potential for second-generation Hong Kong immigrants to be re-united

with their Chinese-selves at an ideological level in the future.

Chapter 9 Contributions, Limitations and Recommendations

First, the findings across the research will be summarised and then the contributions and limitations will be identified and discussed. This research was carried out for three purposes: to gain knowledge about second-generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants' socio-cultural identities; to further understand the relationship between gender and class in second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' construction of their identities; and to investigate how a socially-cohesive British society has shaped second-generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants' self-identification in a multicultural sphere.

In the first analytical chapter - **Chapter 6: Accent, Self-Conflict and Historical Reflection** - the socio-cultural representations of the data were systematically organised into three themes: local British accent and identity development; Cantonese accent and identity development; and negotiation of BBC identities. Drawing on phrases such as "British", "British-Chinese" and "Hong Konger", it was demonstrated that language/accent was interpreted as a cultural symbol by the research group in order to distinguish themselves from other ethnic Chinese descendants in Britain. The effort to document the research group's current situation has potentially filled a gap in the literature to a certain degree, given that the ethnic Chinese population has been underrepresented or misrepresented in previous cultural studies. In relation to other research on immigrant identity, this empirical research has provided a comprehensive account of a range of different constructions of second-generation Chinese Hong Kong immigrants' self-identities, and an examination of the implications of this.

Moreover, it has targeted a specific population that has been settled in the UK for a relatively long period of time but has been neglected, or even excluded, from cultural identity research during this time. The most important finding in this analytical chapter was the employment of a historical perspective to examine the Hong Kong immigrants' talk data, which illustrated the colonial history under British governance as an influence on their unique Hong Kong identity, as well as explaining Hong Kong's autonomous status after its return to the Chinese government as an influence on their Chinese national identity. By doing so, a rationale was provided for why Hong Kong immigrants in the UK have an affiliation with both British and Chinese cultures. More importantly, having stressed the historical affiliations with both cultures, it was argued that Hong Kong immigrants in the UK have their unique socio-cultural identity distinct from both British and Chinese peers in their local societies.

The focus on the choice and use of languages, English and Cantonese, in public and private spheres could inspire later researchers to discuss how lingual preference reveal and construct cross-cultural identities. Although lingual adaptability has been widely assessed in relation to identity development, accent and dialect have been mentioned and tested less. In the meantime, chapter 6 also indicated a gender difference in terms of identity negotiation, which challenges previous academic conclusions. The female participants' initiative in becoming culturally assimilated was highlighted compared to their male counterparts. This finding could be developed into hypotheses for a series of future studies, e.g. gender studies, feminist research, identity development, etc. The study of gender, as one of the

designated variations to explore in this project, frequently led to original results.

In the second analytical chapter - **Chapter 7: Family Setting, Class and Gender** - the exploration was continued of second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' cross-cultural identities based on their family settings. It was demonstrated how traditional Chinese Confucian culture impacted on Hong Kong immigrants' Chinese-self to grow in a familial sphere. From an eco-political perspective, it was argued that insufficient finances had potentially impacted some of the participants' identity construction. However, the situation varied in relation to other factors, such as gender and class. Etc.

Following on from the gender differences outlined in chapter 6, female participants frequently demonstrated their integration as being more efficient into mainstream society, while male participants generally admitted that there was a slow procedure for them to associate with their British peers. The contrast across male and female samples brought out a slightly uneven identity development between genders, which continually challenged the existing literature. However, given the scale of this research was relatively small, and participants were found through snowball sampling, random scatter could have occurred; given this, life situations would have been fairly similar among the groups, which might have caused similar patterns of identity development. In this case, a large-scale study of gender identity amongst Chinese women and men in the UK would be useful to enrich the literature and sample pool. Despite the scale, in this project female participants from different social backgrounds indicated a similar pattern of stronger self-

recognition and social adaptability than males. It is worth considering whether this was a particular finding from multicultural Sheffield, or whether it could be applied to less culturally diverse cities and towns. In light of this, a combined quantitative and qualitative research method seems preferable in this regard to provide later researchers with much more solid academic evidence as a quantitative method could potentially generate more objective data due to less researcher control in the analytical process.

Looking beyond gender difference in the construction of identity, social class played another crucial role in the participants' self-identification. The influence of social class, in this project, followed Bourdieu's class theory, but it was also characterised in its own contemporary manner. In this vein, class difference and identity development were related to my participants' different educational paths. The influence of elite British schooling was emphasised in the way that it had boosted some of the participants' British self-identification. Based on the findings in this regard, an eco-political route was found to discuss Chinese immigrants' identity development, which had been little mentioned in previous research. Social class variation indicated huge differences in cultural output amongst the research population, which had been previously blurred with different generations, social backgrounds in recent Chinese immigration studies. Given this, the significant differences found across the data in this project suggest that cultural study researchers should be considered in terms of how effectively identity, especially national identity, can vary in different social classes amongst Chinese immigrants.

In the final analytic chapter - **Chapter 8: Community Cohesion, Neighbourhood Diversity, Ethnic Capital and Self-Identification -** the central concern of to what extent multicultural Britain had shaped the research populations' identities was explored. In the London Road community, the conceptual term "community cohesion" was discussed. The research group as British citizens with minority backgrounds provided their opinions on their local community. For them, a harmonious community goal had been achieved but the failure to generate a united sense of "Britishness" had slowly caused them to separate into a cultural/ethnic enclave. Looking at this cultural enclave/boundary solely in terms of harmony, it had eased tension between minority and majority groups and contributed to community diversity in Sheffield. However, it also indicated that social integration had only occurred to a limited extent. The saturation of certain ethnicities in their own cultural enclaves suggested a possible inefficiency of social policies aimed at cohesion in Britain.

Nevertheless, this finding had its own limitations. The research area, London Road, is a small community of catering businesses with a mix of low-income indigenous British households. Although class variation has been considered in relation to the research group, the local British neighbourhood was not separated into different classes. It would be worth considering whether cultural enclaves exist in much wealthier British communities, or whether they exist in a less diverse neighbourhoods? In light of this, class and social background differences amongst the indigenous neighbourhood in the local area should not be ignored and could influence the validity of the findings as well. Further investigations in this regard are recommended and ideally should

be analysed in a dual dimension. Social stratification in host societies should be considered when second-generation immigrants' identity development is viewed from a class perspective, in order to achieve a more comprehensive picture of the host society's reality.

The final implication is based on ethnic capital and identity development. The influence of ethnic capital, hugely embodied in Confucian culture, suggested that the participants' career choices might not necessarily be due to ethnic disadvantage but a reflection of their Chinese culture. The emphasis on self-sufficiency had led my participants to choose an economic route rather than political achievement towards integration into mainstream society ra. This finding could be used as a hypothesis to be tested in many other social science topics, e.g. immigrant career choice, ethnic capital and institutional management, cultural identity and institutional influence, etc.

To summarise the whole thesis, the review of the literature led to a general picture of the research population; the chosen methodology served the purpose of the research; the analysis and the conclusions answered the research questions and potentially filled a gap in the literature to a certain extent. Reflection has taken place on several limitations, which has suggested future implications for further research.

Appendix 1: Focus Group Schedule

Note: Questions to read out are in bold. Prompts are also provided, to be read out if and when needed (for example, if people do not understand a question, or to help encourage further discussion).

Discussion 1: Every day Activities and Life Experiences

A major area of interest to this study is to investigate my participants' life experiences in the London road area, in order to analyse their cross-cultural identities in the UK. Given this, the first discussion was related to below topics.

Q1: **What does London Road meant to you?**

Prompt: What attracts you most here?

Do you still have close friends/ family here?

Where do you visit most?

Q2: How would you describe the London Road in Sheffield?

Prompt: Having a think in terms of habitat, diversity, communication

entertainment, networking… And why are those important to you?

Do you only communicate in Cantonese here?

What are the differences between Cantonese and Mainlander?

Q3: How is/ was it like growing up or living here? Any interesting stories?

Prompt: how about the people you know, the friends you made?

Any stories?

In school or normal social?

Q4: Thinking about the cultural differences, what experiences/ life stories do you want share with me?

Prompt: Could you be more specific?

Any examples?

Discussion 2: Evaluate your life experience and your community

The other research interest is related to how British society affect/shape second-generation Hong Kong immigrants' identities. Based on this, questions below were discussed.

Q5: Could you share your College/University experiences with me?

Prompts: What subjects did you studied?

Why did you pick those subjects? Any influence?

Did you enjoy it?

If you were to choose again, would you have picked again and why?

Q6: Followed by the last question, do you think your education/career affect anything in your life so far?

Prompts: How does xxx affecting you particularly/ specifically?

Do you know why?

Do you have any stories want to share from your career path?

Q7: Could you share some experiences with me in your local area?

Prompt: Could you give me some examples when you were interacting with your neighbours?

How would you describe the social experiences?

What do you do there? (As in Local churches, clubs, etc.)

Q8: How do you feel your integration into the local community?

Prompts: Have you ever heard about "Britishness"?

What does 'Britishness' mean to you?

Can you tell a bit more about your understanding of "cohesion"? - after a demonstration of the term itself

Appendix 2: Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

<u>**Part 1: Ice-Breaker**</u>

Question 1: What does London Road meant to you?

Question 2: How do you feel about London Road? Do you have any friends, relatives here?

Probe: Let the interviewees tell me what they think about London road as a customer, a business owner, a resident or just a visitor, also as a Cantonese, Chinese or British.

<u>**Part 2: Personal Experiences and Family Relationships**</u>

Question 1: Could you tell me about your experiences from your childhood?

Probe: Ask them to reflect their experiences on their unique background in the local area (i.e. did it affect themselves, family member, friend, etc)

Prompt: How did you find your experiences affect your life now?

Question 2: Could you share your experiences in your college/University years with me?

Probe: Educational differences, Class difference and Group identity.

Prompts: Do you think your educational experiences has shaped your personality, etc?

 Any stories to share?

Question 3: How did things turn out after your graduation then?

Probe: Ask them the related experiences in career choice, employment, ideal job, etc.

Prompts: How do you feel with your job then?

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Do you feel anything related to your race in working environment worth mentioning?

<u>**Part 3: Evaluation of local community and national identity**</u>

Question 1: Could you share some experience with me in your local area?

Probe: Sense of community, neighbourhood relationship, networking **Prompts**: Could you be more specific about your social, interaction with your neighbours in the local area?

What kind of activities do you do at your spare time in your local area?

Question 2: How do you think about yourself as a member of your local area?

Probe: Take them through the definition of "Britishness", "Community cohesion", and investigate the topics at a national level.

Prompts: Can you give some examples?

How does "being a member" or "British" mean to you then?

Question 3: How do you feel your integration into the local area?

Probe: Take them to further illustrate their social interaction and integration with other local people, or any potential segregation, discrimination, etc,

Prompts: Could you be more specific on XXX?

So, what does "an integrated society" mean to you? -after explained several terms, e.g., Cohesion, Britishness, etc.

<u>Finalising Phrase:</u>

Thank you for your time. Do you have any questions that you would like to ask me?

Do you have anything else you want to share with me?

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