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A Sociological Analysis of Social Exclusion- The Case of New Immigrants in Hong Kong

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Certificate of Originality

I declare that this thesis represents my own work that has not been previously submitted to this or other institutions in application for admission to a degree, diploma or other qualification.

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Abstract of thesis titled 'A Sociological Analysis of Social Exclusion-The Case of New Immigrants in Hong Kong' submitted by Chan Mei-ha for the degree of Master of Philosophy at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University in October 2003.

This study is an attempt to understand how new immigrants from the mainland China deal with a new social environment. We are mainly concerned with the extent to which new immigrants experience social exclusion. The role of social service providers and the family are highlighted.

One of the special features of this study is the employment of the extended case method suggested by Michael Buroway. This method which in fact is a methodology provides a guideline for the selection of theoretical framework and the objectives of this research. Regarding the choice of theories, our aim is to re-build, and refine, a theory of interest. We select the process model as a point of departure of this study. As for the objective, we aim at the construction of a theory for the study of the adjustment experience of new immigrants.

The objective has been realized through three parts of tasks. The first part is the general depiction of the history of the inflow of immigrants from the mainland to Hong Kong and found that many new immigrants were socially excluded, measured in terms of the degree of participation in consumption, production, political engagement and social interaction. We also found an increase in government intervention in response to the needs of new immigrants.

We then go further to explore the implications of increasing provision of social services to newcomers in the second part and, finally, found that this intervention resulted in exclusive and negative responses to new immigrants. Different from the arguments suggested by the process model, social service is a double-edged sword, bringing forth both positive and negative effects on new immigrants. We also refute a linear model of social integration on the basis of our findings that adjustment is not a straightforward process.

The third part reveals the necessity of an analysis of family. While theorists of process model may ignore the role of family, we found that family positions influenced the pathway a person takes in the process of adjustment. Our findings also draw our attention on the need for an analysis of inter-generational communication.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This study explores the nature and processes of social exclusion in Hong Kong. Its aim is two-folds: the first is to understand how new immigrants from the Mainland China to Hong Kong adopt to the social lives of this modern city and the second is, to evaluate the usefulness of the concept of social exclusion for achieving the first aim. My concern with the new immigrants was aroused by the notorious immigration policy implemented by the government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) that tarnishes the new immigrants as a heavy and unwelcome burden on the social lives of indigenous Hong Kong people. Without in-depth exploration into the hardships and the misery many new immigrants have encountered, the press depicted new immigrants as 'greedy' and 'underserved lazy' people. It seemed to me that new immigrants have not only put up with unemployment and low-income jobs, but also social discrimination. Because of this personal impression, this study was initiated. However, the concepts like poverty and deprivation may not be sufficient for me to understand the extent to which new immigrants are short of material and immaterial resources. For this purpose, I turn to explore if social exclusion provides more insights.

To start with, there is a definition of social exclusion suggested by the Commission of the European Communities (hereafter EC) : ‘Social exclusion refers, in particular, to inability to enjoy social rights without help, suffering from low self-esteem, inadequacy in their capacity to meet their obligations, the risk of long-term relegation to ranks of those on social benefits, and stigmatization’ (Atkinson, 2000). This rising popularity of that notion, albeit contestable, is related to the needs arising from the establishment of the EC which is composed of various European countries. In the view of reaching for a high degree of solidarity, the EC needs a concept to guide policies for cementing its member states. Nevertheless, the author of this thesis has little interest to study the impacts of using this concept as a political rhetoric but concerned more on its applicability to the study of new immigrants into a specific country. The attraction of the concept of social exclusion lies on its coverage of a wide range of disadvantaged domains and feasibility to identify and summarize the multi-dimensional nature of the suffering of most disadvantaged individuals. As Berghman argued, ‘the concept of social exclusion has two distinct connotations: its comprehensiveness and its dynamic character. Together these connotations make it a difficult, but at the same time, a very useful concept’ (1995:16). As many studies have already shown that new immigrants are more likely to expose to a wide range of social

disadvantage, we turn to examine the usefulness of the concept of social exclusion for our understanding of new immigrants, especially, in the case of Hong Kong, those come from the Mainland China.[1]

1. Background

In our study, new immigrants coming from the Mainland to Hong Kong are chosen as our focus of study from which I attempt to illustrate the processes of social exclusion as a particular rather than a state form of social disadvantage. The idea of social exclusion as a process is based on a clarification of the conceptual properties in the next chapter in which two of the most important theoretical properties of social exclusion, namely its multi-dimensional and longitudinal nature would be highlighted. A hypothesis is also put forward that the particular form of social exclusion from which new immigrants are suffering from in Hong Kong is highly related to the social policies that aim to tackle social exclusion. While in some frameworks social exclusion is related to social and economic factors, such as an expansion of homelessness and urban ghettos, a rise in unemployment rate, the inaccessibly to job and security of employment, low incomes, emergence of the underclass and marginalization of the ethnic minorities, the relationship between

[1] See Barnes, Matt, 2005.

social exclusion and social policies is also examined in this study. We would focus on the mechanisms, or those social integration policies, by which new immigrants are protected from social exclusive positions, and exploring both its positive and negative effects on social integration. Simply say, our attention will be given to the examination and investigation of the feasibility of the existing social integration policies for immigrants in Hong Kong.

This attempt might be somewhat aggressive in the current situation of the academic field in Hong Kong about the life chances of those people at the disadvantaged social positions. Since the 1990s when poverty was a hot issue on the local political agenda, much academic effort has been made on the identification of those people who are living in a situation below a 'socially acceptable standard' – a polemical term many political parties tried very hard to reach for a definition about misery and human needs. The general approach to the issue of poverty was to identify and describe poverty as a matter of quantitatively measurable level of resources. This general understanding of the misery in modern societies seems to neglect what Walker and Walker have distinguished the idea of social exclusion and the simple notion of poverty: 'we have retained the distinction regarding *poverty* [original emphasis] as a lack of the material resources,

especially income, necessary to participate in British society and *social exclusion* [original emphasis] as a more comprehensive formulation which refers to the dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political or cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society. Social exclusion may, therefore, be seen as the denial (or non-realization) of the civil, political and social rights of citizenship' (1995:8). Certainly whereas poverty refers to the distributive issues, social exclusion is to people's opportunities for being involved in the social, political or cultural systems; and while poverty is a descriptive concept without having any hints about the dynamic of power between those 'have' and 'have-nots', social exclusion concerns the dynamic process of shutting out, a process pertinent to power dynamic.

As a matter of fact, the concept of social exclusion is seldom integrated in studies of poverty in Hong Kong. Chau's (1982) study of low-income households concerned the living standard of welfare recipients. Though it is a pioneer study about poverty, he succinctly focused on the identification of poverty. MacPherson (1994) used the concept of Minimum Acceptance Standard of Living to measure the affordability among low-income households, without delving into the social impacts of poverty. Similarly it is a study with the intention to convince policy

makers to scrutinize the existence of people living in a socially unacceptable situation. A study conducted by Lui and Wong (1995) had broader concerns. It aimed at finding out the standard of living and social positions of poor families and want further to point out the social consequences of poverty. They pointed out that poverty led to disempowerment. However, the study did not pay much attention to the causes and the mechanism of poverty.

All these studies contain a problem which has been pointed out in the related literature. The problem is about the over-emphasis on the importance of monetary resources for assessments of the households' living standard. An assumption shared by these studies is that monetary resource is the sole factor determining the living standard of the households in question, while the impacts of social discrimination are largely neglected. Low-income level is not the only factor putting the households at low living standard. Yip (1999) argued that problems arising from low living standard include negative attitude towards those 'poor' social members. Also, the labeling effect of social policy is also a common experience among low-income households. Under the unfavorable situation with hostile ethos, a group of people would be short of access to participate in the dominant social lives in Hong Kong. However, few studies of poverty in Hong

Kong pay attention to the complex web of factors which intensifies social exclusion.

This thesis starts with a clarification of the theoretical foundation of using the concept of social exclusion and goes on to identify possible conceptual tools for analyzing the living experiences of new immigrants in Hong Kong. It is also necessary to point out that this study shows a registration of our methodological consciousness. The way of using theoretical tools is methodologically influenced by Burawoy's (1991) Extended Case Method. The link between theory and methodological awareness will be elaborated in the next chapter. In the following sections, we explain why social exclusion should be regarded as a multi-dimensional process.

2. Social exclusion as a multi-dimensional process

The concept of social exclusion is now employed here to denote the changing nature of social disadvantage. Many studies on social exclusion focus on the expansion of the underclass and the intensification of poverty. In the field of poverty study, social disadvantage is usually associated with low income, unemployment and insecurity of job. All these issues are understood as problems of resource distribution; in other words, as distributive issues. Further

development in the study of poverty has cast light on processes of investment and disinvestments of local resources and facilities for reducing poverty. Nevertheless, recent studies on poverty indicate that the existing examination of poverty is not comprehensive enough to reflect the severity of social exclusion (Piachaud, 1987; Mack and Lansley, 1985; Berghman, 1995; Room, 1995, 1999, 2000).

Poverty is employed to measure the amount of resources available to a group of people, while social exclusion refers to the processes leading to social disadvantages. Madanipour (1998) defines social exclusion as 'a multi-dimensional process, in which various forms of exclusion are combined: participation in decision making and political process, access to employment and material resources, and the integration into common cultural processes' (1998:22). In the light of this definition, exclusion from the Labor market and other types of social participation are typical forms of social exclusion. The European Observatory on National Policies for Combating Social Exclusion defines social exclusion as the deprivation of 'the social rights of citizenship to a basic standard of living and to participation in the major social and occupational opportunities of the society' (Room, 1995:14). Gore (1995) provides a more full-fledged concept of social exclusion and terms it as 'incomplete citizenship,' referring to the

inequality and limited rights suffered by the disadvantaged despite their legitimate citizen standing.[2] Incomplete participation in social life is regarded as one form of social exclusion so that the access to social participation is one of the major factors in our consideration.

A distinction between poverty and social exclusion brings new light on our study of social policy. First of all, as Gore (1995) points out that 'as a description of a state of affairs, social exclusion goes beyond economic and social aspects of poverty to embrace political aspects such as political rights and citizenship which outline a relationship between the individual and the state'(1995:6). Secondly, the concept highlights the inter-relationships among poverty, employment and social integration. Thirdly, social exclusion can be understood as a normative concept, raising questions about social justice (Cousins, 1998). Nevertheless, I would suggest here that the usefulness of social exclusion as a multi-dimensional and dynamic process is that it reminds us of the possibility that any measures tackling one form of social exclusion would bring contradictory results on other forms of social dimensions. Generally speaking, measures of social intervention would fall

[2] Cousins C. (1998) 'Social Exclusion in Europe: Paradigms of Social Disadvantage in Germany, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom' in *Policy and Politics*, 26(2): 127-46.

into a paradoxical situation, and possibly resulting in rendering worse measure to those disadvantaged people.

3. Social service against social exclusion: a paradoxical measure

This study has an aim to identify and examine the paradoxical nature of the social policy against social exclusion. Theoretically, this paradox exists as Marshall has pointed out.

Such tension is identified by Marshall (1992), who argues that the fight for civil rights contradicts the claims for social rights. The paradox is worth being quoted at length:

> 'the modern conception of social rights is treated [by the White Paper on Personal Incomes – added by the author] a survival from the dark past. As we go on, the confusion thickens. "Each claim for an increase in wages or salaries must be considered on its national merits", that is, in terms of national policy. But this policy cannot be directly enforced by the exercise of the political rights of citizenship through government, because that would involve "an incursion by the Government into what has hitherto been regarded as a field of free contract between individuals and organizations", that is, an invasion of the civil rights of the citizen. Civil rights are therefore to assume political responsibility, and free contract is to act as the instrument of

> national policy. And there is yet another paradox. The incentive that operates in the free contract system of the open market is the incentive of personal gain. The incentive that corresponds to social rights is that of public duty?' (1992:43).

This idea is resonant with an interpretation suggested by Fraser (1997) about the tension arising from a dilemma between the claim for redistribution and that for recognition. She pointed out that 'the result [of asking for redistribution] is to mark the most disadvantaged class as inherently deficient and insatiable as always demanding for more and more. In time such as a class can even come to appear privileged, the recipient of special treatment and undeserved largesse. Thus, an approach aiming at redressing injustices of distribution can end up creating injustices of recognition.' (1997:25). Fraser suggested that such 'redistributive remedies' generally presuppose recognition. In reciprocal, recognition remedies sometimes presuppose redistribution. The upshot, from the idea proposed by Fraser is that the politics of recognition and the politics of redistribution often appear to be mutually contradictory in aims (1997:16). Therefore, the promotion of redistributive remedies results in antagonistic group differentiation.

In light of Marshall's and Fraser's argument, I would like to go further to argue that the emergence and intensification of social exclusion suffered by the

new immigrants are possible due to the implementation of social policy against social exclusion, but not to the failure in its implementation.

In our view, new immigrants of Hong Kong may encounter a dilemma between recognition and redistribution. However, we found little attempt to examine the provision of social services which aim at eliminating social exclusion.

In Hong Kong, new immigrants are granted citizenship and civil rights so as to share the privileges as with indigenous people. Immigrants enjoy freedom in the public domain, but share political responsibility. Certainly, this is a recognition measure. However, social policies targeting at social integration create a disparity between indigenous people and new immigrants. Special programs are organized solely for new immigrants on the assumption that the new immigrants are 'special' in one way or the other. New immigrants pay less for designated social programs and enjoy more chances of social participation. For example, outings and tutorials are organized for new immigrants, but not for indigenous people. Such exclusive benefits for the new immigrants possibly reinforce the new immigrant's status. From new immigrants' point of view, they may be reluctant to give up their new immigrant status since it brings them advantages. In other words, the social programs targeting at social integration

brings an opposite result, that is, the reconfirmation of the new immigrants' identity.

New immigrants are always classified as outsiders and excluded from the social mainstream. In this situation, new immigrants are eager to erase this status so as to avoid being stigmatized. They want to pick up a local identity as soon as possible. However, the new immigrant status can help them gain more benefits in social services. Therefore, new immigrants are in the midst of a struggle between preserving their new immigrant identity and acquiring a local identity. This tension influences their behaviors and keeps them in a socially exclusive position.

4. Objectives of this study

In order to reveal the nature and processes of social exclusion that the new immigrants of Hong Kong in this century experienced, a number of research objectives have to be established. These objectives of this study are:

i. to clarify the conceptual properties of social exclusion;

ii. to identify empirically in details the prevalence of social exclusion among new immigrants ;

iii. to examine the processes of social exclusion experienced by new immigrants in order to register the problematic situation faced by the immigrants and their deprivation, and to tease out the factors leading to such processes;

iv. to show how the method employed in this study, namely the Extended Case Method, is a useful means to generate a revised theoretical framework for understanding social exclusion.

5. Research method

We have pointed out that the Extended Case Method is selected as the guiding methodology of this study. As we shall elaborate on the methodology in the next chapter, we focus only on our method and the line of thought here. Extended Case Method has inspired us to find out a body of theories for further investigation. After a comprehensive revision on local literature, we find that only the Process Model is endorsed as an analytical framework or working guidance informing the provision of social services for new immigrants. As an analytic and pragmatic model for policy making and services delivering, the Process Model is representative enough to examine the feasibility of immigration policy in Hong Kong. The Process Model was introduced by the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui, a welfare organization as the analytical framework to facilitate the integration of new

immigrants into Hong Kong society. The Process Model contains the idea that new immigrants are located at the domain which has a different cultural entity from the indigenous Hong Kong people. The optimal goal of the model is to accomplish 'integration', in the sense that two cultural groups can interact with each other while maintaining their own cultural characteristics. In the Process Model, mutual understanding and acceptance between two cultural groups are emphasized. Social integration can be achieved through the intervention of government and provision of integration services to both parties. Being informed by the Extended Case Method, we employ Process Model as the departure to examine the feasibility of current integration model in Hong Kong.

The number of new immigrants receiving Comprehensive Social Security Assistance increased from 45,945 to 69,345 from the year 1999 to 2002. Indigenous people treat new immigrants as privileged and especially in the matter of discussing new immigrants are not qualified to receive social welfare. With reference to the existing policies for new immigrants, they have the right to receive social welfare just as what Hong Kong people do. We will not discuss the issue of equal rights here. The problem of social exclusion created is due to the extra benefit for new immigrants. Under the existing policies, for the sake of helping

new immigrants to have better adjustment in Hong Kong, many social services are tailor-made for new immigrants only. As a result, it arouses antagonistic group differentiation among indigenous people and new immigrants. An identity as a new immigrant helps gain benefits from society and thereby deters new immigrants from cultivating a local identity. Thus, we investigated a new immigrant group to identify some cases for intensive study.

As mentioned before, I take Extended Case Method as the guiding methodology to investigate the feasibility of Process Model. Therefore, the aim of this study is not looking for any expected outcome or doing any theoretical reaffirmation, but in contrast we want to find out some unexpected cases. The Extended Case Method provides a chance to mediate data and existing theories. Before starting our fieldwork, we have some assumptions and simultaneously those assumptions share the expected outcome of the Process Model and here they are:

1. New immigrants want to be Hongkonger.
2. New immigrants enjoy receiving social welfare and perceive it as their rights.
3. New immigrants treat Hong Kong as a paradise and it is a place for earning money.
4. Social welfare helps new immigrants much in the adjustment of new life in Hong Kong.

5. New immigrants are regarded as different cultural entity so they need to learn the lifestyle of Hong Kong people do.

6. New immigrants want to integrate into Hong Kong society and it is perceived as their will.

We carried these assumptions to do our interviews and hope that we can find out some unexpected cases. We firstly came to get in touch with new immigrant women in a new immigrant centre and invited them to have an interview.

All the interviewees were middle-aged women and they had lived in Hong Kong for less than seven years. New immigrants arriving less than seven years are classified as non-Hongkongers with reference to the current migration policy. The benchmark is formed to classify the rights of many of them received CSSA and all of them got the experiences of receiving social services whether organized by Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) or by the government. Social Services stated here include any programs which exclusively provide for new immigrants. In the first stage, we wanted to get in touch with the new immigrants and explore the severity of social exclusion faced by new immigrants. Our hypothesis was that migrating to Hong Kong was their optimal will and all of them urged to integrate to the mainstream society and wanted to become a Hongkonger. Therefore, we argued that new immigrants would be likely to give up their status as

new immigrants. However, according the present social policy targeted for integration, new immigrant had to admit their new immigrant status upon receiving social services. I was going to examine how the social services recipients employed this kind of tactics to maintain their 'privileged' position in both redistribution and recognition. Eventually, eight in-depth interviews were conducted in the period between January 2001 and August 2001. Among these eight interviews, two cases were selected for detailed study. Daily experiences of two interviewees were tracked down meticulously from September 2001 to February 2003. We also followed an interviewee and her family going back to their hometown in the Mainland China. Details of the interviewee's daily life, including the interior design of her house, the family's consumption pattern, attitude in and manners of communication, as well as interactions among family members were recorded. All dialogues were tape-recorded in the interviews.

The data was collected from social activities, meetings and dialogues in daily life, taped verbatim. Interviews were also conducted to explore the targeted interviewees' perception of their social status, their incentives to overcome social exclusion, and the evaluation of their counterpart's efforts in social integration. In order to obtain more information about intra-familial relationships, a focus group

interview attended by four young new immigrants was organized in September 2002. The purpose of this panel is to find out the youngsters' view on their parents, the level of satisfaction with their social status and family life, etc.

Other information was collected through library research and book reviews. This body of data provides the background for a general picture about the social status, demographic characteristics and personal experience of new immigrants. We also selected materials from books and magazines which depicted local Hongkongers' attitudes towards new immigrants. The information exhibits indirectly public ethos in Hong Kong. In addition, the research got access to a set of verbatim transcripts. The set is the result of a study on immigrants conducted by a group of scholars in Hong Kong. Permission was obtained for using this set of data which composed of twenty-eight interviews.

6. Value and significance of this project

The concept of social exclusion has been widely discussed in western countries, particularly in the European countries. The UK Labor Government set up the Interdepartmental Social Exclusion Unit to 1997 to combat social exclusion. This concept is not only relevant in academic studies but also applicable to policymaking and evaluation.

However, few have analyzed social exclusion with regard to immigration. By selecting new immigrants as the subject for examination, this research aims to expand the existing discourse for a more comprehensive and holistic picture for social exclusion in Hong Kong.

In Hong Kong, the issue of immigration is a popular subject for academic study. However, attention is usually put on adaptation, and youths or women are mostly chosen as the research target. This kind of research provides information on the lives of the new immigrants, but not a thorough understanding on the effects of social integration policies. Our study aims to serve this more profound purpose.

In the field of social work, social workers maintain that social integration policy gives a hand to the disadvantaged groups and assist them to voice out their needs. We have no doubts in the social commitment of these policies, but would like to point out the possibility that social policy may have adverse effect on social exclusion. The dilemma of distribution and recognition politics is a case in point. This study aims to find out the detrimental effects of this dilemma on social integration.

7. Structure of thesis

Chapter 2 is a literature review, including an elaboration of the Extended Case Method. In this chapter, we focus on the applicability of the prevailing theoretical frameworks, and go further to work out a way to examine social exclusion as a process.

Chapter 3 starts with an overview of the history of the inflow of immigrants from the Mainland to Hong Kong. The aims and contents of immigration policy and social policy are also presented. The information is important for the understanding of the social and political context in which the new immigrants strive to maintain their living. A section of the chapter focuses on society's attitudes towards new immigrants. As observed, discrimination, both implicit and explicit, brings forth the fact that social hardship has been a common experience for newcomers.

Chapter 4 draws on the findings from the intensive interviews and participant observation to show the problems of seeing social integration as a linear process. We argue that social exclusion is a process, almost never-ending, but the unfavorable situation can be ameliorated and the disadvantaged can gain certain advantages from social exclusion. We also argue that once a newcomer becomes

a social service recipient, his or her social life may be further jeopardized. To verify these arguments, the concepts of material culture, identity and identity formation are employed and enriched.

Chapter 5 discusses the difficulties in familial life among the excluded newcomers. We focus on inter-generational communication and interaction and investigate how the second generation of new immigrants reacts to their own experience.

Chapter 6 recapitulates arguments of this study and reiterates its significance. Difficulties of the project are also addressed in this chapter.

Chapter 2

Methodology and its Implications to Theoretical Construction

Introduction

Given theory is understood as a means for producing an interpretation of the real world, the judgment on the usefulness of a theory needs criteria to serve as the meta-theoretical foundation. I rely on Buroway's methodology of Extended Case Method as the philosophical base on which the acceptance, revision and ditch of theoretical tools is governed. Hence, it is necessary to present briefly in the following section the general ideas of the Extended Case Method suggested by Michael Buroway. After the first section, I would move on to discuss why Process Model of Social Integration is taken as the departure of this study. The third section is to reveal how the concept of social exclusion is integrated into the Process Model and then the fourth section is about the theoretical framework constructed for the purpose of studying new immigrants in Hong Kong.

1. Extended Case Method

Extended Case Method has its counterpart, namely Positivism. One of the basic tenets of the latter is that induction could bring us 'truth'. To Buroway (1991),

following Popper, induction is an unpromising means since we cannnot cover all possibilities about an item or a social fact. In other words, we are not able to verify any scientific all-statement through induction. Informed by Popper's falsificationistic idea of science, Buroway maintained that the task of science is to look for exceptional case to falsify the 'All-statement'. Extended Case Method targets at looking for the unexpected, that is, anomalies. Thus, at the departure of our research, we have a theory which we could find out anomalies to falsify, or at least to challenge. In the process of the research, anomalies are the target. The essential task is to show how the theory is challenged by anomalies found in the social situation concerned. Following this, researchers should find out the factors that could possibly account for the anomalies. In short, this methodology aims to 'produce' knowledge through the search for anomalies and uses an explanatory framework to account for factors leading to the anomalies.

A fundamental question faced by social scientists is a question of purpose: should work be done for a better understanding of society or for explanations? These two approaches, understanding or explaining, seem to have developed exclusively and are regarded as two different principles underlying any forms of understanding of society. Following Buroway's typology, these two lines of

thought could be roughly categorized as Logical Positivism and Extended Case Method. As shown in Figure 2.1, the two approaches differ in their conceptions of the relationship between the process of discovery and that of justification, the significance of generality, the origin of theories, the ways of justification, the methods for theoretical construction and the selective levels of analysis. Although a comparison of their views on these dimensions could not exhaust the differences between these two philosophies of science (or social science), this picture may offer a general sense of differences between them, and most importantly, exhibit the significance of the application of Extended Case Method. Both the Grounded Theory and the Extended Case Method are qualitative methods. The view of Grounded Theory is inserted into the discussion for better illustration of Extended Case Method by comparing their two different starting points. However, Grounded Theory is informed by Positivism and is somewhat different from Extended Case Method.

Regarding the process of discovery and that of justification, Logical Positivism suggests the importance of the process of justification. Social scientists are not required to theorize how a social phenomenon is discovered whether the discovery is an accident or a result of careful investigation. Most

tasks involve justification of ‘scientific’ statements. Glaser and Strauss(1967) advocate Grounded Theory. Unlike scholars adopting logical Positivism, Glaser and Strauss bring order to the process of discovery and suggest treating discoveries of theories as something starting from ground zero, from ‘no’ theory. Buroway agrees that it is not necessary to insulate the process of discovery from the process of justification. However, he refuses to start scientific tasks from the ground. To those using this method, it is not important whether the starting point is based on popular beliefs or existing theories. What is important, rather, is to ‘’highlight the particularity of our social situation we self-consciously and deliberately draw on the existing knowledge to constitute the situation as ‘abnormal’ or ‘anomalous’.’’ (Buroway, 1991:9)

The reason for searching for the abnormality and anomaly is related to views on the purpose of scientific work. Both Logical Positivism and Grounded Theory search for generality, meaning the inclusion of a handful of phenomena under one single covering law. However, the construction of a covering law undermines the effect of situational factors on a particular social phenomenon. Pursuing greater understanding of social world, Buroway prefers situational analysis, hoping to gather more information about external influences. Thus, this method leads us to

‘elaborate the effects of the “macro” on the “micro”. It requires that we specify some features *particular* of the social situation that requires explanation by referring to particular forces external to itself’ (ibid: 9; emphasis in original).

Concerning the origins of theories, those advocating Logical Positivism point to the process of justification, theories are products of successful experiments or researches. To the theorists of Grounded Theory, this is the same as saying that theories come from data or from field studies. To Buroway, the origin of theories is a failure that does not lead to rejection but to rebuilding a theory. A failure to confirm an existing theory is regarded as a chance to learn more from a social situation. As Buroway argues, ‘the shortcomings of the theory become grounds for a reconstruction that locates the social situation in its historically specific context of determinations’ (ibid: 9). Those using Extended Case Method do not seek to confirm the validity of a theory. The purpose of research is to‘rebuild’ or ‘reconstruct’ existing theories. Theoretical construction does not mean generating theoretical categories from data, but searching for anomaly, challenging existing theoretical ideas and proposing new ones for specific phenomena under study. Analysis is a continual process, mediating between data and existing theories. Addressing the particularity of social situations by drawing on external factors,

Extended Case Method involves two levels of analysis, one macro and the other micro. This is clearly different from the approach of Grounded Theory.

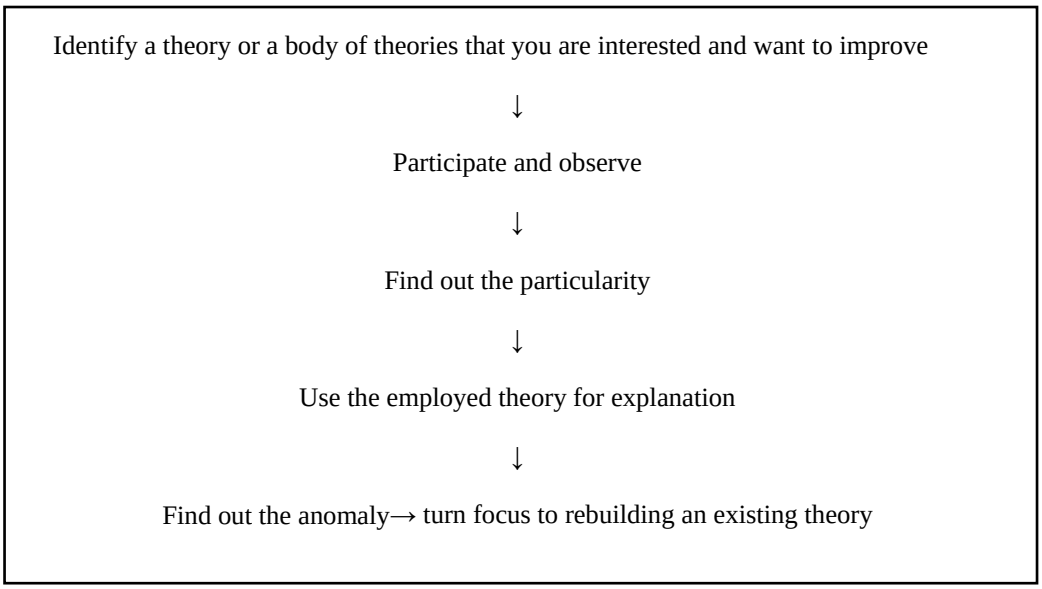
Figure 2.1: Differences between Logical Positivism (LP), Grounded Theory and Extended Case Method (ECM)

Dimension	Logical Positivism and Grounded Theory	Extended Case Method
a. separation of the process of discovery and that of justification	LP: focuses on the theory of justification GT: focuses on the theory of discovery and takes the theory of justification from the LP; the process starts from 'NO' theory	ECS: focuses on the theory of discovery and takes the theory of justification from the LP; the process starts from existing theories
b. significance of generality	LP and GT: look for laws and principles and cases are taken as samplers of some general law	ECS: social situation is viewed as an anomaly that could be the ground for a reconstruction of existing theories for locating the social situation in its historically specific context of determination
c. origin of theories	GT: emerges from fieldwork (data → theories)	ECS: emerges from theories (theories → anomaly → theories [reconstructed])
d. justification	GT: rejects theories	ECS: reconstructs theories
e. theoretical construction	GT: data → categories	ECS: theoretical ideas → anomaly → theoretical ideas specifically for the explication of the social phenomena under study
f. levels of analysis	GT: single (micro)	ECS: dual (macro and micro)

Having delineated the basic tenets of Extended Case Method, I would like to put it into practice. As shown in Figure 2.2, we began a study by figuring out as coherently as possible what we expect to find in our site *before* entry. When our expectation is violated, that means, when we discover something anticipated, we turn to existing academic theories for insights into the anomaly. Then, we take

counter instances for reconstructing rather than rejecting the theory. Buroway maintains that this helps improve theories by turning anomalies into *exemplars*. In order to account for the emergence of such exemplars, we turn to existing literature with the goal of improving existing theories. So we want to begin by experimenting with a number of different theories so as to highlight different aspects of social situation as anomalous. Over time, if we are successful in finding the anomie, we will home in one particular theory which calls for reconstruction. In short, trying to 'refute the refutation' is our way to make our theory stronger.

Figure 2.2: Steps for using Extended Case Method



3. Where and how does a study begin for social exclusion?

Informed by Extended Case Method, a researcher should find a theory of interest that could serve as the starting point. For our study of new immigrants in Hong Kong, we choose Process Model as the theory of interest (see Figure 2.3). Process Model was introduced by Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui, a welfare organization as an analytical framework to understand the integration process of new immigrants[3]. A study has been done to look for other related models but the result was disappointing since there was no systematic and clearly constructed theoretical framework for the study of new immigrants in Hong Kong with respect to the issue of social exclusion. The only schematic model is one suggested by the social service agency, known as Process Model, serving as the general working guideline in social work projects for social integration. However, as Buroway points out, starting with a good theory is not mandatory. What is needed is a theory for rebuilding. Hence, we select this model as the theoretical ground for our study. Before detailing this model in Chapter 4, the following is a brief introduction.

In this model, new immigrants need to go through four stages of integration: uprooting, adjustment, consolidation and integration. After going through these

[3] See the website: http://www.newarrivals.org.hk/books/book02/centre.htm

four stages, supported by responses from the indigenous people, the immigrants achieve social integration while maintaining their own culture (H.K.S.K.H. New Immigrant Integrated Service Centre, 1998). There are a number of assumptions included in Process Model. Firstly, newcomers from the Mainland are regarded as a separate cultural group, different from Hong Kong people. Secondly, dialects delineate cultural groups, and therefore non-Cantonese-speaking newcomers are seen as a separate cultural group. Thirdly, as Hong Kong had been administratively separated from the Mainland for a long time, Hong Kong has developed her own value systems and behavioral patterns which are different from the Mainland's. With these assumptions, the model positions new immigrants as a different cultural entity compared to the indigenous Hong Kong population.

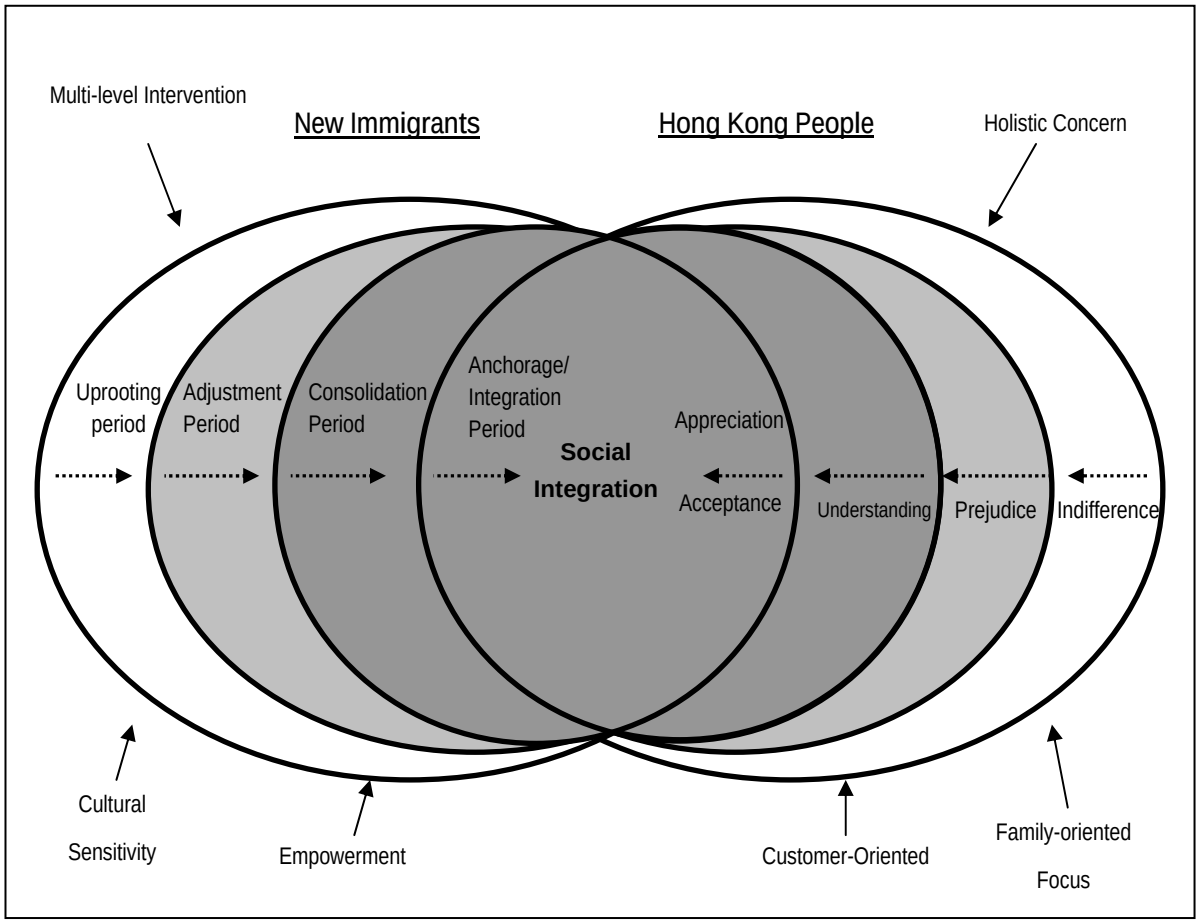
The aim of social service, according to this framework, is to accomplish 'integration', in the sense that two cultural groups, namely local people and new immigrants, could interact with each other while maintaining their own cultural characteristics. Both parties can maintain their respective cultural identity and cultural uniqueness, but such cultural autonomy does not inhibit communication between them. This is different from assimilation theory, under which the subaltern and vulnerable groups lose their own cultural uniqueness and are

absorbed into the mainstream – the situation of the ‘melting pot’. Integration is also different from separation, meaning a lack of interaction and communication between two cultural groups; and marginalization, meaning an additional loss of cultural features and uniqueness in the process of assimilating into the mainstream. Process Model emphasizes the mutual understanding and acceptance of two cultural groups. Social integration can be achieved through the intervention of government and provision of integration services to both parties. From the side of new immigrants, when they have passed through the four periods of integration namely, uprooting, adjustment, consolidation and integration, new immigrants can maintain their respective cultural identity and cultural uniqueness but simultaneously can integrate to the mainstream society. From the side of local people, the feelings of indifference and prejudice may be erased after passing through the different level of interventions. The optimal goal is to achieve social integration for both parties. Process Model would be further elaborated in Chapter 4, and here we focus on why this model is selected as the theory of interest.

The first reason, to the author of this thesis, is necessity and sufficiency. There is no other theoretical model or framework on social exclusion/inclusion of

new immigrants in Hong Kong. Although this model is not an explanatory model, and, to a large extent, is for giving guideline to social workers to work out their social inclusion programs, the general depiction about the four processes of integration seems to delineate a series of necessary stages for the new immigrants to pass through. In other words, this model contains an idea about how new immigrants could enjoy the fruits of social inclusion. Secondly, the model relies on a number of assumptions, such as the importance of communication, cultural differences between Mainlanders China and Hongkongers, the eradication of indifference and prejudice upon total social integration. All these assumptions will be evaluated in our study. In the next section, the attention would be put on integrating the concept of social exclusion into the model so as to find out if it is possible to work out a more integrated and theoretically sounded framework for our study.

Figure 2.3: Process Model for Integrating New Immigrants



3. Social exclusion and Process Model

Study of social disadvantages could be well informed by the concept of social exclusion. As Rodgers (1995) argues, 'social exclusion may describe a state, but its particular advantage, in comparison with most work on poverty, for instance, is that it focuses attention on process.'[4] The study of social exclusion is not only a

[4] A concern of the policy domain is the emergence of the underclass, and subsequently, an effective policy to fight against it. Room (1995) discusses the disparate origins of the terms poverty and social exclusion. 'The conception of "poverty", as used in most policy discourse, has its origins in a liberal vision prevalent in Britain in the late nineteenth century. Within this paradigm, society was

way to find out the state of deprivation among disadvantaged groups, but also and most importantly, insights into the mechanisms through which the groups are moved from vulnerability to dependence and marginality. We should be informed that this idea about the nature of social exclusion is not commonly accepted.[5] Furthermore, it implies a relational feature in deprivation and a break definitely with the econometric and individualistic parameters of traditional conceptions and

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viewed as a set of individuals engaged in economic competition, which resulted in some having incomes large in relation to their needs while others risked destitution. Policy aimed to ensure that those in the latter category, occupying the lowest position in the distribution of income to needs ratios, had the minimum resources necessary for survival. The term "social exclusion" has different, French, origins. It derives from the idea of society as a status hierarchy comprising people bound together by rights and obligations that reflect, and are defined with respect to, a shared moral order. Exclusion is the state of detachment from this moral order and can be brought about by many factors, including limited income.' (Walker, 1995:103) 'In the US, the New Right viewed the underclass as a result of a new and growing 'culture of dependency' which had eroded the individual's incentives to rational economic and social behavior. It was alleged that an 'overgenerous' welfare state had spawned the new underclass characterized by behavioral deficiencies' (Anderson, 1999:128). Recent studies on poverty found out that previous examination of poverty was not comprehensive enough to reflect the severity of social disadvantage. All along, the concepts of poverty and the underclass were used for analyzing social issues, but recently the notion of social exclusion seems to have taken over these concepts. We want to argue that, undoubtedly, the concept of social exclusion shares similar weaknesses with the concepts of poverty and the underclass. For instance, the 'over-identification' of some groups may engender a labeling, and stigmatizing effect. However, the diverse interpretations of social exclusion contribute to a more thorough and in-depth understanding of the whole society. The concepts of poverty and the underclass are employed for describing definite social positions or ways of life. However, we find that the above concepts are not good enough for the analysis of social cleavage, particularly in terms of ethnicity, race, gender and sexuality. The concept of social exclusion seems more suitable for the analysis of the socially disadvantaged. Kronauer points out one of the main characteristics of social exclusion. He states that, if properly used, it shifts the focus from living conditions to social relations, from people's characteristics to society. (Kronauer, 1998:53)

[5] The notion of social exclusion is particularly used in France, owing to the French Republican obsession with solidarity among individuals, groups and society at large. Lenoir used this term in 1970s to label a number of social categories, including the marginal, the homeless, the disabled and the social misfits, all unprotected by social insurance exclusively available for the 'employed population.' (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1999:1) In the 1980s, as a result of economic restructuring, the term was used to refer to a process of social disintegration, a split between individuals and society (Silver, 1995; Cousins, 1998; Jones and Smyth, 1999; Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1999). Later, the discourse extended rapidly to other European countries and began to gain eminence over continental European.

definitions of disadvantage.[6] Inserting a relational concept into the view of social exclusion would give us a more precise criterion to determine how the Process Model could be revised.

There have been thousands of versions of the notion of social exclusion for the analysis of the emergence of social disadvantaged groups.[7] In order to facilitate the discussion here, the typologies suggested by Silver (1995) and Levitas (1998) of the three dominant paradigms and three discourses on social exclusion respectively are taken as references for revision. Furthermore, in Hong Kong, the conception of social exclusion is relatively new when compared with the concepts

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[6] Littlewood and Herkommer (1999) clearly state that we are facing the challenge of changing patterns in employment and unemployment, modifications of welfare-state provision, regional and international demographic mobility, and eligibility for a variety of civil rights and duties (See Littlewood, P. & Herkommer, S. (1999), "Identifying Social Exclusion - Some Problems of Meaning, in Littlewood, P., Glorieux, I., Herkommer, S. & Jonsson, I. (eds.), *Social Exclusion in Europe - Problems and Paradigms*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.). After the Second World War, the rapid developments in economics, technology and politics have greatly improved the lives of many people, especially in western countries. Speedy economic developments, as well as establishments of political structures, shared political imagination, provision of welfare, all seem to be promising. Nevertheless, the situation has changed over the past few decades: as a result of economic restructuring, people have been suffering from the hardships of unemployment. High unemployment rates, underemployment and the increase of insecure or precarious jobs, all subject people to uncertainty. The introduction of innovative technology and information technology has taken away manual workers from the workforce the tertiary industry and the service sector has replaced the industrial sector. Innovation in computerization has diminished the need for manual workforce. Thus, many people are at risk of being laid-off, among them, the middle class. The increasing number of welfare recipients posed a threat to the traditional welfare ideology. Welfare provision is only available for 'the deserved,' such as the homeless and the disabled. Under such circumstance, 'the traditional forms of explanation, particularly those giving central place to social class, are no longer adequate, as is evident in feminist and post –modernist critiques. Thus some approaches are predicated on the axiom that as society has become more classless, the major social divide is one which demarcated the poor, the dispossessed, the marginalized, the excluded.' (Littlewood, 1999:3) The traditional class theory and theories of social stratification no longer suffice to explain the new situation.

of poverty and underclass and has just begun to appear in the local media, studies, or governmental documents. Sometimes, 'social integration' is regarded as one of the goals of social policy. But the extent to which the term carries the same meaning as it does in the European discourse should be clarified.

Having pointed out the importance of the concept of social exclusion, we move on to discuss its current usage by reviewing Three Paradigms suggested by Silver (1997), Three Discourse Analysis by Levitas(1996) and the new Durkheimian hegemony framework.

a. The Three Paradigms

Silver's typology of the paradigms of social integration is constructed on the basis of the different causes and dimensions with reference to different political

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[7] Notwithstanding the development of social exclusion research, the concept of social exclusion remains ambiguous. Because of its multiple meanings and complexities in origin, it is difficult to arrive to commonly agreed definition for the concept. It seems impossible to have a clear and precise definition. The contested meanings of social exclusion aroused queries on its appropriateness in the analysis of social policy. However, its popularity in different realms tells us that we can neither just put it aside nor use it without careful consideration. On the other hand, because of its flexibility in meaning and usage, the concept of social exclusion facilitates more discussions on and explorations of related topics, such as its relationship with the welfare regime, citizenship and identity formation. The diversified nature of social exclusion provides a horizon for the evaluation and reflection on the existing political agenda. Room (1999) suggests 'a further agenda of questions for empirical research, focusing not on the conceptualization and technical measurement of poverty and social exclusion, but upon the broader political economy of the societies of which they are features, and addressing the most fundamental choices in social policy' (1999:172). Walker (1995) also points out that 'poverty and social exclusion mean different things to different people.' (1995:102) Therefore, applications of the notion of social exclusion reflect hidden political ideologies or philosophy.

ideologies endorsed by the welfare states. These three paradigms provide the means of analysis for social integration and social exclusion. Silver argues that these three paradigms function as national discourses in shaping social policy and integration strategies for the socially excluded. The extent to which these paradigms are applicable is associated with various resulting forms and the nature of social exclusion appearing in different countries. The paradigms are, namely, solidarity, monopoly and specialization paradigms.

i. Solidarity Paradigm

In this paradigm, social integration is achieved through national consensus which ties individuals to society at large. The linkages are composed of vertically mediating integration institutions. Overarching moral and cultural ethics serve as the governing principles for the establishment of social order. Exclusion occurs when the social bond between individuals and society, known as social solidarity, breaks down. The study of social exclusion informed by this paradigm focuses on 'attention on the exclusion inherent in the solidarity of nation, race, ethnicity, locality, and other cultural or primordial ties that delimit boundaries between groups' (Silver, 1995:67). The imposition of republican citizenship can enable an inclusion of the excluded. Silver has pointed out the major tenet of this model:

'the solidarity approach lays heavy emphasis on the ways in which cultural or moral boundaries between groups socially construct dualistic categories for ordering the world. Exclusion, like deviance or anomie, both threatens and reinforces social cohesion. The inverse of exclusion is thus "integration" and the process of attaining it, "insertion". In a Durkheimian sense, this implies assimilation to the dominant culture. But most recent usages are "post-modernist" in that they incorporate multi-cultural or cultural pluralist notions about the reconfiguration of the basis of solidarity as the dominant culture adjusts to minority culture' (1995:67).

ii. Monopoly Paradigm

In this paradigm, the concepts of coercion and domination are central to the understanding of integration. Delimited groups create bonds of common interest and enjoy monopoly over scarce resources. In other words, exclusion is a consequence of the formation of group monopoly. Individuals are 'integrated' in a set of hierarchical relations. Exclusion is combated through citizenship and the extension of equal membership and communal participation even for outsiders.

iii. Specialization Paradigm

This paradigm assumes that individuals differ, and there is a tendency of specialization in the market and among social groups. Informed by Liberalism, the states promoting this paradigm enshrines the idea that social order is established by the formation of networks of voluntary exchanges among autonomous individuals with their own interests and motives. Group boundaries impede individuals from participating in social exchanges, so exclusion is a form of discrimination. Group and market competitions and the liberal state's protection of individual rights counteract this form of exclusion.

The three paradigms of social integration provide a framework for the understanding and analysis of the role political ideology and welfare philosophy play in the creation of social exclusion. Also, the three paradigms reflect the assumptions of the relationship between the state and individuals.

b. The Three Discourses

Levitas (1998) tried to identify the correlation between changes in the discourse of social exclusion and political ideology. Levitas proposes that recently there have been three discourses of social exclusion in British social policy. They are: the

redistributionist discourse (RED), whose prime concern is poverty; the moral discourse (MUD), which centers on the moral and behavioral delinquency of the excluded; and the social integrationist discourse (SID), whose focus is on paid work. (Levitas, 1998:7) Levitas agrees that the three discourses are ideal types but their manifestation in dominant social policy indicates another political meaning. Eminent discourses play an influential role in policy making. According to Levitas's analysis, the three discourses address different kinds of deprivation suffered by the excluded. In the RED, the excluded have no money; in the SID, they have no work; in the MUD, they have no morals (Levitas, 1998:27). The work of social policy is to fill up the gap for different political purposes.

i. The Redistributionist Discourse

According to Levitas, the origin of the RED is based on the work done by Peter Townsend. In 1979, Townsend published a major study of poverty, arguing that the crucial issue was whether people had sufficient resources to participate in the customary life of society and to fulfill expectations for members. (Levitas, 1998:9) The lack in income and resources impedes participation in the mainstream society. Townsend's argument was that poverty resulted in exclusion from social

participation. The only solution in dealing with poverty is redistribution of resources. Benefits should be offered as right. Social exclusion occurred because of the antithesis of citizenship. (Levitas, 1998:9-14)

ii. The Moral Discourse

In the MUD, there is a shift in emphasis from the economic situation of poverty to the moral and cultural character of the poor. The delivery of welfare and benefits to the poor no longer functions as a way to combat poverty. On the contrary, it triggers the emergence of a 'dependency culture' among the poor. 'Economic dependence on welfare was construed as dependency, a pathological moral and psychological condition created by the benefit system itself and fostered by the libertarianism of the 1960s in which the state was seen as a universal provider, sapping personal initiative, independence and self-respect. Benefits were bad rather than good for their recipients.' (Levitas, 1998:15)

iii. The Social Integrationist Discourse

In the SID, 'exclusion is understood as the break down of the structural, cultural and moral ties which bind the individual to society.' (Levitas, 1998:21) This discourse is deeply influenced by the Durkheimian sociology and the growing

importance of the European Union. According to the Durkheimian thought, in modern societies, occupational specialization cannot break the social tie among individuals. Mutual dependency is present in many kinds of labor activities, and among individuals. The notion of social integration directs our focus to the social bonds between the state and individuals. Social exclusion is understood as the breakdown of social, cultural, and structural ties. Entering the labor market has become the main route to participation in society. In contrast, not having paid work represents a kind of exclusion and detachment from the mainstream society.

Subsequently, Levitas becomes critical of his typology of discourses and provides another analysis on the influences of the different discourses of social exclusion on policy making. She relates ideology to the study of discourses. The shift in the discourses of social exclusion represents the overwhelming ideology within the society and the ideology's influence policy-making. In the UK, the discourse of social exclusion is closely related to the capacity of people to enter the labor market and the case of New Ideal is a typical example. In order to relieve the socially excluded's dependency on social welfare; the workable population was channeled into the labor market. But this strategy has been criticized as one-way, that 'the integration into society is nothing but integration

into the market.' (Levitas, 1996:12) The overemphasis on paid employment as a key to integration disregards the contribution of unpaid work and put those who are unable to work (mostly the aged and the disabled) to a disadvantaged position. Levitas (1996) seriously comments that 'it is a discourse unable to address the question of unpaid work in society (work done by women), or of low-paid work, and completely erases the inequality between those owning the bulk of productive property and the working population; as well as obscuring the inequalities among workers'. In other words, the ability to earn money has become an indicator of one's value. Those outside the labor market are viewed as not part of society. Levitas (1996:18) criticizes this overwhelming discourse and argues that 'society is – and certainly should be – more than a market… it focuses attention on exclusion from Labor market positions, while ignoring other processes of, for example, racial exclusion, which operate in a broader arena'. Indeed, social exclusion implies that social integration is possible, and presumes that 'inclusion' is good. The dichotomous model of inclusion and exclusion obscures the inequality between the working and the property-owning classes.

A question that inevitably comes with the notion of social exclusion is: integration to what and to where? ''There is a real danger that uncritical

acceptance of the normative ideal of ‘inclusion’ as the supreme moral yardstick of social policy can encourage a somewhat totalitarian social strategy, making it impossible to call into the question the form of life to which ‘inclusion’ of sought and devaluing what political theorist would call the right of ‘exit’ from that form of life’’ (Peters, 1996:44). Integration is a kind of conformity. To a certain extent, integration means adherence to dominant values and norms in a homogenous society. Discussions on social integration usually undermine the importance of multiple group identities and differences.

In studying Touraine, Peters (1996) points out the dialectic relation of the notion of social exclusion, which is worth quoting at length,

> ‘the shift away from the relevance of class and inequality (conceptualization of social difference around the vertical or hierarchical axis of “up” versus “down”) towards a new model of inclusion versus exclusion (core verses periphery, or in Touraine’s beguilingly simplistic terms, “in” versus “out”)… … the exclusion of some is the direct corollary of the inclusion of others’. (1996: 36)

Instead of showing the theoretical shift for the disadvantaged with the simplistically up and down to in and out, Peters (1996) stresses the importance of power in the classification of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’. Peters (1996), aligned to

Robert Castel, further works towards the 'disaffiliation' thesis and states that it is necessary to break with the absolute opposition of 'in' and 'out' and try to understand how the former produces the latter. The notion of social exclusion is significant not because it offers a new way to address the hardships of the social disadvantaged, but it provides a framework to investigate the segregation of people.

c. Hong Kong: a version of the social integrationist discourse?

It is the high time to discuss the extent to which the Process Model is similar or consistent with the Three Paradigms and the Three Discourses. Among the Three Paradigms, Process Model contains the ideas that are somewhat similar to the solidarity approach: the inversion of exclusion is inclusion, assimilation into the dominant culture and the re-configuration of the basis of solidarity through the dominant culture adjusts to minority culture. Putting this in terms of the Process Model, it is new immigrants from the Mainland China being assimilated into the dominant culture, i.e. Hong Kong culture, which throughout the assimilation process re-configures the moral base of Hong Kong culture by the adjustment of the dominant culture to the new immigrants' culture. Looking at the three discourses, the Process Model echoes the major tenets of the SID.

It is clear that Process Model has a strong emphasis on cultural integration, a corollary of the adoption of Durkheimian approach in the understanding of social inclusion. However, the SID approach has pointed out the necessity of breaking down the forms of integration, such as cultural, social and economic ties. On the other hand, it is necessary to be cautious about the possibility of encountering negative consequences of integration. As it has been argued, given that participation in labour market represents a status of getting involved in society and in contrast, being unemployed is classified as outsiders, it would lead individual members to a social exclusionary position. The paradox is as follows: the overwhelming discourse on paid work makes the coming of middle-aged new immigrants together with their young children as a burden to the host society. On the other hand, the coming of new immigrants can also be perceived as competitors to the host labour market. If entering in the labour market is perceived as participation, helping new immigrants go into the labour market is one of the means for achieving social integration. The emphasis of paid work puts new immigrants into a dilemmatic condition. Entering the labour market is perceived as competitors and, on the other hand, not taking part in the labour market is named as burden to society and, as a result, new immigrants are still situated in an exclusive position. Social integration policy which gives a helping hand to the

new immigrants may intensify the situation. New immigrants may be treated as over-privileged and there is a possibility of reproducing social exclusion.

The main theme of Process Model is to help new immigrants to integrate into the host society by the means of helping them to have better adjustment. Integration sounds good in a sense that it promotes harmony. However, there are a number of shortcomings for us to understand the rise of social exclusion.

Firstly, the forms of social inclusion have not been worked out and therefore Process Model provides limited conceptual tools for us to examine the mechanisms by which social inclusion is achieved. Secondly, without giving any hints about the forms of social inclusion, the nature of the mechanisms for achieving social inclusion is beyond our concern. We want to argue that, social inclusion may lead to social exclusion due to its paradoxical nature. In Chapter One, we have pointed out the problem of the dualistic conception of 'in' and 'out', of 'inclusion' vs. 'exclusion', and of the anti-exclusion policy vs. exclusionary practice, for example, the contradiction between politics of recognition and of redistribution. Thirdly, given that assimilation is to a certain extent a form of conformity, power and domination exist. Even though Process Model stresses on the importance of mutual understanding of two different groups, in reality, new immigrants are still

situated in a less advantaged position because of the dominant position of the indigenous culture and practice in daily life. Consequently, new immigrants have to conform to the mainstream society. The concept of power must be taken into consideration. Fourthly, Process Model contains the idea that a harmonious and integrative society can be achieved through the joint effort of local people and new immigrants. Therefore, state intervention remains minimal. Hence, the role of the state in the area of helping the socially excluded will not be emphasized and the optimal goal is self-empowered and self-reliant. It, therefore, stresses on participation as the vital means and the ultimate goal for tackling social exclusion. Finally, in Process Model, new immigrants are treated as those leaving their hometowns for good. This might be true in the case of American immigrants who left their European countries and broke totally their social bonds with their kins in the last century. In the case of new immigrants from the Mainland China, it may not be true. Because of the short geographical distance between Hong Kong and the hometowns of the new immigrants, it is not necessary for new immigrants to break up their social bonding entirely with the people in their original provinces. The extent to which new immigrants maintain their social interactions with the people at their hometowns would be significant to our understanding of the social

lives of them in Hong Kong. In order to revise Process Model, I would insert other concepts into the model and this would be shown in the following section.

5. The trilateral relationship between social exclusion theories, Process Model and Extended Case Method

Upon prior discussions, we reach an argument that policies targeting for social integration may not help combat social exclusion and, in contrast, it may help reproduce social exclusion. We want to argue that social integration policy is another mechanism reproducing social exclusion. In this section, we try to integrate the concepts of social exclusion, Process Model and Extended Case Method as our guiding methodology into a coherent framework for the examination of new immigrants in Hong Kong. Informed by Extended Case Method, we take Process Model as the departure for the investigation of the lives of new immigrants. Extended Case Method reminds us of searching for anomaly instead of generalizing any laws or principles. Anomaly could be the ground for theory reconstruction. Therefore, the first question is where we look for anomaly. The first chosen area is about the role of external force implementing anti-exclusion policies. Before doing this, we should deal with another issue of conception of social exclusion. The following part is a discussion about this issue.

i. Social exclusion: a matter of degree or a matter of a state?

Both the colonial government and the HKSAR government have used the concept of social integration or social inclusion as a guiding principle for formulating social policy for new immigrants. However, without taking social exclusion as a form of political discourse, it is difficult to follow Levitas in his treatment of social exclusion as a summary and apply it to the Hong Kong Government's social policy. As we mentioned, social policies can be paradoxical as, while they combat social exclusion, they generate it in other domains. It prompts us to consider that the concept of social exclusion needs a measuring tool. Also, social exclusion is not a fixed entity with definite temporal and spatial frames. A person suffering from social exclusion in one domain may not be suffering in the other, and one suffering one moment may not be suffering at another moment. As 'social exclusion' is an equivocal term, one can objectively define it as 'socially excluded' but subjectively it has no sense at all. Considering all these, social exclusion is a process happening in different social domains. When we measure the degree of social exclusion experienced by a person at a point of time, it only reflects the state of affairs at that particular moment. In order to delve into this idea, Burchardt's framework of social exclusion is adopted for our study of new immigrants in Hong Kong.

The framework proposed by Burchardt *et al*. (2002) aims to analyze the degree of social exclusion faced by new immigrants. In this framework, there are two salient features, namely, relativity and dynamics. (Burchardt. *et al*, 2002; Room, 1995; Atkinson, 1998; Richardson and Le Grand, 2002) The first feature is *relativity* and it refers to the fact that people are excluded from a particular society in a particular place at a particular time: there is no 'absolute' social exclusion, whereby someone can be judged excluded solely by reference to his or her circumstances in isolation. The *dynamics* element arises because exclusion implies not only currently being without a job or income, but also with little prospects for the future.' (Richardson and Le Grand, 2002:498)

Relativity

Our argument on social exclusion is based on the following assumptions. First of all, there is no social exclusion if all of us are homogenous. Social exclusion comes from the existence of differences. As Burchardt. *et al* (2002) quotes from Weber on the concept of social closure, it is noted that social exclusion involves at least two parties. The reason for break-ups of social solidarity is the exclusory closure imposed by one group to the other for the sake of maintaining their own privileges. Therefore, there must be at least two parties. Most likely, these parties

are competitors for distribution or recognition. Secondly, it is assumed that all of us are eager to take part in 'normal' activities, which are supposedly clearly defined. A further assumption is that one group is more privileged and advantaged when there is a commonly pursued, standardized way of life. All groups or individuals are subject to the system of social exclusion and compared to different groups of people. Therefore, some individuals are excluded when compared to other groups at a certain point of time. It seems an endless process and exclusion is omnipresent. It can happen to everyone, yet none of us is absolutely excluded universally. Therefore, it is impossible to identify the utterly excluded. We can only say that somebody is excluded from one dimension in a certain temporal and spatial context, when compared to a relative group of people. It is dangerous to name a group of people as socially excluded and place them in a less disadvantaged position, since the labels do not necessary bring any advantage to them.

Dynamics

Reiterating the above argument, social exclusion is never an absolute state of affairs. It is only a matter of degree. Buurchardt *et al* (2002) clearly indicates the dynamical feature of social exclusion. Inclusion and exclusion are seen as temporal-specific thresholds, and participation in different dimensions is measured

by degree and duration. Hardship at a time causes unfortunate consequences in future. Social solidarity and social integration are undeniably significant, and apparently a sought-after optimal. Therefore, we feel insecure when seeing somebody is different from us. In order to maintain a harmonious atmosphere for the whole society, we dare not tolerate differences or deviant behaviors. When the problem of social exclusion intensifies, it affects the whole society. The exclusion of disadvantaged groups underlines a social risk.

Having addressed these two salient features, we move on to studying the degree of social exclusion with reference to the framework suggested by Burchardt *et al.*, who pay ample attention to participation in consumption, production, political engagement and social interaction. 'Consumption' refers to the ability to purchase goods and services. 'Production' refers to participation in economically and socially valuable activities. 'Political engagement' refers to involvement in local or national decision-making. 'Social interaction' is associated with integration with family, friends, and community.[8] Burchardt clearly states that each of these dimensions represents an autonomously important outcome. This is not to say that the outcomes are unrelated. Instead, participation in every dimension is

[8] Burchardt, T., Le Grand, J. and Piachud, D. (2002) 'Degree of exclusions: developing a dynamic and multidimensional measure', in J. Hills, J. Le Grand and D. Piachud (ed.), *Understanding Social Exclusion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. P.31

regarded as necessary for social inclusion. The lack of participation in any one dimension leads to social exclusion (2002:31). With reference to the analysis of Burchardt, we can see that new immigrants in Hong Kong seem to be socially excluded.

Besides selecting a model for rebuilding and deploying measuring tools, we need to work out concepts for explaining social exclusion. Since the selected social integration model is too brief and general, we need more theoretical concepts to help us find the causes of social exclusion. As mentioned, social policy is one of the possible causes. Actors – how they command resource to combat social exclusion, or choose to remain excluded – are also important. Acknowledging the critical roles of the actors, we highlight the importance of identity and the material base that reinforces an identity. Hence, insights from identity and material cultural studies are taken into our analysis of the situation of social exclusion of new immigrants in Hong Kong.

2. Identity and a materialistic base of representation

It seems unnecessary to reiterate the importance of identity today because none of us will deny its significance in our modern life. Identity establishes our belonging in social groups, as categorized by age, sex, gender, race and ethnicity. It seems

impossible for anyone to lose identity in this modern world. We use identity as a benchmark for who we are. Each of us possesses many identities simultaneously, whether it is acquired or given. Starting from the day when we were born, we were named, treated as a boy or a girl, black or white, Chinese or American, and nobody can break away from it. Identity seems to be essential and exclusionary. But now, the story is different. Bauman (1996) advocates a different concept for identity in the modern and postmodern epochs. He suggests that 'if the modern "problem of identity" was how to construct an identity and keep it solid and stable, the postmodern "problem of identity" is primarily how to avoid fixation and keep the options open. In the case of identity, as in other cases, the catch word of modernity is creation; the catchword of postmodernity is recycling' (1996:18). Some kinds of identities are essential and exist innately, for instance, sex and race. Others are constructed, such as status and gender. However, as our world is getting more and more complex, more and more identities have been constructed and a definite identity has become impossible as paradigms are shifting. Thus we do not attempt to define identity. We are rather interested in exploring how the concept of identity has been used and formulated in various contexts. Identity is no longer perceived as essential and exclusionary; instead, it is just a kind of social substance. (Bauman, 1996; Hall, 1996) Identity is not perceived as

unchangeable and solid. Its malleability and multiplicity point out the interplay between discourses and subjects.

Agency plays strategically in the performance process. The active role of agency cannot be neglected, but with regard to social policy, identity is rigidly defined. Why do we always search for a recognized identity? Because “one thinks of identity whenever one is not sure of where one belongs, ‘identity’ is a name given to the escape sought from that uncertainty’’ (Bauman, 1996). Identity provides a sense of security. Identity implies status and membership, which enable one to execute rights and receive more resources. Thus, identity is not merely an abstract concept. It also brings material benefits.

The constitution of identity is preconditioned by historical, social, political and cultural factors. Before building up an identity, people are subject to a given social context. For instance, when a child was born, his birthplace, race and parents are all given rather than chosen by it. We are not in favor of a deterministic approach to unravel the constraints in identity formation. We rather argue that even under certain constraints, people can still construct new identities or reframe given identities.

The construction of identity involves many factors. An inevitable process is identification. Hall (1996) describes identification in two different ways. He suggests 'in common sense language, identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation. In contrast with the "naturalism" of this definition, the discursive approach sees identification as a construction, a process never completed – always "in process"' (1996: 2). The discursive approach casts light to the power of discourse over the formation process. People can play actively in this process. Our ability to grasp this power is questionable. Indeed, at present our share in identity formation is largely constrained. The power of agency in identity constitution even has the power to resist.

As we learnt through our communication with the new immigrants, the second generation experiences tougher struggles for identity and is more eager to remake it. The second generation is defined as those arriving Hong Kong before age 15. Studies on second-generation migration frequent the academic world, especially in America and Europe. (Andall, 2002; Williams *etal*., 2002; Zhou, 1997; Perlmann and Waldinger, 1997) The problems faced by the second generation are more

challenging and problematical than those of the older generation. For instance, the second generation, while struggling for a recognized identity on the one hand, desires to preserve their original identity on the other. The choice of identity is determined by family influence, as children of the second generation are under pressure to preserve their original culture in order to avoid becoming 'cultural deserters.' This problem is more acute among the younger generation because they are positioned at the margin, apparently belonging to both Hong Kong and China, nonetheless, indeed, to neither. Suarez-Orozco (2001) shares a similar argument. She suggests that "immigrants are by definition of two cultures. Paradoxically, they can never truly belong either 'here' or 'there'" (2001: 92). Most of the second generation's parents are new immigrants, and they are more eager to preserve the traditional way of living, values, habits and custom. On the other hand, the popular culture of the mainstream – its language, fashion and eating habits – is attractive to the younger generation. They are willing to speak, perform and dress accordingly. Compared to their parents, the second generation has more chances to communicate and interact with the local peoplw, most notably through school-life. Unlike their parents, the second generation cannot isolate themselves in a self-formulating community. It is necessary for them to attend school and communicate with Hong Kong people.

Individuals are endowed with different identities since the day they were born. New immigrants, however, possess more identities than Hong Kong people. New immigrants are Chinese, Hong Kong people and new immigrants. The three identities bring about different consequences, particularly in generation differences. The new immigrants' parents favour their Chinese identity as most of them believe that their roots are still in China, to which they will return after retirement. They do not really reject the identity as Hongkongers, as it allows them to enjoy equal benefits as the local people do. However, most of them still think that they are not fully recognized as Hongkongers. The identity as Hongkongers only serves a pragmatic purpose. A further identity is that of new immigrants. Biases against new immigrants have aroused hostility and discrimination, but paradoxically this identity brings them advantages when social policy is concerned. The identity as new immigrants gives them access to social welfare specifically provided for new immigrants.

Now, we turn to the problems faced by the second generation. The experience of the second generation is totally different from their parents'. Their adhesion to their places of origin is not strong. Most of them consider themselves 'Chinese Hong Kong people.' This label underlines their marginal position.

Recently, China has been developing rapidly, especially economically. However, the second generation still considers China inferior when compared to Hong Kong. Most of them consider their China-birth a shame. They feel that they are different and are treated differently because they were born in China. Even though they came to Hong Kong at a very young age, they still feel that they are not 'real' Hong Kong people. They can do nothing to change the fact, and the only thing they can do is to make themselves look like Hong Kong people. Therefore, to become 'real' Hong Kong people is their goal. When compared to their parents, they are more eager to integrate to the mainstream society and to get rid of the new immigrant identity. They are ashamed of the new immigrant identity and try to conceal it. On the other hand, they do not totally conform to the mainstream society and do not completely agree with same values of Hong Kong people. We will illustrate this dilemma in constructing difference and sameness. The new immigrants, both parents and children, respond to this dilemma in their own ways. There is generation difference, and the family is full of contradictions and discontents.

For a more comprehensive analysis, consideration of the material base is necessary for understanding their feelings and way of thinking. Through analyzing the material culture, their struggle can be understood in more substantial

terms. Therefore, there is an introduction to the theory of material culture, with a particular emphasis on its linkage to identity formation and immigration.

We are used to studying what people say instead of what people do since we believe that materials collected in spoken and written forms are more articulate and convincing than nonverbal materials. It seems that the study in spoken and written forms is more interactive and communicative. Artifacts and objects are mute and it is assumed that they cannot speak by themselves. Over the past few decades, there have been some changes in the academic field and more attention was given to the study of material culture. (Hodder, 1994; Miller, 1994, 1998; Appadurai, 1986; Douglas and Isherwood, 1996) Hall (1980) and Burkitt (1999) stress on the importance of artifacts as an 'extension of body.' Artifacts work as extensions of bodily practices and the social contexts in which they function. They carry social meanings and are not only functional but also interpretative. (Burkitt 1999:36) Mauss's essay entitled 'The Gift' (1954) is one of the masterpieces demonstrating the significant relationship between things and people. Mauss points out that things are never separable from the people who exchange them: subjects are transformed into objects, things become part of people and

people behave as if they were things. The circularity of things from people to people indicates the materiality and meanings of things.

In his book *The Silent Language*, Hall (1980) points out the significant role of materials and language in the study of culture. In fact, all man-made objects can be treated as extensions of body parts and bodily practices. Material objects are embodiment of culture: time and space are measured with instruments; men and women dress differently; tools go with work; toys for fun; books for learning, and all at times, status. Material objects are closely related to language. Every material object has a name, and language and objects are often treated in the same way. It is impossible to think about culture without language and material objects. (Hall, 1980:57) Language plays a key role in the understanding of people's way of thinking and actions. At the same time, the role of material objects cannot be undermined. People are cultural products.

Returning to our context, new immigrants speak their native languages and preserve objects brought from hometown. Most new immigrants claim that people could easily recognize their identity as new comers merely by their appearance before they say a word. Many new immigrants keep using their native

languages, keep objects from home and still maintain their old way of living so as to keep their Chinese identity afresh.

Material objects support and reproduce types of transformative practices. People develop ‘techniques of the body’ through the appropriation of activity from artifacts. Certain forms of bodily carriage and movement, or ways of handling objects, are culturally specific.

Hodder (1994) believes that material culture is not simply a passive by-product of other areas of life. Material culture is active. This means that artifacts are produced to transform, materially, socially, and ideologically. The exchange of artifacts constructs social relationships. The style of a spear creates a common identity. A badge of authority registers authority. Material culture is *necessary for* most social constructs. Study of social interaction thus requires examination of such mute evidence. (Original emphasis, 1994: 395)

Appadurai (1986) suggests that the social life of things casts light to our understanding of social contexts. Things are used for defining oneself and, with their potential to do transformation, they are not simply physical objects as Douglas and Isherwood term the material objects as ‘carriers of meaning.’ (1996: 49) The

intimate relationship between objects and people is important for our examination of social relationships and phenomena. Douglas and Ishewood (1996) suggest that goods are like markers in the sense of classifying categories so that the interplay between objects and people let us know more about how people work in the active process of culture production.

Scholars studying material culture assure that material objects matter. (Miller, 1998) The criterion of 'mattering' primarily emerges from ethnographic enquiry. Generally speaking, it is a study of subject-object relations. In other words, each relation is specific and should not be reduced to any language systems or social relationships. One principle in the study of material culture is that ''A dimension already regarded as important such as class or gender could be shown to be reproduced in part through a host of material taxonomies as in clothing, building or systems for the classification of time, which may not at first have appeared to be based upon the same structural order but which through analysis were revealed to be part of what Bourdieu called the same 'habitus''' (Miller, 1998:10).

For systematic observation, we focus on four aspects -- housing, appearance, language and lifestyle -- of the social life of new immigrants as we try to find out the extent to which material elements reinforce or change a given identity. A

house could be treated as an extension of the body. It not only provides shelter for people, but also represents culture and identity. D'Alisera (2001) suggests that identity is inscribed onto a place through action as well as by decorative symbols. Interior decoration of a house represents as well as reinforces an inscribed identity.

a) Appearance

It is easy to spot out new immigrants because they share a typical appearance. Our identity is inscribed on our bodies. Our performances, body gestures, clothes and taste are all embodied by ourselves. Thus, like Hongkongers, new immigrants also think that they are different. New immigrant parents have conflicting feelings. They want to get rid of the negative image of the Mainland look, yet with hesitation as it is like a 'betrayal'. They do not dare to forget their Chinese identity and feel guilty for turning their back to their history. Therefore, they remain close to China. They follow social rites and insist that they have not changed even after migrating to Hong Kong. Every time they go back to their hometown, they will act as they did in the past and dare not show any difference. Thus, many of them still keep the traditions and custom after arrival and hope that their next generation will also follow the same practice. On the other hand, they are glad to resemble Hong Kong people. Struggling between the two mentalities,

new immigrants find themselves different from Hong Kong people. Leading a life of their own, they find it difficult to make friends with local people. They rather stay in the company of new immigrants, with whom they feel more secure and comfortable.

The second generation, however, has a different view. There is a great difference between them and their parents. The second generation is eager to get rid of the Mainland-look and integrate into the mainstream society. Many of them respond that if they look different from local youngsters, their identity as new immigrants will be exposed. In order to conceal their new immigrant identity, they wear similar clothes and make extra effort to dress like Hong Kong youth. The second generation does not feel obliged to maintain their original identity. For them, integration into the mainstream society is more important. Thus, discrimination and social exclusion are avoided if one has a 'proper' look and speak the 'right' language. It is not difficult to put on a Hong Kong guise, provided that one dresses fashionably and speaks fluent Cantonese. In this respect, the second generation is more keen on seeking sameness.

b) Language

''Children quickly acquire new language skills and often become reluctant to speak their original language in public. They desperately want to wear clothes that will

let them be ‘cool’ or, at the very least, they do not want to be looked on as ‘different’. Children of immigrants become acutely aware of nuances of behaviors that although ‘normal’ at home, will set them apart as ‘strange’ and ‘foreign’ in public’’ (Suarez-Orozco, 2001:88). The above argument aptly describes the case of the second generation of new immigrants in Hong Kong. The second generation speaks Cantonese in public and their native dialects at home. Practices from their place of origin are all done in private domains. In fact, the second generation speaks both Cantonese and own dialects well. When they communicate with other people, they speak Cantonese automatically. When they talk with their parents, they use Cantonese too. Learning Cantonese is necessary not only for communicating with other members of society, but also for concealing their new immigrant identity. Fluency in Cantonese is important, and even more so, the speaking style. For instances, mixing English words in Cantonese is considered colloquial. New immigrants, even those from Guangdong province, find it very difficult to speak Cantonese in Hong Kong style. Language segregates different ethnic groups and is a barrier for communication. In order to assimilate with local people, new immigrants make an effort for fluency. In this aspect, young new immigrants are better than their parents. No matter how hard the older generation tries to speak the colloquial language, their effort is always in

vain since their accents cannot be easily wiped away. The young, however, find it easier to acquire fluency. Suarez-Orozco (2001) puts it in this way: 'Immigrant parents walk a tightrope; they encourage their children to develop the competencies necessary to function in the new culture, all the while maintaining the traditions and language at home. Hence, children are encouraged to learn English, but at the same time may be asked to keep the new language and cultural ways out of the home.' (2001:89)

In Hong Kong, new immigrants are required to learn Cantonese. Therefore, children are encouraged to master both Cantonese and English. Learning languages is strenuous for young immigrants. They have to learn Cantonese and English at school, and speak Putonghua or their native dialects at home. Besides speaking new languages, young immigrants also have to read and write traditional Chinese characters, which are greatly different from simplified Chinese characters used in the Mainland. Parents are anxious about the children's Cantonese and English, and insist on keeping their native tongue up to standard. Many of them keep speaking their native tongue as a sign for remembrance of their place of origin. Indeed, the adhesion to roots is very strong among new immigrant parents.

c) Lifestyle

Undoubtedly, the lifestyle of China and that of Hong Kong are totally different. After their arrival in Hong Kong, new immigrants face the challenge of a new way of life. It is necessary for them to change their living practices and learn new things. Older new immigrants are more conservative and prefer their former lifestyle. In contrast, the second generation is more flexible and open to new things. Indeed, if the second generation keeps on living in the former way and resists adapting to the mainstream, they put themselves in an excluded position and it will be even more difficult for them to integrate into society. In order to acquire recognition from the public and their peers, younger immigrants seek for sameness with the locals and stress on the difference with those who newly arrived from the Mainland.

These three aspects are the foci of this study on identity formation among new immigrants from the Mainland.

Conclusion

The questions of becoming what and belonging to where are unavoidable for consideration of social exclusion. ‘There is a real danger that uncritical

acceptance of the normative ideal of ‘inclusion’ as the supreme moral yardstick of social policy can encourage a somewhat totalitarian social strategy, making it impossible to call into the question the form of life to which “inclusion” and devaluing what political theorists would call the right of ‘exit’ from that form of life’ (Peters, 1996). Integration is a kind of conformity. To a certain extent, integration means conformation to dominant values and norms in a homogenous society. The discussion of social integration usually neglects the importance of group identity and plurality.

In the following chapters, social exclusion is understood as limited participation in consumption, production, politics and communication. New immigrants’ participation in the above three areas will be analyzed for measuring the extent of social exclusion. We shall find out whether social exclusion, as what is stated in the integration model proposed by social service professionals, is a linear process. In order to achieve these tasks, we would focus on the salience of identity and material culture. It is necessary to emphasize that the investigation looks for anomaly and draws on insightful theories and concepts to explain the anomaly. The expected result is a refined theoretical framework for further study.

Chapter 3
Behind the Beautiful Picture of Social Integration

Introduction

As indicated in Process Model depicted in the previous chapter, social integration is achieved through a two-way process: the new members go through four processes and the local families' experiences indifference, prejudice, understanding and appreciation. In respect to the measures on local families, this model recommends the strategies of using holistic concern and intervention in terms of customer-oriented and family-focused. It appears that social integration will be accomplished partly through activities on the local families. In this chapter, I shall argue that most Hong Kong families have gone through the process from indifference to prejudice, and also attempt to find out the reasons why understanding and appreciation cannot be crystallized. In Process Model, external forces like social work intervention are needed. As a matter of fact, social policies have been implemented since the 1990s. I shall argue that the late arrival of social policies on fostering the ethos of acceptance and appreciation could be explained by making reference to the historical factors. The ineffectiveness of the social policies in this respect is understood as the lack of attention on changing the

judgment of local people on new immigrants. In the next section, in order to show the particular social and economic situations experienced by the immigrants, we first discuss the historical trend of the migration of people from the Mainland since the 1940s and go on exploring the ineffectiveness of social policies on educating local people to accept and appreciate new immigrants. The focus will be put on social responses to new immigrants in different periods, on the related policies and their impacts to see how and the extent to which social inclusion was promoted by the colonial government. Social policies will be analyzed also. We move on to investigating the extent of social exclusion in terms of the degree of participation of new immigrants which is measured within the domains of production, consumption, social interaction and political engagement. Finally, the chapter ends with an examination of the extent of social inclusion of new immigrants, and some suggestions will be made to revise Process Model.

1. Immigration history of Hong Kong

In Hong Kong, the word ‘integration’ is widely used in government documents, by the mass media and for policy making. Because of the historical differences between Hong Kong and China over the past few decades (Hong Kong as a colony ruled by the UK for one and a half centuries), there is a notable gap between

indigenous population and the new immigrants. Bilingual multiculturalism and recognition of difference seem to be a kind of rhetoric only. In reality, new immigrants learn Cantonese and English, and change their lifestyle which are not only a kind of survival strategy, but also conformity to the mainstream society. Thus, the discourses of integration or inclusion overlook the element of power. In order to create a more 'integrative' society, the HKSAR government offers different types of services for new immigrants, helping them integrate in society via many projects, which assume that integration can be achieved through promoting mutual understanding. However, the effectiveness of such endeavors is arguable.

Hong Kong has all along been called 'a paradise of refugees' or 'a society of immigrants.' Since the early 1950s, the issue of immigration has been ever prominent on the political agenda of Hong Kong. The government responded to the issue differently over different historical circumstances. With regard to varied causes for migration and a different composition (in terms of age and sex), there has been a change in social services for immigrants, both in its nature and orientation. In reality, there has been no coherent immigration policy and in general the Hong Kong Government has undertaken a passive role to the arrival of new immigrants. Policies targeting for new immigrants are piecemeal and

short-term and there is no holistic plan to handle new immigrant issue. Though the government shouts loudly to emphasize the importance of building an integrative and harmonious society and is proud of upholding a humanistic approach in handling new immigrant issue, the result is quite disappointing in some sense. Before doing any conclusion on this issue, we first take a look at the immigration history of Hong Kong. The following section is a brief review.

a. From 1945 to 1952

The first stage of huge inflow of immigrants of Hong Kong started in 1945 that was the year of the end of the Second World War. While a large amount of people had escaped from Hong Kong because of the occupation of Japanese military force, half a million people came back when the war ended. After the Japanese occupation of China, the civil war and the victory of the Communists resulted in an unstable social environment in the mainland, people found that Hong Kong could be a place where they could enjoy stability. Since then Hong Kong experienced an increasing size of population, from 600,000 in 1945 to 1,800,000 in 1947 (Lam and Liu, 1998). Although Hong Kong' s status as an *entrepot* was adversely affected after the United Nations had imposed an embargo on trade with Communist China, the colonial government found the moment an opportunity to

attract capital as well as human resources from the Mainland. This view was reinforced when many of the newcomers were capitalists with money, knowledge and management skills. After this influx, immigrants kept coming in pursuit of economic benefits and a stable life. The colonial government did nothing to stop the massive influx of immigrants to Hong Kong and assumed that economic prosperity could produce sufficient resource for the immigrants. Therefore, there was no restriction to impede the coming of the Mainland Chinese. Afterwards, an agreement had been reached between the Chinese government and the colonial government to maintain a free entry attitude and people of the two places could travel freely without any restrictions. In order to control the number of immigrants migrating to Hong Kong, a quota system was set up but the Chinese government reserved the right of approval. Nevertheless, this quota system only applied to 'entrants from Taiwan and other parts of China. Entrants from Guangdong were exempt' (Lam and Liu, 1998:8).

b. From 1960 to 1962

The number of immigrants decreased significantly from 62,000 in 1954 to 28,000 in 1959 under the implementation of quota system (Lam and Liu, 1998). In the period of 1959 to 1962, a large number of starving Mainlanders fled to Hong Kong,

legally or illegally, as the Chinese Communist Party's Great Leap Forward failed. The number of illegal immigrants was 142,000 from 1959 to 1962 (Lam and Liu, 1998). Due to humanistic reason, the colonial government was not authorized to impede the arrival of these illegal immigrants. However, it provided Hong Kong with a great amount of manpower badly needed by her up-coming manufacturing industry.

c. From the 1970s to the early 1980s

In the 1970s, Hong Kong enjoyed economic growth and the general living standard rose. Economic affluence became an attraction. Meanwhile, there was another influx of immigrants from the Mainland because of the unstable political atmosphere in China after the end of Cultural Revolution. Roughly speaking, almost 450 immigrants arrived in Hong Kong daily. In the period from the late 1970s to early 1980s, there were almost 400,000 legal and illegal immigrants arrived in Hong Kong. Most of them were young male (Chan, 1986). Although many of these newcomers were illegal immigrants, they were allowed to stay in Hong Kong if they could successfully reach the urban areas. This was termed the 'touch-base' policy. In the late 1970s, however, the massive influx of immigrants became a social problem. The sudden supply of manual labour marked down the

salary rate and pushed up the unemployment rate of local people. Also, the demand of welfare was increasing in the needs of housing, medical services and education. The government found it unbearable and decided to abolish the 'touch-base' policy.

The colonial government adopted a more restrictive immigration policy in reaction to severe social criticism. There was a strong and dominant view in the public domain against the original attitude of the colonial government towards the increasing number of immigrants that most of the immigrants were young adults and could make contribution to the labor market. Some critics asked the colonial government to scrutinize the situation that local resources were too scarce to satisfy the constant influx of outsiders. After the abolishment of 'touch-base' policy, an agreement was reached between the Chinese government and the colonial government that a quota for one-way permits set at 75 a day in 1983 and increased to 105 in 1993.

d. From 1995 to present

In the 1990s, an immigration policy agreed by the Chinese and Hong Kong governments was implemented. An one-way permit quota system was in effect, the number of quota started with 105 and increased to 150 in 1995. According to

this system, priority would be given to those applying for family reunion.[9] Thus the new immigrants were mainly women and children.[10] A typical new immigrant family was made up by a father, aged 50-60, employed in a low-skill and low-paid job, and a young wife and children.[11] Under such circumstances, there was a great demand for social security, education, health care and housing. Recently, a wide-reaching discussion on the increase in welfare expenditure for new immigrants has aroused attention from the public. Because of the recent unstable economic condition in Hong Kong, the unemployment rate remains high and many local people lose their jobs. The competition in job seeking becomes keen, especially between new immigrants and the indigenous population. New immigrants and local people are also rivals for social welfare. The local population will be discontented if the new immigrants receive an equal share of social welfare as theirs, and vice versa. Overemphasis on the importance of work

[9] see http://newarrivals.socialnet.org.hk
The one-way permit is divided into three categories which includes 60 quotas for children who have the Right of Abode, 30 quotas for those who have been separated from their spouse for a long period of time (over ten years separation) and 60 quotas for non-appointed quotas. But within the non-appointed quotas, 48 quotas are given to spouse for the comings with a child (aged below 14).

[10] see www.info.gov.hk/info/population/chi/images/annex3.pdf
According to the records of the Social Welfare Department, in December 2002, there were 69345 CSSA recipients who were new arrivals from the Mainland. It takes up 14.0% of the total no. of recipients. There was a increase of 2.9% compared with March 1999 (12%). From March 1999 to December 2002, the total no. of CSSA recipients had increase from 382454 to 466868 (it constituted 22% increase); in which, the no. of recipients who were new arrivals had increase from 45945 to 69345, that was 51% increase.

[11] see 《滅貧季刊》，1999 年 10 月，香港：香港社會保障學會，第 9 期。

as a means to combat social exclusion may worsen the relationship among the people as it instigates competition in the labor market.

From 1995 onwards, after negotiation between Hong Kong and the Chinese governments, the number of one-way permits for eligible Chinese citizens to migrating to Hong Kong has been increased to 150 a day. From 1995 to 2001, 533,552 new immigrants had arrived in Hong Kong and the annual number of new immigrants was about 50,000 in the period of 1995 to 2000. Most recently, there was a significant decrease, for instance, the numbers of arrivals were 3,8072 in 2004 (Home Affairs Department and Immigration Department, 2005). Consistent with the agreement signed before, the right of approval remains in the hand of the Chinese government. Priority is still given to those for family reunion, and most of the immigrants are women and children. With reference to the survey done by the Home Affairs Department, the number of 'one-way permit' holders aged 15 or below is 1,1320 and occupied 26.4% of the total of 3,8072. Different from the past, the Hong Kong government has employed a more active and developmental attitude to handle the new immigrant issue in this period.

2. Policies for new immigrants

a) Immigration policy

According to the Right of Abode Ordinance, there was a significant change in the quota system. The issuance of one-way permits increased from 105 to 150 per day. As family union is assigned as a top priority in the ordinance, 90 quotas are reserved for children who have the right of abode and for those who have been separated from their spouse over ten years. Another 48 quotas are reserved for the authorized spouses who would come with a child under the age of 14. The rest are reserved for children who have no guidance in China and for those who have parents in Hong Kong over the age of 65.

b) Housing

New immigrants who come to Hong Kong less than seven years have the right to apply for public housing. But, successful applications are only given to those who have more than half of the family members residing in Hong Kong over seven years. Same as the status of local people, new immigrants who have financial difficulties are eligible for the exemption of paying rental fee.

c) Employment

Two employment centers have been set up especially for handling the needs of new

immigrants. Some training programs are tailor-made for new immigrants under the Retraining Scheme.

d) Education

There is an arrangement of schoolings for children under the age of 15. The help of Education Department should be done within 21 days after their arrival. Also, for the benefit of achieving better adjustment in schools, new arrival children are offered a six-month pre-education program. New arrival children who are aged from 6 to 15 should attend a 60-hour adjustment tutorial class. All of these programs and classes are free of charge.

e) Social welfare

New immigrants' centres were set up within the first part of this decade. Special fundings have been given to the non-government organizations to organize programs and activities for new immigrants. New immigrants who have stayed in Hong Kong over one year are qualified to apply for CSSA. Exemptions are granted to those who have financial difficulties and have lived in Hong Kong for less than one year.

3. Social responses to new immigrants

In the late 1990s, newspapers and television programs were flooded with tragic stories of new immigrants. A general impression was that most of their problems arose from adaptation to the society. These problems were acknowledged by both the government and social service professionals. On top of this, in the 1990s, more welfare resources were invested for tackling this kind of difficulties. This policy was very different from which implemented in the earlier decades. In the period from the 1940s to the end of the 1970s that was characterized by an ethos of indifference and in the 1980s of prejudice, the colonial government did little to change local people's attitudes towards new immigrants. As there were few issues and disputes between the government and the grassroots, issues arising from new immigrants were not put on the political agenda. This situation changed in the 1990s, especially when Hong Kong people had built up a strong sense of indigenous identity as 'Hongkongers'. A strong sense of prejudice against new immigrants sensitized the colonial government to react and thus social services were offered with a view to the constitution of a better social integration.

In order to highlight the particular form of responses to issues about immigration in the 1990s, I have listed the types of social services for immigrants

and the responses of the government and local people towards new immigrants. Generally speaking, the absence of social services for this purpose owed to the ethos of indifference among Hong Kong people in the period between 1940s and 1970s. The colonial government had a lot to do for the local people in this period, and issues arising from new immigrants, were not the major concern on the political agenda. This situation changed in the 1980s when the public cried out for more social services to deal with new immigrants. However, the public concern was not to increase the degree of acceptance and appreciation of new immigrants, but out of prejudice, to protect the interests of them serves.

a. the period from 1945 to 1952

Under the refusal of the three treaties that ceded Hong Kong and leased the New Territories by the Chinese government, the colonial government had no right to restrict any movement of people from and to the Mainland China. After the negotiation between the Chinese and British governments, an agreement was reached, according to which the Chinese government would decide on the number of entrants to be allowed to enter Hong Kong, and the Hong Kong government must accept all immigrants who had exit permits issued by the Chinese government. The attitude towards immigrants of the colonial government was unclear in this

period. While new immigrants who brought with them capital, resources as well as management expertise that contributed to the economic development of Hong Kong and the massive inflow of young people supplied manpower for continual economic development, continuous inflow of people to Hong Kong would also generate problems in the areas of employment, housing, education and medical services. Given that the colonial government had minimal authority to restrict entry, no specific policy in immigration could be formulated accordingly. At this stage, people could travel freely between China and Hong Kong, so the line marking the difference between local people and new immigrants was blur.

b. the period from 1960 to 1962

New immigrants running away from starvation in the Mainland due to the failure of the Great Leap Forward were 'accepted' by the colonial government. As a matter of fact, as many as 142,000 refugees entered Hong Kong 'illegally' from 1959 to 1962. This was the first wave of illegal immigration from China into Hong as most of them came without any exit permits issued by the Chinese government. The reaction of the colonial government was intriguing as '[t]he Immigration Department of Hong Kong exercised discretion in allowing these illegal immigrants to register and stay in Hong Kong' (Lam and Liu, 1998:11). The

reason for using discretion was unclear. One possible answer was that the illegal immigrants were welcome for their timely provision of manpower that was badly needed by the growing domestic manufacturing industry.

c. the period from the 1970s to the early 1980s

By 1963, the economic situation in the Mainland China had been stabilized and both legal and illegal immigration slowed down. The scene with respect to migration in the period of the 1960s was characterized by a negative growth rate which has been summarized by Lam and Liu (1998), 'with the exception of 1967 and 1968, the balance of arrivals into and departures out of Hong Kong was negative. The flow of legal immigrants into Hong Kong was small during this period, especially after the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, when it became difficult to obtain exit permits to go to Hong Kong. The small flow of legal immigrants was more than offset by a wave of emigration from Hong Kong during the late 1960s' (Lam and Liu, 1998:11). The return of the positive growth rate of immigrants appeared in the 1970s. In 1974, the colonial government began a 'touch-base' policy that marked the end of allowing all immigrants from China to remain in Hong Kong. Illegal immigrants would be repatriated to China and only those who could evade capture and finally find accommodation were

allowed to stay. Before 1980, under the 'touch-base' policy, nearly seven thousand illegal immigrants came to Hong Kong each year (Lam and Liu, 1998). It had been argued that the touch-base policy was out of 'a fear that if the police continued to track them down and capture them after they had entered the urban areas, they would be forced to go underground. An illegal community would then form, which would resort to illegal means of making a living and which would be vulnerable to the exploitation of unscrupulous employers' (Lam and Liu, 1998:14). However, the wave of illegal immigrants aroused public attention as the public remained worried about a possible increase in crime rate, though the public was not really apprehensive towards the immigrants. In 1981, following the abolishment of the'touch-base' policy, the public's attitude changed. Although economic development appeared promising and the living standard continued to rise, the public feared that their endeavor would be shared by the illegal immigrants. In the early 1980s, 'Ah Tsan,' a colloquial expression for immigrants from China, was used after the name of a character in a well known T.V. drama. (Ma, 1996) The character was uncouth, rude, messy, lazy, incompetent, dependent and greedy. He was seen as an archetype of new immigrants, and became a notorious nickname. All new immigrants were under the shadow of Ah Tsan. This negative view of Ah

Tsan revealed a strong sense of apprehension towards new immigrants among Hong Kong people.

d. from 1995 to present

1995 was a benchmark year when the quota for one-way permits increased from 105 to 150 per day. After this change, about 54,750 new immigrants came to Hong Kong each year.[12] As most of them were women and children who are usually categorized as dependants, the government began to intervene more through social services in order to enhance their ability in adapting to the social environment.

It is necessary for us to examine the impacts of social services on the ethos of Hong Kong people. To a certain extent, the government's intervention helps new immigrants adapt to a new life, but it also instigates negative reactions from the public. In a magazine called *Yellow Bus* (Kwan, 1999)[13] a portrayal of how new immigrants get along with local children represents the public's point of view towards new immigrants.

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[12] See http://newarrivals.socialnet.org.hk

[13] A popular magazine especially for children, the discussion of new immigrant issue started by a letter from a reader who talked about the response of Hong Kong people to new immigrants and then it aroused the debate (Kwan, 1999).

Afterwards, a book called *My New Immigrant Classmates* published in 1999 (Kwan, 1999) reflected how Hong Kong-born children viewed new immigrants. Two children wrote:

> …the pace of teaching is being slowed down by them [immigrant children]. I wonder why they are appointed as 'monitors' or 'prefects'…they are not good at keeping order, always talkative, and they even 'big mouth'. Frankly, I don't think they are victimized. On the contrary, I think they are far better treated than we local pupils, especially after the handover. Before the handover I think we are better off. Now, it is all different. We are now worse off. Hong Kong people get married in China and have more and more children there. They are given the right of abode. They are allowed to live in Hong Kong, but are not obliged to make a living for their own (the government grants them CSSA), it is definitely unfair!..... by "Soyabean curd" and "Apple" (*Kwan, 1999:7)*

Soyabean curd and Apple wrote the first essay and provoked a series of discussion on new immigrants. The response from 'Siu Yuen Che' could represent the local children's view on local children. She wrote:

> There is an immigrant in my class, who is not that bad if compared to the one(s) described by the other readers. He is nice and helpful, and is also the chairman of our class. Although our classmates know that he is an immigrant, nobody discriminates against him and we respect

him a lot. It is because he has good academic results, and he is polite and clean. Therefore he is a highly respectable and admirable class leader.

Nevertheless, I do not support the admittance of immigrants. I share the view of 'Apple' and 'Soyabean curd'! Although we have one good immigrant in our class, frankly speaking, there are too many bad immigrants around. Please do not accuse me of being too extreme. They are really very bad indeed! For example, I meet a lot of them in my neighborhood (housing estate). They don't give a damn on hygiene. Besides littering and spitting, some even piss on the mat in a Chinese restaurant! Some Hong Kong people litter and spit in the streets too, I am sure no local people would piss on the mat in a Chinese restaurant. Moreover, they [immigrants] are impolite. They pay no attention to public virtues. They eat when the queue, and always put their feet on others' seats to stop people from sitting near them. They do not follow the rules and ride bicycles in the passages of public estates. When they hit on somebody, they laugh and do not apologize. Some even just run away.

The immigrants always think that they are more privileged as the government is on their side. They take advantage with the right of abode. They take advantage with CSSA. CSSA should be given primarily to our local people, not people who pay no taxes and never work. I am not discouraging you from helping the needy, but the immigrants are really bad as they do not try to work even when given

> offers. I know many immigrants who have big families, and this gives them an excuse to apply for a large amount of CSSA. I think they are only cheating, pretending that they are miserable. If they have no money, why do they insist on having so many children? As long as they know they cannot afford to bring up so many children, it is better not to have so many! They only want to depend on the Hong Kong government. I know many immigrants have big house in Mainland China. When they move to Hong Kong, the rent out the house but still they apply for CSSA. I meet many of them who are jobless, but keep on gambling. Do you agree that they are cheating and wasting Hong Kong's money? You have to 'learn the rules,' and think about your behavior. *(Kwan, 1999:22)*

From these essays, one gets the impression that local children dislike and discriminate against new immigrants. In other words, the problems for new immigrants are not only having the difficulties in adaptation, but also suffering from discrimination. Compared with the previous stages of migration, the response of local people in the 1990s towards new immigrants became more negative and hostile. It is valuable to explore the changes in the areas of government intervention and the social responses from the public and also the correlation between them. Furthermore, we notice that the increase in the provision of social services to new immigrants indeed intensifies the local people's

discontents with them. The next section will examine the extent to which the provision of social services intensifies discrimination against people from the Mainland.

3. The effects of social services provision on attitudes towards new immigrants

As a capitalist society, Hong Kong upholds a laissez-faire approach and the government practises a 'positive non-interventionist' approach. (Rabushka, quoted from Leung, 1996) The government treasures her positive non-interventionist role very much and accordingly only offers a minimal of economic support for economic development. Low tax rate is credited as the foundation of economic prosperity. The government has set a high priority to maintaining an optimal condition for capital accumulation, economic development and full employment, while issues of social rights and political rights are out of their concern. Throughout the history of colonial Hong Kong, the government had insisted that public intervention should be the last resort. In order to keep the public sector small, social policy followed the residual model. Titmuss (quoted by Spicker, 1995) suggests that social welfare in capitalist societies can be categorized into three types, namely: the residual model, the institutional-redistributive model and

the industrial-achievement/performance model. The governance of Hong Kong could be understood as which in line with the residual model, and welfare is seen as a safety net. The major principle of this model is that in normal circumstances, people should gain their economic resources from the labor market and should not be dependent on social welfare. In other words, people should live on their own or their family's resources (Ho, 2004; Mclaughlin, 1993). Only those who are unable, for whatever reason, to be involved in the market are eligible for social welfare. Such a welfare model is described as 'residual' because it welfare is only offered to left-outs of the market.

Although there is no official document indicating that the Hong Kong government is exercising a residual model for its social welfare policy, in the provision of social security there are a number of traces that show the persistence of the residual model. For instance, CSSA is characterized by many restrictions. Applicants claiming that they are unemployed must have a record in the Labor Department so as to show both their incentive and availability for work. Only after going through the process of job hunting and receiving help from the Labor Department, applicants are qualified to receive CSSA. This policy aims to ensure welfare is only given to those in need and idleness is not encouraged.

Although the provision of social services is sparing, many politicians and social critics still think that the provision of social welfare to new immigrants violates the non-interventionist principle. Since many social policies have not been reviewed and revised even after a drastic increase in the number of eligible recipients of public housing, free education and cheap medical services. As a result, many local people think that new immigrants enjoy 'free lunch.' The locals argue that since the immigrants have no contribution to society, they should not be entitled to the right to enjoy any welfare from the government. There has been an ethos that resembles what Leung depicts: 'It is a widely held view that in Hong Kong enterprise and hard work are the key to success, and that the poor are those deficient in such values. Assistance should therefore be minimal and provided with the objective of developing the ethic of self-reliance and commitment to work. Implicit in this view is the belief that if the community generously subsidizes its less able members, this all important economic ethic will be weakened. The deprivation of the few should not be allowed to interfere with the prosperity of the majority' (1996:6).

This description of the social ethos of Hong Kong people gives us more hints about why most Hong Kong people in these two decades are dissatisfied with new

immigrants. Indigenous Hong Kong people hold the view that one must keep an arm's length with social welfare, be self-reliant and committed to work. Only those really in need of public assistance are eligible for welfare. When new immigrants are portrayed as less self-sufficient and more likely to be dependent on public provision of welfare, public discontents with new immigrants are intensified when the local economy encounters a hard time. Like new immigrants, local people also suffer from hardships amidst the economic regression. A high unemployment rate indicates an unfavorable economic condition for local people. Most people are very pessimistic about the future. The coming of new immigrants is perceived as a burden to the whole society. In view of this unfavorable social and economic situation, how do new immigrants deal with their social life? How does the government provide assistance for new immigrants to live in Hong Kong? In order to answer these two questions, we move on to examining the policies for social inclusion and the general social conditions for new immigrants.

5. Policies for achieving Social Inclusion

a. The general picture of social policies targeting at social integration

The Hong Kong branch of the Hong Kong International Social Service is the first non-governmental-organization (NGO) endorsed to provide social service for new immigrants since 1970. From the Internet[14], we find that 1995 was a watershed for social welfare policies. For instance, in response to the increasing need for hotline services among Mandarin speakers, the Social Welfare Department added the language to their service. With the cooperation of the NGOs, a 'sixty-hour adjustment course' was programmed for new immigrant children. Housing and employment polices were also revised. For instance, an employment-counseling centre for new immigrants was set up and the retraining ordinance was amended, allowing new immigrants to attend retraining courses. Restrictions on residential years among family members in the application for public housing were also loosened. All these indicated the government's response to the needs of new immigrants. Although the government seemed generous in the provision of social welfare for new immigrants, new immigrants were still vexed and upset by the public's unfriendly response. As mentioned, many amendments have been made in social policies in response to the inflow of new immigrants. Indeed, with

[14] See http: //www.isshk.org

support from the Social Welfare Department and funding from the Jockey Club, many projects have been initiated to help the new immigrants. NGOs play a key role in the provision of social welfare to the group. Such new immigrant projects share similar rationales. The Mission to New Arrivals Ltd. states their aims as follows:

1. To encourage Hong Kong churches to respond to the needs of new immigrants, helping them achieve social integration and become useful human capital;

2. To take care of the psychological need of new immigrants and introduce them to the faith of God; and

3. To gather resources from the Christian Church and work together for new immigrants.

Building up a social network and forming an integrated and caring social environment are the major strategies. The Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui St. Christopher's Home shares the same aims with the Mission to New Arrivals Ltd.: to help new immigrants adjust and integrate to the community; to strengthen the supportive network of new immigrants; and to enhance mutual understanding among new immigrants and the local people. The above two agencies are only two examples of the many NGOs sharing the same rationales.

In 1997, a pioneer project was conducted by NGOs with funding from the Jockey Club. This project, called the 'New Arrivals Community Education Project,' lasted for three years and set up six new immigrant centers. A steering committee monitored the project's progress in different services and programs. According to its evaluation report published in 2000, 'all the planned events were successfully carried out as pledged though some of them required certain adjustment and revision in order to meet the changes in circumstances. In fact, the number of events/ activities organized exceeds the planned number.' (New Arrival Community Education Project Report, 2000:4). The project was positively received by new immigrants and local people since the primary objective of the project was to promote social integration, mutual respect and understanding between the two parties. A program called 'Be My Buddy' Card Design Competition was chosen for detailed examination. According to the evaluation report, new immigrant children, local children as well as teachers involved in this project recognized the importance of social integration. The followings are some quotations from the report:

> 'I am a child from the Mainland. Everything was strange to me in the beginning. It was hard. I felt helpless. But I was lucky that the children here helped me out. Though they did bully me sometimes,

> they supported me in many ways.' (12-year-old) *(New Arrival Community Education Project Report, 2000:7)*
>
> 'Although you [new immigrant] may not feel at ease here now, you will get used to it very soon. We [local children] are here for you. (8-year-old)' *(New Arrival Community Education Project Report, 2000:7)*

The first quote was a response from a new immigrant child and the second one was from local children. Such writings prove that many programs were very well received. Most of respondents agree that welfare provision was the best means to achieve social integration. From our respondents' suggestions and evaluation reports for different projects, we find that most of the new immigrants support the welfare system and appreciate the work done by the government.

> 'In May 2000, the New Arrival Community Education Project conducted a survey to examine the new immigrants and locals' ideas about Hong Kong. A total of 900 questionnaires were distributed to both target groups and 442 valid returns were received. There were interesting findings. For instance, the new immigrants were most impressed by the welfare and education systems, medical services, the corruption-free environment and the democratic system, while the locals hardly found these areas special. Both target groups were very

dissatisfied with the housing policy.' *(New Arrival Community Education Project Report, 2000:13)*

The above citation reaffirms the achievement of social integration. However, this is only one side of the matter. The essays in the competition organized by Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui and our interviews with new immigrants expose that social integration has not been fully achieved. In fact, new immigrants face profound hardships. This other side of the story is revealed in the following citations:

The story of Lam Chet

My English is really poor. In order to strengthen the basics, I decided to demote and restart my study from primary school. Reputed schools did not accept me, and I was sent to a school in the New Territories. Oh my God! In the Mainland I was a student in secondary school. It is a well-run school at the provincial level! Now I am expelled to a school with only fifty odd students. I could not accept this at the beginning. I started my first exercise -- it is for primary two! I could not describe my feeling then. It is simply a shame!

My first year in Hong Kong was the most difficult. I cried almost every night. All my classmates looked down on me. They even called me 'Mainland girl.' They made fun of me as I did not

understand Cantonese. By the time when they learnt that I was older than most of them, they laughed at me. Their discrimination was like a knife piercing my heart. I was confused. Did I do something wrong? Was my birth in China a crime? I was stressed. I did not dare to talk to my parents as they had their own burden. I did not want them to worry about me. *(H.K.S.K.H. New Immigrant Integrated Service Centre, 1998:46)*

The story of Betty

'Are you new here? What's your name?' I answered her with my strange accent. She laughed and turned to somebody saying, 'here comes another Mainland girl.' Her words hurt my feelings. I pretended to read my book, but I could not see anything as my vision became blur. *(My Days in Hong Kong, 1998:61) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)*

The story of Lam Chiu Yee

''Why don't you have 'three stars'?''(A signal marks on identity card to show the Hong Kong citizen identity) 'Oh, I was from Mainland China. In two months I will be here for seven years.' I kept smiling, but her face turned blue and said, "Our company requires all employees to have 'three stars'." I knew the job was now out of my reach. I asked her directly, 'Your company does not take applicants with criminal records and Mainland immigrants, right?' (Sowing Again:

My days in Hong Kong, 1998:85) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)

These writings represent the experiences of the new immigrants after their arrival in Hong Kong. Their stories direct our attention to the social and living conditions for new immigrants in Hong Kong. The beautiful picture painted by the evaluation reports, the official website and politicians is demystified. In the next subsection, we move on to explore the four aspects of social participation of new immigrants in Hong Kong. This account will present many views on the living experiences of the new immigrants.

b. The social participation of new immigrants

We believe that, to a certain extent, social policy can achieve social inclusion. We employ the framework suggested by Burchardt *et al*. (2002; 1999), who attempt to elucidate the concept of social inclusion. Four types of 'normal activities,' namely consumption, production, political engagement and social interaction, are designated for assessing the degree of social inclusion for individuals. Participation in these 'normal activities' is measured by degree. Participation in the four activities is regarded as benchmarks of social inclusion. Conversely, the lack of participation in any one dimension is subjected to social exclusion.

(Burchardt *et al*., 2002) The first activity, consumption, refers to the capability to purchase goods and services. The second one, production, pertains to participation in economically or socially valuable activities. Political engagement means involvement in local or national decision-making. The last one, social interaction, takes the form as integration with family, friends, and community. Burchardt states that each of these dimensions represents an outcome important in its own right. Using Burchardt's model, we find that new immigrants in Hong Kong are more or less socially excluded. They go further to argue that social exclusion jeopardize social order and is thus 'sick' – a condition demanding the attention of social and public policy.

Employing this measurement of the degree of social inclusion of new immigrants into the social life of Hong Kong, we find that new immigrants are largely excluded. The degree of the new immigrants' participation in the four dimensions is reviewed in the following sections. The new immigrants' participation in each dimension is minimal, voluntarily or involuntarily.

Consumption

During our interviews with the new immigrants, we were told that most of them seldom consumed here and they were used to going back to China for consumption.

It was a very common practice among new immigrants. Their incapability to consume is not because of any lack of opportunities, nor because of any exclusive policy. As a matter of fact, their purchasing power is protected and supported by social security policy. Under the existing social policy, Hong Kong residents who have lived in Hong Kong for at least one year are qualified to apply for CSSA. Thus, the new immigrants' minimal participation in consumption is not dictated by low purchasing power. Oone major reason is their close connection with China. They prefer traveling to China frequently and do their daily activities there. The common practice of new immigrant is going back to China in the periods of Christmas holidays, Lunar New Year, Easter and summer vacation. Therefore, they reserve many consumption activities done in China, for instance, consulting doctor and dentist, having haircut etc. They also bring back with them a bulk of foods and daily necessities and therefore, they are not eager to integrate into the Hong Kong society since they can still continue their ways of life.

Production

The quota for one-way permit has been increased from 105 to 150 since 1995. Priority is given to those applying for family reunion. As a result, most new immigrants are women and children. According to the statistics on new arrivals

from the Mainland done by Home Affairs Department and Immigration Department, we had 53,507 new immigrants in 2003. Children under the age of 15 usually occupied almost a quarter of the total. Many of the children came with their mothers so that women also occupied certain amount of population (Home Affairs Department and Immigration Department, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004 and 2005). According to the Security Bureau, middle-age women, usually mothers of young children made up the largest proportion of immigrants. Many of their husbands are old, so they are 'forced' to depend on CSSA. With reference to the survey conducted by the Home Affairs Department in 2004, the greatest difficulty encountered by respondents was unemployment (55.8%), which was much greater than the difficulty encountered in the adjustment of living environment (27.9%). During the interviews, these women expressed their willingness to earn their own living; however, the economic regression since 1997 made them difficult to get a job. In addition, with an aged husband, young wives had to look after the family. Apparently, it was difficult for a young woman to enjoy a happy life with two careers. Moreover, as most of their relatives were still in Mainland China, the women had poor social ties and it was difficult for them to seek help from the others.

When meeting the interviewees in our study, we found the young women faced a dilemma. On the one hand, having a paid job was considered 'normal,' and unemployment was perceived as dependent and socially burdensome. The unstable economic condition in Hong Kong resulted in a high unemployment rate -- nearly 8% in 2003 -- and many local people lost their jobs. A keen competition in job seeking between new immigrants and local working class results in local resentment against new immigrants. However, many local people also disliked people receiving monetary support from the HKSAR government. Hence, many new immigrants receiving welfare were discriminated. However, if they were employed, they would be also regarded as 'black sheep,' encroaching Hong Kong's social fabric and jeopardizing the locals' employment opportunity. An even distribution of welfare to the new immigrants and the locals provokes discontents from society. Under this circumstance, the new immigrants whether joining the labor market or receiving CSSA, were inevitably unwelcome and regarded as a burden to society.

Political Engagement

Under the existing political election policy, new immigrants who have been residing in Hong Kong for less than seven years are not qualified to vote. This

exclusive political policy impedes the new immigrants' participation in the political domain. The opportunity for them to take part in election is rare. Although they have an opportunity to participate on local and communal level, new immigrants are seldom to take part in political activities. There are several reasons for this social phenomenon. First, new immigrants are not interested in these issues and many of them believe that political issues are not their cup of tea. Secondly, they are not optimistic about the power of people over politics. This apathetic and indifferent attitude towards politics is understandable considering their experiences in the Mainland. In addition, they have little knowledge about the form of political practice in a democratic system. Therefore, they are passive and keep a distance from political affairs.

Social Interaction

New immigrants are not accustomed to making friends with local people. Our respondents pointed out that they were not willing to make friends with local people as they found most Hong Kong people were arrogant and unpleasant. Many of them responded that they could not communicate with local people. Moreover, from their point of view, Hong Kong people were too clever operating at a much faster pace. Hence, people around them would be new immigrants and

there was limited possibility for them to interact with local people. In fact, many new immigrants still keep close social ties with people in the Mainland and they are accustomed to traveling between Hong Kong and the Mainland. In holidays, most of the new immigrants go back to their hometowns. Their visit is for relaxation, as staying in Hong Kong makes them nervous and anxious. Also, the cost of living in Hong Kong is too high for them so they go back to China from time to time to reduce their living expenditure. Even if new immigrants keep a distance from Hong Kong people, they still have the chance to interact with other parties and sustain their own livings. This observation is important for our analysis because it serves as the ground for us to judge whether the policy for social inclusion is on the right track. To reiterate, one of the aims of this study is to see if social service professionals are doing the right thing to help new immigrants achieve social inclusion; and, on the basis of this depiction to measure the features of the case against the integration model suggested by social service professionals. In the next chapter, we examine an integration model suggested by social service professionals, and after that, we put forward a brief comment on this model.

Conclusion

Hong Kong has experienced four stages of immigration. In each stage, it has been related to different social and political contexts in particular ways. Because of the specific nature of each stage, social policy varied. In the period from the 1940s to the end of 1970s, most Hong Kong people themselves were ‘refugees’, coming from the mainland China in search for economic prosperity and political stability. Moreover, during this period economic achievement was not prominent and Hong Kong people might not be likely to think that new immigrants were appropriating the fruits of their effort. Without strong opposition against new immigrants, the colonial government remained passive in respect of the formulation of specific social policies for new immigrants. Indifference appeared to be the major features of the local ethos regarding new immigrants.

Since the 1980s, a strong sense of prejudice against new immigrants has emerged after the colonial government terminated the ‘touch-base’ policy, an action which told the public that new immigrants would turn out to be a burden on the indigenous people, especially through their reliance on social welfare. In addition, the ideology of residual social welfare, which emphasizes independence and self-reliance, the distributive justice through open market, social welfare as the last

resort for those who are not able to support themselves and minimal intervention of the state, has been promoted greatly by the colonial government and entrenched deeply among Hong Kong ethos. As a result, new immigrants are expected to be dependent on their own rather than dependent on the welfare system. While Process Model contains an idea that more public assistance from the state would do good to new immigrants, this in fact is more likely to create an image of new immigrants as 'dependent'.

Because of increasing indications of social discrimination against new immigrants in the 1980s, there had been an increase of government intervention through implementation of social welfare and changes in social policies. The local people's negative responses to new immigrants in recent years direct our attention on the effectiveness of social policy in achieving social integration. With reference to the framework proposed by Burdchardt *et al* (2002), social integration can be achieved via participation in consumption, production, politics and social interaction. But this is not the case in Hong Kong. As indicated in our discussion, new immigrants found it difficult to feel acceptance and appreciation of the local Hong Kong people. Indifference and prejudice were the two features of the ethos of Hong Kong people towards new immigrants from the

mainland China. Social inclusion policies appeared to be less effective in changing the people's conception of new immigrants. Although in the Process Model the reconfiguration of the dominant local culture was said to be conducive to social integration, the lack of acceptance and appreciation, in spite of the implementation of social policies, constituted the social barriers against new immigrants in the past two decades.

In this chapter, we argue that the dominant culture of Hong Kong has not been re-configured in the 1990s and new immigrants encountered less acceptance and appreciation from local people. Although Process Model contains the idea that some sort of social policies and social work strategies would change the ethos towards more favorable conditions for the new immigrants, the social policies and social work intervention since the 1990s has shown their failure in bridging the gap between prejudice and indifference, and acceptance and appreciation. Putting our idea in the terms suggested by Extended Case Method, the failure of social policies in this respect is the anomaly that needs explanation. We have argued that the ideology of residual welfare regime has fostered an urge among Hong Kong people for self-reliance and independence. More public intervention for helping new immigrants would just arouse the dissatisfaction of local people with new

immigrants. In other words, we should be conscious of the historical background of an area in question and should explore the specific effectiveness of social polices on changing the ethos of the local people

Process Model anticipates a smooth process of change among the dominant culture from indifference to appreciation, Hong Kong people have not developed any sense of understanding and acceptance of new immigrants. It seems that cultural factor plays a critical role in the eradication of social exclusion. In my view, the dominant culture of Hong Kong against new immigrants is part of the story about social exclusion. Of course, there is no doubt that the cultural force is highly related to social exclusion, but we believe cultural factor just constitutes a less favorable social condition for new immigrants to survive. Regarding the process of producing and sustaining social exclusion, we should turn to study the social lives of new immigrants to find out the crucial processes that shut off people from opportunities and life chances in their daily life. This is the area we now turn to.

Chapter 4

Is Integration Necessary?

This study is informed by Extended Case Method that in the first place we have to choose a theoretical framework of interest which suggests a number of causal linkages among social phenomena. Accordingly, Process Model of Social Integration is chosen and put to test. As we have pointed out, in this model, the target of social integration is set in terms of the re-configuration of the dominant and new immigrants' culture. The target is reached only after a process of changes has taken place on both sides, i.e. the indigenous Hong Kong people and new immigrants. This conception is dissimilar to the Chicago School traditions. As Alba and Nee (2003) succinctly summarized the tenet suggested by this school of thought and they said "Robert Park (1930) gives an answer that the mainstream is a composite culture with *hybrid* (original italic) characteristics of the ensemble of cultural practices and beliefs that forms a common national existence. Assimilation to such a mainstream, Alba and Nee argue, is achieved through changes taking place in groups on both sides of the ethnic boundary through boundary crossing, blurring and shifting" (2003:1309). Emphasis on changes on

both sides could be found in both the Chicago School scholars (Alba and Nee, 2003; Kasinitz, etal., 2004). But the advocates of Process Model do not accepts "assimilationist" bents that presume uni-directional immigrant movements toward the dominant culture and behaviours that entail optimistic portraits of the immigrant experience, nor follow the non-assimilationist theories that risk "exclusionist" inclinations which assume impenetrable and unchanging cultural and structure, resulting in overly pessimistic portraits. It is expected that both parties could keep their own cultural and ethnic boundaries and both accept and appreciate their counterparts' specificities and cultural uniqueness.

However, in Chapter 3, it is argued that the cultural mainstream in Hong Kong in the mid-1990s did not go beyond the stage which contained the features of prejudice and indifference. It would be a mistake to maintain that the mainstream culture of Hong Kong is impenetrable; in fact, it has kept changing at a slow pace. The optimistic anticipation of mutual acceptance and appreciation presumed in Process Model, which, however, has not been realized. At this stage, we treat the absence of mutual understanding and acceptance of both ethnic boundaries as an anomaly. How would we proceed?

It is our argument that such an absence could be considered as an indication of social exclusion. This is the only one way of reproducing social exclusion which is cultural in nature. The underlying factor for this sort of social exclusion is explained through reference to the ideology of residual welfare promoted by the colonial government and the social status of most Hongkongers as ‘refugees’, as indicated in the previous chapter.

In my view, there have been two ethnic identities as ‘Hong Kong people’ and ‘new immigrants’. What are the implications of this social situation to the livelihoods of the new immigrants? How is social exclusion in the form of ethnic segregation maintained? Does this form of social exclusion entail other forms of social exclusion? What survival strategies would be employed by new immigrants in response? All these questions would be answered in this chapter. We shall focus on four processes through which new immigrants attempt to integrate to the mainstream. They are the stages of uprooting, adjustment, consolidation and integration, as suggested by Process Model. Evidence from our case studies would be used to illustrate the extent to which this part of Process Model concerning the four stages is useful to understand the livelihoods of new immigrants. I should reiterate the tenets of Extended Case Method that the major

concern of research is not to refute the theory in question, but to enrich the theoretical framework by drawing on new information from local context. The theoretical framework of interest here is said to be the first theoretical framework in the social service field, originally aiming at providing intervention guidelines for the design of service programs for new immigrants. Not surprisingly, not many theoretical concepts are incorporated into this framework. The work at best in our case is that we attempt to tease out as many theoretical presuppositions from it. In our view, these presuppositions need more careful examination. Hence, in the first section, we briefly present the four stages as stated in the theoretical framework and them examine its applicability to this study. The following section evaluates the framework by referring to findings from our case studies. The final section discusses the implications of our re-interpretation of the living experiences of new immigrants.

1. Process Model for integrating new immigrants

Process Model was introduced by the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui, as an analytical framework to understand the integration process of new immigrants[15]. There are a number of assumptions included in Process Model. First, newcomers

[15] See the website: http://www.newarrivals.org.hk/books/book02/centre.htm

from the Mainland are regarded as a separate cultural group which is different from Hong Kong people. In other words, there is ethnic boundary between the two groups. Secondly, the ethnic boundary is maintained through dialects that delineate cultural groups, and therefore non-Cantonese-speaking newcomers are seen as a separate cultural group. Third, as Hong Kong had been administratively separated from the Mainland for a long time, Hong Kong and the Mainland have developed very different value systems and behavioral patterns. All these assumptions would result in an image of new immigrants as a different cultural entity from the indigenous Hong Kong population.

The aim of social service, according to this framework, is to accomplish 'integration', in the sense that two cultural groups, mainly the local people and new immigrants, could interact with each other while maintaining their own cultural characteristics. Both parties can maintain their respective cultural identities and cultural uniqueness, but such cultural autonomy does not inhibit communication between them. This is different from assimilation theory, under which the subaltern and vulnerable groups lose their own cultural uniqueness and are absorbed into the mainstream – the situation of 'melting pot'. Integration is also different from separation, meaning a lack of interaction and communication

between two cultural groups; and marginalization refers to an additional loss of cultural features and uniqueness in the process of assimilating into the mainstream. Process Model emphasizes the mutual understandings and acceptance of two cultural groups. Social integration can be achieved through the intervention of government and provision of integration services to both parties. From the side of new immigrants, when they have passed through the four stages of uprooting, adjustment, consolidation and integration, new immigrants can maintain their respective cultural identities and cultural uniqueness but simultaneously integrate to the mainstream society.

According to Process Model, the objective of integration is achieved through the four stages. Their general features are stated as follows. Before this, we present the general picture of new immigrants in the 2000s. Why does the coming of new immigrant become a problem that should be discussed by talking about the related social phenomenon? In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, many young men migrated to Hong Kong from the Mainland and among them most were not well educated and had not worked as manual labor. In the late 1980s and the early 1990s, they were middle-aged and unmarried. They could not find a wife in Hong Kong and they only could go back to China. Having got married in the Mainland,

many of them needed to apply for migration for their spouse and children to Hong Kong on the reason of family reunion. Before the coming of their wives and children, the husbands have been living in Hong Kong for a period of time. As many of them needed to work, they did not go back to China for family gathering frequently. They only traveled between these two places occasionally. Under such circumstance, many conflicts occurred between the spouses or among parents and children. Many new immigrants have the similar background. The general picture of new immigrants is based on the reference to the survey conducted by Home Affairs Department as our departure to understand the features of new immigrants in Hong Kong.

We use the survey done in 2004 as our corresponding reference; the total numbers of immigrants was 38,072 and among them 26,752 were at the age of 15 or above, 21,874 were invited for interviews. People between the age of 30 and 39 occupied a large proportion (49.9%) of the new immigrants and most of them were female (82.7%). Almost half of the respondents lived in public housing and the rest of them mostly lived in private housing. The group with a monthly family income under $9000 accounts for 70% of the total and over 72% of their incomes come from wages. Only 14.3% of the total number of interviewees received

CSSA. Nearly 50% of the respondents replied that they were willing to work in Hong Kong. Over 70% of the respondents intended to do the jobs in the sectors of wholesaling, retailing, import/export trades, restaurants and hotels. Nearly 70% of the respondents replied that they had difficulties in adapting to a new environment and more than half of them found a great difficulty in getting a job (52.2%). Over 70% of them said that they were in need for supporting services and most of them expected to receive help in job hunting.

The interviewees of this study have similar socio-economic features to those depicted above. In the next section, an analysis of five case studies is presented, then follows with another analysis of their process of passing through the four stages that include uprooting, adjustment, consolidation and integration in each case. A brief account of the features of these four stages comes next.

Uprooting period

New immigrants leave their hometowns, losing connections with their social networks and familial links. This change in social life generates psychological disturbance and emotional turbulence. Although the prospect of meeting family members in Hong Kong excites them, new immigrants still feel worried and

anxious. Uprooting brings unpleasant feelings among new immigrants. Social services are needed to tackle their psychological strains.

Adjustment period

The essential task in this stage is to meet the living needs. Strategies are devised to offer newcomers suitable housing, employment opportunities and monetary resources. Newcomers, mostly from grassroots background, ask for assistance from external agents because of limited resources and a narrow range of choices. In this stage, it is important to ensure that social assistance helps new immigrants learn living strategies in response to Hong Kong's environment, and having sufficient resources to tackle unfavorable social and economic conditions. This stage is related to 'structural integration,' referring to an opportunity for new immigrants to acquire structural positions, in employment or politics. In short, the availability of structural opportunities and social services is significant for the speed and degree of adjustment.

Consolidation period

The main task in this stage is to sustain or consolidate adjustment. To achieve this, the new immigrants have to overcome their psychological barriers of 'fitting in' the

Hong Kong lifestyle. Success is indicated by: a) the new immigrants' acceptance of their identity as 'new immigrants'; b) their sense of belonging to Hong Kong; and c) their confidence in their competence in managing their own lives. Hence, social service professionals should be able to enhance the new immigrants' self-control, self-recognition, self-esteem and participation in social life of Hong Kong. On the contrary, failure in adjustment would lead to psychological stress in this period.

Anchorage/Integration period

The ideal of this stage is mutual respect between newcomers and indigenous people. It is expected that both social groups enjoy a social life free of discrimination and antagonism.

2. Case Analysis

a) The case of Ah King

Ah King, at her thirties, had lived in a rural area before getting married. Farming did not provide her with sufficient resources. She lived with her mother, as her father had passed away long time before. Her life appeared to be secluded as social connections with her two brothers and one sister were few. In order to

improve the livelihood of her family, Ah King believed that getting married bwould bring her a chance to quit farming and get away from poverty. Ah King met her husband in an arranged mate-matching gathering. He had migrated to Hong Kong since long time ago. Despite having no idea about marrying a Hong Kong resident, she took it as the best way to quit the job of farming. This decision brought her the consequence that was beyond her anticipation. Marriage in 1985 changed nothing of her livelihood. Ah King stayed in her hometown, kept on farming. She gave birth to three children in 1987, 1990 and 1993 respectively. Her husband traveled to and fro between her place and Hong Kong. For a short period of time, Ah King's husband was unwilling to take up the responsibility as a breadwinner, as shown through his reluctance to give money to support Ah King. To lighten the burden of her housework, she asked her mother-in-law to come by.

Ah King had proposed to migrate to Hong Kong but her husband opposed. Ah King, with the anticipation that Hong Kong offered better housing, education, and social welfare, insisted to migrate for the interest of their children. Finally, her husband conceded. Upon arrival, Ah King had encountered a number of new problems arising from her new life since 1997. The first issue was searching for a place to live, then came the schooling issue for her children, and so on. Her

husband stayed aloof from his family, giving no money to his family. Ah King had a strong sense of hopelessness in face of the idleness of her husband. The most heartbreaking thing was the happenings of wife-battering and child abuse. Ah King' s husband abused her before and after her arrival. When Ah King still lived in her hometown, her husband violently treated her frequently. She found the only chance to feel the time free of violence was when her husband had a job in the mainland. But later Ah King found that her husband had an extra-marital-affair in Shenzhen with a woman. She felt, that, to her husband, she was just his concubine. Having tolerated her husband's violence for more than two months after arrival, she finally moved to Harmony House. Within these two months, wife-battering happened every day. Both she and her children were beaten up by her husband. She knew nothing about the right way to handle domestic violence. She did not know that police would listen to her report, social workers were available, nor was able to know how to find her way back home. This is a story totally consistent with the situation arising from uprooting. The only source of help seemed to be her mother who lived alone in her hometown. No friends in Hong Kong, nor helpful relatives. There were no mature communities to provide her emotional and cultural support. Later, one of her villagers told her about Harmony House which offered assistance for her to leave

her husband. Connections with social workers seemed to give her emotional support. She was concerned about the appraisal from social workers. But it appeared that Ah King did not care much about her own career and personal development. While keeping close relationships with social workers, even after leaving her husband for two years, she did not make many friends and remained unemployed. Priority had been given to taking care of her children, with the expectation of children's better education achievement. Ah King had invested her life on her children's future. She did not have any idea to take benefits from the Hong Kong government. Receiving CSSA was the last resort to Ah King. Many new immigrants came from village so they are accustomed to working hard. In contrast, they feel uncomfortable if they do not work.

Ah King: *I do not want to receive CSSA. I can work and I am sure I can bring up my children on my own. I do not think I am too old to work. Do you think so? New immigrants usually are blamed as a burden.*

Interviewer: *Do you care about this?*

Ah King: *Yes. I am willing to work even if I have money. I still want to work. I am capable to work.*

Ah King explained that her husband did not welcome Ah King and their children because this move messed things up and his daily routine would be ruined.

Ah King regretted coming to Hong Kong with her children. She was lonely, hopeless, out of friends and relatives in Hong Kong. Clearly, Ah King was uprooted from her hometown and turned out to be a newcomer to Hong Kong. Emotional support and information crucial for daily living mainly came from social workers. She had been living in an imagined personal enclave, with a dream of her children's success. Her marriage had broken up and social networks were yet to establish. She had a very good consolidation. Social workers were indeed helpful in the process. However, even though all these things had been performed, integration did not follow. This anomaly should be examined. In my view, close connection with social workers appeared to provide a good haven for Ah King. Having no needs for searching jobs as well as the acquisition of new skills and ethnic associations, Ah King could spend her time with her children. This sort of imagined personal enclave should be seen as the product of her strong motivation to protect her children and the absence of motives for personal achievement. It is a question about whether Ah King had successfully consolidated her new life. She got no connections with the labour market, the community and the political system. Consumption of the local culture seems to be an activity far away from her reality.

b) The case of Ah Ying

Ah Ying, at her late forties and had five children, got married with her husband at the age of twenty-three. Her husband was twenty-three years older than her. Marriage provided her a way out of her hardship. As she said, 'I would get married with anyone who could take me out of my home town, the farther the better.' Since her grandfather was a landowner, Ah Ying and her family were categorized as the 'Black Five Categories in the Cultural Revoluation' that was similar to the outcast under the Communist regime. This political categorization brought her a very hard time in her hometown. She experienced discrimination from her teachers and classmates. The corollary of her strong desire to get away from her misery and hardship resulted in a very bad marriage. All along her marriage was full of violence. Her husband forced her to have sex with him, and any refusal would result in physical abuse. As a matter of fact, though her husband looked very young at the first time they met, and Ah Ying finally found that he was older than her by more than twenty years, she did not care, with a strong belief that marriage was the only way for her to leave her home. Her dream did not come true: she stayed at her hometown. Because of the fact that she had married a Hong Kong man, she was treated by her villagers as an outsider and had no chance to get a job. In order to prevent the happening of

extra-martial-affairs, Ah Ying's husband impeded Ah Ying to go out alone. She was not allowed to have any contact with men. He was very alert about her acquaintances with other men. His suspicion of any possible extra-marital-affair cut Ah Ying off from local communities. In addition to her political background, her husband's attitude towards her friendship shut her off from any social networks. Ah Ying was used to being socially excluded in her original place.

In 1992, Ah Ying succeeded in getting a permit to Hong Kong to visit her husband. In the three-month stay, she worked as a part-time worker illegally, gave birth to her son, and met a man of the same ethnic group. She was arrested as an illegal worker finally. Her reaction to this was intriguing as she said: 'Staying in prison is better than staying at home. I was pregnant, but I still needed to work. However, he never stopped scolding me. He kept criticizing my cooking, and he rejected to give me money for daily expenses. Departing from my husband, I felt much happier. I could have friends, who were also pregnant and both the women and the police were nice to me. They chatted with me and we got lots of fun. The policemen would come to us, sharing their photos and stories when I was in jail, three meals were fetched to me daily. I would rather stay in prison. After half month imprisonment, I was released. Having given birth to my son, Tsian Hey, I

was sent back to the Mainland.' This clearly reflects her misery in her family life. A few years later she left her hometown for good. This certainly is uprooting, put in terms of Process Model concept. Ah Ying left her mother who was the only person she cared for.

After arrival, she stayed with her husband and two children at Tin Shui Wai. It was fortunate for her to meet a 'sister' – a woman coming from the same village, living next to her. She told the woman that she was worried about her children's future. The lady taught her how to find daycare service for children. She had to find money to pay the service, so she looked for a job. She could not read, write, nor speak Cantonese. This was a hard time for her. Her husband gave her no money or support. On the contrary, he kept on being mad at her. Later, she found a job in a factory, working seven days a week. This job rendered her good as she worked during day time and her husband worked night shift. They never met each other. For the children's interest, Ah Ying sent one son back to her hometown in order to ease her housework burden.

Ah Ying had no social life. She had never been to Kowloon, and her geographical scope of her daily life was around Tuen Mun, Yuen Long, and Tin Shui Wai, all are the districts confined to the Northern western part of the New

Territories. One of her co-workers asked her once to go to Kowloon. She said that ‘my co-worker asked me out to see the world outside and not to stay only inside the factory only. I said I did not know what I should see, what I should do. My mother asked me to go back home and take back my son. Finally, my co-worker lent two thousand dollars to help me support my mother who was sick. Then I went back and brought my son to Hong Kong.’ She saved almost all her money in support of her children, and did not care much about her own life. She was a totally ‘traditional’ Chinese woman.

She had few items of clothing and put on her husband’s trousers. She was interrogated once by the police on the account of her strange outfit. She reported that: “I took the Light Rail to Yuen Long, wanting to buy some vegetables. As I had not brought any clothes along with me when I came to Hong Kong, my husband always told me to put on his, but never intended to buy me some. Because of my strange clothing, I was usually stopped by the police on the street. I told my colleagues that I had been questioned by the police on the street for many times, and they thought it was understandable as I looked strange. They asked me to look at myself carefully, for clothes were like those who had just swum to the boundary of Hong Kong from the Mainland. What could I do then? I didn’t have money and

my husband gave me none! He exclaimed that there was no difference between trousers for men and those for women. He even took his old trousers to me immediately. I had no choice. I din't have money, so I could only dress what I was given. Later, when I gained some money, I went to Yuen Long, looking for a pair of pants, a pair of jeans probably. I didn't intend to buy a blouse, but only a pair of jeans which spent me likely $80 something. I bought them in a hawker stall. I could hardly remember how much they really cost. Might be $80, might be $90…anyway, it should be less than a hundred dollars. After buying a pair of new jeans, I went to the market for some fruits, two grapefruits imported from the Mainland. I remembered they cost me around $10. I bought also a bunch of vegetables. I brought these three things home only… nothing more. My husband saw me pressing the door bell. I was scared that he would take my money by force. Therefore, I put only $500 in my handbag, of the rest of the money was put in the pockets of my trousers. He saw me opening the door, and pushed me into the flat. He searched my pockets and found that there was a $500 note. He, of course, took it away. I was very angry and tried to stop him doing such thing. I told him that I earned it by the sweat of my brow! That was my salary! He then hit me and tore the $500 note into two pieces. He turned his head to the door, and then went to work without saying anything."

Ah Ying appeared at ease even if her co-workers in the factory mocked her as an illegal immigrant. She behaved at ease when interacting with people, and knew asking for help from her friends. In her mind, the only trouble was the personal one arising from her relationship with her husband. She did report to the police of her being abused by her husband, but finally gave up doing so because of her low confidence of taking care of their children on her own. A policeman in the report room asked her to see social workers and later found a place in a shelter home. With the help of social workers, she successfully applied for divorce. She found a job for supporting her two sons' education. She did not apply for CSSA. But she was able to enjoy her life; especially all five sons getting together five years after her divorce.

New immigrants are usually blamed as the burden to the host society. They are labelled as "greedy and lazy people". This image has been deposited in Hong Kong people's minds. Here, we have another story. Our interviewees showed their eagerness for work but the fact was that they had no chance to enter the labour market. The unfavorable employment condition blocked them from entering the labour market. Ah Ying shared her experience:

Interviewer: *You say your husband preferred you staying at home to going to work? Why?*

Ah Ying: *He wanted to keep me at home for avoiding me having any love affair.*

Interviewer: *He didn't want you to be independent.*

Ah Ying: *Yes, I did not know what he thought even though he was my husband. I gave him my salary and he played the role of keeping money. I asked him to give some to me for daily use and he refused. He only gave a small amount to me. I also needed to buy something for myself but he only gave me the exact amount.*

Interviewer: *When did you start to receive CSSA?*

Ah Ying: *After the divorce. I need to take care of my children so I quit the job. You know my children are young and they are still in schooling. The expense on education is too big.*

Ah Ying tolerated her husband rude behaviors because of the protection of her sons. With her two sons, she needed to stay with her husband who had been scarily violent. In fact, she was really uprooted, but the need for integration into the family was much more important than into the community at large. In order to support her own and her children, she spent all the time in working. Ah Ying felt

like living in a dark room, as she got no chance to have communication with other people. She felt very frustrated and helpless. What she needed in the period after arrival was money and a place staying away from her husband. A small number of friends were enough for her. In Process Model, the object of study is the individual, giving little attention to the internal dynamic within the immigrant's family, especially the needs arising from interaction with the spouse. Uprooting seems to render difficulty for an immigrant to have a life of better quality in the cases of Ah Ying and Ah King. But this difficulty did not entail greater psychological stress and failure in the consolidation. It may be the worldview of these two women whose children's interest has been given the top priority. Both have been living in a small world, with a minimal linkage through working with other people and a small amount of friendships. Their prospects rely on their children's educational achievement and happiness. In my view, they had been living in an enclave, a form of social exclusion. Given that they are satisfied with their new lives, is integration necessary for them?

c) The case of Ah Mui

In the cases of Ah King and Ah Ying, they both got married with men who were 'abusers'. In this way, these two women became alone in dealing with their

problems. If their husbands were not abusers, they could obtain more information for handling issues arising from daily living and become more capable of managing their new lives. In Process Model, gender issues and family dynamics are out of concern and little attention is paid to these areas. But here comes a question about the extent to which the quality of living in the process of adjustment and consolidation would be better if new immigrants are in company with 'better' husbands. In other words, while Process Model put more emphasis on the assistance provided by social workers, we might find the critical role of spouse, especially husbands, to these two stages. In the case of Ah Mui, we may have information to solve this puzzle.

Ah Mui got marriage when she was nearly thirty. Traditionally, girls in China used to get married at the age of early twenty so Ah Mui was thought to be too old and if she did not get married and she got no future. Due to this reason as well as the reason of having pre-martial-sex with her former boy friend, Ah Mui felt desperate. Therefore, even though her husband was older more than twenty years than her, she got married with him. Their marriage got more tense and worse especially after she had migrated to Hong Kong. Before migration, Ah Mui and her husband lived separately so she could avoid quarrels with him. After her

arrival, many problems arose. The first issue was the small unit of accommodation in the public housing flat. Ah Mui did not know how to apply for a better living place. Her husband, though having been living in Hong Kong for a long time, did not know that his family was eligible for a larger unit of public housing. Their poor living condition was finally discovered by a policeman accidentally by passing by their flat, asking them to apply for a better accommodation unit from the Housing Authority. Ironically, a Hongkonger may not necessarily have information about housing policy. Of course, the ignorance of such kind of information among Hongkongers would not be considered as an indication of failure in adjustment because in Process Model, it would be the case for new immigrants. Ignorance of Ah Mui's husband about information of social policy leads us to think whether this sort of ignorance among new immigrants should be considered as a problem.

Moreover, while we believe that a new immigrant needs to pass through a process of adjustment, it is questionable in this case. Shortly after their reunion in Hong Kong, Ah Mui found that her husband was bad tempered. She was much younger than her husband and he distrusted her greatly and suspected that she had extra-marital relationship. When her husband was getting older, he quit his work.

Ah Mui took up the responsibility as a breadwinner and found a job in a construction site. However, she quit finally because her husband was afraid of Ah Mui going out with other men. They had to rely on CSSA. Ah Mui's husband controlled every aspect in Ah Mui's life, especially economically and sexually. When the relationship was getting worse, Ah Mui got divorce. She lived with her children in Hong Kong and her husband moved back to China. Because of her new immigrant identity and the embarrassing marital status, Ah Mui felt very inferior to others. She was reluctant to make friends with other people. She did not mind relying on CSSA, nor being a new immigrant, but her marital status and poor relationship with her husband. She lived in an enclave, believing that a divorced woman was not respected, then had few interactions with her neighbours and friends. Ah Mui's case reveals once again the importance of family dynamic to the living quality and the degree of social exclusion of new immigrants.

In regard to Process Model, adjustment seems to be a definite task which new immigrants must accomplish in order to reach the last stage of social integration. We found an anomaly which needs more reference to family dynamic and marital relationship so as to understand the emergence of social exclusion. Although in Process Model, the critical factors determining the pace and degree of social

integration are language, acquisition of skills for work, the possibility of building new social networks at the receiving countries, emotional and cultural support, etc., in our three case studies, evidence shows that they are of secondary status. It may be related to the close proximity between Hong Kong and the mainland. For this reason, before migration, many of our interviewees have been to Hong Kong. They do not feel uncomfortable with the new environment, neither do they find much difficulty in adjusting to a new life in Hong Kong. Since many of them came from Guangzhou, they speak Cantonese and had similar living habits with indigenous people. Under such circumstance, they only needed a very short period of time for adjustment supposingly. Some of them such as Ah Mui and Ah King even replied that they did not find any difficulties in communicating with local people. For them, the main problem was how to communicate with their spouse and to handle their marital relationship. The adjustment issues in housing, education and employment were less critical since they found it relatively easy to adapt to new environment. In the case of Ah Mui, adjustment seemed to be a non-issue.

Interviewer: How did you adjust to a new living environment?

Ah Mui: I had no adjustment problem.

Interviewer: Did you settle all the problems on your own?

Ah Mui: *Yes.*

Interviewer: *Have you ever thought about the way to adjust to Hong Kong?*

Ah Mui: *No, I did not think about it before and indeed I did not know how long I would stay here.*

Interviewer: *What do you think about your hometown with reference to Hong Kong?*

Ah Mui: *Hong Kong is similar to Guangzhou.*

Process Model stresses on the importance of adjusting one's life to the 'host' country in the early period of immigration. Structural integration, referring to employment and involvement in local social life, is regarded as important. This view is based on the presupposition that without structural integration, immigrants would feel atomistic and disoriented. That is why social service is required to help immigrants adjust to their new life.

Nevertheless, from the findings of our case studies, we found that this view is dubious. We know that newcomers need to learn the basic living skills such as knowledge in social and public services, local habits and ways to deal with daily chores. Yet learning these skills does not necessarily require a lot of effort. Moreover, many newcomers had visited Hong Kong before and knew much about

local life. Our cases demonstrate that newcomers are willing to lead a relatively 'secluded' family life, and could be contented with it.

Turning to analyze how newcomers perceive and evaluate their social lives, we employed the concepts of identity and material culture, and argue that newcomers can live happily in Hong Kong even if they are not involved in local social activities.

Ah Mui: *Hong Kong Government is much better. If I have problem, I can contact social workers and they will help me.*

The experiences of Ah Mui were not a sole case and many interviewees shared similar views. Some of them really felt the difficulties in adjustment but the adjustment period was quite short, from three months to six months. Social welfare agencies play the roles of services delivery but their role as media for information spreading is minimal. New immigrants acted actively to spread the information. The familiarity of Hong Kong before migration gives a hand to them to have better adjustment.

d) The case of Ah Chu

Ah Chu also revealed that new immigrants might not need to face an unfamiliar environment after migration. Ah Chu met her husband when she was working in Shenzhen in 1993. She came to Shenzhen in 1991 because of economic hardship in her hometown. In order to have a better future, Ah Chu migrated to Shenzhen and became a kindergarten teacher. In Shenzhen, Ah Chu met her husband who was also working there. After getting married, Ah Chu still worked in a business field. Later, fearing gossips about extra-martial affairs, Ah Chu quit her job and became a housewife. When Ah Chu's daughter was growing up, the couple thought about their daughter's future and planned to migrate to Hong Kong. After marriage, Ah Chu visited Hong Kong (on a two-way permit) several times. Thus, she had some ideas of Hong Kong lifestyle. Also, Shenzhen is close to Hong Kong, at an ease to assess to information about the latter's social life and living condition. Moreover, she had been uprooted when she moved to Shenzhen and go leaving home was nothing new to her. Furthermore, expecting her husband to take care of her, Ah Chu accepted migration.

Having gone through immigration procedures, Ah Chu and her daughter legally moved to Hong Kong, but her husband still lived in Shenzhen for business.

Ah Chu lived with her husband's family in a private housing estate. Ah Chu did not have a good relationship with her mother-in-law, and was desperate and frustrated. She did not want to be home-bound and was eager to work so that she could have her own home. Since the day when Ah Chu and her husband got together, her husband's parents showed discontent with their relationship. One of the reasons was their negative feelings towards girls from the Mainland. Ah Chu said her mother-in-law did not trust her. The parents used to think that Ah Chu married their son for money. They took Ah Chu as a greedy girl, even though Ah Chu was not at all. Their bias prevented them from understanding Ah Chu. Even though Ah Chu tried her best to get along with her husband's family, their relationship remained far from satisfactory. Their different living habits widened their gap and aroused many quarrels. Although Ah Chu wanted to get a job, her husband preferred her to stay at home as a housewife. Ah Chu felt desperate and lonely. She had no friends or relatives in Hong Kong, and her husband also stayed in Shenzhen. Therefore, she used to stay at home and was seldom to go outside. The only thing that she needed to do was to take care of her daughter. All along, Ah Chu was regarded as an outsider. The family kept a close eye on Ah Chu and her husband for not giving her any money. She regretted having married

a Hongkonger. Her hardships were beyond her anticipation. She said that she preferred going back to China to staying here.

From Ah Chu's account, we know that she was very unhappy with her new family since they treated her as an outsider and did not trust her at all.

Ah Chu: *I can do nothing. The only thing I can do is to tolerate. I have no choice now. I have lost my self-esteem totally. I want to have my own home, no matter how poor I am.*

Interviewer: *What does your husband think?*

Ah Chu: *He said no.*

Interviewer: *Why?*

Ah Chu: *He is very selfish. He wanted to keep me at home and stop me from having any chances to meet new friends. He lacks confidence. He married me but treats me in this way. He really upsets me. At first his parents did not know anything about our marriage. We didn't even have our wedding pictures. His family was too disgusting and scared mes. I really did not know what to do at that time. I did not dare to tell my parents. They checked my background and asked my landlord about me.*

Interviewer: *Did they?*

Ah Chu: *Yes. They asked my landlady about my background and asked whether I was a prostitute. They were very rude. My landlady was very angry and told them that I was a secretary and university graduate.*

The family of Ah Chu's husband treated her as an outsider. She felt being excluded from the family. Ah Chu dressed well and fashionably. She was a native Cantonese speaker. She had worked in Shenzhen for a long period of time. Her way of living before migration was similar to that of Hong Kong people. She found few difficulties in integrating the mainstream. She was confident to enter the labor market and enjoyed having social life with the locals. However, the negative perception of her husband's family to new immigrants hindered her to participate in the social life of Hong Kong.

e) The case of Fung Ying

Fung Ying was living in a rural village near Guangdong before her marriage. She met her husband in a mate-matching gathering. Shortly after their marriage, Fung Ying's husband went back to Hong Kong and she knew little about him. Her husband only visited her on holidays for a few days and she had little chance to talk with him. When their first child was born, she started to apply for immigration to Hong Kong. With the implementation of two-way permit, Fung Ying could often

visit Hong Kong and the city was not a strange place to her. Her second daughter was born in Hong Kong while she stayed in Hong Kong. After that, Fung Ying and her two daughters went back to her hometown so that her relatives could take care of them. In 1999, Fung Ying got a one-way permit and moved to Hong Kong with her younger daughter. Unfortunately, her elder daughter's application was not successful. A few months later, Fung Ying had to return to her hometown to take care of her elder daughter. Such travelling was necessary as she had to fulfill the residential requirement set by the immigration policy. Within her short period of stay, Fung Ying had some experience in living in Hong Kong and that prepared her for a long-term settlement. To Fung Ying, Hong Kong was no longer a strange place. Fung Ying and her family lived in a rented flat in Sham Shui Po, Kowloon.

Uprooting did not happen among new immigrants because of the historical and political background of Hong Kong and Mainland China. The geographical proximity and social connections between these two places grant a chance of easy accessibility for new immigrants going back to their hometowns. Because of frequent visits, new immigrants maintain close social networks with their relatives and friends in the Mainland.

In the case of Fung Ying, her family traveled back to China every school holiday. New immigrants may not find any difficulty in adjustment since they can get the information from their new immigrant friends. The social connection among new immigrants is strong. There is no distinctive new immigrant community in Hong Kong but new immigrants can easily know to each other via social activities organized by schools and social agencies. Some schools are appointed as new immigrant schools. It serves as a medium for them to meet each other so that information can be exchanged easily. To a certain extent, they do their adjustment in quite a good way. In the consolidation period, there is an absence of difficulties for new immigrants to fit in Hong Kong. They maintain their ways of living in respect of minimal social participation in the host society. The possibility of reaching a state of integration seems to be unnecessary. If the answer is yes, the next question is how Process Model is applicable to the cases in Hong Kong. Provided that it is not applicable to Hong Kong, it is necessary to investigate what consequences will be caused. If the answer is no, we need to review and reconstruct Process Model under the distinctive nature of new immigrants.

a. Language

According to Process Model, language is the essential marker by which newcomers are distinguished from indigenous Hong Kong people. Cantonese-speaking immigrants made up slightly over half (56.7%) of the 1996 cohort (Lam and Liu, 1998:45). In other words, there are two groups of immigrants. One is predominantly Cantonese-speaking; the other is basically Putonghua-speaking. Among the earlier immigrants, the percentage of Cantonese-speaking immigrants was much higher (85.2%) (Lam and Liu, 1998:45). In recent years, the numbers of new immigrants come from Guangzhou Province still occupied over 80% in proportion[16] . Language is no longer as communication barrier. For instance, Fung Ying had her own way to maintain native language speaking skill while showing the capability in speaking Cantonese.

Interviewer: *Is there any great change that you have to make after migrating to Hong Kong? How do your relatives think about you after migration?*

Fung Ying: *No, nothing changed…I am still who I am. I am not like other people who are so proud of being Hong Kong people. They only allow their children to speak Cantonese instead of native language. I think it is my*

[16] http://newarrivals.socialnet.org.hk/main.htm

responsibility to teach my children speaking native language.

Interviewer: *Why do you ask your daughters to speak native language?*

Fung Ying: *I think it's not necessary to learn the other language.*

Interviewer: *But you are living in Hong Kong.*

Fung Ying: *Living in Hong Kong is only for survival. When you are in Hong Kong you speak Cantonese, but when you are in hometown, speaking native language is reasonable. You will be blamed if you speak Cantonese in hometown but not native language.*

Interviewer: *You ask your daughters to speak native language.*

Fung Ying: *No, they speak at ease.*

Interviewer: *Will you ask your daughters to speak native language when they grow up?*

Fung Ying: *I don't expect they will do that. But I hope they can keep close contact with my brother when they go back to hometown. I visit my hometown frequently and I hope my daughters can do the same*

If language does not bar the immigrants from involving in social life, there is no reason for anxiety and psychological strains. In the case of Fung Ying, they spoke Cantonese when they were not home but they would speak native language.

They did it unwittingly. We want to argue that ‘Uprooting’ may not necessarily result in a group of immigrants with a distinct identity and cultural uniqueness.

b. Close connection with hometown

The implementation of two-way permit does a favour to new immigrants to have prior visit in Hong Kong before migration. Using the case of Fung Ying as an example, she visited several times and even her younger daughter was born in Hong Kong during her stay. Fung Ying traveled between two places before migration. She stayed in Hong Kong for three months and then went back to China waiting for the next application. She ran this kind of practice for several times. For her, Hong Kong is not a strange place. On the one hand, Fung Ying shared similar living environment and eating habits with indigenous people. On the other hand, Fung Ying kept a close connection with her hometown. For Fung Ying, she still had a close bond with her hometown. Distance separation did not block communication between Fung Ying and her family. Fung Ying’s family are used to travelling between China and Hong Kong. When they stay in Hong Kong, they used another means to keep contact with her relatives. Fung Ying and her family were living in Hong Kong, but in other aspect, especially psychologically, they were still close to China. Fung Ying and her daughters are close to their

relatives. Fung Ying said, ‘Even though IDD [distant call service] is very expensive, Tin Wai [her elder daughter] calls her cousin and former classmates frequently.’

Interviewer: *You say you keep a close connection with your hometown. You go back to hometown in holidays, like Lunar New Year, Christmas and Easter holiday. How often do you phone your relatives?*

Fung Ying: *Often. My daughters spend quite a lot on distance calls. They call their friends frequently.*

Fung Ying and her father kept close contact. Fung Ying said that they called each other daily. Geographically they were apart but it did not separate them. Fung Ying had no close relatives staying with her but she was not upset by these constraints. In case of emergency, Fung Ying called her father instead of her friends or neighbors in Hong Kong.

c. Houses as extension of body

Houses are not only physical settings. ‘Houses come to stand for social groups and represent the world around them’ (Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995:1). Houses are treated as the extension of our bodies (Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995; McLuhan, 1994; Dant, 1999). ‘House’ and ‘home’ are not two interchangeable

words. ‘House’ refers to the physical dwelling while ‘home’ more likely signifies the emotional space where people interact and communicate with one another. However, the distinction between home and house is not that clear. In a house we have our home. House and home co-exist, but they cannot be reduced to one. Nobody will deny the importance of accommodation in our life. Houses not only provide a shelter, but also represent culture and identity. Dant (1999) stresses the representation power of houses. He considers them ‘an extension of human being, the material form of housing reflects the cultural boundaries between different dwelling activities, working, resting, eating, sleeping, bathing, and defecating. In this sense the building contains the custom and conventions of the particular culture as well as the people who dwell together and their belongings’ (Dant, 1999:65). D’Alisera (2001) agrees on that but argues that ‘identity had been inscribed onto place through action as well as by means of decorative symbols’ (2001:104).

Fung Ying lived in a public housing flat in Hong Kong with her two daughters. Even though they had settled in Hong Kong for three years, they still kept their house in China. They traveled between Hong Kong and China frequently as her hometown was near Hong Kong. Whenever her daughters had vacation, they went

back to China. The decoration of their living places in Hong Kong and China share many similarities. Both were simple and crude. Besides portraits of Chairman Mao, family photos and certificates were hung on the wall which is not a common domestic practice, as such displays are more likely found in clinics, where doctors show off their qualifications with gilded certificates mounted on walls. Returning to Fung Ying's apartment in Hong Kong, the same photographs of her younger daughter's (Po Ki) graduation, together with her certificates, were displayed. Po Ki was born in Hong Kong but brought back to China when she was one month old. Fung Ying transformed her physical space into a site of cultural identity. She knew that the Mao portrait in her home represented her new immigrant identity. Before moving into a flat in a public housing estate, Fung Ying and her daughters lived in a small private room. It was a big apartment, partitioned into several rooms and rented out separately. Her neighbours were all new immigrants. Fung Ying did not put any Mao portrait in her first home. When she moved into the public estate where she could have more private space, she decorated the home as she wanted to.

At the moment, most of her neighbours were the elderly and she seldom communicated with them. Fung Ying always opens her door for better

ventilation. Therefore, it was easy for passers-by to see the unusual display of Mao's portrait and recognized her new immigrant identity. Fung Ying said she did not mind letting other people know her new immigrant identity. As a patriot, she respected Mao deeply. When she was brought up, she was told that Mao had done a great deal for people. Without Mao, China could not be liberated and free. Mao portrait reminded her of his great work. She said whenever she looked at Mao portrait, she felt comfortable and relaxed. At the time when Fung Ying migrated to Hong Kong, she had nothing with her but the two booklets of socialist songs published during the civil war. Fung Ying's father was a soldier. When Fung Ying was young, her father taught her the songs. She grew up with these songs, so she was unwilling to leave them behind. She has kept them until now. Fung Ying said she liked singing songs with her daughters. When she sang, she told heroic stories to her daughters. For Fung Ying, the photos and the booklets were not mute. They reminded her of the stories and her devotion to the nation. Belk (1992) suggested that 'for apart from their utilitarian functions, possessions often acquire emotion-laden meanings. When we move we must make choices about material objects which are meaningful enough to justify the cost and effort of moving them. In doing so, we ideally select material from our past that will form a vessel to bear us safely into the future, with our more desirable memories and

identities intact and with material reminders of our less desirable past selectively jettisoned. Under less ideal circumstances, we may be forced to part with many meaningful possessions and to cling to the precious few that remain as a life to provide some sense of continuity in our new locale' (1992:339). Apart from serving as mementos, Mao portrait and the booklets registered Fung Ying's devotion towards the nation. Fung Ying did not mind disclosing her new immigrant identity. She kept contacting with people in her hometown and she loved her nation much more than before. Fung Ying always said that she eagerly hoped that her daughters could stay close to China. Thus, she taught her daughters to sing the revolutionary songs and told them heroic stories so as to remind them of their Chinese identity, which she treasured.

Another interesting feature in her Hong Kong and China habitats was the display of same photographs in both homes. As mentioned, many family photographs were displayed all over the place, among them the Po Ki's graduation picture. Sontag (1977) suggested that 'to photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed…. It means putting oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge – and, therefore, like power' (quoted in Garlick, 2002:291). In this case, success and glory were demonstrated through the display of

photographs. Showing the same photos implied the inspiration of continuity. In Hong Kong, Fung Ying only displayed recent photographs but not the old ones.

Hong Kong and China are very closely related – politically, culturally, socially and economically. People are used to traveling between the two places for sight-seeing, working or visiting friends and relatives. For new immigrants, even though they have moved to Hong Kong, China is their homeland. Many of them still keep houses in China and they travel between China and Hong Kong frequently. Unlike Hong Kong people who buy a house in the Mainland for relaxation or retirement, new immigrants view their houses as a token of continuity and preservation. They behave that their roots are not in Hong Kong, and it is necessary for them to keep a house in China. If they cannot survive here, they can go back to China. Thus, to a certain extent, a house in China provides security.

d. Traveling objects, traveling people

Hong Kong was separated from China and used to be a British colony. This was placed Hong Kong in an ambiguous position. Politically, Hong Kong was different from China, but socio-culturally, the two places are closely connected. Many Hong Kong people still have relatives in China, so they often travel between

these two places. Because of geographic proximity, Hong Kong and the Mainland are close partners in economic cooperation and intercultural communication.

In the early 60s, China suffered serious famine. At that time, many Hong Kong people sent daily necessities and foodstuffs to their relatives in China. Now, China has ample supply of goods and people in the Mainland no longer need material support from their relatives in Hong Kong. The rapid economic growth of China in the past decades has brought enormous influence over the country, particular socially and culturally. Consumption patterns have changed dramatically. What people pursue now are goods of better quality.

From the new immigrants' point of view, shopping is not only consumption. It serves as a bridge connecting Hong Kong and the people in their hometown. When new immigrants travel between the two places, they bring along goods. At first, new immigrants like to bring trademarks goods back to China. Those goods may not really be of high quality nor bargainable. Indeed, many of those goods are also sold in China. Yet here is a myth that goods sold in Hong Kong are genuine, while those sold in China may be fake. Hence, many new immigrants bring daily items back to China consistently. For example, in Fung Ying's case, she usually brought ointments back to her hometown because her relatives believed

that Hong Kong did not sell counterfeits. On the other hand, new immigrants also bring everyday items back to Hong Kong. Cite Fung Ying as an example again, she brought eggs and meat back to Hong Kong as she thought that China's agricultural products were fresher and more delicious. For Fung Ying's family, they were not only foods. They were full of nostalgic feelings.

e. Identity of newcomers: Hongkongers or new immigrants?

Hall (1996) states that 'it accepts that identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasing fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiple constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions. They are subject to a radical historicalization, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation' (1996:4). It is argued that identity formation is not a natural process. Recognized identity, likely disadvantaged, implies the operation of power behind. What is at stake is not only the source of such labeling, but also the mechanisms involved in the process. The role of agency, assumedly not passive but reactive, is also important.

In Hong Kong, some social policies are exclusively devised for new immigrants. New immigrants are required to keep their new immigrant identity, but at the same time, they are encouraged by the Government to integrate into the local

society. We focus on the existing identity of newcomers and how they keep it. If newcomers prefer their original identity, it is difficult for them to engage in the new social life. In our case studies, we found that most immigrants stuck to their original identity and continued living in the way they did in the Mainland. This strong adherence to their original identity kept the immigrants from interacting with the locals and engaging in political activities. After looking into the newcomers' identity inertia, the discussion moves on to the implications of this kind of life management.

In a paradigm of material culture, housing and traveling patterns are especially significant as they are related to one's identity and identity maintenance.

f. Living without participation is possible

While Fung Ying's adhesion to the Mainland is assured, the question is whether this affects her standard of living, and most importantly, whether this leads to social exclusion. According to Burchardt, (1999, 2002) measurement of social exclusion requires consideration four aspects, namely consumption, production, political engagement and social interaction.

1) Consumption

Fung Ying had lived in the Mainland for nearly forty years. She was used to the environment of her hometown, including its culinary habits. Now Fung Ying traveled between China and Hong Kong frequently. Every time she brought along with her different foodstuffs. Here is our conversation before she went back to China in the summer of 2003:

Fung Ying: I like noodles, especially noodles sold in Hong Kong. The taste is different. I will bring two tins for oil.

Interviewer: Do you mean you bring two empty tins back to China?

Fung Ying: Yes. The price of oil in China is cheaper than that in Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Really?

Fung Ying: It is $40 per tin. What you pay in Hong Kong can get you several catties more in China.

Interviewer: Any other things will you bring to China?

Fung Ying: Medicine.

Interviewer: Medicine?

Fung Ying: That's all. Also, some clothes given by my friends I will give them to my niece and nephew.

Interviewer: What will you bring back to Hong Kong?

Fung Ying: *Eggs. Peanuts for soup and soybean milk. I ask my sister-in-law to get some for me. I have two daughters so I need some eggs for them.*

Interviewer: *You can buy eggs here.*

Fung Ying: *The eggs from my hometown are more tasty. They are different from those we buy here.*

The above transcript indicates the consumption pattern of Fung Ying. As a CSSA recipient, Fung Ying purchased cheaper goods from the Mainland and brought them back to Hong Kong in order to save more money. Frequent travels between the two places helped Fung Ying enjoy a better material living standard. The reason of consuming in China was not only for saving money. For Fung Ying, consuming in China meant her connection with hometown. The food was thought more tasty since she could feel the love from her hometown. She and her daughters preferred having their hair cut in China. Fung Ying said she felt more comfortable when she had a hair cut in China since she could communicate with the hairstylist much better than in Hong Kong. She sometimes felt shy and nervous when she talked with Hong Kong hairstylist. She said that only the hairstylist in her hometown knew what she wanted. Hong Kong people also like shopping at Shenzhen but the reason of consumption is looking for cheaper stuffs but for Fung

Ying, the reason is more than that. Continuing the previous lifestyle could remind her that she had not forgotten her hometown. Doing this was not only for her own benefit but also helped Fung Ying distinguish Hong Kong as a place for living and her hometown was a place for relaxation and fun. Therefore, it is not necessary for her to consume in Hong Kong.

2) Production

Fung Ying could not get a job in the competitive labor market in Hong Kong since she was at middle-aged, with low education and no skills. Her bargaining power in the labour market was weak. She showed intention to work but she needed to reserve time for taking care of her daughters. That means there was no chance for her to engage in economic production. According to Burdchardt's (1999, 2002) definition of social exclusion, Fung Ying belonged to the socially excluded. Even Fung Ying had no power to enter labour and had to rely on CSSA, she still could enjoy the lives in Hong Kong by the means of traveling between China and Hong Kong to lessen the expense. For Fung Ying, the means of production was how to better use of CSSA and it seemed that saving money like another kind of production.

3) Political engagement

Fung Ying had no interest in Hong Kong politics. Her comment on public rallies and demonstrations was very negative, showing her discontents with political issues, such as July First Demonstration.

Interviewer: Did your friends join to demonstration?

Fung Ying: No, why did we need to go?

Interviewer: Why didn't you join it?

Fung Ying: We did not share the thoughts with them.

Interviewer: Have you talked about this topic before?

Fung Ying: Yes, but most of them disagreed with the belief behind.

Interviewer: Why?

Fung Ying: We support Mr.Tung.

Interviewer: You like him. Why do you like him?

Fung Ying: He's very gentle. Hong Kong is too free.

Interviewer: What do you think about Hong Kong? Do you feel comfortable with this place?

Fung Ying: I don't know. I don't have the sense of belonging here. I like China. I prefer travelling around to staying in Hong Kong. I hope I can travel between two places so I can visit China sometime and I can also live in Hong Kong. That's great.

4) Social interaction

Fung Ying and her daughters lived in a public housing estate. Most of her neighbors were old people so they seldom approached her neighbors. Fung Ying got many friends and all of them were new immigrants. Fung Ying met them when she was attending a social integration program organized by a welfare organization. Fung Ying had a new immigrant community around her.

But, they understood that they were different from local people, so they were not keen on making friends with the people. The chance of social contacts was scarce since many of the interviewees were housewives and they had little chances to meet with local people. Adjustment is not only a matter of how to get familiar with the new environment or to communicate with indigenous people. For them, how to handle the family affairs is their main concern.

Considering Fung Ying's involvement in consumption, production, political engagement and social interaction, she could not be counted as socially excluded. Indeed, she found her way of living in a mobile state.

g. Identity confusion

Identity is multiple and flexible. To a certain extent, we can choose our identity. However, the situation may be more complicated when the choice is a dilemma.

New immigrants struggle with their identity. Fung Ying, for example, also experienced such struggle. CSSA was a form of assistance and simultaneously a problem. Society has a negative feeling towards new immigrants living on social welfare and new immigrants feel ashamed to receive CSSA. Even though new immigrants are negatively viewed, Fung Ying did not mind disclosing her identity. She said, 'I do not mind being called a new immigrant. I did not care what they said about me. I came here not for getting benefit. Therefore I would not do anything to make myself look more fashionable.'

Fung Ying's circumstance had changed since she got divorced shortly after her arrival in Hong Kong. Before the divorce, her husband was the breadwinner of the family. She depended on her husband economically, so her 'unemployment' was not counted as social exclusion. After the divorce, Fung Ying became a single-parent and her family needed CSSA. As a welfare dependent, Fung Ying was regarded as socially excluded. Social welfare was a way putting her at a more disadvantaged position. The extent to which whether social policy is helpful is arguable.

Fung Ying may not feel excluded, but she struggled between the implication of CSSA and the needs of a single-parent. The following dialogue illustrates her struggle:

Interviewer: *Your daughter Po Ki was born in Hong Kong, but was taken back to China. Do you think she is a new immigrant?*

Fung Ying: *Many people call her a new immigrant, but she is not entitled to attend free courses for new immigrants. So I don't think she is not a new immigrant.*

Interviewer: *Do you mean that Po Ki is not qualified to attend any new immigrant class? Do you think she is a new immigrant?*

Fung Ying: *By definition she is not a new immigrant. Even though she was taken back to China, she was born in Hong Kong. She cannot be taken as a new immigrant. I understand that.*

Interviewer: *It's interesting. A dual identity.*

Fung Ying: *Yes. A dual identity.*

Interviewer: *From your point of view, all your family members are new immigrants.*

Fung Ying: *Yes. Even though she was born in Hong Kong, she has lived in China for many years. Just like the rest of us.*

Interviewer: *Can you clearly indicate that if Tin Wai(the elder daughter) is a new immigrant or not?*

Fung Ying: *A new immigrant.*

Interviewer: *How about Po Ki?*

Fung Ying: *Almost. She was taken back to China when she was a baby, and did not come back until some years ago.*

Interviewer: *How about yourself?*

Fung Ying: *A new immigrant.*

Interviewer: *Let's put the question in another way. Are all of you they Hongkongers or Mainlanders?*

Fung Ying: *We live in Hong Kong so we are Hongkongers.*

Interviewer: *Do you think that your Hong Kong identity is more salient when you are in your original place?*

Fung Ying: *I wouldn't say that I am a Hongkonger.*

Interviewer: *You wouldn't.*

Fung Ying: *I wouldn't disclose my identity.*

Interviewer: *You say you are a Hongkonger. So when you travel back to Shenzhen, would you say that you came from Hong Kong or another part of China?*

Fung Ying: *Hong Kong.*

Interviewer: *Because you are a Hongkonger.*

Fung Ying: *Yes.*

The above dialogue shows the confusion of Fung Ying between the new immigrant identity and Hong Kong people identity. Identity confusion arouses the dilemma in the claim of recognition and redistribution. The negative view of local people toward new immigrants made Fung Ying unwilling to disclose her new immigrant identity. However, many social services are tailor-made for new immigrants. Only new immigrants are entitled to receive those services; therefore, she is required to show or maintain her new immigrant identity.

Conclusion

According to Extended Case Method, empirical research is for rebuilding existing theory. We select Process Model as the theory in advance and see whether this theory is suitable for understanding the new immigrants' experience in Hong Kong. Our analysis shows that the key concept of this model is a very good heuristic device in this study.

Migration is a major decision in life and leads to significant changes for the individuals and their families. On the eve of departure, uncertainty may baffle the ready-to-leave people as potential gain or loss is unpredictable. Process Model pinpoints that unsuccessful adjustment leads to negative effects and results in psychological stress. The needs for adjustment and consolidation are largely the

consequences of uprooting out of migration. In the case of U.S. immigrants from European and South American countries, uprooting is easily found since the destination is far away from the original countries. However, it might not be the case in Hong Kong.

In Fung Ying's case, we found that it was easy for her to maintain her family in 'seclusion', keeping her former identity, lifestyle, values and habits intact. She was devoted to her daughters and took the role of "housewife" as her career. Her husband was the breadwinner of family and Fung Ying did not have to engage in economic activities. It seemed that Fung Ying was happy with this kind of family life, with gendered division of labor, sacrifice for children and little interaction with society. Ensured with economic support, the possible hardships arising from social exclusion were non-issue for Fung Ying.

Fung Ying struggled when she needed social assistance. While social assistance helps new immigrants get rid of poverty and social exclusion, it is intimidating as recipients suffer from an identity of 'second-class' residents. Fung Ying felt that people regarded her and her family as dependents. She needed to manage her family and social life in a more secluded way. Minimal participation in consumption, communication and politics hid her identity. The case of Fung

Ying shows that, without economic support, newcomers find it difficult to maintain their original way of life. It is imperative for them to adjust to a new situation. However, dealing with two identities is not easy at all.

In the case of Ah King and Ah Ying, the critical issue is the interaction and communication with their 'abusive' husbands. Divorce finally is a good way out for them. However, their experiences also indicated another possible direction of development that is not taken into consideration in Process Model. They appeared to live in an enclave, only focusing on minimal interaction with neigbours, workmates and friends. The mothers were mainly concerned about the future of their children. They had to tune down their ambitious personal accomplishment and largely give up participating in a wider social world.

The case of Ah Chu shows that a family is not a closed system. A newcomer may be upset for being discriminated by his/her Hong Kong relatives. Ah Chu's mother-in-law was the greatest problem for Ah Chu. In Process Model, adjustment is understood as the process linking between individuals and the external environment, but intra-familial interaction is totally ignored. In our analysis, we see that integration also has much to do with intra-familial adjustment. With the fact that the mothers put all their chips on their children, how would the

next generation react? The findings call for an analysis of inter-generational communication: does the presence of children increase the likelihood of family conflicts? From the case of Fung Ying, we found that it was difficult for a mother to teach children who were more active in local social life. To evaluate the effects of social exclusion on inter-generational relationships, we move on to familial relationships among new immigrants in their adjustment process.

We pose the question as to the necessity of integration in this chapter. When coming back to this question, we consider the reason of asking this question. In Process Model, similar to Solidarity Paradigm on social exclusion, social integration is said to be the indication of infusion and the establishment of a common cultural solidarity between newcomers and domestic people. This echoes the traditional sociological question as to the importance of social order, a question raised by Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons and those from Chicago School Tradition. It seems that individuals will be happy only when social order and equilibrium are achieved and maintained. As shown in the cases, social integration seems to be difficult to achieve, given that Hong Kong people showed a low level of acceptance and appreciation of newcomers. However, this does not imply the emergence of social crises among them. There have been indeed

difficult situations for newcomers, but troubles are not only from discriminatory social attitudes of local people. Family issues can also be the major source of troubles as revealed in the cases of Ah King and Ah Ying. After divorce, they concentrated on bringing up their children who became their hopes and the source of happiness. It is true that we should be concerned about how social work profession could assist them to get involved in more communal activities and political participation. However, this only reveals that the process of social exclusion does exist. But as shown in Ah King's case, more assistance from social work reinforced Ah King's confinement to the closed circuit in which social workers became her friends and thus little desire to go out. This is paradoxical. Measures of anti-social exclusion might unintentionally turn out to be the means of reinforcement of a personal enclave. Before having the hope of achieving social integration, we should examine clearly the nature and effects of the measures employed to eradicate social exclusion.

Chapter 5

The Adjustment of Second Immigrant Generation

Immigration is not only a motion of moving from one place to another. Once the decision of migration has been made by oneself, it comes along with challenges and uncertainties throughout the migration process and, as a result, it arouses great impact to one's life. How to adjust themselves new life in a new place becomes a great challenge to new immigrants. Changes provoke worries and doubts and it may cause problems to the whole society. In order to play down the effects caused by immigration and maintain the stability of the whole society, the government should play an active role to help new immigrants to have a better adjustment in a new environment. In the case of Hong Kong, there are revisions of existing housing and education policies and the implementation of tailor-made social services to new immigrants. According to the website of recourse network for new immigrants, the composition of new immigrants is mainly women and young people, young people under 19 made up 47.8% and 38.7% of the immigrant population in 1999 and 2000 respectively[17]. Helping young new immigrants to

[17] http://arrivalsocailnet.org.hk

have a better adjustment has become one of the main concerns of the HKSAR Government under the considerations of helping new immigrants for better adjustment. The SAR Hong Kong Government seems to be employed an active and responsive attitude to help, for instance, the implementation of tutorial classes for young immigrants. Much attention has been giving to young immigrants for helping them to enter the education system. As a result, education performance seems to be worked as an indicator to one's capacity and it helps to exhibit the competence in adjustment. In other words, education performance seems to be equal to adjustment; good education performance will help to achieve better adjustment. Under such circumstance, young immigrants put much effort on education performance and even their parents also share the same beliefs. Thus, many of them tried very hard to do well in their studies. The stories depicted in Chapter Three told us the bitter experiences of young immigrants in schooling. Upon arrival, the immediate challenge for young immigrants is how to fit into the social life of Hong Kong, so getting good adjustment in school is very vital to them. Different from their parents, young immigrants have no place to hide. Their parents can choose to quit working and stay at home but, for young immigrants, they have no choice. Schooling is the crucial part of their lives. After arriving, the first task is school searching and most often the searching process ends with

unhappy ending. Upon the communication with young immigrants in our fieldwork, many of them replied that they felt inferior and secondary in the whole process. According to the current policy, young new immigrants are required to down grade to lower form, for instance, a 15-year-old young immigrant may ask to demote to Primary Six or Primary Five. Demotion makes them feel upset and inferior and age becomes a secret to them. Under the existing education policy, the Education Department plays the role of providing relevant information and adjustment courses to new immigrants only, but school-life adjustment is not on their agenda. Language is also a problem for the children. Traditional Chinese characters are not their usual written language and the heavy accent in spoken language always blocks the ways for communication. Young immigrants are not willing to make friends with the locals and, as a result, a wall is built between young immigrants and the locals.

When much of the attention has been put on the performance of studies, the other aspects of adjustment of young immigrants seem not important. The complexity within family in respect of the understanding on identity and the meaning of immigration is rare for discussion. Adult immigrants want to maintain the connection with their hometown and are not eager to erase the

identification with their native land; however, young immigrants do not share this view with the adult immigrants. They are more eager to wipe away the native identity and much urge to become a HongKonger. This discrepancy may arouse conflicts among family members and put young immigrants into an indecisive position. The reason of why discrepancy appears is worth further investigation. In this chapter, we want to argue the conflict aroused may not be prompted by new immigrants but the contradictory nature of the existing policies. Different from the migration experience of their parents, young immigrant show distinguished adjustment account throughout migration process, particularly in the understanding of identity formation. Young immigrants lack the strong sense of identification with their hometown so that they are more willing to identify with Hong Kong people. With reference to the Process Model, unlike adult immigrants, young immigrants may not go through the process of uprooting in the sense that they get nothing to uproot. They were born in China and then left their birthplace when they were very young; that means they have stayed in Mainland China for a very short period of time. They do not recognize the living experience in China nor have much memory with their hometown. China is only a place for visiting friends and relatives.

In the previous chapter, we have talked about the lives of female immigrants in Hong Kong, and then we turn our focus on discussing the lives of young immigrants. In this chapter, we look into the experience of immigrant children after settling in Hong Kong. From our fieldwork data and conversations with the young immigrant, most of them showed their unwillingness for migration. Referring to the citations from new immigrants quoted in Chapter 3, young immigrants have to come across the feeling of uncertainties and helplessness in the migration process. Migrating to a strange place with different political and cultural environment made them feel frustrated and helpless. Children had no say in the decision for migration. Even though they have showed their reluctance, due to the reason for achieving a better future and the attraction of brilliant livings in Hong Kong, they have to do so. Young immigrants always know that the chance to migrate to Hong Kong is rare and valuable so that they should not miss this chance. Compared with their parents, young immigrants lack the enthusiasm for migration. In this sense, young immigrants have to put more effort on emotional adjustment. However, the focus of the existing policies for new immigrants is usually on the fulfillment of tangible needs.

The next aspect which we want to investigate is the issue of identity formation. What kind of identity do young immigrants want to acquire? Having mentioned before, native Chinese identity is not strong among young immigrants so they are more ready to acquire a new identity. Under such circumstance, we want to explore how young immigrants handle the dual identities of new immigrants and Hong Kong residents? The next enquiry that we want to know more is the parent-child relationship. Long period separation of children and parents creates strong feelings of distance and unfamiliarity. How do young immigrants perceive their relationship with parents? We want to argue that the exclusive nature of policy gets easy to deteriorate the fragile family relationship.

1. General reaction to resettlement

There are few studies on the immigrant children's feelings about their migration. Recent scholars and studies in North America suggest that the absorption of the second generation of the new immigrants into mainstream society is likely segmented, and the young people take different pathways to adulthood, depending on a variety of factors, conditions and contexts, vulnerabilities and resources (Gans 1992; Portes and Zhou 1993). In the case of Hong Kong, young immigrants have to use great effort to adjust the new lives in the areas of education, social life and

family. We can see that young immigrants are thwarted by the unwelcomed and hostile attitude from the local people as follows. We argue that if young immigrants do not identify strongly with their parents' hometown, they may not experience uprooting as suggested in the Process Model. Without the experience of uprooting, the issue of the young immigrants following their arrival in Hong Kong is a matter of the feeling of being disoriented and a strong urge to fit into the mainstream. Good academic performance has become one of the significant indicators to measure the degree of competence in adjustment.

From the published materials, *Sowing Again: My Days in Hong Kong*, produced by immigrant children, it can be seen that most of the young immigrants aspire to getting good grades. Educational success is regarded as a way of being accepted and recognized. In contrast, if someone fails to do so, he is blamed as loser and burden to society.

a) Academic inferiority

Schooling is the first challenge for young new immigrants. Under the existing education policy, the Education Department offers the followings to new immigrant children: 1) assistance in finding schools; 2) adjustment courses.

However, young immigrants tend to have negative experiences. The most irritating problem is demotion caused by age discrepancy and difference in English standard. Many young immigrants were forced to repeat for one to two years. Many of them feel bad about it.

> *'My English is really poor. To strengthen my foundation, I decided to demote for three grades and restart from primary school. Schools with good reputation did not accept me. I was sent to a rural school. Oh my God! In mainland I am a secondary school student. It is a well-run school at the provincial level! Now I am disposed to a school where there are only fifty odd students. I could not accept it at first.' (Sowing Again: My Days in Hong Kong, 1998:46) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)*

> *'Because of my poor English, whenever we do listening practice, I am confused while my classmates listen with interest. When they laugh, I smile, but I don't know what is so funny. A feeling of being inferior attacks me. It devours my self-esteem.' (Sowing Again: My Days in Hong Kong, 1998:48) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)*

> *'The truth is that I am over-aged and not eligible for the school allocation program. A staff member of the Education Department has contacted some schools, but they rejected me, saying that their places were all filled up and they simply didn't accept immigrant students.'*

(My Days in Hong Kong, 1998:119) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)

The above citations depict the powerlessness of young immigrants in the case of handling educational issue. The change in language from Chinese to English in studying and the readjustment in both on education system and the school life in a new environment bring great pressure to young immigrants. However, nothing can be changed by themselves and the only way is following the path and try their very best to fit into society. In the process of policy making, there is a lack of considerations on the issue of psychological impact to welfare receivers. Young immigrants being demoted in class are classified as low-achievers. The demotion will continue throughout their academic path. In every academic year, the fact of being demoted will be announced again and again. The feeling of inferiority and secondary will come in another time. Age seems to be a taboo for them.

b) The eagerness to attain academic success

Good academic performance is regarded as the best indicator of their effort in fitting into mainstream social life.

'Teachers of every subject give me special attention. They offer me extra lessons. In return, I study very hard. As my results improve, both

my teachers and I are pleased. Gradually, my failures became passes, and the passes slowly moved up to high marks. It makes me happy every time. I am truly glad. The fear that once I had is not there anymore. I have made myself at home in Hong Kong.' (Sowing Again: My Days in Hong Kong, 1998: 67) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)

'Therefore I work harder than the others. I spent all my time studying and paid no attention to the other things. One term passed; my results were outstanding, which surprised me. However, I am not happy about it, especially when I see my classmates having a good time together. I really want to join them. But what if they reject me? I'll lose face!' (Sowing Again: My Days in Hong Kong, 1998:111) (Original in Chinese, translated by author)

'Accurate Cantonese and excellent academic results concealed up my identity, until a naughty classmate screwed all up. He spread the "news": "She is an immigrant, that's why she scores high marks." If I were a boy, I would beat him heavily!' (Sowing Again: My Days in Hong Kong, 1998:83) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)

Education performance means the whole thing to young immigrants. Therefore, they study hard and work hard in whatever means since many of them believe that only through the means of getting high score in studying will they not be looked down by Hong Kong people. Young immigrants also share the same

belief with their parents and who uphold the important and paramount status of education performance. Their self-image is developed by the academic performance. In the eyes of Hong Kong students, young immigrants are very aggressive and competitive. However, young immigrants have to pay the cost. Hong Kong students perceive them as competitor in the area of academic performance. The negative attitudes of Hong Kong students towards young immigrants constitute a very unfriendly studying environment for both parties. Young immigrants may win higher score in studying but the price is isolation and loneliness. The feelings of being unwelcomed and unaccepted are still there.

c) Psychological disorientation

In the published material, '*Sowing Again: My Days in Hong Kong', t*here are many accounts of unpleasant experiences:

> *'My first year in Hong Kong was the most difficult. I cried almost every night. All my classmates looked down on me. They called me "Mainland girl." They made fun of me as I did not understand Cantonese. When they knew that I was older than most of them, they laughed at me. The discrimination hurt me like a knife. I was confused. Did I do anything wrong? Was my China birth a crime? Such pressure did hurt. I did not dare to talk to my parents, as they already had a lot*

of burden. I did not want them to worry about me' (Sowing Again: My Days in Hong Kong, 1998:46) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)

Pressure encircles the lives of young immigrants whether the pressure come from the demand of how to fit into the life in Hong Kong or the anxiety of how to communicate with the local people. Unlike their parent immigrants, young immigrants have no place to hide so they have to face the challenge in every moment. The negative response from the host society towards new immigrants directly makes the hurt to young immigrants. The matters in place of birth and age have become a burden to them because these two matters will betray their new immigrant identity. Different from adult immigrants, young immigrants treasure the chance to make friends with one another much more, to develop interests and identities in their group. However, the unfriendly environment discourages them to be nice and pleasant to people and the outcome is they seclude themselves from contact with the locals and choose to live in their self-defined world. We believe that being alone is not their will and this unhealthy psychological disorientation will deteriorate the relationship between young immigrants and the locals.

d) Unpleasant social life

'"Are you new here? What's your name?" I answered her in a strange accent. She laughed and turned to somebody and said. "Here comes another Mainland girl." Her words hurt me deeply. I pretended reading, but I could not see anything as my sight got blur.' (Sowing Again: My Days in Hong Kong, 1998: 61) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)

'In school, even in the same classroom, there is a constant gap between my classmates and me. For the locals, I am like someone from another planet. Seeing their attitude towards other immigrants, I have to admit, though unwillingly, that they accept me only because of my outstanding academic results. All my classmates feel excited and enthusiastic when we have exams or tests. By the time we finish our lesson, the classroom quiets down at an instant. I sit there alone, in indescribable pain.' (Sowing Again: My days in Hong Kong, 1998:125) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)

'Every time I go out, the police ask me for my I.D. card. Why do they check on me only? I stare at the policeman discontentedly. I am officially admitted to Hong Kong. I look silly standing in the street. It seems that everything around me is strange to me. I get confused: where am I staying? Can Hong Kong be my home? I walk and keep my eyes on the ground, hoping to see a $500 note and go back to the Mainland. However, I never find my means.' (Sowing Again: My Days

in Hong Kong, 1998:96) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)

The above citations tell us that the unpleasant experiences exist both in school and outside school. The hostile attitudes of local people towards new immigrants upset the new immigrants to fit in the new environment.

e) Unpleasant family life

Besides having unpleasant social life, immigrant children also have unpleasant family life. Family reunion is rewarding, but good feeling is offset by problems arising from the process of adjustment.

'I used to think that we could be happy after reunion; however, it is not the case. A gap of ten years, the work of my parents, increasing burden on my family and my uneasiness to adapt to a new place lead to many quarrels. Life goes on like this, and I hate it.' (Sowing Again: My days in Hong Kong, 1998:79) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)

'Perhaps because of the small accommodation or the long separation, my parents and siblings feel like strangers to me. There is no warmth but unhappiness. We always quarrel, sometimes even fight. Hatred turns our family into something totally different. Finally I realize that my dream of a sweet home has been shattered.' (Sowing Again: My

Days in Hong Kong, 1998:106) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)

Parents are the source of embarrassment. Since the immigrant children have the impression that their peers dislike new immigrants, they avoid showing up with their parents. The children's unwillingness to let their parents meet them was recorded in our case study.

'In the first term, I came third and caught up with my English. Some classmates accompanying their parents on the Parents' Day called me 'the girl from Mainland China who came third in class.' They insisted that it was nothing as I was older than most of them. Almost everyone come with their mothers on that day except me because my mother is illiterate and does not speak Cantonese. My father came instead. It was little embarrassing, but I got used to it after the first time.' (Sowing Again: My Days in Hong Kong, 1998:119) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)

Young immigrants feel shamed at having their new immigrant identity and their new immigrant parents simultaneously. They try to conceal their new immigrant identity but in vain. In fact, even young immigrants look down upon

their new immigrant parents. They feel shamed of being born in China and feel embarrassed with their new immigrant identity. Many of them believe that their parents look very different from the locals and their 'new immigrant' look will disclose their new immigrant identity.

Long separation between parent and child upsets the parent-child relationship in different ways. Both parties feel strange with each other but biologically they are very close. The different living habits are also barriers to them. Readjustment has become one of the main sources of quarrel aroused between the parent and the child. Unfortunately, these two parties are also under stressful conditions. Young immigrants have to put most of their effort on academic performance while their parents are devoted to working or under the pressure of being unemployed. There is no room for them to do readjustment. Each of them has their different concern. As a result, the gap between the parties becomes wider and wider.

f) Negative responses from the society

The previous parts have shown the hardship of young immigrants suffering after their arrival. Hong Kong people identity seems to be a panacea. Having it seems a solution to every problem. In fact, it is easy to understand the eagerness of

young immigrants for a local identity. From the point of view of young immigrant, the identity is a kind of recognition and acceptance. If we take a look on the suffering which young immigrants have met in their daily life, we can find that they face discrimination in school.

> *'…those immigrant children grab the teachers' sympathy, thus we are threatened. Now the government admits millions of immigrants from Mainland China. I am certain that it is against the will of all my classmates. We don't welcome them. I hope they will never come to Hong Kong!' (My New Immigrant Classmates, 1999:13) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)*

> *'Hong Kong is overcrowded. You are almost instantly surrounded by people once you get to the street. You can't turn around. You can't breathe. There is not enough space for living. Four or five people have to squeeze in an apartment of less than 300 square feet. How could such a life be comfortable? Moreover, public facilities, like schooling, are barely sufficient. If more people live in Hong Kong, land must be spared to fulfill their need. Hong Kong is, in fact, short of usable land. Reclamation should not be adopted again and again. Frankly speaking, there is no long much coastal space for reclamation. Is it a good to have beaches like "Butterfly Bay" reclaimed? If the situation gets worse, Hong Kong would sink very soon!... Job opportunities and school places are scarce nowadays*

(with excess demand), and it is hard for us to find a place. Whether new immigrants win or lose the locals are the ultimate victims. If new immigrants win the competitions, the unemployment rate of Hong Kong will increase. There will be a direct negative effect on us. In case they lose, they will go for CSSA. The payment is de facto from the government -- basically from our pockets. We support their living. I wonder who will be that generous… You may think that I am selfish; but man is basically selfish. There's an old proverb: unless a man looks out for himself, Heaven and Earth will destroy him. It is not just a view of mine. Many people especially locals who think they are not good enough for competition share it. There are so many talents in Mainland China. They are working hard. They strike for anything and demand very little in return. Our job will be all taken away by them!... Now the government admits so many Mainlanders to Hong Kong. It will only increase our burden. Their arrival does not help Hong Kong's economy. So why should they be admitted?' (My New Immigrant Classmate, 1999:14-15) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)

'…Immigrants are not good. They take jobs away from the unemployed and make Hong Kong citizens suffer. PLEASE GET OUT OF MY PLACE IMMEDIATELY!!!' (My New Immigrant Classmates, 1999:29) (Original in Chinese, translated by the author)

g) The cases of Julie and Becky

Instead of quoting some reading materials to illustrate the experiences of new immigrant children, we interviewed two young new immigrants. Both of them were teenagers and came to Hong Kong almost seven years ago.

Julie and Becky are friends. Shortly after their arrival, they had similar experiences. They were not willing to migrate to Hong Kong. The following reveals their opinions about the new life and their shared experience.

Becky: *I didn't ….I only packed some clothes…at that time, I really didn't want to come. The way of life in Hong Kong and China was similar, but it takes time to get used to the environment. I had to leave all my friends in the mainland. My social life and school life in the mainland were very good. It was hard to tell whether I could adapt to Hong Kong.*

Interviewer: *You only brought some clothes and didn't know what to bring along with?*

Becky: *I just didn't want to come.*

The different living environments of China and Hong Kong, especially the problem in housing and adjustment, disturbed the young new immigrants. The

hardship cannot be totally overcome in the present condition.

Interviewer: *When is most difficult moment in your adaptation to the life of Hong Kong?*

Becky: *The time right after I settled down, and the problems I face just now.*

Interviewer: *The time when you just settled down, and the problems you face right now….*

Becky: *Now I have really settled down. When I first came to Hong Kong, our flat was very small. The whole family was packed in one very small place. By that time my family could not get our flat back, we had to rent a flat and there was only one room in that flat. Four people lived in that place. On the contrary, our place in the Mainland was much larger, almost 1000 square feet, with a balcony. I really had a hard time here at the beginning. Another problem was transportation. In Hong Kong, people use public transportation even for short distances. In the Mainland, we always walk, and if it is too far, we drive.*

Interviewer: *This is the hardest part in your adaptation?*

Becky: *Yes.*

Interviewer: *How about school?*

Becky: *School? Not at all, but my English is weak.*

Interviewer: *I read some articles saying that young new immigrants are more mature so that they get better results.*

Becky: *Absolutely not. It seems that I am so stupid, because I am older…*

Julie: *It's the same, but we are older and it is hard if we perform worse than the others.*

The experiences of Becky and Julie are common among newcomers in Hong Kong. This is due to external social forces imposed on new immigrants. The problem with adjusting to the education system and unpleasant social experiences trouble the young immigrants.

Becky and Julie shared similar experiences and expressed their discontents.

Becky: *I am older than my classmates over one year because students in Hong Kong go to school one year earlier than the Mainlanders*

Interviewer: *So there is a gap of two years in total.*

Becky & Julie: *Yes*

Interviewer: *Do you really mind this kind of difference?*

Becky: *At the beginning, I took it very seriously but it is better now.*

Julie: *I am a bit annoyed by that. Coincidentally, somebody*

asked me about this earlier today.

Interviewer: *You mean people ask you about it -- what does that mean?*

Julie: *When people ask you the question, you feel bad. For example, when I meet any friends in the street and they ask, "Which form are you in?", it is not easy for me to answer. And they go on asking, "What is your age when you are in that form?" It seems that we are older than we should be. It is very difficult to explain to them. We don't want to bother, so we don't give them a serious answer.*

Interviewer: *Not give them a serious answer? How to do that?*

Becky: *Tell them a form that corresponds to my age. Of course I don't do that to my close friends.*

Interviewer: *That's to say: If you are now heading for F.3 at the age of sixteen, you'll feel embarrassed because you are two years older than most of your classmates?*

Julie: *Maybe I am too conscious of it, so the gap is getting larger and larger*

Interviewer: *But you were in the same primary school.*

Becky: *There was no problem at that time.*

Julie: *We were usually allocated to primary schools that were really poor academically. They belonged to the*

immigrants. The schools were full of immigrants. There might be only one local student in a school. So we almost grew up together.

Interviewer: *Do you mean when you first came to Hong Kong, most of your friends were new immigrants? Only when you went to secondary school you made friends with local students…*

Becky: *It started from secondary school, so adjustment was done hard.*

Interviewer: *Compared secondary school and primary school, what's the main difference? What is the change?*

Becky: *I really don't want to go to secondary school. I make excuses even though I know that's wrong.*

Interviewer: *Does any of your classmates share the same experience? Or you are just too particular about it?*

Becky: *Those unhappy experiences did not exist in primary school, but they do in secondary school.*

Interviewer: *If you don't say it, no one can tell your age.*

Becky: *No, it is obvious.*

Interviewer: *Really?*

Becky: *People know you are older.*

Interviewer: *How?*

Becky: *By appearance.*

Interviewer: *Really?*

Becky: *But…*

Interviewer: *Your face isn't marked with "immigrant", is it?*

Becky: *Sometimes people know when they know you for long.*

Interviewer: *I see.*

Becky: *Perhaps if you admit it sometime, you don't have to keep the secret.*

Interviewer: *Would you tell your classmates that you were not born in Hong Kong and you are indeed an immigrant?*

Julie: *If they ask me, I will tell them.*

Becky: *Yeah, that's true.*

Julie: *Speak frankly.*

Becky: *Let's say, when I first arrived here, if they asked me, I would tell them the truth. By the time when we went to secondary school, many people wanted to know how old you were. They wanted to know your personal stories. It felt a little bit like discrimination. I didn't really care. I'd done nothing wrong.*

Interviewer: *Do you think your classmates treat you differently because you were from the Mainland?*

Becky: *Not absolutely. It varies between individuals.*

Interviewer: *I think it is interesting… it seems that all your presumptions are just your own conjecture.*

Becky: *Half and half.*

Interviewer: *Did anything actually happen? Did your classmates hurt your feeling because you are an immigrant?*

Julie: *No particular incidents I can think of.*

Becky: *Because we seldom come across cases that somebody discriminates against the others.*

Interviewer: *Can it be said that discrimination is not serious in Hong Kong?*

Becky: *No. There's no absolute answer.*

Interviewer: *Have you ever been excluded or discriminated?*

Becky: *Some people have.*

Interviewer: *That kind of experience.*

Becky: *Yes, somebody was excluded.*

Interviewer: *How about you?*

Becky: *I wasn't.*

Because of the public's negative attitude towards new immigrants, the young new immigrants are often not welcomed in school. The unhappy experience keeps them away from local people. As a result, new immigrants form groups of their own, reinforcing the difference between the locals and the new immigrants.

The local people's unwelcoming attitude hinders both parties from having a better understanding of each other.

Interviewer: *Becky, do you think that school is tough?*

Becky: *Yes, very tough.*

Interviewer: *Could you give us more details?*

Becky: *For instance, during recess, I just stand alone in the corridor. When time's up, I return to my seat immediately.*

Interviewer: *Nobody keeps your accompany?*

Becky: *The classmates are always in groups.*

Interviewer: *But you know them. You have known them since you were in F.1.*

Becky: *No, we get into different classes. Last year, I got to know a classmate in my class. We were close, but we were not of the same type. Moreover, we were in different classes, her class was on 3/F while mine was on 1/F. We did not meet very often. If possible, we went home together sometimes.*

Interviewer: *Does it mean you had no close friends in F.1?*

Becky: *I had one.*

Interviewer: *How about in F.2?*

Becky: *None.*

Interviewer: *With no friends and stay alone?*

Becky: *I am alone, usually.*

Interviewer: *But why can't you get along with your classmates?*

Becky: *There's no point, I just can't.*

Interviewer: *Have you thought about the reason?*

Becky: *Maybe, we are different. Probably.*

Interviewer: *Different, but…there's only an age gap of two years. Do you think age really hinders your relationship with your classmates?*

Becky's experience shared similar experience – similar with most of new immigrants. Her classmates' unfriendliness intensified her discontents with their identity.

2. Familial relationship

In the previous chapter, we found that adult immigrants are less willing to give up their original identity. However, immigrant children have a strong desire to become Hongkongers. To what extent does this desire affect familial relationship and the degree of social exclusion of the immigrant children and the immigrant parents? It is necessary to separate the study of social exclusion of the immigrant children from that of the immigrant parents as the two groups deal with the

adjustment using different tactics and resources. This section explores the impact of migration on familial relationship

The Process Model does not provide a theoretical cue to understand the adjustment of immigrant children. Our foremost exploration on the father-child relationship and conflicts requires a theoretical proposition as the starting point. The first proposition is related to the typical form of immigration. The new immigrant population was largely made up by children and women. Young new immigrants are usually separated from their father for a long time, thus it is somehow difficult for them to build an intimate relationship. Family can help young immigrants adapt to a new environment, but it can also be a source of conflict hampering adjustment for both generations.

a) Father, a stranger - the case of Julie

One of our interviewees, Julie, had difficulty getting alone with her father. Her father was a Hongkonger who seldom visited her and her mother stayed in the Mainland before their arrival. They did not have a close father-daughter relationship.

Interviewer: Also, are you used to living with his father?

Julie: It is a bit strange at the beginning

Interviewer: *I see.*

Julie: *For example, when I wanted to use the telephone, I had to ask my father for permission…it is a bit 'strange'*

Interviewer: *Is it better now?*

Julie: *No, it is still not good.*

Interviewer: *How do you get along with each other?*

Julie: *We often quarrel.*

Interviewer: *You don't have such a problem in the past?*

Julie: *Perhaps we are used to quarreling when I was in the Mainland.*

Interviewer: *Your father argued with you even when he visited you?*

Julie: *No. In the past we didn't meet very often. Now there are many chances for quarrels.*

Interviewer: *So how is your relationship now?*

Julie: *I am now more tolerant. But he isn't.*

Interviewer: *Is it because you two were separated in the past?*

Julie: *Yes. We seldom met; perhaps we met once every several months.*

Interviewer: *Do you have a similar problem with your mother?*

Julie: *Not so serious.*

Julie was dissatisfied with her family life. She did not ask for help from her father even when she faced difficulties, and seldom told her father things about her school life. She preferred hanging around rather than staying at home. The tension between her father and her also reflects a clash of opinions. Her father was afraid of any bad influence on Julie, but Julie had an increasing urge for independence. This attitude was a result of assimilation. The distinction between accommodation and assimilation should be stressed. According to Park and Burgess, as paraphrased by Rumbaut, ‘an accommodation may take place quickly, and the person or group is typically a highly conscious protagonist of the process of accommodating those circumstances. In assimilation, by contrast, the changes are more subtle and gradual, and the process is typically unconscious, so that the person is incorporated into the common life of the group largely unaware of how it happened’ (1997:944). Considering the identity of immigrant children in such a light, we expect to find assimilation among immigrant children and accommodation among immigrant parents.

By speaking, consuming and wearing in the Hong Kong way, Julie has built up her image as a Hongkonger and has largely assimilated with Hong Kong. Julie

does not like the identity of Mainlander. She has a strong urge to become a Hongkonger.

b) The swap of gender role in the family-the case of Becky

We have discussed the characteristics of new immigrant families. The situation of 'an old husband with a young wife' is common among new immigrant families. When the old husband's ability to work falters, there is the swap of gender roles. The father becomes the housekeeper, and the mother becomes either the family's breadwinner or a CSSA recipient. This reformulation of gender roles violates the norm and arouses many family conflicts.

Interviewer: What is the most difficult problem for living in Hong Kong? What is the hardest part?

Becky: Which aspects are you referring to?

Interviewer: Any, what bothers you the most for the time being?

Becky: Academic results and family problems.

Interviewer: Family?

Becky: My family members always quarrel.

Interviewer: How? Could you give me more details?

Becky: The way we quarrel is rather 'traditional',

Interviewer: *Did your family seldom quarrel when they lived in the Mainland?*

Becky: *Yes we did. Of course my parents quarreled, but not so often. Perhaps it was because back then my mother did not have to work. Only my father did.*

Becky: *I only meet her [mother] at dinner time. Other than that, I seldom see her. Sometimes I don't see my mother for weeks, and I start worrying whether she is in danger at work.*

Interviewer: *Anything can happen, you know.*

Becky: *Yes.*

Interviewer: *Does she have a day off?*

Becky: *Yes, she often plays mahjong when she has a day off. I don't see any problem with it as it is the way for her to relax. If she is happy, I am fine with it….But my father always starts a quarrel with her. I do not know how to put it in words.*

Interviewer: *Does your father go to work?*

Becky: *No.*

Interviewer: *So he often stays at home?*

Becky: *Yes, it is boring for him. Sometimes he goes out for a break, strolling along the footbridge.*

Because of the change in gender roles, there is a negative effect on the readjustment process in parent-child relationship.

c) I want to become a Hongkonger

Getting good grades in school is not their target. They just want to avoid being labeled as newcomers. Language is easy for Julie who lived in Shenzhen before migration to catch up. She speaks fluent Cantonese as the locals do. Whenever she finds any problem with her Cantonese, she corrects it immediately. She writes in traditional Chinese characters. She has built up her self-confidence through wearing like Hongkongers and speaking like Hongkongers. She is very alert about what may reveal her identity so she tries very hard to cover up any trace that may indicate that.

However, Julie cannot forget her identity as a newcomer. In order to erase the background, she avoids interaction with her classmates and neighbors. She is afraid of being asked about her original identity. Since her classmates know that she came from the Mainland, Julie is not active in school. Unlike those mentioned in the previous sections who aspire to achieve good grades in their studies, Julie is not interested in studies. She was demoted because of her lower English standard; all other subjects are too easy for her. She is not interested in

any of the other subjects. She considers doing too good at those subjects nothing but a sign of ignorance.

Julie can be classified as socially excluded in the domains of social interaction and education. Her friends are mostly those going to the same church or immigrant children living nearby. In respect to consumption, her self-image as a Hongkonger is supported by her appearance, language, consumption pattern and lifestyle.

She also has problem with her family. She is only close to her mother. Receiving little attention from her father, Julie also suffers social exclusion on inter-generational level.

Adjusting to the new life in Hong Kong generates many conflicts within the family. As the family members arrive in Hong Kong at different times or may be born at different places, each of them has a distinctive way of adjustment and different needs. With the implementation of two-ways permit, it is quite common for new immigrant women to give birth to a baby in Hong Kong. To disentangle the complexities of inter-generational relationship, we look into the anomalies found in another case.

3. Complexities inside a family

In Julie's and Becky's cases, a subjective sense of social exclusion is somewhat prominent, in particular when they were talking about their social life. They are reluctant to get in touch with their fathers, neighbors and schoolmates. They assimilate to the social life in Hong Kong consciously. In this section, we discuss a case of assimilation in order to show a different link between involuntary social exclusion and family life.

Conflicts in new immigrant families mostly arouse from long-term separation and generation gaps. The above transcript of Julie's interview reveals her strange feeling for her father. External social forces upset the lives of young new immigrants, especially their adjustment to the social life. Young new immigrants are more eager to erase the identity of a new immigrant and get connected with the outside world, while the parents prefer to keep the original one.

Fung Ying: I do not mind being called a new immigrant.

Interviewer: How about your daughters? Do they mind being called new immigrants?

Fung Ying: No. They don't mind. It doesn't matter.

In one of our cases, a conflict arises due to different views on the change of identity. As follows are the views from a young immigrant.

Interviewer: *Your mother said she doesn't mind being called a new immigrant, how about you? Do you mind being called a new immigrant?*

Wai: *If I don't disclose my new immigrant identity, nobody knows where I came from.*

Interviewer: *Will you expose your new immigrant identity willingly?*

Wai: *No. If they do not ask me, I will not say anything.*

Interviewer: *That's means if somebody asks you the question, you will tell them.*

Wai: *Nobody has asked me this question before.*

Interviewer: *Why? Were you afraid of being asked this question when you were in secondary school?*

Wai: *No.*

Interviewer: *You thought it was not a problem.*

Wai: *Yes.*

Interviewer: *What do you think about Hong Kong people?*

Wai: *Polite. But some Hong Kong people speak foul language. It is not good for Hong Kong*

Interviewer: *Anymore?*

Fung Ying: *They speak politely.*

Interviewer: *Do you share the same view with your mother? How about people in China?*

Wai: *People in China do not like lining up.*

Interviewer: *Did you line up when you lived in China?*

Wai: *Yes. I did but the other people didn't.*

Interviewer: *Did you do it naturally?*

Wai: *When I was in China, I disposed rubbish into trashcans rather than littered. In China, nobody cares about such things.*

Interviewer: *Yes. You keep the habit even when you are back to China. Your mother said that you were unhappy about your China-birth. What do you think?*

Wai: *I don't know.*

Interviewer: *Do you think it would be better if you were born in Hong Kong?*

Wai: *Yes.*

Interviewer: *Why?*

Wai: *There is no need to tell anybody where I came from. Answering this question is too troublesome.*

Fung Ying has two daughters who are 9 and 11 years old. The younger one was born in Hong Kong but returned to her mother's hometown one month after

she was born. The older one was born in the Mainland. Both settled in Hong Kong in 2000, when the younger one was 6 and the older was 9. The two sisters have different citizenship status. The older sister, Tin Wai, is a new immigrant while the younger sister, Po Ki, is a Hong Kong citizen. The sisters, who rarely met her father when they were young, were not close with him. Upon arrival, they found it difficult to develop a good relationship with their father who usually worked long hours everyday. They are emotionally attached to their mother. The relationship between mother and her daughters is complicated. The table below lists four possible kinds of relationships and their implications to family life. An analysis on the pattern of interaction reveals the impacts of different identities on family life.

Figure 5.1Complexities of Family Relationship of Newcomer

Relationships (Identity)	Patterns and characteristics of Interaction	Implications
Fung Ying (newcomer) vs Tin Wai (newcomer)	Daughters were expected to maintain the identity of a newcomer in order to continue the lifestyle of mother's hometown; the daughters were happy with their original identity.	Close ties and both shared similar experiences, attitudes and lifestyle, with good relationship with people in mother's hometown.
Tin Wai (newcomer) vs. Po Ki (local)	The younger sister assimilated into the culture of Hong Kong, feeling good to be a Hongkonger, and enjoying the local lifestyle; the older sister sometimes put the blame on her mother for her China -birth.	The older sister always considered her China-birth; the younger sister was unable to understand her sister's attitudes and lifestyle, such as closeness with people of her mother's hometown. They had different taste and consumption patterns.
Fung Ying (newcomer) vs. Po Ki (local)	The mother did not require the younger sister to learn habits and lifestyle of people in the Mainland; she expected her younger daughter to act like a local.	The mother brought up the younger sister in a different way when compared to the way she brought up the older sister; she allowed the younger daughter take part in more extra-curricular activities so as to interact with local people
Fung Ying (newcomer) vs. Po Ki (local) and Tin Wai (newcomer)	The mother did not treat them as the same way.	Resulted in a segmented integration through which the older sister struggled with two identities, while the younger sister had a more straightforward path

We have delineated the pattern of interaction and implications of the existence of two identities within a family. In our view, this insight could be employed to understand the incorporation process of Fung Ying's daughters, in which the older

sister has more consideration in face of a new culture. Facing a dilemma between her mother's patriotism and the incentive to fit into Hong Kong, Tin Wai had to choose her identity: an immigrant or a Hongkonger. She felt she was treated unfairly that her sister, a rightful citizen because of her local birth, could enjoy more social benefits, but she had no way to change the fact. Her choice was a balance between two identities. In order to please her mother, she adopted a newcomer guise, living, consuming and wearing in ways which her mother preferred.

In contrast, Po Ki lived an easy life. Through assimilation, she gradually picked up the identity of a Hongkonger, sharing the local taste, attitudes and appearance. This preference was supported by her mother, who also expected her to become a 'total Hongkonger.' She had a higher degree of participation in school activities, social interaction and consumption and had a better sense of social integration. Without insisting on retaining an immigrant identity, she also found it easy to adjust to the social life in Hong Kong. Po Ki's happy life was not only the result of her legal citizenship, but also her mother's support. Her mother asserts double standard to her daughters.

Conclusion

The unwelcomed attitude of local people towards new immigrants has aroused our interest in studying social exclusion and discrimination. New immigrants, especially young ones, look down upon themselves. In order to redeem their self-esteem, they are more willing to get rid of their new immigrant identity through consumption and social interaction.

There is a lack of studies on the role of family in the new immigrants' adjustment process. Family can facilitate adjustment and integration, but it may also be a source of conflict. The role of family cannot be ignored. In the case of Fung Ying, we found that different identities had different effects on the process of adjustment. Process Model is individual-based and our analysis puts the subjects in a family context and examines the implications of different roles in family to their ways of adjustment. We want to argue that social exclusion is not a problem with the outside world, but a problem in family. In the case of Fung Ying's family, Tin Wai's mother caused segmented incorporation in the family. Julie and Becky exercised voluntary social exclusion. By considering the situations of our subjects' families, we found out how complexities in family lead to the different adjustment experiences.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This study is an exercise of Extended Case Method. The departure is from a choice of theory of interest that is put under the process of falsification in search for anomaly. Process Model is put forward by a social service organization chosen for this study as the heuristic device to understand the extent of social exclusion that new immigrants, who came to Hong Kong in the 1990s, experienced. Process Model in fact has nothing to do with the study of social exclusion; instead, it is concerned with social integration between new immigrants and the people of the receiving countries. The theoretical tenets of this model are basically drawn from the literature on the immigrants of the United States in the last century. However, it contains a modified version of the view of melting pot framework which later has been termed as 'Assimilationists'. Drawing on largely the insights from Chicago School in sociology, assimilationists provide a widely known definition of assimilation which refers to the 'process of interpretation and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are

incorporated with them in a common cultural life' (Park and Burgess, 1969:735). In Process Model, social integration is defined as an intriguing way, in order not to risk the assimilationists' bent that dissolves the original cultural sentiments into an integrated whole of the dominant culture, that both cultures are considered intact while a common culture is said to be generated through a two-way process of changes. Along the changing process, external forces such as government intervention and the involvement of social services are assigned as a positive role to facilitate this process. In Chapter 1, we have pointed out that Process Model falls in line with the Durkheimian version of social exclusion (i.e. the solidarity paradigm) in which individuals are expected to fuse with the dominant culture and moral solidarity, and the failure in respect indicates the existence of social exclusion. We argued that in both Process Model and Solidarity Paradigm give no attention to the nature and process of state intervention and the involvement of social service, as well as social work profession. We did attempt to argue the need to study the extent to which the issue of new immigrants is fueled by disputes over the financial benefits provided to new immigrants through the welfare system. We argue that an increasing number of people coming from the Mainland in the 1980s did stimulate public reaction to the inflow of new immigrants in the

condition that the residual welfare ideology had been entrenched in the ethos of Hong Kong people.

Regarding the study of the process in which new immigrants start their new lives in a new place, Process Model contains an idea that the object of study is the process in which individuals access to the receiving countries, giving little attention to the significanct role of family and family dynamics to the extent of which the individuals experience social exclusion. The employment of Process Model in the social work profession in Hong Kong also reveals that while the social service sector pays much attention to newcomers, the adaptation and adjustment patterns of new immigrants are understudied. Many social service professionals are still guided by a traditional model of assimilation. In this study, we could come to the conclusion that when we approach the lives and experiences of new immigrants, a model that treats them as isolated individuals has become obsolete. The following factors should be taken into consideration. They are, the nature and consequences of state intervention that influence the orientation towards new immigrants of indigenous people, the process of cultural changes among local people, the extent to which local culture welcome new immigrants; the impacts of the orientation of local people on social exclusion, the extent to which new immigrants experience

the four stages in the process of interacting with the people of the receiving country, namely uprooting, adjustment, consolidation and integration, the significance of the role of family and intra-family dynamics, the effects of the involvement of social workers on the elimination of social exclusion, and, of the most important, taking gender as a key concept in the study of social exclusion. The importance of all these factors was found from our study that has been reported in the previous chapters. The following sections summarize the findings of this study and highlight the significance of those factors just listed out. The findings are the outcomes of an exercise adopting Extended Case Method.

1. Summary of Findings

Chapter 1 gives a general depiction of the relationships between Process Model, Extended Case Method and Social Exclusion. The elaboration of the three frameworks has been done in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 starts with an overview on the Hong Kong's immigration policy since the 1950's. Under colonial rule, political stability and economic prosperity attracted many people from the Mainland. Most people came to Hong Kong to look for a better future. The colonial government, in face of the massive influx, was under the pressure that the mainland government did not recognize the three Treaties and thereby the colonial government had no

right to stop any inflow of population. Taking a passive role, the colonial government let the local economic upswing to generate sufficient resources for the incomers. Few specific social policies were formulated to deal with issues arising from immigration. Housing policy was an exception at that time because, since the issue of the Hambro Report which revealed the fact that the immigrants would stay in Hong Kong for good, public housing provision should be provided to evade any political crisis arising from poor living conditions. Not until the late 1070s, the colonial government recognized the burden constituted by new immigrants. The cancellation of the 'touch-base' policy indicated a change in attitude of the colonial government. The policy was replaced by a quota-system and since then newcomers could only migrate to Hong Kong through legal channels. The unbridled inflow of immigrants, both legal and illegal, was thus under control. Immigration issues came up again in the political agenda during an economic recession in the late 1990s. Instigated by the hostile media and some politicians, the public had a negative impression towards new immigrants and was discriminatory in the 1990s. As shown, this was a corollary of the strong entrenchment of the residual welfare regime ideology that had been skillfully promoted by the colonial government since the 1950s. This certainly gave a hard time to most of the new immigrants. Strong apprehension against newcomers set

off the positive effects of social policy. There were efforts to facilitate employment, vocational training and adjustment, but the local job market fell short to absorb the local working population, let alone newcomers. The unemployed, newcomers resorted to financial support from the welfare system, thus becoming the target of public criticism. Suffering from the lack of employment and an unfriendly social environment, newcomers hardly participated in production, consumption, politics and social interaction. The reason for a low degree of participation in production is understandable. Competition for jobs was keen. Newcomers, mostly unskilled or semi-skilled, found it difficult to get a job. In face of an unfriendly social environment, they avoided social interaction. Communication with local people was difficult. Some interviewees expressed that they found Hong Kong people too smart to be their friends. Therefore, some immigrants travelled between Hong Kong and Mainland China to keep close tie with their hometown.

In Chapter 4, we delved into the social life of several new immigrants and examined their migration and settlement process. We selected Process Model as the basic theoretical framework for our study. As argued in Chapters 2 and 3, following Extended Case Method, we worked on a framework and looked for

anomaly through fieldwork. The same line of methodological strategy has been employed. In consistent with the situation aniticipated in Process Model, we found that many interviewees experienced ‘uprooting’. Just as the cases of Ah King and Ah Ying revealed, uprooting however did not render them difficulties in adjusting to a new social environment. By confining their social life within their personal enclave in the sense that family life was the major concern, Ah King and Ah Ying did find themselves capable of managing their social lives, in spite of little involvement in social networks and their ethnic communities. What they were concerned was the issues arising from their marriage, such as domestic violence, battering wives and child abuse. After divorce, the issues were gone through and the women turned to pay all their attention to their children’s educational attainment. Their children became their hope and monument of success. One of the most important anomalies found in this study was the case of the absence of uprooting. This led us to rethink how a new immigrant could afford maintaining his/her links with the social networks in his or her hometown in the case of Fung Ying. We found that unlike Vietnamese refugees in the United States, or Chinese expatriates in North America, new immigrants remained close to their relatives and friends in their hometowns. Frequent visit is the way to keep their relationship vital. The concept of material culture led us to observe the new immigrants’

arrangement of their home. We finally found that new immigrants kept a lot of materials from their hometown, and thus their original cultural sentiment and identity were sustained. Moreover, some of them had visited Hong Kong several times before migration and already got used to the social life of Hong Kong. Adjustment appeared to be a task that they had been accomplished before coming to Hong Kong. The assumption of the Process Model that immigrants inevitably experience uprooting, adjustment and consolidation should be reviewed.

We also examined whether immigration was a linear process, lining up uprooting, adjustment, maintenance and integration. This process is suggested by Process Model. However, American scholars have pointed out that this linear progress approach was flawed by the ideological presumption of ethnic superiority of the Anglo-America culture (Kazal, 1995; Kivisto and Blanck, 1990; Rumbaut, 1997). The linear progress is similar to Process Model used by social service professionals in Hong Kong. Few have made critical comments on the model and reflected upon the ideology behind social integration. According to Process Model, integration is divided into four stages. The ultimate goal of the process is apparently assimilation to the core society and the disappearance of prejudice and discrimination. In our case study, we found that newcomers could manage their

life in a secluded way, keeping their original lifestyle with little social interaction with local people, few political engagements, and no economic participation.

Our case study shows the inadequacy the linear progress model in assessing social integration. If a low degree of participation in production, consumption, political engagement and social interaction is an indicator for social exclusion, Fung Ying could be regarded as socially excluded. However, she did not seem to have any problem with her private and public lives. In the case of Fung Ying, she was happy with her current situation. She could look after her children, and handle housework. A newcomer was not at all troubled by seclusion. She did not feel inferior to the Hongkongers either. In our view, the happiness owed largely to her effort in sustaining her original identity as 'a new immigrant.' She kept a lot of her old habits and practices. Her home in the Mainland was similar to that in Hong Kong. She just extended her home from her hometown to Hong Kong.

We examined other cases to see if financial sufficiency enabled new immigrants to live happily regardless of their relationship with society. When we studied the case of Ah Chu, her family disputes caught our attention. She did not get along well with her mother-in-law, an indigenous Hongkonger. Occasional quarrels made Ah Chu frustrated and anxious. Ah Chu's mother-in-law was

influenced by the prevailing discriminatory attitude and gave Ah Chu a hard time. This case shows that external social forces penetrate into newcomers' private life through different channels. To deal with such kind of familiar conflict, Ah Chu attempted to act like a Hongkonger. In other words, Ah Chu must discard her original identity. However, this tactic is not equivalent to adjustment. It is a loss of the original self and submission to the host society. Although many social service practitioners committed to Process Model, some reject such action as a way to integration. According to Process Model, mutual respect is a key component of social integration. Unless her mother-in-law changes her attitude, it is impossible for Ah Chu to live happily in her family. After settlement, Ah Chu had to deal with the tension arising from her relationship with her mother-in-law. It was not Ah Chu who needed to learn to adjust; it was her mother-in-law. The ideal situation is mutual respect between the two women, with which both could retain their own identity and way of life. In order to maintain a good relationship, both parties must learn to adjust continually. Adjustment is a long process, and the ensuing stages such as maintenance and social integration are not easily to be accomplished.

Apart from evaluating Process Model, we also highlighted the extent to which new immigrants could tolerate living in their 'imagined' enclave in which family life is seemingly all the scope and concerns of their personal lives. In the case of Fung Ying, it seemed that social exclusion did not cause in a lot of unhappiness and anxiety in a newcomer's life. Nevertheless, this kind of living is vulnerable. Fung Ying's life was in crisis after her divorce. Not economically independent, Fung Ying found it difficult to survive. The new identity as a welfare recipient made her feel inferior, discriminated and excluded. Over time she became more detached from local people. Social support made her more different from indigenous people. She needed to adjust to this new identity. According to Process Model, while social service professionals are expected to help newcomers adjust to social life in core society, in practice the effect of social service provision is discouraging. It results in a more detached life for the recipient. Fung Ying needed to adjust, but not as somebody supported by social service. She was 'forced' to become dependent on social service provision, and this overshadowed her self-image. After moving to her new home in Fung Ying, she was reluctant to interact with her neighbours as she wanted to conceal her identity as a welfare recipient.

In Chapter 5, we examined the second generation's reaction to settlement in Hong Kong. We discussed the complexities of the immigrant children's identity, their relationship with their parents, and interaction with their schoolmates and friends. We also investigated if the immigrant children went through the four stages of social integration as listed in Process Model. In Chapter 4, our findings indicated that adults were more likely to have difficulties in adjustment. In the case of Fung Ying, dependence on social service gave her a new identity which led to a more socially detached life. In the case of Ah Chu , a local-born family member started disputes in the family. Unlike the adults, children did not tend to have a strong 'original' identity, nor did they suffer much from a sense of inferiority. They found it easier to integrate into the local social life. Making a distinction between accommodation and assimilation, we strongly believe that immigrant children are more likely to enjoy social integration. Understanding the identity of the young immigrants in such a light, we reckoned that the case among young immigrants was assimilation, whereas that of their parents was accommodation. Thus, conflicts between newcomers and local people translated into conflicts between parents and children. If we measure social exclusion by the level of social participation, a low degree of participation among immigrant parents was indicative of their experience of social exclusion.

There is a lack of study on the role of family in familial conflicts. We argue that family can foster better adjustment and integration, but at the same time, family can also be a source of conflict. All along, we believe that social exclusion and discrimination are caused by social factors. We cannot ignore the role of family in the study of social exclusion. We found that young newcomers might experience different processes of adjustment, as shown in the analysis of Fung Ying's family. Those who were younger were more likely to go through assimilation. Adjustment did not require much conscious effort. Those who were older had to make a greater effort to fit into the social mainstream. In light of such findings, we put forth a theory that, for understanding the process of adjustment, we need to put the actor back to his or her family context and see how the family and personal circumstances affect development.

In the case of Fung Ying, we found how different identities led to different adjustment processes. As Process Model is individual-based, our analysis put actors in a family context, and examined how different roles affected adjustment, in order to complement Process Model. Actors may take different ways to deal with their social life.

Social exclusion is instigated by factors outside the family, and also those from inside. In the case of Tin Wai, the mother played a critical role in creating a segmented incorporation process. In the cases of Julie and Becky, voluntary social exclusion was found. To sum up, the study of adjustment should be limited by a linear model. The concept of adjustment is just a point of departure. We need more tools to study identity formation and maintenance, family web and its implications on adjustment. It is also necessary to make a distinction between accommodation and assimilation. Tools for measuring participation are also needed for assessing social exclusion.

2. Research Difficulties and Limitations

Using Extended Case Method as our guiding methodology was very challenging. The aim of Extended Case Method is theory building. This is not something that we were familiar, so at the beginning, we felt uncertain and insecure. In Hong Kong, few local studies have adopted the methodology to explore similar issues. All along, the focus of study is on the feasibility of theory, rather than an up-and-down process. Extended Case Method stressed the importance of process and the significance of reflection. Therefore, we spent a lot of time on question reformulation and sometimes felt confused.

We targeted at the interaction among individuals. Even though we got the chance to meet different newcomers, we got little chance to meet their family. To capture a more detailed picture of the interaction among family members, we should have met the whole family. However, it was quite difficult for us to approach the father and husband. There was an absence of their voices in this study. In order to gather information that reflected real-life situations, we met our female new immigrant interviewees in a causal way. Young male new immigrants were not among the sample. Their viewpoints were not collected in this study.

Although immigration issues had aroused much public attention, most studies suggested similar results and arguments. The limited scope of the study in the field impeded our exploration on this issue.

Our ideal was to track down the experiences of new immigrants over time. However, the interviewees were reluctant to allow us to follow their daily course. Only one interviewee allowed us to go to her hometown with her. Moreover, observation from daily life was not in verbal form, and the researcher found it difficult to do any analysis and presentation. The validity of interpretation remains a problem for this kind of ethnographical studies.

Due to limited time, we terminated our study after two years of fieldwork. However, according to the principle of Extended Case Method, theory rebuilding is a continuous process. This means that there is no limitation to theory rebuilding.

3. Further research suggestions

Visiting the hometown of Fung Ying and her relatives was a valuable experience, giving us an insight to the life of her family. Interactions between Fung Ying and her family gave us a better understanding of her. By observing Fung Ying's homes in Hong Kong and China, we learnt her distinctive way of living and this helped us understand why and how she maintained such a lifestyle even after her migration to Hong Kong. From this rewarding experience, we found that it is better to stay with the subject for a longer period of time.

The study of material culture helps us understand Fung Ying's identity formation and maintenance. It is better to involve the second generation on this matter. We believe that an analysis on material culture in home decoration casts light to the relationship between parents and children.

4. Concluding remarks

This study aims to rebuild a theory of interest so as to enrich our understanding of the experience of social exclusion among new immigrants from the Mainland.

We found that identity plays a key role in the process of adjustment. In this light, we suggest that more attention should be paid to the new immigrants' identity struggle. It is necessary for us to understand the effects of identity changes or preservation. In the past, social service provision targeted at the provision of information, vocational training and language courses. However, skills for handling two or multiple identities are also needed for adjusting to a new situation. Identity hybridity is an interesting issue. In term of the experience acquired from this study, the study of material culture is fruitful. It is helpful, both theoretically and methodologically, especially for the study of the experience of migration.

We advocate putting the actor back to the family context in the study of immigration. Both the social service sector and the academic field in Hong Kong are deeply influenced by an individual-based framework. Migration is understood as a personal experience. This study has indicated the significance of the family in adjustment. To help newcomers lead a better life, the provision of social services must include family services. This may help Hong Kong become a more harmonious place to stay.

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