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**DISCRIMINATION AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF
'NEW ARRIVAL WOMEN' FROM MAINLAND CHINA**

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MPHIL

LINGNAN UNIVERSITY

JULY 2002

**DISCRIMINATION AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF
'NEW ARRIVAL WOMEN' FROM MAINLAND CHINA**

by
TSOI San Kiu, Sunday

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Philosophy

Lingnan University

July 2002

ABSTRACT

Discrimination and Social Adjustment of ‘New Arrival Women’ from Mainland China

by

TSOI San Kiu, Sunday

Master of Philosophy

This research examines the scope and the extent of discrimination experienced by (New Arrival Women) NAW as well as its impact on their social adjustment in Hong Kong Special Administration Region (HKSAR). It has been argued that discrimination slow down the adjustment process. Institutionalized discrimination and individual discrimination are examined in relation to NAW social adjustment in the HKSAR society.

The research framework is based on the concepts of institutionalized and individual discriminations. Unfair Government policies being seen as a socio-structural factor results in institutionalized discrimination while the unsatisfactory outcomes arising from the interaction between NAW and LPRs (Local Permanent Residents) brings about individual discrimination. These experiences have brought a sense of alienation and separation from the host population.

This study is based on panel study that lasted from January 2001 through March 2002. In-depth interviews to NAW from Mainland China to Hong Kong were conducted twice within one year. The interviewees include 33 NAW who entered the HKSAR with one-way permit in the last 5 years under the family reunion policy. The time interval between the first and the second interview was at least ten months. Participant observation of two NAW for 9 months was also conducted to complement the interviews.

Findings indicate that institutionalized discrimination arising from government

policies such as policies on accreditation, Identity Card and public housing eligibility have adverse effect on the social adjustment of NAW. Furthermore, individual discrimination, as a result of NAW shortcomings in language fluency, differences in life style and dressing style, are manifested in cheating (non-verbal behaviour), scolding (verbal behaviour) and beating (violence). Another major observation is that individual discrimination, which may be attributed to the economic recession where NAW are regarded by LPRs as competitors in the sharing of the diminishing social resources such as jobs and other welfare facilities, gives rise to a sense of alienation and separation. However, proactive social service for NAW empowers their capability to adjustment in HKSAR, which enhance integration and assimilation to the receiving society. Surprisingly, wife abuse is found in NAW's family. Concomitant to discrimination, NAW lacks support from the society and the family. Indeed, some experienced abuse in the homes, which challenges the notion that family provides social support. Their sense of powerlessness has becomes a catalyst for solidarity among themselves to face the unfavourable situation.

In conclusion, institutionalized discrimination as well as individual discrimination do exist and have adverse effect to the social adjustment process of NAW typically reflected in alienation and separation from the host population.

I declare that this thesis 《Discrimination and Social Adjustment of ‘New Arrival Women’ from Mainland China》 is the product of my own research and has not been published in any other publications.

TSOI San Kiu, Sunday

July 2002

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL OF THESIS

DISCRIMINATION AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF
‘NEW ARRIVAL WOMEN’ FROM MAINLAND CHINA

by

TSOI San Kiu Sunday

Master of Philosophy

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I dedicate this thesis to my supportive husband and my son.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

There is a long history of population influx from Mainland China to Hong Kong. These migrants have been given different names at different times. During the 1950s and 1960s they were called ‘refugees’; in the 1970s and 1980s they were called ‘new immigrants’. Since reunification with China in 1997, the Hong Kong Special Administration Region (HKSAR) government calls these migrants ‘new arrivals from the Mainland’. In this thesis ‘new arrivals (NAs)’ and ‘new immigrants’ will be used interchangeably to refer to all migrants from China regardless of their time of arrival.

In 1993, an agreement was reached between the People’s Republic of China Government and the Hong Kong Government to increase the one-way permit (from Mainland China to Hong Kong) quota from seventy-five to one hundred and five per day (Hong Kong Government, 1994); on 1 July 1995, it was further increased to one hundred and five per day (Hong Kong government, 1996).

In 1997 the Census and Statistics Department (1997d) estimated that the population of Hong Kong would increase at an average annual rate of 1.3 per cent, from 6.29 million in 1996 to 8.21 million in 2016. The projection of increase in the population is mainly due to the current one-way permit quota system (Since 1 July 1995, the daily quota for NAs on one-way permit is 150.). According to Article 24(3) of the HKSAR Basic Law, spouses and children of local permanent Hong Kong residents have the right of abode in Hong Kong after 1 July 1997. Women and children form the bulk of these new arrivals. In 1997, there are 50,287 new arrivals coming to Hong Kong, of which 43.3 per cent and 49.9 per cent were children and wives of Hong

Kong residents (Hong Kong Government, 1997). According to the Home Affairs Department (Hong Kong council of Social Service, 2001b: <http://newarrivals.socialnet.org.hk/main.htm>), the total number of new arrivals who entered Hong Kong during 1999 to 2000 under the one-way permit system was 55,838, of whom 68.8 per cent were women. Among 68.8 per cent, those who were between the ages of 20 and 49 were 40.5 per cent.¹. Obviously, females outnumber males. In other words, most of them are married women who came to Hong Kong for family reunion, and are likely to have to experience a new life in a new social environment.

1.2 Identification of Problem

On 29 January 1999, the Court of Final Appeal ruled on the issue of right of abode that is based on Article 24(3) in the Basic Law. The ruling was that Mainland-born children with at least one parent who is a Hong Kong permanent resident have, without restriction, the right to live in Hong Kong. The judgment has given rise to much controversy on the issue of right of abode and has led to expressions of deep concern amongst the government sector, non-government organizations and academics. However, since then, the mass media have depicted NAs (i.e. new arrivals) from Mainland China negatively. They are quite often depicted as a burden for Hong Kong society. For instance, the economic consultant of the Hong Kong government claimed that new immigrants from the Mainland would raise the unemployment rate, lower the living standard of local permanent residents (LPRs), and lower the wages of LPR unskilled workers. (Sing Dao Daily News, 1999a, 1999b; Ming Pao, 1999; Sing Pao Daily News, 1999). Such descriptions may depict new immigrants unfair.

Recently, according to the Social Welfare and Census and Statistics departments

¹ Author use the source from Home Affair department to calculate.

data at the end of February, Chan and Moy (Chan & Moy, 2002) reported that 18 percent of 333,969 NAs from the Mainland received Comprehensive Social Security Assistance (CSSA), compared to just 6 percent of the 6.7 million people in Hong Kong. They claimed that new migrants occupied 14.8 percent among the total recipients and family reunion was the deciding factor in the vast majority of cases. Lui (Moy, 2002) argued that with reference of Social Welfare report, influx of NAs might slow economic development in Hong Kong and diminish competitiveness. Inevitably, resources have been allocated for the family with NAs. However, Cheung (2002) argued that the report had misled citizens to think that the influx of NAs was the critical factor to drain Hong Kong resources and slow down the economy of Hong Kong. Cheung (2002) pointed out that to make a reasonable comparison of the take up rates of NAs and non-NAs, one should count the number of persons who are eligible to apply for CSSA and the actual number of persons who have received CSSA. Cheung's (2002) conclusive argument is that the total expenditure of CSSA is 6.7 percent of government budget in 2002. In fact most of the expenditure is for helping the aged and disabled, while the remaining for the unemployed, single families and the low-income cases occupy only 28 per cent. Expenditure in this area occupies only 1.8 percent of the total budget. Whereas 24 per cent of the unemployed, single families and low-income cases are related to NAs, that means expenditure for new arrival family occupies only 0.4 percent of the total budget.

The mass media (Sui, 1998b; Lo, 1998; Lai, 1999a; 1999b, Chan & Moy, 2002; Moy, 2002) and surveys conducted by various organizations (Hong Kong Federation of Women's Centres, 2000; Hong Kong Catholic Labor Commission for Labour Affairs, 1999a) suggest that discrimination against NAs exists in Hong Kong. According to Lai (1999a; 1999b), LPRs treat NAs as if they are 'dirty garbage'. It has

been argued that discrimination causes emotional and physical stress (Aroian, 1998), which affect individuals coping with their daily lives. When new immigrants enter Hong Kong, they may need to adjust to the new social environment. However, discrimination may affect their abilities to cope in the new social environment (Shapiro, 1999). Hence, one may argue that discrimination hinders immigrants' social adjustment. This study examines how discrimination affects the social adjustment of these new arrival women (NAW) in their social life, work life and family life.

1.3 Objective of the Study

Though NAW form a substantial proportion of all NAs from Mainland China, studies on the problems they face in Hong Kong are rare. Recently, Hong Kong Federation of Women's Centre (2000) has carried out an exploratory survey to find out the needs of NAW. This survey includes questions about the economic, employment and housing needs of these women, their ability to interact with locals, the social support they receive, their social lives, family relationships, as well as the extent of discrimination by local people and their mental health. Hong Kong Young Women Christian Association (YWCA, 1998) similarly conducted a descriptive survey on the needs and adjustment of married NAW. Chung (1996) studied the family life adaptation of new immigrant wives from China, and Lau (1995) focused on life stressors and help-seeking behavior of NAW. These aforementioned studies are descriptive on nature and the data is based on survey. This thesis, however, adopts an exploratory and descriptive approach using a qualitative research framework, aiming to investigate how discrimination may influence the process of social adjustment in relations to NAW's social, family and work lives. Furthermore, causes that affect their social adjustment in these three areas are examined. A qualitative approach allows us to look into issues and processes relating to their social adjustment which may not otherwise

be provided by a quantitative approach.

Based on the above arguments, the objectives of this study are as follows:

- (i) To examine how discrimination may influence NAW's process of social adjustment in Hong Kong, specifically in the areas of family life, work life and social life.
- (ii) To examine the consequences of discrimination on the social adjustment of NAW in Hong Kong.
- (iii) To identify the need for social policy that may facilitate NAW to better adjust in Hong Kong.

Chapter Two

LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature review on discrimination against immigrants in the process of social adjustment will be conducted in five areas: (i) the conceptualization of discrimination; (ii) discrimination against ethnic group and the adjustment of new immigrants; (iii) the general social adjustment of NAW from Mainland China in Hong Kong; (iv) discrimination against NAs in Hong Kong; and (v) the influence of discrimination on social adjustment of new immigrants, in particular women, in Hong Kong.

2.1 Conceptualization of discrimination from different approaches

According to Johnson, ‘prejudice is the theory of racial and other forms of inequality and discrimination is the practice’ (Johnson, 1995:213). Sociologically, prejudice underlies discrimination, the unequal and/or unfair treatment of people or groups (Marshall 1998:163). Discrimination is mentioned most commonly in the context of theories of ethnic and race relations, and is viewed as an expression of ethnocentrism. This explanation is consistent with studies on stereotyping. Stereotyping, which induces a close relation between ethnic and racial groups discrimination, is influenced by socially constructed beliefs that are held by dominant group in a society. Johnson and Marshall point out that most sociological analyses of discrimination concentrate on the dominance and oppression of minority groups and how this is an expression of the struggle for power and privilege amongst different groups in society (Johnson, 1995:213-215; Marshall, 1998:163). When one sex dominates and oppresses the opposite sex, sexism appears. In a nation when one race dominates and oppresses others, racism is constituted. Some have argued that discrimination is often the result of colonialism (Marshall, 1998:164), such as racism in South Africa. When domination and oppression apply to the labour market,

segmentation occurs. This has been interpreted as ‘capitalists benefit by forcing a distinction between cheap insecure labour and higher-paid secure labour, and that it is often convenient to draw from different ethnic or racial groups in constructing these categories’ (Marshall, 1998:65).

Prejudice cannot be eliminated in terms of personal dislike, and prejudice could manifest itself as different forms of discrimination. The most salient expression of prejudice is institutionalized discrimination. Institutionalized discrimination has a long tradition in America, Africa and Europe, and may be found in the spheres of politics, educational and social security policy, and in the area of legal rights. (Steinfeld, 1973; Wilson, 1978; McClain, 1994; Wrench, 1999). Institutionalized discrimination means discrimination against some groups, as a result of the majority groups adhering unthinkingly to existing organizational and institutional rules or social norms. Individual discrimination, which is more difficult to define and to identify, exists in daily life, and can be found in informal practices such as despicable language and speech directed towards immigrants or minority groups. Generally, individual discrimination still exists in many developed countries (Wrench, 1999; Chiu, 1994; Gabaccia, 1992).

Racism and discrimination have been in existence since the period of the Greeks, e.g. when slaves were treated as second class persons under bondage of the freeman (Zimmern, 1961:175-178). Though America is often described as a ‘Melting Pot’², ethnic discrimination has persisted in her history (Steinfeld, 1973). For instance,

² Melting Pot is a term used to portray America as the land of freedom, democracy, and golden opportunity in which people of all races, creeds, and colors are accepted on equal terms. This is a glorious terms. Pride in the assimilation of huge numbers of immigrants is vital companion to the myth of the Melting Pot. (Melvin Steinfeld, 1973:ix)

there is the ‘White response to the Yellow Peril’³ in California which resulted in anti-Chinese riots in the late nineteenth-century. In South Africa, institutionalized discrimination expressed through Apartheid policy remained in place for over 50 years from 1948 to 1994 (Deegan, 2001). In Europe, the most widely publicized cases of racist violence that express individual discrimination during the early 1990s were those in Germany. For example, in November 1992, an arson attack in Mölln resulted in three Turkish people being killed (Hargreaves & Leaman, 1995:4). In the report of *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz* (BfV- Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution), 2,584 violent crimes with proven or suspected right-wing motives were committed in 1992, and 88 per cent of those who suffered from physical attacks were foreigners (Hargreaves & Leaman, 1995:5).

In short, institutionalized discrimination and individual discrimination against ethnic groups and minorities have never ceased to exist. The Apartheid policy of South Africa illustrates institutionalized discrimination clearly. The violence personal attack of Turkish in Germany illustrates the extensive individual discrimination in Europe.

2.2 Discrimination against ethnic group and the adjustment of new immigrants

There are extensive theoretical and empirical works which focus on specific aspects of the adjustment of immigrants. These include cross-cultural adaptation styles of immigrant youths from the former U.S.S.R. in Israel (Eisikovits, 2000), psychological distress among former Soviet immigrants (Aroian, 1998), discrimination of female immigrants from the former USSR in Israel (Lemish, 2000), and stress and readjustment of new immigrants (Ben-Sira, 1997), etc.

³ The term ‘Yellow Peril’ symbolized the white racist response to Oriental immigrants, i.e. Chinese and Japanese (Melvin Steinfield, 1973:130).

According to Ben-Sira (1997), adjustment of immigrants refers to the restoration of emotional homeostasis as a result of successful coping with stress. In the process of successful adjustment, one of the significant factors is how the absorbing society interacts with the immigrants. Ben-Sira (1997:15) pointed out that 'societal perspectives' is a critical factor in the process of successful adjustment. 'Societal perspectives' refer to the orientations and attitudes towards various areas of life that prevail in a society. To the extent that there is a correspondence of societal perspectives between the host society and the immigrants interaction is likely to be successful, and immigrants are likely adjust easier (Ben-Sira 1997:15). In Ben-Sira's study, the perception of immigrants about the absorbing society towards immigrants as well as the positive prejudice from the absorbing society towards immigrants are the most significant factors in the successful adjustment of immigrants. In other words, when the immigrants who interacted with the absorbing society members perceived less or no discrimination in the absorbing society, a more positive reinforcement for integration would result. It follows that the immigrants would be more able to overcome the difficulties of adjustment. Such positive prejudice perception empowers their ability to cope with the stress of migrating into a country with a different culture as well as discrepancies of expectation between themselves and the host society. Conversely, if there is low correspondence between their own and the host society's 'societal perspectives', then it will be difficult to initiate and complete this process successfully (Ben-Sira, 1997:15). Ben-Sira's study implies that the orientation and attitudes of the member of the host society significantly affect the social adjustment of immigrants.

Eisikovits (2000) examined the cultural adaptation styles on gender-based

difference among the immigrant youths from the former U.S.S.R. in Israel. Eisikovits adopted the qualitative method to study this issue. The data collection process consisted of in-depth interviews supplemented by ongoing participant observation in various in-school and out of school settings frequented by the informants. He carried out most of the interviews in single two hours session in schools. Mostly, he compared the different difficulties and motivations relating to adjustment between boys and girls as well as the extend of their adaptation to the host culture. Eisikovits's research considered gender-based difference in informants' styles of adaptation, focusing on four topics: (a) their perceptions of the social role of the school in bringing new immigrants and veteran or native Israelis closer together, (b) attitudes toward friendship with same- and host- culture peers, (c) views on dating same- and host-culture partners (in heterosexual relationships), and (d) their notions of desirable style of adjustment, such as integration between immigrant and veteran youth is best served by immersion in school life. . Findings showed that the main role of schools is instrumental (academic) rather than social, particularly for boys. Both boys and girls felt more comfortable with same-culture peers and had little contact with veteran Israelis outside the classroom. Academic success is considered very important and is the only basis on which boys can envision the establishment of social harmony with veteran youngsters in school on a more balanced manner. In particular, the boys build up friendship mainly among the peers from same culture and have not given up their 'we' identity among their peers from U.S.S.R.. On the other hand, the host society's models of adolescent behavior and cross-sex relations only marginally influenced them. Gender identity is still rooted in the culture of origin and is used as reactive boundary-maintaining devices (Eisikovits, 2000:327-329). Eisikovits (2000) suggests that there are different effects on the study of the adjustment with regard to gender differences. Eisikovits' study is of relevance to the present thesis in that NAW are in a

similar situation to that encountered by the informants of that study.

Predictors of psychological distress were suggested by Aroian (1998) who conducted a survey on 1,647 former Soviet immigrants. These predictors include age, gender, marital status, education employment, length of time in the U.S. and immigration demands, i.e. novelty, occupation, language, discrimination, loss, and not feeling at home. Multiple regression analysis indicated that the most distressed immigrants are: (i) the women and older immigrants, (ii) those below college education and (iii) those with greater immigration demands (novelty, language, discrimination, loss, and not feeling at home) (Aroian, 1998:284-290). Aroian's study indicated that immigrants suffered psychological distress in the process of adjustment in host society as a result of discrimination against them.

Extensive studies have been carried out with regard to discrimination against immigrants in various European countries, such as Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, France, Italy, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland (Rea & Ouali, 1999; Räthzel, 1999; Wrench, 1999b; Vourc'h, 1999; Gras & Bovenkerk, 1999; Knocke, 1999; Miletì, 1999; Cachón, 1999; Soininen, 1999). All these European scholars study the integration as well as exclusion of immigrants in the labour market. They suggest that discrimination against immigrants is less if there is integration in the labour market. Conversely, exclusion of the immigrants in the labour market reflects the existence of discrimination in the host society. It is not uncommon that discrimination exists in these countries in a subtle way in the workplace. Thus, the work life of NAW in Hong Kong has to be taken into consideration when their adjustment is considered.

France is perceived to be a country of freedom and hence a likely choice for

immigrants or refugees. However, according to Vourc' h (1999), structural inequality and discrimination do exist in the French labour market. Though the French official statistics show that racism and discrimination does not exist, and private enterprises insist that they recruit employees without regard to their race, Vourc' h argued that French employers treated ethnic groups which are ' non-European' in origin differently from ' European Union immigrant' . Employers claimed that they adopted a fair and equal procedure to recruit staff, but from the employment pattern and staff composition of many large public service sectors, Vourc' h discovered that in many cases, jobs offered were already filled when they were publicly advertised. Furthermore, half of the employees who worked in the public institutions have at least one family member also working in certain public institutions as well. This is called ' informal recruiting networks' (Wrench, 1999:86). This preferential recruiting practice excludes applicants whose parents are non-European in origin, and they could not be recruited due to the originality of race in the private sector. Firms employing immigrants, in the past fifteen to twenty years, are subsiding. France has anti-discrimination laws and practice code to prohibit discrimination against ' non-European immigrants' , but it cannot be verified that discrimination against ' non-European immigrants' does not exist, especially in the labour market. Vourc' h pointed out that the refusal to recruit people who have migrated to France or were not born in France appears as an obstacle to integration and is one of the main threats to the ' virtues' of the French ' assimilation model' (Wrench, 1999:90). In other words, discrimination constitutes an obstacle for new immigrants to adjust in the host society.

2.3 The general social adjustment of NAW from Mainland China in Hong Kong

Subsequent to the increase in the immigrant quota for family reunion since 1995, research on NAs have been carried out on migrants' general socio-economic

characteristics, the education adaptation of new arrival children and their social and economic adaptation (Chan, 1999; Chan 1997). According to the Hong Kong Security Bureau, immigrants from Mainland China in 2000 were mostly female aged between 20 to 49 years old (Hong Kong council of Social Service, 2001b: <http://newarrivals.socialnet.org.hk/main.htm>). However, studies on immigrant families and women are rare (Chung, 1996; Lau, 1995; Hong Kong Young Women Christian Association, 1998; Hong Kong Federation of Youth Group, 1999, Tsuen Wan Caritas Community Center, 1999). Moreover, most research are descriptive survey of immigrants and do not provide any in depth analysis of the social adjustment of NAW.

The study of the NAW from Mainland China was first carried out by Lau (1995) using in-depth interviews to analyze life stressors and help-seeking behavior of NAW in Hong Kong. The findings showed that NAW felt discriminated and that discrimination is one of the significant life stressors. However, the study did not relate how life stressors affect new immigrants' behaviour of seeking help. NAW were found to have average stress in their lives, but high degree of stress due to lack of friends (social support), low living standard, financial stringency, and emotional instability. Discrimination may be the reason why NAW do not seek help. Further, the sample was too small (only seven cases). As such, generalizing the findings may be difficult.

According to a YWCA (1998) survey, social life is the most difficult area encountered by NAW in their adjustment. The sample size of this survey was one hundred and sixty women selected from Hong Kong Island, Kowloon City and Shamshuipo. About 30 percent of the respondents expressed discontentment regarding

their social lives (YWCA, 1998:28). Over 40 percent of the respondent did not know how to seek help or make inquiry for services (YWCA, 1998:25). 20 percent of the respondent cannot find social support to share their problems with (YWCA, 1998:16). This reflects the weak social supporting system of NAW.

Similar to the YMCA survey, Tsuen Wan Caritas Community Center (1999) adopted the in-depth interview to study the situation of NAW in Hong Kong. The findings reflected that most of the NAW experienced difficulties in many aspects including marriage relationship, economic, social support, the changing of living environment and situation, etc. Some of the informants expressed that they felt inferior to LPR who discriminated against them in everyday life. However, the study did not focus on the impact of discrimination in their lives.

On the other hand, the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups (HKYG) (1999) focused on the families of NAs. The experience of parents and children aged between fifteen to twenty-nine are explored. This study employed a qualitative research technique via content analysis and in-depth interviews. However, the limitation of this research was that it failed to investigate the relationship between husbands and wives. As the role of women is an influential one in a family, to probe into family lives of NAW may reveal the difficulties of family adaptation (Salaff, 2000). According to Salaff (2000), women carries great responsibility in building up social networks, which facilitates them in the future socialization of their children as well as their search for new jobs in a new society. Hence, we may assume that the socio-economic status of NA parents especially those NA mothers under the ‘exchanged marriage’⁴,

⁴ “Exchanged Marriage” is defined based on a set of assumptions regarding NA women; she marries the male local permanent resident with the assumption that she will have a better live in Hong Kong

may give rise to difficulties of family adaptation. Furthermore, any discrimination of new arrival mothers by LPR may have an unfavourable effect to healthy family life and social adjustment.

2.4 Discrimination against New Arrivals in Hong Kong

The Hong Kong Psychology Society (HKPS) (1997) carried out an explorative research and concluded that NAs encountered difficulties in making friends, job searching and building social support networks with neighbors. The reason for such difficulties is closely related to discrimination. Findings from the Tsuen Wan Caritas Community Centre (1998) study showed that symbolic discrimination⁵ against NAs does exist in Hong Kong. Generally, discrimination comes from LPR women who were aged 50 and over. They think that NAs are here to share their economic resources or replace them in the labour market (Hong Kong commercial Daily, 2000; HK Daily News, 2000). This kind of perception reflects the stigmatization on NAs.

Similarly, Tsuen Wan Caritas Community Center (Tsuen Wan Caritas Community Centre, 1998) had explored the attitudes of local residents towards NAs in the Tsuen Wan district. The research employed implicit stereotype measurements in a structure questionnaire and used factors analysis to find out which factors affect the attitude of LPR toward NAs. The findings suggest the presence of a general feeling among LPRs that NAs are taking away social resources from them, and LPRs should have the first priority to social resources. 38.5 percent of a total of 112 LPR respondents have negative attitudes and images against NAs, which are reflected in

than in the mainland.

⁵ This is equivalent to individual discrimination, but is expressed by symbolic means such as language and speech.

their irrational comments and feelings in disgust (Tsuen Wan Caritas Community Centre, 1998:23). The examples of irrational criticism of new immigrants are: 'they are outcast' and 'low class race with negative influence to our society'. The respondent's feelings of disgust may also be seen in some of their remarks such as: 'they are dirty', 'spewing sputum everywhere', 'they are lazy', 'use the Comprehensive Social Security Assistance (CSSA)', 'they get our welfare', and 'they care nothing about their children'. (Tsuen Wan Caritas Community Centre, 1998:23). These negative attitudes have resulted in the stereotyping of NAW, which give rise to discrimination against NAs. When discrimination exists, social adjustment and integration to a new society for the NAs becomes more difficult.

One hundred NAs families were interviewed in a recent survey carried out by the Society for Community Organization (2001:16, 20). On the one hand, the survey reports that serious individual discrimination against NAs exists in Hong Kong. 82 percent of the NA respondents perceive that they are being discriminated. Furthermore, 58 percent of the respondents encountered discrimination in their social life quite extensively. They were derided when they were shopping in shops and wet markets. Half of them expressed that they were stared at in an unfriendly manner and were treated badly when asking for service (Society for Community Organization, 2001:16). On the other hand, the survey carried out by the Society for Community Organization (2001:16) shows that institutionalized discrimination against NAs exist in Hong Kong in terms of government policies. For example, two out of three in this study were not qualified to apply for government job vacancies owing to their inadequate length of residence in Hong Kong (i.e. seven years). Among the respondents, 12 percent of them did not apply for any government vacancies because they knew they were not eligible for application under the limitation of residence

period. Also, the housing policy reflects institutionalized discrimination against new immigrants. According to the Housing Department (2001), a resident who has resided in Hong Kong for less than seven years is ineligible to be the principal applicant for public housing. This policy implies that NAs can only submit their application after residing in Hong Kong for 7 years. Taking into account the three to four years' waiting time even for local residents, NAs may have to wait for over 10 years before they can improve their living environment.

2.5 Influence of discrimination on social adjustment of the NAW

The surveys and studies reported in previous paragraphs are mainly concerned with NAs in Hong Kong as a whole. The implications of discrimination on NAW have yet to be examined.

Although the Hong Kong government has established the Equal Opportunity Commission in 1996 which enforces the Code of Practice Against Discrimination in Employment on the Ground of Sexual Orientation and legislation to prohibit discrimination against women, as well as the signing of the Convention of Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women discrimination against women still persists in Hong Kong (Hong Kong Human Rights Monitor, 1999).

Research have shown that women in Hong Kong are in an inferior status, and often experience heavier burden arising from work and family compared to men (Cheung, 1997; Equal Opportunities Commission, 1997). Although women in Hong Kong have attained higher education, there are still in the 'job ghetto' in professional or higher status job (Lee, 2000). In the labour market, women are more likely to work

in the secondary sector. This means that their jobs tend to be less rewarding in terms of pay, chances for promotion and working conditions. Their job security is comparatively lower than that of men who work in the primary sector of the labour market. (Anker 1997:322). During economic recession, discrimination against women is explicit (Chuang, 1998). According to Elder (1999:459-463), '[F]emale unemployment rates are higher than male unemployment rates. In general, youth unemployment rates for females exceed the rates for males. In most countries (including Hong Kong) with available data, more women than men would like to, and are available to, work more hours than their current jobs allow. Women with a post-secondary level of education are more likely to be unemployed than their male counterparts.' As Hong Kong women in general are economically inferior to men, they need twice the effort to succeed in their careers. Therefore, NAW are under a double deprivation situation compared to local women. It is because on the one hand NAW are women; on the other hand they have less social capital and human capital than their local counterparts (Boyd, 1984:1091).

According to the Hong Kong Catholic Association of Worker (Hong Kong Catholic Labor Commission for Labour Affairs Policy Research Group, 1999), the child(ren) of LPRs who were born in the Mainland are treated in a different way compared to children who migrate back to Hong Kong from other countries. In the latter case, one can at any time bring back their children who were born overseas, and they will be given residence immediately (Lui, 1999, Hong Kong Government, 2001:327). Furthermore, family members (including child(ren) and spouse) of overseas workers or professionals from the Mainland can bring their spouses and children to Hong Kong and gain residence. On December 17, 1999, the Hong Kong

Government launched a policy of ‘ Admission of Talents’ to recruit professionals from Mainland China. In order to encourage applicants, the Hong Kong Government offers legislated that they can bring their family with them under the employment contract offered. They and their dependants would be eligible for right of abode after having resided in Hong Kong for seven years (Hong Kong Government, 2001:327-328). Most of the successful applicants are employed in the information technology, communication or multimedia sectors. Different treatment for the family members of overseas workers and professionals reflect discrimination against NAs and NAW from Mainland China, especially those who migrated to Hong Kong under the family reunion policy⁶. Obviously, migrants under the family reunion schemes are treated unfavourably.

Hong Kong's current housing policy discriminates against NAW who came under the family reunion scheme. Though the housing policy has been relaxed to allow migrant children and women to apply for public housing, it does not include widows and divorced women who migrated from the Mainland with less than seven year of residence. According to this policy, women from Mainland China would only qualify as the principal applicant of public house after they have resided for seven years in Hong Kong. In other words, when a NAW became a widow or became divorced within seven years after arriving in Hong Kong, they lose their right to apply for public housing (Housing Department, 2001). This policy raises the issue of equality amongst Hong Kong residents. This policy discriminates against NAW and creates more difficulties for them to improve their living environment (Ming Pao, 1999; Hong Kong

⁶ Quota for the reunion of children and spouse having split for over 10 years is increasing simultaneously in 1993, 1995, 1996 (International Social Service Hong Kong Branch, 1997:5).

Federation of Women's Centre, 2000). Also, this policy induces segmentation between NAW and local permanent status women by enlarging the gap of living standard and creating differentiation in social adjustment.

To conclude, the literature shows that institutionalized and individual discrimination against ethnic groups and new immigrants are widespread. For migrants who belong to ethnic minorities in the receiving society, they often suffer from psychological distress in the process of social adjustment in the host society as a result of discrimination. According to the literature, NAs are stereotyped by LPRs and this leads to negative attitudes towards NAs. When LPRS perceived that there is conflict of interest, stereotyping gives rise to discrimination which affects their social adjustment and integration to the host society.

Chapter Three

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to develop a conceptual framework to investigate the impact of discrimination on social adjustment of NAW with respect to their family, social and work lives. As an exploratory research, the framework will serve as a direction for data collection, the purpose of which is to investigate (i) the relationship between discrimination and social adjustment of NAW, (ii) the extent to which discrimination influences their adjustment, and (iii) to build up a model regarding the relation between discrimination and the social adjustment of migrants.

The literature reviewed shows that there is conflict of interest regarding resource allocation between LPRs and NAW (Tsuen Wan Caritas Community Center, 1998). It is also obvious that discrimination towards NAs especially women who were aged fifty and over exists (Society for Community Organization, 2001). Further, the Hong Kong public may be socialized, via the mass media, to adopt a certain attitude towards NAW which may influence the adjustment of NAW. The following theories and concepts are used to construct the framework for this research. They are: (i) Conflict theory, (ii) Socialization, (iii) Discrimination, and (iv) Social adjustment.

3.2 Effects of Conflict on Discrimination and Adjustment

Conflict theory helps explain the latent factors of discrimination and the dynamics of social adjustment. In this framework, ‘conflict theory’ is going to be introduced together with the ‘perceived conflict’ amongst LPR. It is because the perception of existing conflict will affect the perceiver reaction to the conflicts.

According to Borgatta & Montgomery (2000: 414), ‘conflict theory explains social structure and changes in it by arguing that actors pursue their interests in conflict with others and according to their resource for social organization’. Dahrendorf’s conflict model (Farganis, 1996:264) describes sources of conflict as stemming from authority relations of domination and subordination that exist in modern societies. When a subordinate group —such as immigrants - challenges the authority of LPR or their interests, the behaviour of the subordinate group is defined as deviant. In Hong Kong, the conflict of interest regarding resource allocation is real when the NAs migrate to Hong Kong. For instance, according to the Census and Statistics Department (2001), among 274,500⁷ new arrivals in the year 2000 42 percent of them are aged 19 or under and 59 percent of them are women aged 20 to 29. Inevitably, the Hong Kong government needs to provide education, accommodation and work for these new arrivals. In recent years, Hong Kong is experiencing economic recession and economic transition. These economic conditions have resulted in an increase in unemployment, especially among unskilled workers (Society for Community Organization, 2001:5). Therefore the conflict of interest manifests itself most apparently in the working class because during recession, they are most vulnerable. Hence, conflict of interest may serve as one of the latent factors that induce discrimination.

Conflict theory is appropriate in examining how discrimination occurs in the process of social adjustment resulting from conflict of interest between NAs and LPRs as a whole. On the other hand, LPRs perceive that there is ‘conflict of interests’ in resources allocation in social welfare and in competition in the job market when NAs

⁷ These are the total amount of new arrivals from Mainland who reside in Hong Kong below seven years before June 2000 (Hong Kong SAR Census & Statistics Department, 2000).

enter the society. According to Esses *et al.* (2001:390-391), 'perceived conflict of interest' occurs when members of the dominant group perceive members of the subordinated group (e.g. immigrants) as competitors, and that they constitute a threat to them, in terms of their sense of economic security. Esses *et. al* (2001) argues that threats will influence dominant group to develop negative identification and hostile attitude toward immigrants. In addition, the negative attitude may turn into discrimination when the dominant group interacts with immigrants. In the case of Hong Kong, these perceptions of conflict of interest may induce discrimination as well as produce internal and external stress to the NAW in their process of social adaptation. Hence, conflict theory can also help to explain the cause of conflict between the working class LPRs and new arrivals, which may relate to discrimination that affects the social adjustment of new arrivals.

Conflict theory can also help to examine the dynamics of social adjustment of NAW as a minority group in Hong Kong. According to Simmel's and Coser's theories on conflict (Collins, 1988:120), conflict leads to social integration within social groups. Conflict sharpens the sense of group boundaries and reinforces group identity. Thus, conflict contributes to a group's 'identity formation'. Conflict leads to a search for allies. Hence, solidarity builds up in groups after the break out of conflict. The process of building solidarity leads to the integration of group's members. However, if conflict occurs between equally powerful factions inside a social group, the result is disintegration of the factions. In addition, conflict theory also helps to explain social stability. Social order is a product of competing interests, i.e. the negotiating alliances and coalitions among groups, finally, the group that has more resources will dominate over those with less resources (Collins, 1988:118). Thus, conflict theory may help to examine the dynamics of social adjustment of NAW when they encounter

discrimination in the receiving society. The dynamics may be as such: (i) when NAW encounter discrimination from LPRs, NAW will search for allies among members of their groups, who are experiencing similar difficulties; (ii) the alliance formation process of NAW heightens solidarity amongst themselves. Also, they are likely to help each other to deal with problems relating to social adjustment. Therefore, we may ask whether discrimination against new arrivals would lead to the formulation of a new social order, such as, on one hand, which reflects the increasing polarization of economic well-being as well as identifies between LPRs and NAs.

Hence, conflict theory and perceived of conflict may provide insight to the latent factors of discrimination and revealing the dynamics of social adjustment.

3.3 Socialization and discrimination

One of the factors explaining discrimination is subjective perception, which can be a product of socialization (Fong, 1999; Thi, 1992, Borgatta & Montgomery, 2000:2855). According to Thi (1992:133), ‘socialization is a process by which a society transmits its cultural values through its agents to individuals so that they can function properly as its members.’ Borgatta & Montgomery (2000:2855) refers socialization to the process of interaction through which an individual obtains the norms, values, beliefs, attitudes and language characteristic of his or her group. Through this process, individual's self and personality are created and shaped.

Hence, in relation to migration, socialization could have two important functions for immigrants and members of a receiving society. Firstly, through socialization, individuals are nurtured to function as members of a society. When new immigrants enter a receiving society, most of them will go through re-socialization. According to

Kendall (1996:153), re-socialization is ‘the process of learning a new and different set of attitudes, values, and behaviours from those in one’s previous background and experience.’ It includes: voluntary and involuntary re-socialization. Kendall (1996:154) points out that voluntary re-socialization takes place when people assume a new status (such as becoming a student, an employee or a retiree) of their own free will. Involuntary re-socialization occurs against person’s wishes and takes place in institutions —places isolated from the rest of society such as prison and mental hospital. Re-socialization of NAW is voluntary re-socialization because they chose to migrate to Hong Kong. NAW who came from different areas of Mainland China need to go through a certain extent of re-socialization because their past experience may not have adequately prepared them to live in Hong Kong. Therefore, the re-socialization process could be quite complicated for them (Kendall, 1996: 154-156). Thus, the success of re-socialization may depend on the interaction of NAW with members (LPRs) of the receiving society. Certainly, the outcomes of re-socialization will affect the social adjustment of NAW.

Second, socialization also has the important function of educating the members (LPRs) of the receiving society on how to treat the migrants. Socialization starts at the stage of childhood, and it continues to adulthood and stops only when the person dies (Thi, 1992: 151; Stockard, 1997). In other words, LPRs of Hong Kong are socialized continuously. If agents of socialization such as mass media, schoolteacher and peer groups continuously produce new values or devalue minority groups, LPRs may be shaped to view new immigrants according to the values that are brought out by these agents (Thi, 1992; Borgatta & Montgomery, 2000).

In brief, these two functions of socialization affect the attitudes of NAW and LPR

toward each other. The following discussion will focus on how socialization leads to the stereotyping of and stigmatization of NAW by the LPRs.

Socialization agents include the family, schools, peer groups and mass media (Thi, 1992; Stockard, 1997; Borgatta & Montgomery 2000). In postmodern society, the mass media, such as television, newspaper and magazine, gradually become important agents to socialize people of all ages (Borgatta & Montgonery, 2000:2858). In Hong Kong, the mass media is a powerful socialization agent because every two families possess one set of television (Information Services Department, 2000; Tak Kung Pao, 2001). It is not uncommon that Hong Kong mass media repeatedly propagandize and amplify the negative behavior of a few cases of NAs from Mainland China. For instance, newspapers have depicted NAW as lazy, selfish and abusing the welfare of Hong Kong (Lai, 1999a; Sing Dao Daily News, 2000; Hong Kong Catholic Commission for Labour Affairs Secretary, 1998; Hong Kong Council of Social Service, 2001).⁸ It is likely that LPRs who know of new arrivals only through the mass media would be socialized from a view in accordance to those depicted by the media to devalue them, to look down upon them, and to stereotype them. Negative stereotyping on members of the minority group⁹ (James, 1989), may be in their stigmatization. (Jary, 2000: 608).

According to Miller and Kaiser (2001:74), people with negative stereotyping and

⁸ According to a study conducted by the Hong Kong Catholic commission for Labour Affairs Secretary (1998:11, 18), reports in the Ming Pao and the Oriental Daily strongly imply that new immigrants do not work and depend on CSSA. However, these two presses had not reported the user ratio of the new immigrants in the CSSA and the using duration of CSSA of them.

According to a survey by the Hong Kong Council of Social Service (HKCSS) (2001), among 1,093 respondents, over 50 percent of LPRs and new arrivals considered each other as 'selfish' or 'emotionally unstable'.

⁹ According to James (1989), people who share the historical background of living in the same society tend to accept similar ideas and social values. As times go by, majority ideas and social values will dominate the culture. Relatively, other ideas and value are treated as minority, even to be eliminated.

stigmas face prejudice and discrimination across a broad range of social contexts. Miller and Kaiser point out that a stigmatized person has an attribute that conveys a devalued social identity within a particular context (2001:74). This devaluation leads to a variety of stressors, such as prejudice and discrimination. Discrimination and prejudice also result in psychological and physiological stress responses (Clark et al., 1999), such as anger, anxiety, hopelessness, resentment, and fear (Krieger & Sidney, 1996). Both psychological and physiological stresses are likely to affect the social adjustment of minorities (such as racial ethnic and new immigrants) in a society, as in the case of NAW in Hong Kong.

Furthermore, socialization can provide an insight into our investigation of how LPRs' stereotyping of NAW could affect the latter's social adjustment. According to Jary (2000:608), stereotyping is 'a set of inaccurate, simplistic generalizations about a group of individuals which enables others to categorize members of this group and treat them routinely according to these expectations'. Thus, stereotypes of minority groups that are commonly held and could lead to the perception and treatment of individuals according to unjustified preconceptions. If LPRs stereotype NAW, they will easily treat NAW based on the unjustified preconceptions.

3.4 Discrimination in social context: institutionalized and individual discrimination

Discrimination refers to differential treatment accorded to a group of people based solely on ascribed characteristics, that is on who they are, not what they know and can do (Stockard, 1997). Prejudice and discrimination are frequently discussed together. Prejudice refers to attitudes, while discrimination refers to the unequal treatment or action towards a group based on their characteristics and membership, and refers to

actions that have a harmful impact on those discriminated against (Shepard 1993: 270-271; Kendall, 1996:315-318). Prejudice is usually considered to underlie discrimination. Though this is often the case, one can discriminate without being prejudiced —this is called the unprejudiced discriminator (Shepard 1993: 271;). An unprejudiced discriminator does not hold personal prejudices but he or she practices discrimination due to peer pressure, legal demands, or a desire for profits (Kendall, 1996:318-319). For instance, a shopkeeper without prejudiced beliefs may hire a new immigrant as assistant because he may pay lower wages than LPR applicants.

Sociologists (Borgatta & Montgomery, 2000; Kendall, 1996; Shepard, 1993) also categorize discrimination into ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’ discrimination. Direct discrimination occurs where unfair treatment is generated intentionally, and the decisions of unfair treatment are based explicitly on racial and ethnic characteristic. But when the result of direct discrimination is used as a basis for later decisions, it becomes indirect discrimination. For example, direct discrimination exists when equally qualified men and women are paid at different rates for the same work. Indirect discrimination exists when the two groups are paid unequally because prior discrimination in employment or education created apparent differences in qualifications or channeled the groups into better and worse paying jobs. When discrimination is related to institutions such as education, employment and housing, it is defined as institutionalized discrimination (Borgatta & Montgomery, 2000:689; Kendall, 1996:320).

According to Kendall (1996:319), institutionalized discrimination refers to organizational or institutional actions intended to deprive a racial or ethnic minority of its rights. Institutionalized discrimination is a result of socio-structural factors, such as

organizational or government policies and legal procedures. Institutionalized discrimination is carried out by the individuals who implement the policies and procedures of organizations. Thus, ordinances of government, policies of organizations and institutions in the community can be used to assess the extent of institutionalized discrimination against minorities.

However, discrimination is not only manifested through institutions on the macro-level of society. It also exists on the micro-level through the interaction of the individuals in everyday life settings (Shepard, 1993:274); this is defined as individual discrimination, such as the different way a cashier treats customers of different races. Individual discrimination includes 'one-on-one acts by members of the dominant group that harm members of the subordinate group' (Kendall, 1996:319). Individual discrimination is more difficult to define and identify because it is not reflected in formal policies and regulations. It exists in daily lives and informal practices, which is partly reflected in the frequent use of despicable language. According to interactionists (Kendall, 1996:320; Shepard, 1993:274), when people of different ethnic groups come into contact with one another, they may treat one another as stereotypes, not as individuals. The contact between people may produce either greater ethnic tolerance or increasing levels of hostility. When the majority interacts with the minority with negative stereotypes and stigmas in mind, these may easily reinforce discrimination against the latter (Miller & Kaiser, 2001).

Even though institutionalized discrimination and individual discrimination both involve members of the dominant group, they manifest in quite different ways. For individuals who carry out the former, discrimination appears in ordinances or procedures, and as such he or she is merely 'following the rules'. In the case of the

latter, however, discriminatory action stems directly from the actor him/herself, and is not the result of following ordinances or regulations. Nevertheless, it is possible that the magnitude of institutionalized discrimination may reinforce individual discrimination (Kendall, 1996; Shepard, 1993; Borgatta & Montgomery, 2000). To illustrate, when the admission requirement of schools for the African American is higher than the White American, we can say that this is institutional discrimination. For the individual teacher who is influenced by the admission requirement, he/she may mark the paper of African American harsher than the White American, and give lower mark to the former than the latter. This would be a case of individual discrimination although it is influenced by institutional discrimination. Therefore, when institutionalized discrimination works against the migrants, it is not uncommon that individual discrimination against migrants will also take place in that society.

Discrimination against NAs exists in Hong Kong. According to a study conducted by the Society for Community Organization (2001:13), among 100 NAW respondents, 74 percent did search for a job; 29.7 percent were rejected for interview or hire, as they do not possess a 'permanent resident identity card'. According to the Hong Kong Immigration Department's policy, residents have to certify their residence anywhere in the territory by showing an identity card that is issued by the Immigration Department. Different kinds of identity cards are used to classify different residents. Only the local born or the resident who has lived in Hong Kong for more than 7 years can be issued a 'Hong Kong permanent resident Identity Card'. This kind of classification by regulations and official document —i.e. the identity card - constitutes a form of institutionalized discrimination in Hong Kong. Further, the identity card generates individual discrimination in the job market. Though the NAW respondents in the aforementioned study may well qualify a job, they were rejected for interview or

hire because they only possess a Hong Kong resident identity card not the permanent type¹⁰.

Furthermore, the survey of Society for Community Organization (2001:13) also points out that 25.7 percent of the NAW respondents were rejected jobs due to their appearances. They had been rejected jobs as cashiers, child-care takers, sales persons, staff of cafés etc. Among 55 respondents who worked, 20 percent of them were required to work longer hours compared to LPRs in the same posts. About 40 percent of them expressed that their wages and fringe benefits were lower than LPRs. In addition, 34.5 percent of respondents had been sneered at because of their new immigrants' status. Obviously, individual discrimination against NAW in the job market exists.

In brief, the above studies suggest that institutionalized discrimination and individual discrimination do exist in Hong Kong. Nevertheless, we cannot know the extent to which they affect the social adjustment of NAW. It is the aim of this research to collect data so as to analyze the relationship between these types of discrimination and the social adjustment of NAW.

3.5 Social Adjustment of Immigrants

In this section, the concept of adjustment will be defined. The social adjustment of immigrants will be defined and discussed as well.

According to Halmos (1998:39), 'adjustment' is primarily a process leading up to a goal, or a condition of being adjusted to another condition. This process has no

¹⁰ According to the Immigration Department of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong resident identity cards that are issued for the new arrivals authorize them to work as Hong Kong permanent resident.

finality. It is difficult to define which is the best intermediate state because life-process cannot reach a static position: both the individual and its environment are in a constant process of changes (Halmos, 1998:39-40). Sociologists (Johnson, 1998; Ben-Sira, 1997; Young, 2001; Ward et.al., 2001) use the terms ‘adaptation’ and ‘adjustment’ alternatively to mean basically the same thing. Adjustment as process connotes interaction between an individual and his or her environment. The environment refers to those people whom an individual would meet as well as his or her external surroundings (Halmos, 1998: 42-43). According to Halmos (1998:43), the individual refers to the person who can continue to balance his growth (positive harmony relations with his ego-self) and cohesion with the environment. In other words, adjustment refers to a process of keeping one's own growth when one interacts with his or her environment.

According to Kitamura & Aoki (1998) social adjustment involves a wide range of people in its process. Successful social adjust will translate into the capacity to function in social situations such as at home, with relatives or in-laws, with job colleagues, with friends, with school teachers, with boss and in leisure pursuits. Since social and interpersonal environments influence individuals, social adjustment depends largely on individuals’ ability to maintain good personal relationships in a variety of settings (Kitamura & Aoki, 1998:26).

Therefore, in this research, social adjustment is defined as the process of changing individual capability to interact with the social environment, including various situations, such as at home, with relatives, with colleagues, with employers, with neighbours and friends etc.

Most sociologists (Young, 2001; Speare, 1983; Ben-Sira, 1997) are concerned about whether migrants achieve a successful social adjustment. First, Young (2001:15), Speare (1983:22) and Ben-Sira (1997) point out and proved that the study of the social adaptation or adjustment of immigrants should be distinguished from the social adjustment of refugees, sojourner and foreign students. It is because short-term, long-term or permanent residence affects one's psychological adaptability in a new society differently (Ward *et. al.*, 2001:74-85). Ward *et.al* (2001:74-85) argues that refugees have to deal with adjustment under involuntary circumstances; the sojourner and foreign students may treat adjustment as one experience that will end in a short period of time and therefore have no need to develop a sense of belonging to the host country. However, a migrant's circumstance is totally different because he or she is looking at a process of a long-term settlement. Though social adjustment is only one of the many types of adjustments in an individual's life, the migrant's social adjustment is different entirely because a migrant has to respond to his or her relocation from a familiar to an alien physical, economic, and social environment (Speare, 1983:22) with a view to long-term settlement.

Adjustment is a relative concept as it depends on individuals. Speare (1983:22) thought that 'what is regarded as 'well adjusted' by one person's standards might be 'poorly adjusted' by another's'. Sociologists (Ben-Sira, 1997; Young, 2001; Speare, 1983; Ward *et. al.*, 2001) state that the alienation or separation of migrants from the receiving society indicates the failure of social adjustment; conversely, the integration or assimilation to the receiving society is an indicator of successful adjustment. This research will adopted the suggestions of these sociologists for the definition of successful or failed social adjustment.

The consequences of adjustment are determined by various factors, such as the similarity of the migrants' native culture to the host society and the economic status of the migrants before migration. Speare (1983:23) thinks that it is most difficult for migrants who came from a cultural background very different from that of the receiving society. Problems are most serious when migrants do not share a common language with the receiving society and when they have different norms for what is regarded as proper behavior. This happens for international migrants. Young (2001), Ben-Sira (1997) and Ward (2001) agree too. They state that these difficulties will increase the stress experienced in the social adjustment process. In addition, Speare (1983) also argues that cultural background differences have great impact for people migrating from rural to urban areas. Ward *et. al.* (2001:202-205) argues that people migrating from a developing country to a developed country may face more difficulties than those in the reversed situation. Both Speare (1983) and Ward *et. al.* (2001) showed in their studies that conspicuous 'physical differences' such as appearance, dress, speech and patterns of behaviour increase the difficulties in interacting with members of the receiving society and decreases ability and adaptability in coping with stress in a new society. According to Ward *et. al.* (2001), members of the receiving society often treat migrants as an outgroup due to cultural differences such as language and 'physical differences'. To a certain extent cultural differences may provoke members of the receiving society to discriminate against the new immigrants. When immigrants perceive this discrimination, it increases their stress in coping with a new life setting. Consequently, this may lead to alienation and separation from the receiving society, i.e. failed social adjustment.

To sum up, in this research, conflict theory helps to identify the latent factors of constructing discrimination against NAW in Hong Kong. The concept of

socialization sheds light on show why NAW are being stereotyped and stigmatized. The concept of discrimination was discussed in the analysis of social adjustment of NAW from Mainland China. All the above concepts and theory help to design a research framework that guides data collection and facilitates the examination of the implication of discrimination on social adjustment.

3.6 Research framework

As mentioned in this chapter (3.1), the aim of this research is to examine the impact of discrimination on social adjustment of NAW in Hong Kong. A research framework is developed from conflict theory and the concepts of socialization, discrimination and social adjustment. Firstly, this research framework serves to guide data collection. Secondly, data analysis is performed according to the framework after collecting all the data. Finally, an explanatory paradigm on this issue may be established after all data has been analyzed, which will be explained in chapter eight.

Literature reviewed indicates that discrimination exists in Hong Kong at the societal level in terms of culture, policy and social structure. Through studying three areas of NAW's lives —social, work and family lives - two specific questions are asked in this research:

- 1) How does discrimination affect the social adjustment of NAW?
- 2) What are the consequences of social adjustment of NAW given different kinds or extent of discrimination?

The research framework (see Figure 1.) illustrates that through observing the implementation of government policies for the new arrival women, institutionalized discrimination can be examined. By observing the interaction of NAW with local

people in daily lives (e.g. with colleagues in workplace and general public, with government service or NGOs service agency), individual discrimination can be explored. Taking into account the treatment received by NAW relative to that received by LPRs in the workplace (such as wages and working hours), the extent of individual discrimination can be identified.

Figure. 1 Research Framework

Box A represents institutionalized discrimination and box B represents individual discrimination; these two kinds of discrimination affect (indicated by space blank arrow) the social adjustment (ellipse box C) of NAW.

As was discussed above in section 3.5, social adjustment refers to the process of changing individual capability to interact with the social environment, including various situations, such as at home, with relatives, with colleagues, with employers,

with neighbours and friends etc. Therefore, social adjustment will be examined through social, family and work lives. In these three areas, NAW will interact with relatives, friends, neighbours, colleagues and other service agents such as schoolteachers and staff of government organizations.

From the discussion of conflict of interest and ‘perceived conflict of interest’ in section 3.2, we identified this to be a critical factor which induces discrimination. According to the discussion of socialization in section 3.3, stereotype and stigma on NAW by LPRs due to their cultural and physical differences may cause individual discrimination; this is identified as stemming from socio-cultural factors. Socio-structural (box D) and socio-cultural factors (box E) may affect (indicated by dark arrow) social, work and family lives. We may also investigate whether the factors (Box D and E) that affect social adjustment provoke discrimination (Box A and B) that may hinder the NAW from integrating into the host society. Further, we may examine the extent to which discrimination might alienate LPRs from NAW. According to the discussion on the consequence of social adjustment, integration or assimilation (Box F) into the receiving society is taken to indicate successful adjustment, and conversely, alienation or separation (Box G) is taken to indicate failed adjustment (Dovidio & Esses, 2001: 375-387).

After data collection, we can analyze the kind of socio-structural factors (Box D) that lead to institutionalized discrimination (Box A), and ask what kind of socio-cultural factors (Box E) induce individual discrimination (Box B). Further, the researcher will analyze the influence of the two kinds of discrimination on social adjustment (Box C). In this research, the degree of discrimination and its effect on adjustment is assumed to be as follows: if NAW experience less discrimination, they

may integrate (Box F) into the host society, conversely, experiencing more discrimination NAW may be alienated (Box G) from the host society and the members.

Chapter Four

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the research methodology of this study, including the research design, sampling, interview questions and observation design, operational definition of variables, method of analysis and the coding of variables.

4.1 Research Design

According to Speare (1983:25), the ideal method for a researcher to study the adaptation of immigrants is for him to be involved in the examination of the cohort of the migrants at the time when they arrived at the host society. Their background characteristics and levels of initial adjustment would be measured at that point and at frequent intervals thereafter. A longitudinal study would have the advantage of describing the accurate situation of initial and subsequent levels of migrant adjustment. Given the time constraint of this Master of Philosophy research project, I am unable to investigate the long-term adjustment of NAW. Despite this limitation, a longitudinal study within a certain time frame is still better than a cross-sectional study for immigration adjustment because the latter could only reflect a partial picture of the entire adaptation.

A panel study is therefore adopted in this study. In a panel study the researcher interviews and observes the same group of individuals across a certain period of time. In this study informants are interviewed twice within one year - at the beginning and the end of the year. The extent of the social adjustment of NAW will be examined within this time frame.

Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) —a qualitative method using the inductive approach – is used in facilitating data collection, which includes in-depth

interview and participant observation. Participant observation is a qualitative research technique where the researcher actually joins in the events under study and examines the phenomenon ‘from the inside’ (Babbie, 2001:9, Sanger, 1996). Subsequent analysis of these data forms the basis for the further refining of the theoretical model.

Data Collection

1) In-depth interview with NAW was carried out and recorded on tape. This self-reporting data provides a comprehensive perspective on adjustment and discrimination. Interviewing was conducted twice within one year. The time interval between the first and the second interview was at least ten month. Each interview lasted on average for one and half hours. After the first interview, the researcher kept contact with informants through phone calls. After ten months, the researcher invited them for the second interview. Before the interview, each informant was invited to sign an informant consent form stating her permission for the researcher to use the information under the Privacy Ordinance. Most interviews took place in the counseling room of social service agencies or at the informant’s apartment. Some interviews took place in parks or restaurants. Informants were asked to fill out a socio-demographic questionnaire after the interview.

2) ‘Participant observation’ was adopted to examine the extent to which discrimination creates difficulties for the NAW in the process of adjustment (Lofland, 1995:18; Alasuutari, 1998:66-80). Participant observation allows us to investigate the adjustment and discrimination in natural daily life settings.

Family lives were observed through participation in informants' family activities and family dinners. Observation of social lives include accompanying the informants on their shopping trips in wet markets and their participation in children’s school

activities. The researcher also joined them at picnics and social gatherings in community centers. Their work life or working experience was observed by the researcher who visited their workplace and worked for two weeks in a setting which is similar to that of NAW.

Before starting this research, the researcher has received a pilot training by joining a six sessions course (each session lasts for two hours) which was held by the Hong Kong Christian Council from October to November 2000 on serving the needs of the NAW from Mainland China. This course provided some background information on NAW and basic techniques of visitation. Besides attending lectures, the researcher was required to visit the homes of NAW. During the course the researcher was able to observe the dynamics between the LPR volunteers and NAW. Subsequent to the training, the researcher has built up a network of connections with NAW and several service agencies. Further, the training on visitation techniques has enhanced the researcher's interviewing skills.

Apart from joining a training course, a pilot test was carried out before the first stage interviews. In-depth interviews of four NAW were carried out in December 2000. The interviewees were referred by a non-government service organization (NGO) — Mission for New Arrival Limited. These interviews took place in the counseling room of that NGO. The interview questions cover two aspects, namely how NAW adjust their lives since they arrived in Hong Kong with their one-way permits, and their experience of discrimination in their social lives, family lives and work lives.

These pilot in-depth interviews were recorded on audio tapes and each lasted for about two hours. The interviews were transcribed and Nudist 4 (a computer software for analyzing qualitative research text) was used for analysis. Results from the pilot

test were used to validate the defined research issues, interview areas and the researcher's interview techniques.

4.2 Sample

The immigrant women who hold one-way permits issued by the People's Republic of China are the focus of this research. Only married women with children who migrated to HKSAR under the family reunion policy are sampled. Though Immigration Department could provide the population information for random sampling. However, the Department may not provide the updated address of the sample, as the mobility of moving from apartment to apartment is high in Hong Kong. Moreover, in-depth interview for new immigrants could be more effective by referral from NGOs' social worker because the trust between the social worker and the interviewee may diminish their fears by the researcher in the interview. Hence, probability and random sampling are not applicable. As an alternative, non-probability, purposive sampling and snowball sampling are used.

The informants are married women aged between 20-49.¹¹ Among them, eighteen have full-time or part-time work and fifteen are full-time housewives. In total, thirty-three new arrival women were interviewed. The 'case exhaustion' criterion was adopted during the interview in order to strengthen the reliability of this research. This means that informants will be interviewed continually until the information provided is saturated (Goom, 2000; Vogt, 1999). However, there are two cases which may not meet the sampling criteria, i.e. they were not living with their husbands. Notwithstanding, these two cases are included because these are borderline cases — one was divorced in 2000 and another one separated from her husband. Furthermore,

¹¹ The Security Bureau's data in 2000 show that a large number of NAW fall within this age range.

among the thirty-three informants, one from the paid work group and one from the full-time housewife group agreed to being observed.

4.3 Question and observation design

4.3.1 Questions: Open-ended questions were employed to interview the new arrival women (See Appendix 1). According to Wittenbrink's (1997), using explicit questionnaires to interview respondents about the discrimination against minority group will diminish the extent of the report on prejudice and discrimination. For example, if a researcher asks a NAW, 'Do you think that you are discriminated by Hong Kong local permanent residents?' The question would arouse the attention of a respondent to the situation where she is being discriminated. Probably, bias or prejudice may result. On the contrary, if we ask, 'Do you think you are welcomed as by Hong Kong local permanent residents?', an informant's response may not be confined to discrimination. Therefore, most of the questions regarding discrimination were not asked directly but were asked in an implicit way (Wittenbrink's 1997, Tsuen Wan Caritas Community, 1998). For example, an informant may be asked 'How many LPR friends do you have since your arrival in Hong Kong?' or 'What do you think is the LPR's viewpoint toward NAs?' This way of phrasing the questions will enhance the objectivity of responses. The questionnaire is divided into two parts. In part one, socio-demographic questions were asked. In part two, leading questions were used to help them to describe their experience in the workplace, social and family lives.

In part two there are five sections. The first section focuses on general adaptation. The second section focuses on their experience in the work place and how that experience is related to their identity as NAW. The third section focuses on their adjustment in their family lives. The fourth section examines the social support they

receive from relatives, friends, and social service agencies. The reason and the consequence of seeking advice from various parties were examined, including informants' perceptions of why they were being treated in particular manner. The final section focuses on how discrimination affects their adjustment and integration to Hong Kong society.

4.3.2 Observation

The observation period was spread over nine months from March to November 2001. The researcher went to the informants' homes eight times to observe the interaction of family members in various family activities such as dinners and social gatherings. The researcher also joined the informants at a picnic, went shopping with them in the wet market on three occasions and participated in a social gathering at a community service centre. The researcher also carried out unobtrusive observation in wet markets four times because many informants mentioned that there is serious discrimination in the wet market. Each observation lasted around three hours, apart from the picnic.

The most difficult settings to observe are those at work. Nevertheless, the researcher has planned to work as a dim sum seller in the restaurant where the informants in question worked. The researcher found a job as a dim sum seller in a Chinese restaurant where a large number of NAW were employed. In the workplace, unobtrusive observation that focused on the interaction of the NAW with their colleagues and their bosses was carried out.

4.4 Operational definition of variables

New arrival women (NAW): This refers to women who have migrated from Mainland China to Hong Kong with a period of less than seven years. Their migration is realized under the family re-union policy of the HKSAR, which allows NAW to live

with their LPR husband as well as their child(ren).

Social life: This refers to the interaction between informants and a range of social actors including government or non-government service workers, individuals such as hawkers in a market, bus drivers and any local citizens that they meet. The focus of the analysis is on how LPRs treat NAW or vice versa in different social environments, like shopping in commercial centres and wet markets, application for public housing and welfare, meeting with school teachers, building relationship with neighbours, etc.

Work life: This refers to the experience of a NAW in work-related contexts, including how they get a job and get along with employers and colleagues. The differential treatment received by a NAW in contrast to those normally encountered by LPRs is investigated to find out whether there is discrimination in the workplace.

Family life: This refers to the relationship of the NAW with her family members including husbands and child(ren). The relationship between husbands and wives examined includes the division of housework, sharing of financial interests and other family activities. The relationship with children is also explored.

Institutionalized discrimination: This refers to the unfair treatment against the NAW arising from their immigrant status as a result of socio-structural factors such as organization or government policies, and legal procedures. Institutionalized discrimination is carried out by individuals who implement the policies and procedures of organizations. Thus, institutionalized discrimination is defined as discrimination which is thought to be a result of Government Ordinances and policies of organizations and institutions.

Individual discrimination: This refers to unfair treatment against NAW based solely on their immigrant status in everyday life settings (Shepard, 1993:274). An example of individual discrimination is when a cashier treats customers of different races differently. Individual discrimination includes 'one-on-one acts by members of the dominant group (LPR) that harm members of the subordinate group (NAW).' (Kendall, 1996:319)

Social adjustment: According to Speare (1983:22), migrant adjustment can be defined as the process by which a migrant responds to a change from one place to another in the physical, economic, and social environment. Social adjustment is a relative concept. What is regarded as 'well adjusted' according to one person's standard may be 'poorly adjusted' according to another's. However, international migration, even under ideal circumstances, is a stressful experience requiring accommodation, adaptation and coping. In fact, migration from China to Hong Kong, to some extent, is similar to international migration as it involves changes in the political, social and economical environment. In this study, social adjustment refers to behaviour, habits and patterns of daily lives, jobs, and concepts of community, which have to change due to the migration. It is a process that describes the change of individual capability in interacting with the social environment.

Integration: This refers to the relationship between the NAW and Hong Kong society, which can be perceived from both macro and micro levels. At the micro level, integration is studied by investigating the extent to which an individual (NAW) experiences a sense of belonging to a social group or collectivity by virtue of sharing its norms, values, beliefs etc (Jary & Jary, 2000:303-304). At the macro level, the assimilation of NAW into the host society is investigated by considering of the impact of their integration to the social stability of Hong Kong.

Assimilation: This refers to the act of NAW who abandon their own culture in favour of that of the dominant society —Hong Kong (Abercrombie, 2000:18). For example, assimilation is said to have occurred when they favour the way they shop in the wet market and relinquish their habitual practices in Mainland China.

Alienation: This refers to individual NAW's feeling of estrangement from a situation, group or culture in Hong Kong (Jary & Jary, 2000:12). Alienation is said to have occurred when NAW identify themselves as 'us' and as the LPR as 'them'. This is expressed by not building up friendship with LPR, not seeking help or support from LPRs. Instead of the turning to LPRs, NAW only turn to other NAs.

Separation: This refers to the act of NAW separating themselves from the LPRs. They separate themselves in a community, and they tend to engage in community service activities for NAW only. On the other hand, they try to avoid interacting with LPRs (Kim, 2001:25; Abercrombie, 2000:310).

4.5 Methods of Data Analysis

The interviews were taped and transcribed into Cantonese¹². The transcription was subsequently translated from Cantonese to English for analysis using a textual analysis software called N5. N5 is used to sort, reorganize and analyze the data collected from the in-depth interviews and field notes taken from participation observations. Data is reorganized and used to examine the factors that may cause discrimination. The first round in-depth interview data was analyzed first, the findings of the which were used to counter check the analysis of the observation field notes.

¹²This is one of the Chinese dialects.

Upon the completion of the first stage analysis, the second stage of interview was carried out. The same software N5 was used to analyze the data collected from the second interview again. The researcher analyzed the results of the two stages together. Finally, the analysis is used to verify the framework and to examine the extent of discrimination and its impacts on the social adjustment of NAW.

4.6 Coding of variables

Analysis begins by coding the transcripts according to the three areas of study. Then codes are assigned to main themes. Afterwards specific codes are assigned to those same parts of the transcripts. Figure 2 illustrates the process of coding and analysis, using examples from the area of work life of NAW (for details see Appendix 2).

Figure 2. Process in coding and analysis- an illustration (part work life of NAW)

Besides coding the transcripts based on areas of study and main themes,

sub-themes and directional codes were given where suitable. The variables are coded by the attributive behavior in the relevant sphere. Below is an example of how interview text is actually coded in N5:

Text	Code (Code type)
The discrimination has a very big impact. Actually I've an opinion. When the government is making the identity cards, they don't need to classify permanent and non-permanent residents. They people will look down upon us when they look at ours without 3 stars. For example, finding job. The people will ask us to wait for the call at home when they look at our identity cards without 3 stars. So we are not employed.	Discrimination (main theme code) Institutionalized discr. (sub-theme code) ID card policy (sub-theme code) Individual discr. (main theme code) Hard to find job (directional code.) Consequence of discr. (main theme code) Rejected due to possess non-LPR ID (directional code)
(1 st in-depth interview of Kitty, age 40-44, she cannot get a job.)	

Analysis starts from dividing the transcript into three areas, i.e. social life, work life and family life. In each area, the main themes, namely discrimination, adjustment factors of discrimination, impacts of discrimination, factors of adjustment and consequences of adjustment are coded. Subsequent coding is based on the research framework. Coding is elaborated in the following:

4.6.1 Discrimination in work situation: This code is applied to relevant incident in *job searching*¹³ process and the *treatment* in the workplace. Sub-themes include the *identity card*, *easy to find job*, *hard to find job*, *relationship with boss and colleagues* as well as the *way of discrimination*.

4.6.2 Discrimination experience in family life: This code is applied to *housing policy* which is assigned for the theme —institutionalized discrimination. *Stereotyping*, *respectful behavior* and *disrespectful behavior*, *physical* and *mental abuse*, are coded as individual discrimination.

4.6.3 Discrimination in social life: This code applies to the interaction with people except family members. Such people include *relatives*, *fellow villagers*, *government agency staff*, *non-government organization social worker*,

¹³ Italic refers to the codes.

hawkers, neighbours and general people.

4.6.4 ‘The factors which induce discrimination in social life and family life’ are coded into the sub-theme —*socio-cultural factor* only. The codes for social life are include the *languages difference*, perception of LPRs in terms of *conflict of interest*, *misunderstanding of NAs*, *stereotyping of NAW*, *dressing styles* and *culture difference*. The codes for family life include *different habits* and *economic burden* for NAW’s husband. The factors of discrimination in work life are coded both under *socio-structural* and *socio-cultural* factors. The possession of non-permanent resident *ID card* of NAW and the change of the *economic structure* of HK are coded under the sub-theme socio-structural factors. The *perception of conflict of interest* from LPRs, *misunderstanding* and *stereotyping* of NAW are coded as the socio-cultural factors of discrimination in work life as well. From this coding, we may see which is the major factor induces LPR discriminating against NAW.

4.6.5 In the three areas of social adjustment, *discrimination* is coded as *verbal* and *non-verbal behaviour*.

4.6.6 ‘The consequences of discrimination’ are coded into four aspects. They are *integration*, *assimilation*, *alienation* and *separation* in work, social and family life. Each aspect is coded specifically.

‘The consequence in work life’ is coded by *resignation*, *choice of jobs*, *isolation* and *solidarity among NAW colleague* under the sub-theme ‘*alienation*’.

‘The consequence in social lives’ is coded by building friendship with LPR

under the sub-theme of ‘*integration*’, *preference of Hong Kong culture* and *rejecting NAs’ culture* under the sub-theme of ‘*assimilation*’. Also, under the sub-theme of ‘*alienation*’, *regret of coming to Hong Kong*, *building friendship with NAW*, *isolating themselves from LPR* and *building solidarity among NAW* is coded. The *rejection of LPR* by NAW is coded for the sub-theme ‘*separation*’.

‘The consequence in family lives’ is coded by *positive encouragement from spouse* under the sub-theme of ‘*integration*’, *positive influences* from the spouse and *enjoying Hong Kong culture* in their marriage under the sub-theme of ‘*assimilation*’. The sub-theme ‘*alienation*’ and ‘*separation*’ are code as ‘the consequence of social lives’.

4.6.7 The *social adjustment* of social lives: This code includes sub-codes such as *strong or weak social network*, *different life style* and *getting support from social worker of NGO’s, fellow NAs, the government agency’ staff, the staff and members of religion organizations, and relatives.*

4.6.8 The *social adjustment* in work life: This code is applied to the relevant incidents in the *job search* process and the *treatment* received in the workplace. Sub-codes include *qualification requirement*, *choice of job*, *job-searching difficulties*, and the *relationship with boss and colleague* both in the *positive* side and *negative* side.

4.6.9 The *social adjustment* of family lives is coded by *parenting* and *child care*, *marriage conflict* and *the behavior of husbands and child(ren).*

4.6.10 Codes for the factors that affect social adjustment are *habit, knowing and accessing useful information* under the sub-theme of *socio-cultural factors*. And the text related to the *NGO's service*, the *accommodation* and the *recognition of education qualification* are coded into the sub-theme of *socio-structural factors*.

4.6.11 The *consequence of social adjustment* is coded into four aspects. They are *integration, assimilation, alienation* and *separation* in three areas of life —work, social and family life. Each aspect is coded specifically as the consequences of discrimination.

Chapter Five

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF INFORMANTS & OBSERVATION

5.1 Demographic profile of informants

Thirty-three informants have been interviewed in this study (See Table 1). ‘Mission for New Arrivals Ltd.’ referred eighteen of them. Twelve of them were recruited from “Hong Kong Federation of Women’s Centre” after the researcher participated in a three days workshop for NAW in helping them to help their children with their studies. A social worker and a teacher of a pre-adjustment class referred three of them. These two non-government organizations (NGOs) provide multiple services to the new arrivals, with the latter focusing on serving women in particular. All of the informants have used the services provided by these two organizations. Apart from the last three informants, all were interviewed in the counseling room of the association for the first in-depth interview. The last three informants were interviewed at their homes and in a restaurant. In the second in-depth interview, one more informant was interviewed in the park. The researcher interviewed all the informants herself.

The first round of interviews was carried out between February and June 2001. Each interview took one and a half to two hours. The interviews were carried out in Cantonese and Putonghua and were taped. Five professional translators were employed to translate the Chinese transcripts into English. Twenty-seven of the original informants agreed to be interviewed for a second time and this second round of interviews took place between March and April 2002. In the second round of interviews, one of the original informants was interviewed on the phone because she expressed that she was extremely busy and only be interviewed through the phone.

One original informant refused to be interviewed for a second time. Four of them could not be contacted for the second round interview. One was abused by the husband and moved to a ‘women's shelter’, and was not able to accept the second interview at the time. The age of the informants are between 25-54 years old (see Table 2).

Table 2.

The age of informants

Age	No. of NAW
25-29	1
30-34	10
35-39	13
40-44	8
45-49	0
50-54	1

Their length of stay in Hong Kong (see Table 3) are range from one month to four years when they were first interviewed by the researcher.

Table 3

Length of stay at first interview

Length of stay	No. of NAW
1-6 months	4
7 months- 1 year	12
1.5 year over – 2 year	13
2.5 year over – 3 year	2

Most informants came from the Guangdong province in southern China. Three of them come from other provinces, i.e. Hunan, Guangxi and Hainan. Though most of them come from Guangdong province, they speak different dialects¹⁴ (Zhan, 1990; 1994). Table 4 shows that they came from different counties and cities. Therefore their mother tongues are different from the Cantonese which Hong Kong people use. Three of them came from Shenzhen and two came from Guangzhou. These two are relatively prosperous cities that are similar to Hong Kong in many ways.

¹⁴ According to the study of Zhan's, there are about twenty dialects in Northern Pearl River Delta and Western part of Guangdong.

Table 4

The Place of Origin

Place of Origin	No. of NAW	Place of Origin	No. of NAW
Guangdong Province Baoan County	1	Guangdong province Huidong City	1
Guangdong province WeiYang City	1	Guangdong province Haifeng County	1
Guangdong province Shenzhen City	3	Guangdong province Zhongshan City	1
Guangdong province FuoShan City	3	Guangdong province Fengshun county	1
Guangdong province Dongguan county	5	Guangdong province Xinhui County	2
Guangdong province Sixuei county	1	Guangdong province Qingyuan County	1
Guangdong province Guangzhou City	2	Guangdong province Chaozhou City	1
Guangdong province Kaiping County	1	Guangdong province Panyu County	1
Guangdong province Yangkang county	1	Guangdong province Poluo County	1
Guangdong province JiangMen county	1	Guangxi province Yulin County	1
Guangdong province Shanwei City	1	Hainan Province Wanning City	1
Hunan province Zhangsha City	1		

The place of origin of the sample in this research is similar to the population of the NAs (see Table 5) in 2000 (Hong Kong council of Social Service, 2001b: <http://newarrivals.socialnet.org.hk/main.htm>).

Table 5: Comparison on the place of origin of New Arrivals and the sample of this research

Place of Origin in Mainland China	2000 population (%)	This sample (%)
Guangdong Province	24,697 (82.7%)	30 (90.9%)
Fujian Province	759 (2.5%)	Nil
Guangxi Province	494 (1.7%)	1 (3.03%)
Hainan Province	587 (2.0%)	1 (3.03%)
Shanghai City	174 (0.6%)	Nil
Yunnan Province	30 (0.1%)	Nil
Others	3,117 (10.4%)	1 (3.03%)

(Source of Year Data: Home Affairs Department, which is cited from the website of new arrivals: New arrivals social net, Hong Kong council of Social Service, 2001b: <http://newarrivals.socialnet.org.hk/main.htm> 2001).

Most of the NAW have reached secondary level education. Among the informants, one of them holds a vocational institution diploma (non-degree), twenty-two of them obtained secondary education, and ten have at least primary education (see Table 6). The education level of the sample is similar to those of the population of NAs (See Table 7) in Hong Kong (Hong Kong council of Social Service, 2001b: <http://newarrivals.socialnet.org.hk/main.htm>).

Table 6 **Educational Attainment of informants**

Educational Attainment	No. of NAW
Primary and below	10
Secondary	22
Tertiary (non-degree)	1

Table 7 Comparison of Education attainment between the general NA population and the sample of this research

Educational attainment	2000 population (%)	This sample
Primary and below	6890 (22.5%)	10 (30.30%)
Secondary	9864 (69.9%)	22(66.6%)
Tertiary (non-degree)	2,122 (7%)	1(3.03%)

(Source of Year Data: Home Affairs Department, which is cited from the website of new arrivals: New arrivals social net, Hong Kong council of Social Service, 2001b: <http://newarrivals.socialnet.org.hk/main.htm> 2001).

Apart from one case, the source of family income (see Table 8) of informants mainly comes from the wages of their husbands. Twenty-one of the informants' monthly family income is lower than HK\$10,000. Five of the families are supported by the Comprehensive Social Security Assistance (CSSA). One informants' husband had an accident at work after the first interview. Since September 2001, this family has been on CSSA as well.

Table 8**The Monthly Family income of informants**

Monthly income	No. of NAW
HK\$4,000-6,000	6
HK\$6,000> - 8,000	5
HK\$8,000> - 10,000	9
HK\$10,000> - 12,000	1
HK\$ 12,000>-14,000	1
HK\$14,000> - 16,000	5
HK\$16,000> - 18,000	4
HK\$18,000 >	1
Undisclosed	1

Among the thirty-three informants, eighteen of them have paid work (two of the informants got a full-time job after the first in-depth interview by the researcher). Out of the eighteen, nine have full-time paid work. Table 9 shows that most of them work in the service sector as employees. Furthermore, quite a few informants work as part-time domestic helpers.

Table 9**The Work of NAW**

Work Title	No. of NAW
Domestic helper (PT)	5
Dish washer (PT)	1
Factory worker (PT)	1
Dim Sum seller (FT)	1
Hotel housekeeping (FT)	1
Chinese restaurant waitress (FT)	2
Elderly home worker (FT) (PT)	1 + 1
Worker (FT)	1
Cleansing worker in office/ on street (FT)	2
Catering service worker (FT)	1
Worker in a primary school (PT)	1

5.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation was used to collect data to cross check the information gathered from the interviews. Participant observation could provide another angle to look at the NAW's social adjustment and experiences. Through participant observation,

the researcher could observe the dynamics of interaction between the LPRs and the NAW in natural socio-cultural context. For example, the researcher can listen to how LPRs phrase their words and speak out with different tones, which could be an expression of their rudeness and discriminatory attitude toward NAW. At the same time the researcher could compare the differences in treatments received between NAW and LPRs.

The researcher carried out participant observation during March to November 2001. Among the thirty-three informants, Linda and Miranda gave consent to being observed. With Linda, the researcher played the role as a volunteer of an NGO which was providing social service to her. The researcher visited and dined with Linda's family three times, visited Ocean Park with her family once (this trip was organized by the NGO). The researcher also appeared as a client in her workplace once, and accompanied her to the wet market once. With Miranda, the researcher assumed the role of a tutor in a workshop that was organized to help new arrival children adapt to Hong Kong's education system. The researcher also went to a shopping centre and a wet market with Miranda twice, joined her in social gatherings with two friends of her, went to the beach with her friends and family member, and dined with her family on several occasions.

Except observations made in the work place and wet market, all others were obtrusive observations. Besides the obtrusive observation undertaken with the consent of informants, the researcher went to two wet markets —Mongkok Market and Pei Ho Street Market -to observe interactions between hawkers and NAW. These two markets are located in older districts, where NAW are most likely live. In observing NAW in the markets, the researcher identified NAW according to the symbols that the

informants described in the interview. The symbols includes the inaccurate tone and accent of Cantonese, wearing small golden hoop-type ear rings, wearing loosely fitted T-shirts, with pedal pushers (medium length pants) and sandals as well as carrying inexpensive handbags.

In examining NAWs' work life, the researcher worked in a Chinese restaurant for two weeks to observe the dynamics of NAW in the workplace. The researcher took part in the job-search process and worked in contexts similar to that of the informants. The researcher dressed up in a 'new immigrant women style'¹⁵ and looked for jobs through the notices posted on the front doors of Chinese Restaurants in Tuen Mun and Yuen Long. After searching for one week, the researcher found a job as a dim sum seller in a Chinese Restaurant in Yuen Long, which involved working 11 hours per day; the wages was HK\$157 per day with one no pay holiday per week. The researcher worked for two weeks from 15 June to 30 June 2001. On the last working day, before the researcher resigned, she was informed that she was to be fired without a reasonable cause. Finally, the researcher was informed by her direct supervisor that, "You are fired because the senior manager wants a vacancy so that his lover can work here, and you are one of the new employees without any relationship with the manager. Therefore, the manager chose to fire you." For more details, the reader can refer to the observation notes (**See Appendix 3 -working observation notes**). The observation notes have been reorganized intensively. After working for a long day, researcher narrated the working experience in the restaurant and taped it at home. After repeatedly listening to the tape, observation notes was taken.

¹⁵ A restaurant's cook who always works with the NAW instructs the dressing style, i.e. loosely fit T-shirt, with pedal pusher (medium length pants) and a sandals as well as carrying an inexpensive handbag.

Table 1.

General Profile of Informants

Case	year of arrival (length)	Age	Place of origin	No. of Children & Age of children	Education level	Occupation & Salary (per month) in HK	Occupation & Salary (per month) in Mainland	Occupation and Income (per mon.) of spouse	Aspect of being discrimination	Difficulties of adaptation	Remark
LISA	7 months	30-34	Hunan Province Zhangsha City	1 daughter: 4	Secondary	Domestic helper, HK\$2,000	Sales supervisor of bookshop RMB¥800	Cook \$8,000	Social Live	Language, education of daughter, Social support, relation-ship with husband	1. She speaks Putonghua. 2. Regret to come to HK. 3. Lack of emotional support 4. No relative in HK
2.MACY	2 Year	35-39	Guangdong Province Baoan County	2 Sons: 13, 10	Primary	Dishwasher, waitress, Part-time Sale	Waste paper collecting worker	Assistant Cook \$9,000	Social live	Son's study, Living environment,	1. Have not experienced discrimination in workplace.
3.SHIRELY	2 Year	40-44	Guangdong province WeiYangCity	2 sons: 13, 9	Secondary	Part-time factory worker \$1,000	Nil	Temporary Skilled worker \$9,000	Social live Workplace	Children-rearing, job searching, Economic pressure	1. Supportive husband 2. She refused to sign the consent form of accepting interview, but she will accept the 2 nd interview.
4.SALLIE	2 Year	40-44	Guangdong province Shenzhen City	2 daughter: 12, elder in Maniland	Secondary	Comprehensive Social security Assistance \$5,000	Assistant to Manager	Separate	Social live, Welfare Department.	Due to taking care of the daughter, she can't work. Economic pressure	She worked before her youngest daughter arrived at HK.
5.PATSY	1 Year	50-54	Guangdong province FuoShan City	1 daughter: 9	Primary	Comprehensive Social security Assistance \$4,080	Nil	Retired	Social live Welfare Department	Economic pressure. Take care of her husband	1. Husband (Age:77 has Cancer and dementia.) 2. No relative in

											HK
6 DOROTHY	1 Year	40-44	Guangdong province Dongguan county	2 Sons & 1 daughter: 12, 4, 10	Secondary	Nil	Nil	Site worker \$6,000—7,000	Social live	1. Economic pressure	She appreciate the NGO' s social worker.
7.LINDA	2 Year	35-39	Guangdong province Shengzhen county	1 son & 1 daughter: 11, 9	Primary	Dim sum Seller \$4,000—5,999	Garment Factory RMB¥500 - 600	Security Guard \$7,000	Social live	Children abused	1. Unhappy marital life. 2. Serious depression, have intention to commit suicide.
8. SALINA	3 month	30-34	Guangdong province FuoShan City	1 daughter: 9	Vocation institute (non-degree)	Hotel housekeeping \$6,000—7,999	Saleslady of Medicine Co. RMB¥2,000	Cook Assistant \$9,000' s	She didn't experience until now.	Education of daughter, Conflict with husband, living environment	Unhappy marital life.
9. KRISTY	1 Year	35-39	Guangdong province Dongguan county	1 son: 9 1 daughter: 10	Secondary	Part-time domestic helper (unemployed now) \$35 per Hr.	Nil	Temporary Worker \$6,000	Social live	Economic Pressure. Bad relationship with husband	She has no relative giving support to her in Hong Kong
10. SANDRA	1 Year	30-34	Guangdong province Sixuei county	1 son: 14 1 daughter: 12	Secondary	Nil	Nil	Painting worker \$8,500	Social live Police force	To find a job and take care of children	Supportive husband, Happy marriage
11. VANESSA	10 month	40-44	Guangdong province Guangzhou City	1 daughter: 10 1 son: 6	Secondary	Nil	Domestic factory worker. RMB¥300	Civil servant \$17,000	Social live	Overall good adaptation	1. Living with mother-in-law in HK. 2. No financial pressure.
12. ANNA	6 month	35-39	Guangdong province Kaiping County	1 daughter: 6 1 son: 4	Secondary	Nil	Factory worker RMB¥400—500	Skilled worker \$10,000' s	Social live	Living environment	Her husband owns a three-bed rooms apartment in HK. She has cheerful lives.
13. SPRING	2 Year	35-39	Guangdong province Shengzhen county	1 daughter: 12	Primary	Nil/ Comprehensive Social security Assistance after husband having	Nil	Before having Cancer: site worker \$9,500	Social live	Economic pressure	1. No relatives in HK. 2. Her husband owns an apartment.

						cancer					3. Welfare Department initiates to help them.
14. VALLEY	3 month	30-34	Guangdong province YangKang county	1 daughter: 10 1 son: 6	Secondary	Nil	Clerk, stock-keeper	Worker \$12,000	Have not experience discrimination	Living environment, Lack of social support	She appreciates NGO's service.
15. Milky	2 Year	40-44	Guangdong province Dongguan county	2 daughter: 11, 8	Primary	Nil	Nil	Decoration worker \$15,000	Social lives	Living environment, Making of friends	She suspects her husband is involving in extra-marital affairs or he engages with prostitutes frequently.
16. HELENA	1.5 year	35-39	Guangdong province Dongguan city	1 son: 11	Secondary	Waitress in Chinese Restaurant \$8,000—9,999	Run her own business	Unemployed (Age: 50)	Social lives Workplace	Living environment, relationship with husband	1. Struggle in making a decision of divorce. 4. Hide the identity of New immigrant
17. FLORA	4 Year	40-44	Guangdong province JiangMen county	2 daughter: 16, 10	Secondary	Elderly Home worker \$4,000—5,999	Nil	Retired (Age: 68)	Social lives Husband	Living environment, Relationship with husband.	She needs to help daughters to face discrimination at school.
18.SUKI	2 Year	35-39	Guangdong province GuangzhouCity	2 Sons: 15, 13	Secondary	Waitress in Chinese restaurant \$4,000—5,999	Housewife	Painting \$4,000	Social lives Workplace	Economic pressure, Relationship with husband	1. Unhappy marital life. 2. Non-supportive husband
19.MAY	2 Year	30-34	Guangdong province Shanwei City	2 sons: 12, 8 1 daughter: 10	Primary	Non-skill Worker \$4,000—5,999	Run her own business RMB¥500—600	Transportation Wage is unknown	Didn't experience discrimination at all.	Language	1. She moves to public house recently. 2. Supportive husband 3. Have a nice boss.
20. KITTY	1 Year	30-34	Guangdong province Huidong City	1 son: 8	Secondary	Part-time domestic worker	Factory worker RMB¥1,500	Decoration worker \$7,000—8,000	Social live Workplace	Living environment. Education of children	1. Appreciate NGO's service. 2. Join a small group in community Centre.

21. MIRANDA	2 Year	35-39	Guangdong province Haifeng County	1 daughter: 11 2 sons: 8,7	Primary	Cleaner	Nil	Skilled worker \$14,500	Social lives husband	Living environment Relationship Economic pressure	1. Mentally abused by husband, ask her to commit suicide. 2. Emotional depression
22. LAURA	1 year	25-39	Guangxi province Yulin County	1 daughter: 5	Secondary	Nil	Supervisor in factory	Boss of Car maintenance Co. \$20,000	Social lives	Dare not to communicate with local resident, Relationship with mother-in-law	1. Her husband owns a flat. 2. Supportive husband, happy marital life.
23. YUKI	2 Year	35-39	Guangdong province Dongguan city	1 daughter: 12 2 Sons: 8, 6	Primary	Construction site worker	Nil	Cook \$15,000	Social lives	Living environment Education of children, Language	She has relatives' support in Hong Kong
24. TERESA	2 Year	30-34	Guangdong province Fengshun county	1 Son: 8 1 daughter: 6	Secondary	Comprehensive Social security Assistance \$7,000	Nil	Divorce at September, 2000	Social lives Job-searching process, Welfare Department's social worker	Language, Physical abused by husband, Recognition of qualification. HK education system	1. Her parent is professor in University at mainland China 2. Appreciate the NGO's services
25. SISSY	2 Year	40-44	Guangdong province Xinhui County	2 daughter: 12,10	Secondary	Part-time domestic helper \$2000 Part-time Assistant Cook	Nil	Transportation \$6,000	Social live Workplace husband	Living environment Relationship with husband	1. Husband has extra-marital affairs. 2. The stranger disturbed her.
26. YVONNE	1 Year	33	Guangdong province Qingyuan County	1 son: 9 1 daughter: 7	Secondary	Nil	Nil	Transportation, Undisclosed	Social live	Relationship with husband Education of children	She doubts that her husband has extra-marital affairs.
27. AMENDA	4 year	35-39	Hainan Province Wanning City	1 son: 6	Secondary	Nil	Bank Teller English teacher RMB¥580	Decoration worker \$10,000	Social live husband	Relationship with husband, job-searching	1. Husband abuses her once. 2. Regret to come HK
28. LUCY	1 year	35-39	Guangdong province Panyu County	1 daughter: 12 1 son: 10	Secondary	Nil	Nil	Site Skilled worker \$15,000	Social live	Husband relationship, Education of Children	1. She has no relative in Hong Kong. 2. She doubts that her husband has

											extra-marital affairs
29. LILIY	1 Year	30-34	Guangdong province Foshan City	1 daughter: 13 1 son: 11	Primary	Worker of a primary school	Saleslady RMB¥800	Skilled worker \$18,000	Social lives	Education of Children	1. Her husband owns a flat. 2. Mother-in-law like her much. 3. She has strong support from the relatives
30. LANCY	2 Year	30-34	Guangdong province Poluo County	2 sons: 10, 7	Primary	Part-time Domestic helper \$800	Factory Worker RMB¥300 (1990)	Decoration worker \$ 9,000	Didn't experience discrimination	No difficult	1. She obtains 2-ways permit for traveling HK many times. 2. Supportive husband
31. FANNY	3 Year	35-39	Guangdong province Zhongshan City	1 son: 15 1 daughter: 12	Secondary	Nil	Nil	Site worker \$ 15,000	Didn't experience discrimination	No difficult	1. Supportive husband. 2. No relative in HK. 3. She hides genuine thinking about local permanent resident.
32. FIONA	3 year	42	Guangdong province Chaozhou City	2 sons: 16, 14	Secondary	Elderly home worker \$2,000—3,999 + Comprehensive Social security Assistance	Nil	Retired (Age:60's)	In Government hospital.	Economic pressure	1. She thinks discrimination again her poverty. 2. Youngest son & husband has heart disease. 3. She sick seriously since last year.
33. YOLANDA	1 year	35-39	Guangdong province Xinhui County	1 daughter: 13	Secondary	Catering \$2,000—3,999	Postal service staff	Worker \$13,000	Social live Workplace	Right to live in public house. Didn't know where she can seek help	1. Her mother-in-law reject to put her in the public house account. 2. Bad relationship with husband 3. Live under fears.

Chapter Six

Findings and Analysis on Discrimination

The data shows that most informants experienced direct and indirect discrimination in Hong Kong. Twenty-nine out of thirty-three informants (i.e. 88 percent) reported having experienced discrimination from Hong Kongers. The most serious discrimination against NAW occurred in their social lives. Most informants experienced individual discrimination frequently in the market place. Their job search experiences and work experiences suggested that institutionalized discrimination prevailed. Discrimination affected their family lives as well.

6.1 Discrimination in social lives

Discrimination of NAW in social life refers to the unfair treatment that they encounter in their interaction with other parties in their daily life activities such as shopping in the wet market, participating in activities held by NGOs, etc.

Twenty-five out of thirty-three cases (76 percent) reported that they have the impression that the LPRs look down upon them. This impression comes from their interaction with neighbours, hawkers, sales persons and the parents of their children's schoolmates. In short, most informants experienced discrimination directly and indirectly in their social lives. Directly, they experienced discrimination from the LPRs personally. Indirectly, they experienced discrimination when LPRs comments such as 'NAs are lazy and stupid'. These NAW informants mentioned that LPRs look down upon NAs¹⁶. There are two hundred and eighty-seven text units coded as 'look down upon'¹⁷ recorded in the interviews. Informants who think the LPRs

¹⁶ Refer to Section 4.3.1: implicit question for probing of discrimination against new arrivals.

¹⁷ LPRs express the 'look down upon' NAs attitude in scolding, giving bad service, cheating and beating.

discriminated against NAs use ‘look down upon’ many times to describe how LPRs treat them in the interviews (see **Table 10 - look down upon and discrimination**). This is the largest text unit retrieved from all the transcripts. Six out of thirty-three cases (18 percent) expressed that LPRs discriminated against them directly by looking down upon them. The typical term used by LPRs to address NAW, which is perceived as discriminatory, is ‘*Dai⁶-lug⁶-po⁴*’¹⁸.

Table 10. Text units retrieved about ‘look down upon’, discrimination and ‘*Dai⁶-lug⁶-po⁴*’,

Informants	Look down	Discriminate	Slight discrimination	<i>Dai⁶-lug⁶-po⁴</i>
Amenda	35	1		1
Anna			3	
Dorothy	1	2		3
Fanny	3	10		1
Fiona	25	1		2
Flora	22	9		2
Helena	8	6		
Kristy	11	4		
Lancy	7	3		1
Laura	18			
Lily	28	1		
Linda	11	7		2
Lisa	19	3		
Lucy	8			
Macy			2	1
May	18	2		
Milky	11			3
Miranda		7		1
Pasty	11	2		
Salina			7	1
Sallie	2	2		2
Sandra	22	5		6
Shirely	9			
Sissy		8		

¹⁸ ‘*Dai⁶-lug⁶-po⁴*’, is Cantonese for ‘Mainland bumpkin woman’.

Spring	1	10		4
Suki		6		3
Teresa	6	4		
Valley	2	3		
Vanessa	8	13		1
Yolanda		2		
Yuki	1		16	1
Total units	287	111	28	32

Within the social lives of NAW, there are a numbers of significant individuals, namely relatives, fellow NAs, Government Department staff, NGO's social workers, general people, school kids' parents and hawkers, with whom they need to interact in their daily lives in order to get social support. Seven out of thirty-three cases reported discrimination from their relatives. There are five cases of discrimination from Government Department, including the police force, government hospital and Welfare Department staff (see **Table 11-Discriminatory behaviour of LPRs**). On the contrary, they did have good experience from the NGO's social workers. There are twelve cases of discrimination from the general public such as hawker and sales persons. Another significant area that hampers their adjustment is the discrimination of their children in schools.

Table 11. Discriminatory behaviour of LPRs

Nature of discriminatory behaviour	By whom	Expression	Frequency in their social lives
Verbal	Husband's relative	Gossip behind them	1
Verbal	Neighbour	Scolding, innuendo	2
Verbal	Patient in hospital and clinic	Gossip	3
Verbal	Re-training course schoolmate	Gossip	2
Verbal	General public- people on the street and park etc.	Gossip, label NAW as a prostitute	2
Verbal	Nurse	Scolding	2
Abused	Security guard	Beating, scolding	1
Verbal	Security guard	Gossip behind them	1
Verbal	Social worker	Scolding, stereotyping	4
Verbal	Social worker	Reject to provide service	1
Verbal	Hawker	Scolding	14
Verbal and non-verbal	Police	Suspect her as a prostitute	10
Non-verbal	Cousin	Reject to contact	2

Non-verbal	Hawker	Cheating	3
Non-verbal	Sales person	Cheating	3
Non-verbal	Sales person	Ignoring	2
Non-Verbal	Neighbour	Ignoring	1

It is obvious from the accounts of informants that they experience serious discrimination when they go shopping in shops and markets. Furthermore, discrimination occurs in hospitals, in parks and occasionally when they attend employment retraining courses. For example, Lisa from Hunan cannot speak Cantonese in a right tone and were treated rudely. Once, she felt that she was insulted in a boutique:

Once I went to a boutique to shop around and a sale girl was enthusiastically introduced to me in Cantonese about the suits and clothes. I politely said, ' Sorry, I can't understand. ' When she heard me speak Putonghua, she...I did not know whether she had a bad emotion or not. Maybe she did not know Putonghua and she couldn't understand or she did not want to speak Putonghua with me. Then, she walked away and spoke loudly with another person, ' My God, she speaks Putonghua, bla..bla..bla. ' I felt that I was insulted and then I left at once. She looked unhappy and troubled. I didn't know whether she couldn't understand Putonghua or because of other reason. (*Lisa*)

In daily life, NAW experience serious individual discrimination. For instance, Spring' s is full of fear when she comes across LPRs in the market place. She says,

In the past, Hong Kong permanent residents discriminated against us, and they called us *Da⁶-lug⁶-po⁴*, so we didn't dare to get in touch with them. Like when we go out, we see those Hong Kong permanent residents, or those who have come for a long time. We don't dare to talk with them because we're afraid that they will discriminate against us, saying we are rude and stupid. We are so scared. They seem to discriminate against you. They always say, ' You *Da⁶-lug⁶-po⁴* can't even speak accurate Cantonese. ' I am so scared and don't dare to talk with them. I also feel that when I talk with them. I am scared when I buy vegetables too. Those people who sell vegetables are very fierce. They discriminate against us. I leave immediately after I have bought it. I won't choose it. I even don't dare to talk with them. (*Spring*)

Spring also experienced individual discrimination in the hospital when she consulted a doctor.

Sometimes they discriminate against us. Even when we go to see a doctor in hospital, we may be discriminated. They said, ' We need to queue up to see a doctor? There were not so many people here before. Now these fucking *Da⁶-lug⁶-po⁴* have come and then make it so crowded. They make us can't see a doctor. ' They scolded continuously.

I was queuing up. Although they were not scolding me, I felt very sad. I felt that I was innocent. Sometimes someone cuts in a queue, then they will say, ' These bumpkins what and what. ' So I call myself ' *Dai⁶-lug⁶-po⁴* ' too.

Moreover, Fiona experienced the most incredible discrimination while she was sick and hospitalized. When she requested to phone her family members, she was tied up by a security guard on the bed and beaten while two nurses watched (See **Appendix 4**).

As new arrivals, these women often need social support and they come in contact with Government Departments, such as the Education Department, Welfare Department and Labour Department as well as some NGO's that offers social services. However, most informants claimed that they were treated badly. Teresa and Sallie are typical cases.

At that time I called a social worker and she said, ' Why did you marry him? You've talked so many to me and what do you want me to do? ' I said, ' Now I do not know what to do and I need someone to help me ' . She said, ' How you want me to help you? At the beginning why did you marry him? As you have suffered in this way, just be patient. It is no use to look for us. ' When she spoke to me, I couldn't help my tears from falling and then I cut the line.

(Teresa had been abused by her husband. Then she made a call to Family Service of Social Welfare Department.)

When I went to apply for CSSA, a staff was very bad to me. She said to me loudly, ' You new arrivals are so and so. ' Then I said, ' It needs much courage for me to enter this office. I really don't want to apply for CSSA. ' I had said these words and maybe she thought that I was the kind of person who did not want to apply. Many people persuaded me that I came. So I say, ' It needs much courage for me to enter this office. '

I became very painful and wanted to die, because she shouted at me and scared my daughter. (*Sallie*)

Sandra had a bad experience when the Police checked her identity (ID) card. In the process, she felt she was treated like a prostitute. Her experience shows that NAW are often seen as prostitute¹⁹.

¹⁹ Most prostitutes in Hong Kong come from Mainland, and therefore police and public stereotype NAW as prostitutes easily.

There is discrimination; it's impossible of not having discrimination. They discriminate against new arrivals, especially among the police. They always checked my identity card in my first year of arrival. Not much this year. I don't understand. When I asked them, they said they checked it when they suspected me. I didn't do anything wrong. When I first came here, they often checked my identity card. I feel embarrassed as if I had committed a crime. I guess they suspected I'm from the northern part and came here to be a prostitute. The police asked, 'What are you doing in Hong Kong?' and looked at me as if I work in the sex industry. (Sandra)

NGOs' staff also discriminate against NAW who ask for their assistance. For instance,

Fanny told us her experience:

I have come for one year. In the past I went to the International Social Services. It was good. At first the staff were not very nice to me and I wanted to try them. I said I want to apply for CSSA and my daughter came from Macao and I was jobless. Then she explained the procedures to me. I said, 'Is it so simple?' She said, 'What do you want now?' I said, 'If there is any voluntary work, please reserve for me.' Then she became very enthusiastic and said, 'Oh, you are so nice!' Then I said, 'If I have time, I would help you.' Then she said, 'There will be an activity next week, would reserve it for you.' Then if there were activity or picnic, she would reserve a place for me.
(Fanny, she went to a NGO's service center for the new arrivals. She want to test how is the service going on.)

To sum up, our informants experience serious individual discrimination in their daily lives. Figure 2 shows that most cases of discrimination happened in wet markets, parks, boutiques, clinics and hospitals, and on the streets. NAW are discriminated in the wet market by hawkers who stereotyped them as poor and stupid. Regarding stereotyping, hawkers scolded them and treated them badly for no good reason. Milky illustrated clearly that hawkers treat LPRs and NAW customer differently. She described as follows:

Milky: They think we new arrivals dare not say a word, they say, 'Go away after the deal.' They told us to go away. They have prejudice against us.
S²⁰: My husband is cheated when he goes to the market. So he asks me to do the shopping.
Milky: No. They're good in differentiating people. New arrivals wear earrings. Not many Hong Kong people wear that.
S: Hong Kong people do that.
Milky: They're different. They wear many. They do it just because we're new arrivals.

²⁰ 'S' accounts for the researcher in the interview conversation. The names of informants are pseudonym.

In boutiques, sales persons discriminated NAW by ignoring them. In clinics, hospitals and parks, NAW experienced discrimination by LPR clients and the service providers. They discriminated them by criticizing NAW as competitors who come to deplete their welfare and job opportunities which result in lowering their living standards. The most serious individual discrimination occurred in the hospital where one informant was scolded and beaten by a security guard. Finally, on the streets, NAW thought they were discriminated when they were stopped by the police for identity card checking. Police always identify them as suspicious criminals, or even as prostitutes in some cases. Discrimination against NAW in social lives ranges from verbal expression to violence action. It is therefore necessary to take a closer look into the discriminatory behaviour of the general public.

Figure 2. Individual Discrimination Experienced by the Informants

Place	Individuals who discriminate against NAW	Discriminatory behaviour
Wet market	Hawkers	Stereotyping, scolding
Boutique	Sales person	Ignoring
Park	General public of LPR	Criticizing NAW as competitor: - to drain their welfare, their jobs. - to lower their living standards.
Clinic & hospital		
Hospital	Nurse and security guard	Scolding, beating and taking for granted
Residential building	Neighbours, tenants	Ignoring, innuendo
Government Dept. & NGOs	Social workers	Blaming, reject to provide service
Street	Police	Suspecting NAW to be criminals or prostitutes.

The discriminatory behavior of the general public can be broadly divided into three categories: i.) Verbal language ii.) Cheating iii.) Beating. These kinds of behavior are typically found in the general public who discriminate against the NAW.

Verbal language

The most common word used by LPRs to address NAW is ‘*Dai⁶-lug⁶-po⁴*’ which means Mainland bumpkin women. According to semantics, language always reflect the concept and the interpretation of speaker and hearer (Goddard, 1998:1-9, 15). ‘*Dai⁶-lug⁶-po⁴*’ carries a heavy sense of degradation. When LPRs use these words to address NAW, they see themselves as more superior by putting NAW in an inferior position as if they are second-class citizens. When they pronounce these words with a high tone (Huang & Green, 1981:1-7, 32), usually it is used to scold people.

‘*Dai⁶-lug⁶-po⁴*’ has been cited by the informants as how they discriminated by the hawkers, people on the streets, in the parks and hospitals. Fourteen out of thirty-three cases (42 percent of all cases) contain this address when NAW told their stories of encountering LPRs. It is 42 percent of the total number of cases. The total number of this phrase retrieved is 32 text units. Some worse cases reported scolding by adding strong word preceding or behind ‘*Dai⁶-lug⁶-po⁴*’ namely ‘bloody’, ‘bitch’ and ‘damned’. The LPR scolded them with this degrading phrase although the NAW did nothing bad or wrong to them. The response of LPRs is by no means a consequence of any unfriendly behaviour exhibited by a NAW except touching the vegetables in front of the stall or bargaining with a hawker. Here are several typical examples:

When I just arrived, I went to buy vegetables. I pointed at the vegetable that I wanted and asked the woman to give me one catty. Then the woman blamed me ‘What’s a *bitch from the Mainland (Dai⁶-lug⁶-po⁴)!* What do you want to buy, just tell me.’ Some of the women who sell vegetable in Pei Ho Street are especially impolite. Very bad!
Yes, but they scolded me as a bitch from the Mainland. (*Miranda*)

Once when I wanted to buy some clothes, I saw a new arrival bargaining with the hawker. The hawker said you *bloody mainlander*, this and that. I was scared and left. I think we can bargain only in the mainland, not in Hong Kong. (*Lancy*)

It is necessary to further verify the observation results, especially the differential

treatment demonstrated by the hawkers toward LPRs and NAW. As the researcher went to wet market where Miranda had her experience as quoted above, the researcher found out the difference:

Miranda shows me a counter and a hawker who have blamed her seriously when she just pointed to vegetables that she wanted to buy some. Then I asked her to wait for me far away from that counter. I went to that counter pretending to buy some vegetable. Originally, they sell \$10 for two bundles of vegetables, which had been pair up. However, I asked for two bundles from different pairs deliberately. I was ready to be scolded by the hawker. However, she sold them to me in that way without saying any bad words.

Afterwards I joined Miranda and told her about the situation. I emphasized that the hawker had not blamed me. She responded and said, ' she blamed me may be because I look like a 'bumpkin women'.

According to Miranda's explanation, she was scolded because she carried the symbols (see Section 5.2, P.57-58) of NAW that LPRs used to identify them. The researcher did not carry the symbols of a new arrival woman and therefore was not scolded. In addition, the researcher observed (during the unobtrusive participant observation) similar discriminatory behaviour in Mongkok wet market (See APPENDIX 5).

The statements made by the informants suggest that in the eyes of LPRs NAW represent laziness, dirtiness and stupidity:

They have discriminated against us very much. They treat you new arrivals as lazy and just apply for CSSA. Hong Kong people always think like that. (*Shirely*)

They will discriminate against us, saying we are rude and stupid. We are so scared. They seem to discriminate against you. You these *Dai⁶-lug⁶-po⁴* (Mainland bumpkins women) even can't speak accurate Cantonese. (*Spring*)

Sometimes when going out, I always hear that, ' Throw away the rubbish everywhere. It must be done by the new arrivals! ' (*Kitty*)

I think some Hong Kong people despise the people from the Mainland. Once I went to a restaurant and there were some housewives. I went to the toilet and there was no flush water. One woman, who was a local, said that the Mainland women were dirty, as they did not flush the toilet. (*Macy*)

These kinds of stereotyping hurt the self-esteem of the NAW. Furthermore, many

people in Hong Kong easily label women coming from the Mainland as prostitutes.

Four cases are reported in which LPR called Mainland women as prostitutes.

Well. Some of them are really indecent. I've heard someone said, ' Many of the Mainland women come to Hong Kong to be prostitutes. ' It hurts to hear such words. Though I am not a prostitute, what they refer to include all new arrivals. *(Fanny heard this conversation on the streets.)*

Well, some people have prejudice against you. They bawled to you like, ' New arrivals come here ... bla...bla...bla..., isn't it good staying in the Mainland? What are they doing to come to Hong Kong? Being a prostitute!? ' Many people bawled, ' Come here for doing what? Is it good? What are they doing to come to Hong Kong? Being a prostitute! ' Many people bawled such, ' What are they doing to come to Hong Kong? Is there anything to pick up here? ' Those people on the street say that. *(Linda)*

Overall, the LPRs' verbal discrimination is very insulting to the new arrivals.

Most expressions of LPRs are spiteful. Strong scolding words such as 'bloody' 'bitch' and 'damned' depict LPRs' discriminatory attitude towards NAW. Words such as 'dirty', 'lazy' and 'stupid' as used by LPRs reflect their prejudice against NAW. Being addressed as a 'prostitute' is an insult to personal integrity. It also implies one's status as an outcaste (out of the caste means unvalued person). As a result, NAW have to survive in an atmosphere of humiliation and discrimination.

Cheating

Besides verbal language, cheating is another expression of discrimination. Cheating is not uncommon in a society. However, in comparison with their local counterparts, NAW's experiences do reflect discrimination. Informants expressed that they were deceived because of their identity. Lancy said,

Yes. If you can't speak Cantonese fluently, they will raise the price. Once when I wanted to buy some clothes, I saw a new arrival bargaining with the hawker. The hawker said you bloody mainlander, this and that. *(Milky, she described the situation in the wet market.)*

Kristy had also been cheated by hawkers in the market. She said, ' Sometimes when I go shopping in a market, they cheat me because I am a new arrival. When I asked for

one catty²¹, they gave me one pound only'. Milky always experience it in the market.

Yes. They give me less for the same price. So I won't go to them again.
The Mongkok Market is full of that kind of people. I don't know why there are so many inspections and they don't catch the cheating vendors. They say it's right to give you 12/16 for 16/16. The Mongkok Market cheats people the most. (*Milky*)

Informants reported that a hawker would raise the price or give them less because they are NAs. The cheating behaviour of the LPRs in wet markets echoes the labeling of NAW as stupid and bumpkin (as mentioned in verbal discrimination). Furthermore, the fact that hawkers cheated NAW and scolded them fiercely suggests that they may assume NAW lack the power to fight back. Such cheating behaviour reflects that LPRs try to take advantage of NAW, who are ignorant in their eyes. Different informants responded to such cheating behaviour differently. Some informants switched over to another trustworthy vendor while others internalized the discontentment and accepted it as a common practice of Hong Kongers without complaint.

Beating

Beating is the most extreme behaviour of discrimination. The experience of Fiona is one of the unfortunate examples. Below is her account (for details, see **Appendix 4**):

They bound me and this young security guard beat me. Two nurses were watching.

My neck was painful and swollen and bruised. They scolded me, ' Nuts, Mainland bumpkin, bumpkin. ' They called me ' Hakkan bumpkin. ' I said, ' I am not a Hakkan bumpkin nor Mainland bumpkin. I come from Chaozhou. Yes, I am a new arrival. ' Then he scolded me, ' You nuts, fuck your damned mother. ' This young man said, ' Fuck your damned mother. ' Then I replied, ' Young man, if you want to fuck your damned mother, don't discuss with me but with your father. You should ask your father that you want to fuck your damned mother and if he agrees you can do this. ' Then two nurses were standing beside but he continued to say, ' You are a woman and I am a man. I can kill you with a fist. ' I said, ' No problem. In Hong Kong men and women are equal. You can beat me if I have done something wrong. If I have done something very wrong you can kill me with a fist. No problem. If you have the guts, just kill me here. No one will charge you. ' Then he said, ' This is a damned bumpkin. This is a damned fool. ' As he scolded at me like that, I could not take it amiss and I quarreled with him and he started to beat me.

²¹ 1 catty = 600 grammes. 1 pound = 454 grammes.

In this extreme case, a young security guard beat a new arrival woman in a hospital. We may question why the two nurses did not stop the guard. Even if she were a psychiatric patient, fastening her to a bed would be enough while any beating seemed unreasonable. From Fiona's description, when the guard beat her, he called her 'a damned bumpkin woman'. Finally, when her husband came to the hospital, they called the police. The police charged the security guard for criminal offence. In other words, it is a serious assault case. Discrimination manifested in the form of violence which undermines the capability of NAW to deal with adverse situations arising from their migration.

Summary of discriminatory behaviour of LPR

Figure 3 Different level of discriminatory behaviour of LPR

In previous sections, informants' accounts illustrate the extent and the impact of individual discrimination. From verbal attack by the general public to cheating behaviour of hawkers and the physical abuse by a staff in a government hospital, individual discrimination exists widely and propagates in the society (see Figure 3). Verbal discrimination is most common; cheating is an escalation of discrimination; beating is the most extreme form of discrimination.

Beating NAW is physical violence. Though it happened as a single incident, it still reflects the seriousness of individual discrimination. Furthermore, government

hospital provides basic medical service to patients and is not supposed to discriminate anyone on the grounds of race and social status. Clearly, physical violence arising from individual discrimination greatly affects NAW.

Factors that aggravate discrimination

The data suggests that the causes of such serious individual discrimination can be divided into two types; those that belong to the micro level (different characteristics and backgrounds of NAW and LPRs), and those that belong to the macro level (economic and social environment).

Education level is a typical factor on the micro level. According to May's experience, most LPRs with lower education level discriminate against NAW. During an interview, she expresses:

MAY: I think, especially those women with lower education level look down upon the new immigrants.

S: You think the women with lower education level looks down upon new immigrants in particular. What made you have this feeling? You have heard about it, haven't you?

MAY: Yes. I have heard about it from other people. I have also heard about it myself. From their conversation, I can recognize that they have lower education.

On the other hand, Lisa thought that NAW are discriminated because 'LPR thinks that we have a lower education level'.

Furthermore, the differences in dressing style and language attract discrimination.

Fanny and Spring said the following:

Second is about the clothes. Generally people think that the new arrivals dress untidily and we do not wear make up. (*Fanny, she explains why they are being discriminated, this is the second reason.*)

That means people come from Mainland are different from Hong Kong people. Hong Kong people are so tidy in every aspect. They wear ties and their clothes are prettier. Girls in Mainland are not as tidy as those in Hong Kong. Discrimination means they discriminate against you these bumpkins, because we Hong

Kong people are especially nobler. (*Spring*)

An interview with Amenda suggests that NAW are discriminated because some of the NAW cannot pronounce the accurate tones of Cantonese.

They look down upon us. They look down upon us. First it's the difference in language. Second, perhaps they look at us and think we mainland people aren't town people. (*Amenda is from Hainan. In-depth interview was carried out in Putonghua.*)

In addition, the individual financial status of NAW also attributes to discrimination. The examples are as follows:

We were look down by them just like the poor people. (*May*)

I think, ' May be I am poor and my husband is so old and poor that others look down upon me. ' (*Fiona*)

I won't turn to other people, I'm afraid that my relatives will look down on me. I'm poor. I get along well with poor people. (*Sandra*)

Second, they are poor. I tell you, they think the new arrivals are not as rich as the Hong Kong people. I know several who think like that. Why do they discriminate against new arrivals? They have two shortcomings. First, they are discriminated against because they are poor. Not to say in Hong Kong, you are to be discriminated against everywhere if you are poor. (*Fanny*)

On the macro level, NAs are labeled as burdens to the Hong Kong economy, who compete with LPRs for welfare resources and also the job market. In many occasions, informants reported that the Hong Kong general public sees NAW as poor people who seek better opportunities. For example, Fanny mentioned that Hong Kong people discriminated against those who received CSSA because some of them deceived the Welfare Department. She said, 'Some NAs get CSSA and go to drink tea and eat, and it has a great impact.' Miranda said, 'It seems that we will share half of their resources.'

For Lily and Miranda, the reasons for being discriminated are as follows:

Of course local permanent residents look down on us. I think not all of them are like

that. But some said we took their jobs. They look down on us. Some locals aren't as competitive as us, they just stay there longer. (*Lily*)

Most people discriminate against new arrivals. They think that new arrivals will compete with them in looking for jobs and rely on the government. They have to share their schools, hospitals and houses with the new arrivals. They have to struggle for all the things with the new arrivals. These are the thoughts of many people in Hong Kong. (*Miranda*)

Spring heard that people blamed the NAs for using limited resources:

In hospital, we may be discriminated. They said, ' We need to queue up to see a doctor? There were not so many people here before. Now these fucking 'Da⁶-lug⁶-po⁴' have come and then make it so crowded. They make us can't see a doctor. ' They scolded. (*Spring described the conversation that she heard between two LPRs*)

On the contrary, three informants from the second interview reported that after they moved to a new town (Tin Shui Wei or Tung Chung), they experienced no discrimination from the inhabitants, hawkers and sales persons in that district.

Miranda, Kitty and Yuki have similar experiences:

Moving here (Tung Chung), our lives become more relaxed. I have not met any hawkers who scold me or other customer as when I lived in Shamshuipo. I can even choose what I want at the stall. Also, I feel quite relax to meet the inhabitants in this estate. Though we know each other little, we greet one another. I think the environment of this estate is not as crowded as Shamshuipo. Therefore, we may treat other with more a little kindness. (*Miranda has moved to Tung Chung about nine months ago, when she accepted the researcher's invitation for a 2nd interview.*)

Besides the financial pressure, I feel more comfortable to live here (Tin Shui Wei). People are nice in this estate. I have not seen any hawker and sales person treat other customer badly. They are nice to us, though they realized we are new arrivals. I have not heard anybody scolding ' Da⁶-lug⁶-po⁴'. Many new arrivals moved to this public estate and it is not crowded as in Shamshuipo. (*Kitty do think that the price in the market is more expensive than in Shamshuipo, but hawkers are nice.*)

When they lived in Shamshuipo, they experienced discrimination during their contacts with hawkers and inhabitants (see P.70). However, their experiences are totally different when they live in a new district. Miranda thinks that the reason for this may be due to the larger space in the public area of the housing estate. However, Yuki took a different view in explaining the improved situation. She thought that most of the inhabitants in these new towns were NAs and therefore the influence of LPRs might

subside.

'I greet so many people because there are many villager fellow. I am easy to make friends in this new estate. I think that it's because the majority of the people in this community are new arrivals. We have the common background and culture.' (*Yuki told she has not experienced any discrimination in the public estate she moved to.*)

From Yuki, Kitty and Miranda's experiences, we may infer that newly developed low-density estates create a more relaxed atmosphere which enables inhabitants to treat each other better. It is because inhabitants in low-density living environments may not easily feel that new arrivals come to occupy their space. In other words, the threat of having their resources depleted is decreased; therefore they may better behave themselves. Also, despite the status of LPRs or NAW, everybody who moved to a new town are also newcomers. In other words, LPRs could not develop as a dominant group in a newly developed district as in the old one. In this sense, the LPRs and NAW are on the same social position in the new district. Therefore, this similar status of LPRs and NAW in a community may reduce discrimination. In contrast, Shamshuipo is an old district dominated by LPRs and it has a very high density. Under such circumstances, LPRs are likely to have the impression that NAs are coming to deplete their resources. Therefore, discrimination against NAW is more frequently observed in an old district than in new towns.

In brief, the causes of discrimination are due to the differences between LPRs and NAW in education levels, life-styles and economic status. However, these may not necessarily generate any discrimination. The social environment of the receiving society may lead to discrimination, and a district's demographic composition may also affect the extent of discrimination. When NAW live in a high density district which is dominated by LPRs, the crowded residential environment reinforces the impression

that NAs are coming to deplete the social resource and compete in the job market. In other words, conflict of interests is likely to be more prominent to the LPRs with the composition. According to sociologists (Kendall, 1996 Shepard, 1993) the social environment and demographic composition are socio-cultural factors which constitute individual discrimination. Besides, the burdens to welfare resources and the economy of Hong Kong have to be taken into consideration as a critical socio-structural factor.

Consequences of discrimination in social life

From the reaction of NAW to discrimination in daily lives, we may explore the consequence of discrimination. Apart from three informants who have experienced certain degree of individual discrimination with little negative impact, all others who have been affected by discrimination have negative feelings. There are significant impacts in three aspects: (i) the relationship with the general public; (ii) building up social support networks; and (iii) psychological barrier in their social lives.

Arising from individual discrimination from the general public people (such as hawkers, people on the streets, classmates in the training course), six informants expressed that they will not take any initiatives to build up relationships with LPRs. They will not approach or talk with them. There are three typical examples:

Yes, locals seldom talk to us, it seems they look down on us. Some parents were born in Hong Kong, when I said hello to them, they didn't say anything. Hong Kong people are not nice. (*Laura, on interaction with the parents of her kid's schoolmates.*)

You're nice. But other local permanent residents are proud. There are some barriers between them and me. I couldn't talk to them to my heart's content. I got along with new arrivals better in the domestic help courses. Just let it be. It seems locals are proud of themselves. (*Lily, she described her interaction with classmate in training course.*)

I think it's hard. Some Hong Kong people just look down on us new arrivals. We know it so I rarely meet them. I just meet my friends. (*Amenda*)

Lancy is one of the informants who has many LPRs as her friends. Nevertheless, she

still dare not share any heartfelt words with them. She emphasized that many of them regarded her as a LPR. She knew that they discriminated against NAW from their conversation and was uncomfortable to get along with the LPR friends. She mentioned the following:

S: So many of your friends are local permanent residents?

LANCY: Many.

S: Did they know that you're a return permit holder?

LANCY: No.

S: Are they willing to make friends with you?

LANCY: Yes. But I was scared.

S: Were you a bit scared that they knew your return permit holder identity?

LANCY: Yes. I was a return permit holder, all of them would look down upon me.

S: Do you feel more comfortable when you're having your single permit now?

LANCY: They will still look down upon us even though I have the single permit. But locals think that I'm not a return permit holder, because I've been here for many years.

S: You're pretty courageous to tell them the truth.

LANCY: Many of them don't believe me.

S: Do you have any good friends who are local permanent residents?

LANCY: No, we just say hello to each other.

S: What keeps you from being friends?

LANCY: I don't know, there is some barriers.

(Lancy has stayed in Hong Kong for two years illegally with a return permit²².)

In other words, discrimination experienced in daily life creates fears of receiving inferior treatment. Consequently, this has become an obstacle for NAW in building friendship with LPRs whom they may contact in other life settings. The difficulty in making friends with LPRs gives rise to the separation between NAW and LPRs. As such, NAW fail to gain social support from their LPR neighbours.

NAW need to build a supportive network to enhance their social adjustment in Hong Kong. Clearly, the data shows that the community is divided into two groups in the eyes of the informants, i.e. LPRs as the dominant group, and NAW as the subordinate group. Discrimination had led NAW to build social network and support among themselves. For example:

I rarely be with them (the LPR). It is because they don't understand us and have some kind of thinking towards us. I stay with my friends whom I can talk to. (*Amenda*)

KRISTY: I seldom have contacts with them (LPR).

S: How about in the market and in daily life?

KRISTY: I don't say hello to them.

S: Can you talk to other parents of school kids?

KRISTY: One to two.

S: Are they from the mainland or they are local permanent residents?

KRISTY: Also new arrivals.

S: Is it more comfortable to talk to them?

KRISTY: There is no discrimination between us, more comfortable.

(*Kristy was talking about the interaction with the parents of her kid's schoolmate.*)

LAURA: About 4-5 friends.

S: Are there many local permanent residents?

LAURA: Not really. I don't know much local permanent residents. They don't talk to me. New arrivals are nicer and won't look down on you.

S: When you talk to new arrivals, they will talk to you. But when you try to talk to locals, they...

LAURA: (She interrupted) won't talk to you.

(*Laura was asked how many friends she made since her arrival in Hong Kong*)

I got along with new arrivals better in the domestic help courses. Just let it be. It seems locals are proud of themselves. (*Lily*)

Yes, scared. When I know local permanent residents, I dare not tell them my identity. I'm afraid that they will look down upon me. (*Lancy*)

On the contrary, even if NAW wish to build up friendship with the LPRs, they have to face many difficulties. For example, Spring is willing to make friends with LPR, but she rarely has the appropriate chance.

S: Why is it so difficult to know Hong Kong permanent residents?

SPRING: They won't get in touch with us. Basically, all the women the social workers introduce to us are new arrivals. Here it writes: Family Services for New Arrivals. Permanent residents do not need to come here. People who come here are usually new arrivals. The permanent residents have adjusted to the Hong Kong environment already, so they don't need to come.

Conflict theory (Collins, 1988) suggests that discrimination leads to greater solidarity among new arrivals.

²² A return permit is a tourist permit. Its holder is eligible to stay in HKSAR for up to three months.

Experience of individual discrimination has led to frightful emotions. For example Lancy and Kitty are frightened by the treatment they received in a market. They are afraid of being scolded by hawkers.

Yes. I'm a new arrival, if the locals treat me like that, I don't know how to deal with them. I try to avoid the confrontations, I'm scared, I'm scared that they will scold me. Mei said a vegetable hawker looks down upon us, and then we better go to another hawker. (*Lancy described about her attitude towards the hawkers in the wet market*).

Kitty felt humiliated after she heard the blame in the market. She feels pressure in her daily life when she goes out.

Yeah, I'm very scared. At that time (the early period of her arrivals), I go to shop in the market. There was a woman about 50 years in age. She might see a piece of pork. In the Mainland, we would buy it until we found the suitable one. She was just standing to see, see and see. She didn't buy it when it's not suitable for her. Then the stall-keeper didn't like it. He just shouted, ' You the Mainland bitch! You don't go to buy when you have no money! ' Yeah, she took it for a look. When it's not suitable, then leave it and go away. I think it's usual. They don't need to blame us as Mainland bitch. I think this conversation is very humiliated. I have a little feeling when going out or to the market for shopping. I feel the pressure. Like I have to be careful. (*Kitty*)

When Kitty experienced discrimination and the difficulties, she regretted coming to Hong Kong. She admitted, 'Wow, I won't come if I had known.' Though this kind of psychological pressure in their social lives only created light emotional depression, it affects their ability to adjust themselves in a new society, and alienation is the result.

To sum up, the consequences of individual discrimination against NAW are that they are unable to build up friendship with LPRs (see Figure 4). This results in a sense of separation between NAW and LPRs. Discrimination also draws NAW closer together. This enhances solidarity amongst NAW, and mutual support network is formed. Discrimination undermines the integration process, resulting in a sense of separation and alienation from the host society.

Figure 4. Consequence of individual discrimination

Finally, the data shows that the longer NAW stayed in the receiving society, the more discrimination they experience. Soon after Lisa's arrival (the first interview was carried out after she arrived Hong Kong for one month), her life has been very difficult. She could not speak Cantonese (her first languages are Hunan and Putonghua) and therefore could not interact with LPRs effectively. Nevertheless, she felt good and liked the residents that she had met. Psychologically, it appears that she could survive the language barrier. However, during the second in-depth interview with Lisa, she expressed, 'I don't like Hong Kong. I really regret having come. When I stayed longer, I found that Hong Kongers discriminate.'

Fanny mentioned in the first in-depth interview that she did not experienced any difficulties in settling down and she thought most LPRs did not discriminate against NAW. Though some LPRs discriminate against NAW, this did not have any negative influence on her live. However, at the second interview, her perceptions of LPRs are different from that of the previous interview. She said, 'LPRs are very discriminatory. The longer I stay, the more discrimination against NAW I can see.'

In summary, discrimination in the social lives of the NAW prevails in many social life situations, such as shopping in wet markets or boutique, having social leisure

various activities in parks, consulting doctors in clinics and hospitals, interacting with neighbours, social workers and police, etc. Social adjustment of migrants may be seen as a process whereby they change habits, behaviours and concepts due to the migration. Ward argues (2001:80) that there are different stages of adjustment. Lysgaard (1955) proposes a U-curve adjustment regarding cross-cultural relocation. The U-curve was described in four stages, i) 'honeymoon' stage, with emphasis on the initial reactions of euphoria and fascination; ii) crisis stage, iii) recovery stage, and iv) adjustment stage, which reflects the enjoyment of and functional competence in the new environment. However, Lysgaard's (1995) proposal contradicts with the empirical study of Ward (2001). Ward suggests that psychological adjustment difficulties appear to be greatest in the early stages of transition (Ward et al., 2001:81). The adjustment of NAW as reflected in the findings of this research project, taken discrimination into consideration, does not tally with either of these two arguments.

Our informants' experiences show that NAW did not experience the honeymoon stage or the adjustment difficulties in the early stages of their transition. Because of the discrimination, they did regret having come to Hong Kong. This means that their adjustment hinges on discrimination and not how long they stayed in Hong Kong. Such feelings of regret weaken their competence in solving problems with regard to their adjustment.

6.2 Discrimination and paid work

Most NAW come from the working class²³. Their husbands are unskilled workers (eleven) and these women have to work to support their families as well. Looking for a

²³ Only 2 out of 33 informants' husbands fall out of the category of worker. One of the husbands runs his own business, while the other one is a civil servant.

job while Hong Kong is in an economic recession is not easy. However, a woman who is a new immigrant will be under a doubly disadvantageous situation, i.e. women are inferior in a male-dominant society (see section 2.5) and being newcomers they are treated unfairly in the society as well. Eight out of thirty-three cases had reported difficulties in finding a job. On the other hand, an equal number of cases indicated that if they were willing to sacrifice their child-rearing responsibility, it would be easier for them to find a job. Educational qualifications of these NAW are not accepted as equivalent to those approved by the Hong Kong education system. Hence, an informant may have attained tertiary education in the Mainland, but her qualification may not be recognized here. This implies that NAW are likely to be channeled into low-paying jobs. Most informants tend to be in unskilled work and on average they earn \$6,000. Lisa is a typical case:

I don't think it is difficult provided that you have no language problem. On the other hand, I have to take care of my daughter. My husband has to work on Saturdays and Sundays and it would be a bit difficult for me, as in the Mainland we worked in more regular hours.

I had gone to see the advertisements and about the job requirements posted by the Labour Department and the time was not suitable. Some were part-time jobs and some full-time jobs required long working hours. If it is to work on Saturdays and Sundays, I cannot take care of my daughter. *(Lisa, she talked about finding a job in Hong Kong. In the second in-depth interview, she said she could only work as a part-time domestic helper in order not to sacrifice her childrearing responsibilities.)*

I heard from the others that it's quite difficult. But not for me.

I resigned the new job on yesterday. My daughter is sick so seriously. Also the job is quite excited and dangerous! If the health of my daughter is not bad, I don't have to rush. That job is fair only. It's because we work for one week with less than 18 hours, there is no insurance. In the kitchen, we fall down easily and can get burnt. If you are tired, and you can't concentrate, I'm afraid I will be hurt. *(Sissy)*

If you want to work, it's not difficult at all. But the paid is very low, HK\$20²⁴ per hour. It's mainly because of the working schedule. When my children are young, I need to keep a closer look. If I work and can't take care them, it's no use to earn a lot of money. *(Vanessa)*.

In the participant observation, the researcher found a job as a dim sum seller in a

²⁴ Here she refers to a job as a domestic helper, and HK\$20 per hour is lower than the market average.

Chinese restaurant that employed many NAW as waitresses and dim sum sellers. The researcher worked 11 hours per day for HK\$157 per day with one day no-pay holiday once a week. It is equal to HK\$4,082 monthly.

Our data shows that institutionalized discrimination occurs in the process of job search and individual discrimination is also revealed from the unfair treatment of bosses and colleagues.

Eighteen out of thirty-three informants had full-time or part-time jobs. However, fifteen of them also experienced difficulties looking for jobs. Many NAW who went through the job search process pointed out that they failed to get the job once the employer checked their ID cards and realized that they are NAs. On the ID Card, a code can be read by the employer for discerning employment eligibility (Bilingual Laws Information System, 2002: Immigration Ordinance, Section 17J). Furthermore, different colour codes on Hong Kong ID cards denote clearly whether the holder is a 'permanent resident' or not. Helena's and Kitty's experiences are typical:

As long as you are willing to work and are willing to strive, you would earn a living anyway. The key is to work hard. But for my job, as I'm quite fat, the company's clothes don't fit me. Also as I'm a new immigrant, there's some discrimination. Once people look at your identity card and they know it (that you're a new immigrant), then it's really difficult. You need to be recommended by other people for a job. If you try to find a job on your own, you can't find it for sure. (*Helena*)

I think it's difficult to find job. Just like we go out to find a job. Some request you to have experience, but some do not. Perhaps when they look at your identity card, they will reject you. Many friends have had this experience. Most people look at your identity card. I don't understand them. Most look at your identity card. Some will reject you immediately; some will ask you to wait for the call at home.

Sometimes I pass the restaurant and heard that, ' I prefer to employ the one without experience. I won't employ the new arrivals. ' Because they may think that the new arrivals are unable to work. They must be worked by close supervision. (*Kitty*).

However, Teresa experienced discrimination directly in the job search process:

I've tried to look for a job, and it was this center (Hong Kong Women Federation Association) that helped me to secure one. However, it was an experience of failure, and it could be described as an experience that made me very angry. It was a charity organization that required someone to sell charity coupons. At the time of the interview, I had been divorced, and I took my two children with me. They did not have much comment then. But after the interview, I waited for almost a week before the social worker at the center phoned for the interview result. The lady said, ' We have got the employee we want. ' Miss Ho said, ' Are our women unsuitable? You can give us a call. ' She said, ' No, but some of them have very small children. ' ' If you employ them, they can sort out their time. You don't have to worry about that. ' Miss Ho said. Then at last, the lady said, ' Our job requires the employee to go to the Central and Causeway Bay, which are commercial places. ' Perhaps she requires people of higher rank. ' New arrivals do not look right. We are afraid they would affect our charity sales. ' She seemed to say that we would drag down the image of their organization. (*Teresa, she is not the only one being rejected. All NAW recommended by the center were rejected.*)

Clearly, in the job search process informants are rejected directly or indirectly because of their identity as new arrivals. Unexpectedly, many of them mentioned that their ID cards gave rise to discrimination and was an obstacle to getting good jobs.

During the participant observation, additional observation was made regarding the ID card policy which affect the NAW's employment prospects. The researcher was interviewed by the personnel manager of a restaurant when she was looking for a job as a waitress. Apparently, the appearance and the age of the researcher concerned the manager most. After enquiring about the age, the personnel manager rejected her. The researcher later sought advice from a working class housewife and an assistant cook who had previously worked in restaurants. They advised the researcher to dress in a way that would look like a new arrival woman (see Section 5.2, P.57-58). She dressed accordingly, and the day after, she got a job as dim-sum seller immediately. During a simple interview, the supervisor did not ask to see the ID card as she is supposed to, according to the Immigration Ordinance (Bilingual Laws Information System, 2002: Immigration Ordinance, Section 17J). The supervisor only asked her whether she had any experience in selling fried noodles. After the researcher said that she had done it before, the supervisor explained the terms and wages and told her to start work two

days later.

The researcher did not experience any discrimination similar to those mentioned by the informants in their job search processes (See **Figure 11 in APPENDIX 7**). The reason for this may be three-fold. First, though the researcher dressed in a ‘NAW style’, the researcher’s Cantonese accent is perfect. Therefore, the restaurant supervisor might thought the researcher had resided in Hong Kong for a long period of time and thus the process of checking the ID card of the researcher could be skipped. Second, it could be the preference of the restaurant to employ NAW who are willing to work for lower wages. Third, the assistant supervisor who interviewed the researcher was a new arrival woman. She probably wanted to employ new arrival woman also.

Nevertheless, two observations agree with the informants’ experiences. First, the requirement of relevant working experience (frying noodles) is the most critical factor for successful employment. Second, the working hours are long and the pay is low. In short, NAW occupy low paying jobs.

The ID card is a formal document that is issued by the Immigration Department. ID cards serve as a certified document of a person’s identity. According to the ‘Registration of Persons Ordinance’, all residents should carry their own ID cards with them at all times. The police have the right to check a person’s ID card at will. If a person does not have an ID card carried along, he or she could be charged (Bilingual Laws Information System, 2002: Immigration ordinance, Section 17C). In daily lives, residents need to show their ID cards in many settings, such as registering for consultation in a hospital, opening a bank account, buying a mobile phone, and filling an application form as a member of a community center etc. In applying for a

job, NAW should show her ID card. On the ID card, codes certify whether the person is eligible for employment according to the Immigration Ordinance (Bilingual Laws Information System, 2002: Immigration Ordinance, Section 17J). Furthermore, ID cards denote whether the holder is a 'permanent resident'. Therefore, ID cards affect the lives of Hong Kong residents. This ID card policy may be considered as a form of institutionalized discrimination against NAW in Hong Kong, especially in relation to the job search process.

In addition, some NAW also experience unfair treatment in their workplaces such as more workload being allocated to them and unfriendly attitudes of their bosses and colleagues when compared with other LPR workers. Flora described:

The boss ordered me to work using a loud and impolite tone compared with LPR colleagues. He also allocated more work for me. As I know, he wants to pressure me so that I may resign. They want to employ other new arrivals with lower wages. Then they can make more profit even they make profit right now. The boss doesn't treat the senior LPR colleagues as he treats me. (*Flora described how her boss wants to lower costs and make more profits.*)

The experiences of Sissy, Yolanda and Helena have demonstrated clearly that they are discriminated in their workplace. Sissy and Yolanda are always insinuated as prostitutes, such as:

YOLANDA: How did she bully me? She always said, ' Damned Mainland woman. Damned Mainland prostitute. '

S: She called you in these ways?

YOLANDA: She did not call me but attacked me by innuendo. She just insinuated me. She dared not reproach me directly. If she reproached me directly, I wouldn't let her go. The customers knew it. She always talked about me before the customers and made them go to another shop to eat. ...

S: Did she call you a prostitute?

YOLANDA: Yes, she said that I had relations with this and that one. I was not afraid of her. I was upright.

(*Yolanda described how her colleague bully her*)

Helena has experienced insults from her superior. Her superior tried to pick a fight with her regarding her job duty (see APPENDIX 6). Obviously, the superior treats

Helena differently from other LPR colleagues. Though Helena's case is not common, her experience can reflect the extent of discrimination in the workplace.

Institutionalized discrimination in the job search process and individual discrimination in the workplace have significant impact on NAW. For those who experienced discrimination in the job searching process, they began to lose confidence. For those who have been discriminated in the workplace, they resigned when they can no longer stand the insults. For instance, Lucy and Kitty expressed fear and are nervous when looking for jobs.

I will be a bit of frighten. I will be nervous to find a job. I will think, ' Will I be rejected? '
I'm very frightened. I've a little pressure in my heart. (*Kitty*)

Yes, I dare not look for a job. People say that when you come out to work, you must be thick-skinned. You cannot be thin-skinned. I said, ' Damn! I have thin-skin. How to do? '
They said that if they blamed you, don't hear about it. I said, ' Damn, embarrassed.' (*Lucy*)

However, Teresa denied that such bad experience had hurt her. In contrast, she felt angry for being discriminated.

If she looked down upon me, I would look down upon her more. I know I am a human being at least. I know my strong points and weaknesses. But she doesn't know what she is doing.
If they're the people of a profit organization, it's easier to understand their point of view. But the fact is that she is a public relation manager. She has such serious discrimination. How to say, I mean if you look down on me because of my incorrect pronunciation of Cantonese, it's just because I speak Putonghua. If she is so powerful, she can change the language of the whole Chinese government into Cantonese. I wonder what's her reason to look down on me. She looked down on me. How good she is then? I think she is not suit for her post. She lowers the image of the whole organization. (*Teresa refers to her experience of being discriminated when looking for a job.*)

This kind of experience and response arising from individual discrimination may result in a 'defense mechanism' (a psychological reaction for protecting oneself) among NAW when interacting with LPRs in other life settings. Social adjustment of NAW refers to the process of individuals interacting with the social environment. It

reflects the change in the relationship between NAW and the receiving society with regard to a NAW's capability to interact with other people. It is not uncommon to see the emergence of a 'defense mechanism' of NAW, which may create tension between individual NAW toward LPRs during the interaction process. The tension may not strengthen their ability to integrate with the majority of the receiving society. Rather, this tension will reinforce their feeling of being in the minority and needing to protect themselves from the majority. The result is their separation from the receiving society rather than integration.

Sissy and Yolanda quit their jobs when they were unable to bear the situation of being insulted by colleagues. Sissy resigned after working for one week. She said, 'It's very unhappy. So I resigned!' Yolanda resigned after working in a café for one year. After Yolanda quit her job, another café operator hired her as a waitress within a week. Therefore it seems that her previous bad experience did not have any negative impact on her. Also, Sissy got two part-time jobs. Though she had bad experience in one, she received compliment from her boss in another. It suggests that some informants do performance well in their work. The bad treatment from their colleagues is due to discrimination, which has no direct relation with their performance.

The discrimination at work affects Helena very much. For the sake of self-protection, Helena covered up her new immigrant status so that her colleagues would not treat her badly. She emphasized twice during the dialogue with the researcher:

HELENA: Of course I won't tell my colleagues that I'm a new immigrant for saving the trouble. Why should I tell them?
S: so how did your colleagues treat you?

HELENA: They're fine.
S: That means you don't feel they treat you differently?
HELENA: No.
S: But are you have always intended not to tell them you've arrived in Hong Kong for a short period of time?
HELENA: Of course I don't want to let them know. Why should I expose my identity?
S: That means you feel when you expose your identity then...(she answers quickly)
HELENA: They'd see me differently. Certainly. No need to say that.

Helena's response shows that hiding her own identity will make her life easier in the workplace.

In addition to the accounts given by the informants, the unobtrusive participant observation (the Chinese restaurant where the researcher worked for two weeks) provides further insight in the understanding of the discrimination against NAW in the workplace (see APPENDIX 7), specifically, the dynamics of interaction among different groups of residents in the workplace. The LPRs seldom interact with other LPRs whose period of residence is just over seven years. Profound alienation of immigrants in Hong Kong society is apparent. That is to say those immigrants who reside in the receiving society longer (over seven year residence is defined as LPR in this thesis) also discriminate or bully new immigrants (NAs) who have relatively shorted period of residence. Interestingly, when external pressure (such as conflicts between LPR workers or supervisors) arises, NAW stick together to resist anything that is unfavourable to NAW's interests. It can be argued that discriminations, unfair treatment and pressure from LPRs are the catalysts of NAW solidarity.

To sum up, in the work life of NAW (see Figure 5), institutionalized discrimination caused by the ID card policy reduces their chances of getting a good job and creates fears for them in looking for jobs. Some try to hide their status from other colleagues. Individual discrimination in the job search process in the form of stereotyping and stigmatization create fears and anger. NAW's anger against LPRs has

cultivated an atmosphere that facilitates the development of a defense mechanism. Occasionally, individual discrimination from colleagues in the workplace pushes some NAW to resign.

Figure 5- Discrimination and work life of NAW

6.3 Discrimination effects: Abuse of NAW at home

Prejudice of LPR towards NAs is not a surprise but it is sad to discover that discrimination behaviour can be found in some NAW's husbands. Wife abuse among NAW is not uncommon. Amongst the informants, seven out of thirty-three were despised by their husbands because they are Mainlanders. Most discrimination is focused on their personality and they are blamed or scolded as 'stupid'. Among the seven informants, some of them experienced both mental and physical abuse by their husbands.

It is difficult to explore how a husband discriminates his new arrival wife. Nevertheless the description of informants' family lives will be an important source. When the researcher asks them, 'Do you think your husband discriminates against you?' Miranda and Sissy are the extreme cases:

Yes, a little bit. Last year, when we went back to the Mainland to celebrate the Lunar New Year, I had not got the ID card for Hong Kong permanent residents. There were two kinds of passage in customs. One had blue light while another one

had green light. I couldn't queue up for the blue one. Instead, I had to go for the green one. My husband scolded me in the public loudly that ' You Mainland people are especially troublesome. There is a special queue for you. The children can queue with me and pass the customs quickly. You cause us in trouble. ' He blamed me but I didn't talk with him until I was back home. (*Miranda*)

About my husband, he won't discriminate the new arrivals as the others. I think he is this kind. I think he has some other problems in his heart. That's it. I feel that he discriminates us. I don't have anything for him to discriminate.
He cannot discriminate me. He wants to discriminate me but he cannot discriminate me!
Sometimes he blames us, 'Of course you will be cheated by others, as you just come here! While you say you want to go somewhere, he will say such and such (implies the wife are stupid and will be cheated)' . (*Sissy*)

Other informants' husbands regard them as 'stupid' persons, unfaithful wives and country bumpkins. The experiences of Flora, Lucy and Sandra demonstrate this:

FLORA: How come he discriminates again me? I think he discriminates against me. How to put it? I'm not old but I married a very old man. It's common in Hong Kong. They have to get a wife in the mainland, most probably because they are old. He saw many mainland women divorced their Hong Kong husbands after they came to Hong Kong. He's scared. So he doesn't want to get involved in many things. He thinks I will divorce him. So he's scared, he doesn't want to argue with me.

S: Did he apply for public housing?

FLORA: Just applied.

S: How come he didn't apply in the past? Even after you joined him.

FLORA: No.

S: Why didn't he apply even after you joined him?

FLORA: He applied only after I asked him to do so.

(*Flora*)

It means he didn't want to talk to you about that. He didn't want to tell you. He also said that you were stupid, and also said some bad words to you. I may not have much direction. I'm really stupid. (*Lucy, she described her husband's response when she asked him to show her the way to do something.*)

Flora's husband labeled her as an unfaithful wife from Mainland China and therefore he did not want to get involved in family business.

Clearly some husbands despise their wives and this is expressed verbally. They adopt what the general public use - '*Dai⁶-lug⁶-po⁴*' - to address their wives. Besides, two husbands alienate their wives in their body language or by withholding interests from them and keeping benefits for themselves. Sissy's husband kept himself away from her at a distances in public areas:

SISSY: When we just came here, he dared not go out with us. He didn't bring us out. He lost his temper, etc. I don't know if he's afraid we gave him a bad image. If we go out, he must be the one walking ahead. If anything happens and he needs to go, he must be the first one.

S: The meaning of first one is leaving you all very far away?

SISSY: Yeah! I bring the two daughters following him. So I said, ' We are just like the dogs! ' I have said so. (*Sissy*)

NAW suffer more when they do not get support from their husbands. The most significant impact is that NAW will have a lower self-image. Lucy is a typical case:

S: He always thinks that you are stupid... Does he make you think that you are useless?

LUCY: Yes. I also feel it. The pressure of looking down upon myself may be coming from my husband. It's coming from his pressure. Other people, I won't have any pressure.

Another negative consequence of being despised by one's husband is that it often leads to serious depression. While Miranda's husband was unemployed, he scolded, 'Why did you come here. So many people die. Why don't you die also? ' Miranda fall into serious depression under this kind of mental abused. She expressed her deep feeling in the interview:

MIRANDA: Sometimes, I feel quite lonely. I don't feel warm.

S: Oh! You don't have the warm feeling. Do you have such a feeling very often? (She cried.)

MIRANDA: Yes, I don't feel warm very often.

S: Have you even sat down and think alone ' Why I am so miserable now! ' It's very sad.

MIRANDA: Sorry Ms Choi.

S: Never mind. Do you cry like this very often?

MIRANDA: Yes, I cry very often. After bringing the children to school, I will walk around with the mothers of the school in order to relax myself. If I stay at home alone, I will think many things about my situation.

While Miranda suffers from depression, Sissy suffers from insomnia. Because of her husband's scornful behavior, she has difficulties sleeping at night.

SISSY: I've also tried one or two times. When losing temper, just getting the things and leave!

S: You just saw that twice so far in the Mainland. But you always see him losing his temper when coming to Hong Kong.

SISSY: I feel that it's quite hurtful!

S: Do you have difficulties sleeping?

SISSY: I often have difficulties sleeping!

In contrast, informants who have supportive husbands have more strength to deal with challenges in the new society. The attitudes of Macy and Laura's husbands encourage them to fight for better lives.

S: As your husband does not discriminate against new arrivals, does that have any positive impact on you?

MACY: It is encouraging to me. When I am addressed as a new arrival, he will comfort me and says that we are all Chinese. He tells me not to care about others' discrimination. He tells me not to quarrel with others and to endure more. (*Macy*)

In general, the attitudes of husbands towards their new arrival wives are critical to NAW's social adjustment.

Figure 6 Discrimination effects on family lives

To conclude, Figure 6 shows the effects of discrimination on NAW's family life. Individual discrimination arising from stereotyping and labeling also affect how their husbands treat them. NAW's husbands treat their wives badly with disrespectful, scornful behaviour such as seeing them 'stupid', 'bumpkinly' and 'unfaithful wife'.

(Section 6.1, P.65-86).

Due to the housing policy's restrictions, NAW cannot become the principal applicants for public housing (Housing Department, 2001). Hence, despite being abused, they may not choose to divorce their husband because they cannot afford to be on their own. Thus, it is no surprise that given these circumstances NAW continue to stay in abusive relationships. Such distress may reduce their ability to deal with other challenges of adjustment. Husbands who are supportive encourage their wives to fight for a better life in a new social environment.

6.4 Summary and discussion

To conclude, individual discrimination is most salient in NAW's social lives. Findings show that such discrimination manifests and spreads widely in Hong Kong in different social settings. As social adjustment refers to the process whereby a person's ability to interact with the new environment (see Section 3.5, p.31-32), being discriminated in social settings may have different impacts on their social adjustment. When discrimination happens in a wet market or a boutique, NAW cope by avoiding to going to these places. When NAW experience gossips, scolding and scornful behaviour from LPRs, they may perceive that they are not welcomed. As a result feelings of alienation may result.

In addition, when serious individual discrimination happens in a clinic and government hospitals and departments, this may retard their incentive of getting involved in the host society. For many poor NAW, using government medical services is a basic need. In the process of interacting with staff of this service provider, some experienced insults which negatively affect the process of adjustment.

A form of institutionalized discrimination against NAW is the ID card policy. It increases their difficulties in looking for a job because it allows them to be easily identified by employers and rejected or employed at a lower wage. Codes on the ID card allow employers to discern whether an applicant is eligible for employment according to the Immigration Ordinance (Bilingual Laws Information System, 2002, Immigration Ordinance: Section 17J). NAW hold pink ID cards, which states 'Hong Kong Resident' only. The LPR's ID card is in white colour, which states 'Hong Kong Permanent Resident'.

Institutionalized discrimination caused by the ID card policy reduces NAW's chances of getting good jobs and creates fears for them in the job search process. The ID card policy also channels them to certain marginal jobs, such as elderly home worker, domestic worker, etc. Some try to hide their status from other colleagues because they are afraid of being ill-treated. Individual discrimination creates fear and anger in the job search process. Occasionally, individual discrimination from colleagues in workplace pushes NAW to resign, when they can no longer stand the insult from their colleagues day to day in the workplace and not because they are incapable of doing the job.

A consequence is that their financial situations remain adverse. For new immigrants, the ID card policy produces a latent effect of reminding NAW that they are in a lower status. When estrangement is nurtured by individual discrimination, NAW may be hesitant to interact with employers and colleagues.

Furthermore, both institutionalized and individual discrimination can be found in the family lives of NAW. Some are despised by their husbands. The way NAW's

husbands treat them has different consequences in their lives and social adjustment. NAW who have been treated in a scornful way and are mentally abused fall into depression and insomnia. These kinds of emotional distress affect their psychological health, which could reduce their capacities to solve problems (Kitamura & Mitsuka, 1998). NAW who have support from their spouses may be strengthened to deal with friends, colleagues and supervisors. It is because social adjustment covers a wide range of personal associations and a variety of situations where the individual has to fit in. Therefore, discrimination in the family may reduce the personal capabilities of NAW to adjust in a new life setting.

Though Lysgaard (Ward et al., 2001:80) suggested that migrants will adjust into the receiving society over a certain period of time, where individual discrimination is wide spread in different facets of the receiving society, longer periods of residence may not enhance NAW to merge into the host society. On the contrary, the longer they dwell in Hong Kong, the more they experience discrimination, the less they feel part of Hong Kong society.

Gradually, instead of being isolated, discrimination has encouraged NAW to build solidarity among themselves. Such solidarity may result in a further sense of separation from mainstream society.

Chapter Seven

Findings and Analysis on Social Adjustment

The findings in chapter six suggest that discrimination against NAW exists in Hong Kong. However, it is not clear how discrimination affects NAW in their social adjustment. Thus, this chapter examines the social adjustment of NAW with respect to their social life, work life and family life.

7.1 Social adjustment in social life

The results of the interviews suggest that various factors affect NAW regarding their social adjustment. These include the differences in cultural backgrounds, lack of relatives' support, insufficient supporting networks, lack of wealth and relevant knowledge, and inadequate social service information. There are at least two areas that are important for NAW in the process of social adjustment - changes in life styles and accessing useful information.

Adjustment aspect in social lives

Although most informants came from Guangdong (section 5.1, P. 54), they speak different dialects. Their mother tongues are different from the Cantonese used in Hong Kong²⁵ (Zhan, 1990; 1994), and this is a primary issue in their adjustment process. Besides, NAW need to pay great effort to deal with life style differences while they are in Hong Kong. First, when immigrants enter a new society, naturally they bring with them their own life styles. Most NAW indicate that the main difference in life style between China and Hong Kong is the shopping habits, especially shopping in the wet market.

When shopping in Mainland China, NAW could choose the best from the stalls in

²⁵ There are about twenty dialects in Northern Pearl River Delta and the Western part of Guangdong.

but not in Hong Kong. For example, the norm of buying vegetables from a vendor in Hong Kong is that they cannot choose. Instead, they can only order from the hawker by telling him/her how much they want. The quality of goods they bought is up to the hawkers' selection. Also, the informants pointed out that there is no bargaining in Hong Kong. Some of their friends or relatives warned them before they went shopping in the wet market. The following depicts some typical events:

In a wet market, we are allowed to choose what we want when I buy food in the Mainland but I don't know it isn't allowed in Hong Kong. What you need to say is how much you want. When I just arrived, I went to buy vegetables. I pointed at the vegetable I wanted and asked the woman to give me one catty. (*Miranda*)

Yes. Say we can choose when buying vegetables in the mainland market, take away the leaves and only choose the stem. But we can't do that in Hong Kong. (*Vanessa*)

When you are in Hong Kong you should do things the Hong Kong way. In the Mainland it is different. You can pick and choose. You can pick the leaves and only the stalks remain. Mainland is different with Hong Kong. We have to understand this. (*Fanny*)

Actually there are many people buying things without using their hands. How much they want, how much they chop. That's it. (*Kitty*)

Conflicts would arise when NAW failed to change their shopping habits (Figure

7). Sandra understood the difference as follow:

SANDRA: Customers seldom choose the stuff when buying something in Hong Kong. Now I don't choose it. We can spend a lot of time choosing in the mainland. Customers being scolded were usually new arrivals. Those hawkers used bad language to scold people; the attitude was very serious.

S: Usually they scolded new arrivals?

SANDRA: Yes, maybe mainlanders are used to choose when buying something. We have different practice in the mainland.

S: People are not nice to new arrivals?

SANDRA: I'm used to it. One old hawker was not nice.

S: What did she say?

SANDRA: Maybe the customers ended up not buying anything, then she said: 'blooding *Da⁶-lug⁶-Po⁴*, you're ignorant, don't come and get our jobs.'

According to conflict theory (Collin, 1988), if the habits of the participants (NAW) remain unchanged, their tension will increase. Under such circumstances, NAW might marginalize themselves from the mainstream society.

Figure 7. Adjustment of the life style–shopping habit

When NAW change their habits and follow the norm of Hong Kongers, i.e. not choosy when buying grocery in markets, they could avoid being scolded by hawkers.

Fanny and Yuki have this kind of experience:

FANNY : (She is asked whether she has been scolded by hawkers.) No. Sometimes it can't be counted on them. Why? Let me be fair. When you first come, you should ask for help from those who have come long ago. They are experienced. If you have more contacts with them, they would not scold at you. For example, when you go to buy vegetables, there are a lot of people. If you pick and choose, you will make the vegetables a mess. If I were her, I would not be happy. But when I go to buy vegetable, I am not like that. I would say, 'Miss, please give me a catty of vegetables.' She would not scold you. If she scolds you, it is her fault. But if you pick out and choose, she would not be happy.
(Fanny responded to the researcher's question about whether the hawker in the wet market has scolded her)

Yuki had similar experience to that of Fanny's. She changed her habit of shopping in the

wet market. Their experiences suggest that the change affects their relationship with LPRs. If they conform to the norms of shopping in Hong Kong, apparent harmonious relationship between LPRs and themselves follows. Six informants who adopt the LPRs behaviour still have fears, when they go shopping in the market. This is because they are afraid of being scolded sooner or later, such as Shirely, Spring and Kitty. Shirely said,

‘ Everyday, I asked two good friends, my fellow villagers, to go shopping in the wet market. They speak Hakkian also. In the wet market, if we new arrivals go alone to shop, hawkers may bully us. Therefore we go together. Then they dare not to bully us.’
(2nd in-depth interview of Shirely, she learned the tricks to reduce the fears of shopping after having stayed in Hong Kong after one more year.)

Apparently, Shirely does not have conflicts with the hawkers. But the stress is internalized. As a result, she empowers herself by forming a group to shop. Shirely’s way of adjustment arises from the threat of being scolded due to different shopping styles, and as a result she allies herself with other NAW to face the challenge. This kind of coping strategy may enhance her capability for social adjustment.

Furthermore, informants express that they had to pay great efforts to adjust their lives without the support of relatives. Nine (Helena, Kristy, Miranda, Lucy, Spring, Salina, Flora, Vanessa and Teresa) out of thirty-three informants have no relatives in Hong Kong. Sixteen out of thirty-three cases received no support from their relatives with regard to social adjustment. Only three informants received support from their relative in terms of money, medical advice and counseling. Anna’s cousin gave her financial support in the early settlement stage:

My cousin. I borrowed money from her. That was August and schools started in September so we needed money. I was in a very difficult situation. I turned to my cousin, she said, ‘Don’t worry. Don’t worry. I give you money.’ I borrowed money from her later. She helped me to clear things up. I returned the money to her afterwards. I didn’t have another choice.

(Anna shows up in a happy mood during the interview.)

SUKI: Usually I talked to my relative Ah Fong, just about my husband.

S: When you talked about this, how did they treat you?

SUKI: Nothing happens.

S: How did they help you?

SUKI: They didn't help me. We just talked.

S: Is that useful?

SUKI: I feel better.

(Suki shared her marriage problems with her relatives.)

NAW who have received support similar to those reported in Anna's case may have more resources to deal with the difficulties in the new social environment. Unfortunately, as relatives of most NAW are in the working class, and some of them discriminate NAW. Therefore, they did not or could not provide NAW with the required support in their adjustment process. Such is the case for Shirely, Kitty and Lily's experiences:

Nobody helps us. I feel difficult myself. Once we three people almost had food poisoning. My husband had diarrhea. We both had diarrhea. It's so hard. I didn't want to eat. I wanted to cry and find somebody's help to take care of our older son. But I couldn't find one. Such condition hmmm.....

S: Do you have any relatives in Hong Kong?

SHIRELY: Yes, I have! I have a big sister-in-law. She's also arrived Hong Kong in the same period of time as me.

S: Can she help you?

SHIRELY: She cannot help me. She has a little daughter who is 3 years old.

S: How long have your sister-in-law been in Hong Kong?

SHIRELY: She's arrived for one year already!

S: You found that it is the most difficult incident for you at that time. But you couldn't find anyone to help.

(Shirely's relatives could not o help her because they are new arrivals too.)

LUCY: I feel helpless. That means I say, although I've many sisters, they are not living in Hong Kong. I have to suffer by myself for many things. Many people can have a spouse to suffer from it together. But I have to suffer from it by myself! Well, I've past it this way! I will talk (on long distance phone call) to my sister about anything!. *(Lucy)*

KITTY: Yes, I have. The relatives of my own, I have an aunt. She's living in Fan Ling. My husband also has relatives in Hong Kong.

S: Well, why don't you seek their helps when you are facing with those difficulties? Aunt is quite close!

KITTY: Yes. My aunt is also a new arrival. If seeking them, how to solve? She herself is in a lot of trouble as well.

S: That means she came to Hong Kong recently?

KITTY: For 7, 8 years.

(Kitty thinks that her relative does not have the ability to help her.)

S: Did you think your relatives could help you when you talked to them?
LILY: They said: ' That's life, be patient' . Relatives can't help me. I can't talk to them about some personal things, I won't tell them the truth. I don't want them to know too much about me, it'll be worse.
(*Lily is trouble in the relationship with her husband.*)

NAW might have received support from their relatives readily if they were still in their hometown. However, they can hardly find such support when they are in Hong Kong. For migrants, relatives become the social network for immigrants (Salaff, 2000). Hence, when NAW have to face their difficulties in a strange community with little or no support from relatives, they may not deal with challenges in the new economic and social environments (Section 4.4, P. 44). As for Kitty, Shirely and Lily, their relatives are also NAs, they could not provide much help for them during the early stage of their arrival in Hong Kong, making social adjustment difficult.

In the absence of social support from relatives, NAW need to build up their own informal supporting network to ease social adjustment. However, the differences in life styles between NAW and the LPRs are significant. Hence, it is difficult for them to make friends especially when they are discriminated by LPRs in daily lives (see Section 6.1, P.65-80). As a result, NAW may be unable to build up social networks that involve LPRs.

Under such circumstances, their access to the useful informants in the receiving society may be limited. Almost all NAW gained their support from fellow NAs. In other words, they have built up a supporting network which is not very effective. Fanny has built up a network by herself. When she fell sick very seriously for half a year, most support came from her NA friends. The following are Fanny and Lily's cases:

S: For example, if your husband fears that he would be unemployed, would you tell

your relatives?

FANNY : Yes. I would call and ask, ' Hello, the unemployment rate is high now. Is there any job in your construction site? ' I would call and understand the situation. If there were not many job opportunities, I would tell my husband to work harder. Most of them are friends and not the relatives. I seldom contact relatives.

(1st in-depth interview of Fanny.)

FANNY: In the last half a year, when I was seriously sick, my friends came to my house to take care of me. All of them are new arrivals. At that time, I couldn't walk. As my husband had to work and the children had to go to school, they cook lunch for me, helping me to go to toilet etc. They took good care of me in that period of time. Try to find some information of good doctor for me to consult. Some of them advise me to go back to Guangxi to consult a doctor. Without their help and practical support, I couldn't go through that difficulty. Not even my relatives took care of me. Thank God for giving me such friends.

(2nd in-depth interview of Fanny.)

S: Who will you turn to if you're unhappy now?

LILY: I'll turn to you, but I'm not sure whether you'll be annoyed. I talked to you the most; I seldom talk to Lucy (her good friend, new arrival too) about these personal stuffs.

S: Thanks for trusting me.

LILY: It doesn't help much when I mention these things, but Lucy also mentioned something about her husband to me.

(Both Lily and Lucy have difficulty in their relationships with their husbands, but they did not know that they might get counseling from social workers.)

Fanny's case has clearly demonstrated the strong support from her NA friends in the critical moment while she was sick. Fanny's experience suggests that in the absence of immediate support from close relatives, her ability to adapt to a new social environment could be jeopardized. NAW are treated differently—intensive care by their NA friends vs. the lack of support from the receiving society. As a result, NAW cherish and appreciate the support from other NAW. When self-contained and self-sufficient support amongst NAW have been developed to a saturation point, the solidarity of NAW will be stronger and form a subgroup in the host society. On the one hand, formation of subgroup to a certain extent reinforces their separation from the mainstream of the receiving society. On the other hand, they are empowered in a competitive society.

Fanny's friend could only provide medical information which is useful in the

Mainland but not in Hong Kong. NAW lack social capital to meet their immediate needs in the receiving society. To a certain extent, the NAW supporting network cannot adequately meet their needs in the process of settling down. Lily's case also suggests that NAW's supporting network may provide some emotional support, but that is insufficient for them. They should have reminded each other to seek counselors for helping them go through crisis.

Owing to their lack of access to useful information, NAW could only build up a less effective network (see Figure 8). Informants reported that they do not know whom they may approach for relevant services. Clearly, in the process of adjustment, it is crucial for NAW to know as much as possible about various types of information such as Hong Kong's education system, medical services, social welfare services, family services, accommodation, and the legal system, etc. Furthermore, they have to be sure whether they could afford to buy these services. For example, Lily did not realize that she could approach the school social worker and the teacher of her son's school to deal with the learning problem of her children,

LILY: I'll be happy to get help from others. Last year I was so annoyed, I didn't know that I could get help from the centre.

S: There is one social worker in each school, you can turn to them for help.

LILY: I don't know.

S: If your children face problems at schools, you should turn to their teachers, because you can't help them. You don't know that you can turn to them?

LILY: No, if I knew, I'd have done it.

(Lily's son resisted going to school because he could not adjust to the learning atmosphere. Lily was very much troubled by it.)

Figure 8 Social adjustment of supporting network of NAW

Obviously, NAW are unfamiliar with the school system in Hong Kong. This is one aspect of the social environment that they need to adjust (section 4.4, P. 46). If the receiving society provides insufficient information for immigrants, they may need to make a great effort to manage their adjustment. The Hong Kong Immigration Department has published a booklet for NAs from Mainland China (Hong Kong Home Affairs Bureau, 1998), which provides basic information on various Government Departments and NGOs. NAW may contact the Education Department concerning schooling for their children. Nevertheless, when they need additional and immediate support, they feel helpless. When Teresa and Amenda were abused by their husbands, they did not know where they could get help. They knew that there is a Social Welfare Department, but they did not know exactly what kind of services would be provided. Teresa has experienced such feelings of helplessness:

Yes, she (god mother) could only console me. My godmother accompanied me in crying but crying cannot solve the problem. But when I know this path I am reproached and I feel helpless. Then in September we have starved for four days. Since there was no way, I called again and I begged the heavens to let me meet that man. But when I met that man, he only asked me to call others to see if they could help me or not. He did not tell me that there is a family services department. He told me to call the Caritas and Women Centre Association. I don't know what is Caritas. But as for the Women Centre, in the Mainland there is also a women union. (This is a semi-governmental organization) It had the name of 'women' and I thought it was about women's ministry.

(Teresa has no relative in Hong Kong. Before she called the Hong Kong

Federations of Women's Centre, she called Social Welfare Department. However, the operator had not told her the sub-section of the department that provides family services.)

They feel helpless probably because they did not know which Department or NGO could provide relevant services to suit their needs since the booklet for NAs does not state the services in detail. Though NAW did not know which Department is appropriate to approach, Teresa's case shows that when a new arrival woman's life is under threat, she need more effort to overcome that threat than a LPR who is more familiar with the social resources available. In the process of adjustment, it seems that NAW need to be more competitive in developing their capability to strive for survival compared with migrants of another category, such as the dependants of professional workers from the Mainland (see Section 2.5, P. 19).

Although the interviewees have resided in Hong Kong for a period of time (Amenda for five years and Yolanda for two years), they know little about available social resources. For Amenda, even though her husband beat her, she did not know where she could get help. Yolanda asked the researcher to refer her to a social worker to deal with her relationship with her mother-in-law and the application of public housing. Again, these two cases show that the accessibility of social resources is important for them to have better adjustment.

For many children of NAW, there are gaps between their present education standards and that required by the Hong Kong education system. To narrow these gaps, NAW have to know which NGO could provide after school tutorials for their children. In Hong Kong, students are under extreme pressure in their studies. For the children of NAW, they have to withstand additional pressure compared to local kids because of the different education systems, levels and languages. Thus, they have to

have extra support or encouragement from their parents. Furthermore, the education system that NAW have undergone is completely different from that in Hong Kong. Hence, they can provide very little academic assistance to their children, especially in English subjects. The interview results show that they cannot afford to hire private tutors. Therefore, they need to approach NGOs. Yuki, Kitty, Lily, Yvonne, Pasty and Lisa have similar experiences. Lisa's case may illustrate it:

LISA: As for livelihood, it is necessary to pay the rent and to pay the tuition fee for the child. There are many pressures in everyday life. I had no pressure in the Mainland. I had a job and it was more stable, not like in Hong Kong that you might be fired. There are many pressures. The room you live in is so small and so dull and what the family looks at are the walls. Oh! There are many invisible pressures. (During the interview, she actively described her situation.)

S: So to live is a kind of pressure and the financial status is a kind of pressure. Do you have any relative in Hong Kong? Do you have any friends?

LISA: No. There are a few friends.

LISA: In fact, I regret having come here. It is for my daughter to have a more complete education. I was afraid that she could not adjust in the future. It is for her future that we decide to come here. In fact, I led a happy life in the Mainland. Most of my relatives and friends are in the Mainland. There was no pressure and worry. (She had tears in her eyes.)

(Lisa had a pretty good job in the Mainland. She was able to hire a domestic helper to take care of her daughter. This text is from the 1st in-depth interview.)

LISA: Now she practices calligraphy at home. I teach her. I send her to violin classes. But the resources to learn these kinds of things aren't as good as the mainland.

S: Why?

LISA: Because we're not so well-off and can't afford employing a 'family tutor' (Family tutor means tutor who goes to your home and teaches different kinds of interests.) The atmosphere for this is better in the mainland. There is calligraphy, drawing and violin. I know it because we were living in the city (in Mainland China). That's intensive learning.

S: Where do you send her to learn violin?

LISA: I just put her name on the Community Welfare Council.

S: Do you know the Leisure and Culture Affairs Department? I applied for one course for my son. It's \$720 for half year.

LISA: No, Wow! That's great! Where?

S: So you're saying because your financial condition is quite tight up and can't apply for too many courses for her.

LISA: Yes. You can take a lot of courses in the mainland. You can also employ a teacher to your home.

S: But could you afford it?

LISA: Yes I could in the mainland. But it's more difficult here.

(Though this 2nd in-depth interview was carried out one year after the 1st interview, she still regretted having come to Hong Kong.)

Lisa does not have enough money to satisfy the educational needs of for her

daughter (see Figure 8). Besides, she does not know the availability of government services which could provide relevant courses at a lower fee. The case of Lisa also reveals her aspiration that her child could be given all the opportunities to develop her talents in anticipation of a better future in a new society. However, they are stuck with their financial constraints. The living standard in Hong Kong is higher compared to that in the Mainland. This becomes a challenge. Kitty is an example of this:

KITTY: At first, perhaps I was not used to many things after coming here. In the Mainland, I thought that I had everything. I didn't need to do housework by myself. It's much more convenient. Here I do not have anything. I need to do everything by myself. Wow, I won't come if I had known it earlier.

S: Sometimes you have a feeling of regret because you came here and life is so hard.

KITTY: Yeah! Yeah!

(Kitty was able to hire a domestic helper in Mainland.)

NAW feel pressured when they cannot teach their children or cannot afford to hire a family tutor. Access to information may help them. Unfortunately, the search of these types of information could be frustrating. As a result, NAW would question their decision of coming to Hong Kong. Kitty, Pasty and Lisa clearly expressed regret of having come. Such a feeling of regret could accumulate to the extent that it may hinder their assimilation into the receiving society. A sense of separation and alienation may also be resulted.

Finally, the roles of service provided by NGOs regarding the social adjustment of NAW are examined. Informants who have sought help from NGOs are encouraged to adjust their lives after they have been served by enthusiastic social workers. A good social service becomes a positive factor that enhances the NAW's capability of social adjustment. For instance, they were empowered to solve various problems such as applying for public housing, finding schools for their children, child-rearing struggles, helping to organize a network and pressure of marriage conflict, etc (see Table 10).

Outreach social service is especially important to informants who have no relatives in Hong Kong. For example, Pasty and Spring got in touch with NGOs through their outreach program.

PATSY: I passed the playground and I saw the advertisement that this centre will help new immigrants and then I come.

S: That means no one introduces you to come. Then as you come here, have you shared with them your problems?

PATSY: I haven't shared a lot. Last night I shared something with Miss Lee. I don't know if I can get CSSA in the future, as the landlady is like this.

It seems that I am very lucky. Shortly after my husband got cancer, social workers of Yang came to knock my door. When they first knocked, I didn't dare to open the door. They came to visit the new immigrants to see if we needed help. I saw their employee's cards, so I let them in...They asked if I wanted to apply for public housing. So I think I am very lucky. Later, my husband couldn't work. They said, 'Just tell us your difficulties, we will help you to solve them.' Then I told them, 'My husband is sick, he can't work and so can't make a living.' At that time, I didn't know there was Comprehensive Social Security Assistance. *(Spring. A few months later, when Spring spend all her family saving, social workers helped them apply for CSSA. She expressed that her anxiety of starvation is released.)*

Table 10. NGOs service in empowering NAW

NGOs' Service Informants	Apply public housing	Course for child rearing	Refer to wife abuse centre	Set up share group	Help to organize network	Provide useful information	Help for apply CSSA
Amenda		✓	✓				
Fanny		✓			✓		
Kitty		✓		✓	✓		
Lancy		✓		✓	✓	✓	
Laura		✓					
Lily		✓			✓		
Lucy		✓		✓	✓		
Miranda		✓					
Pasty							✓
Sissy	✓	✓				✓	
Spring				✓			✓
Teresa	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Yuki		✓					
Yvonne		✓					

For Spring's case, NGO's social worker has helped her to apply for CSSA in order to overcome her financial difficulties. Meanwhile, she has joined a supporting group in the NGO's service centre for soothing the pressure arising from her husband's cancer.

New immigrants seem to be very bored. Being introduced by the social workers, women like us go to the Yang Memorial Methodist Social Service. New Arrival for

Women League is set up in order to allow a group of new immigrants to share their home condition and chat with each other. Sometimes, I will go to have a chat on Mondays.
(*Spring*)

The researcher has conducted a participant observation through a social gathering of NAW. It is discovered that NAW took initiatives to develop their ability to overcome the difficulties which they have met in this new social environment, such as the looking for jobs and hoping to raise their living standards which have been lowered due to migration. As observed from the group gathering that was organized by the Hong Kong Federation Women's Centre, NAW did readily organize themselves to form different kinds of supporting groups with only minimum effort by the social worker. Nearly all the new arrival women were enthusiastic in forming groups for job searching. The following is the story of how the network is built.

Miss Ho ²⁶ announces, 'Centre will launch a new programme 'network for empowerment'. The purpose of that network is trying to help NAW to support each another. The network will be divided into three groups, i.e. i) information group ii) job searching iii) volunteer group. Each group we need a group leader to be an coordinator.' Not until Miss Ho finished her introduction of the details of the responsibility of the group leader. NAW clap their hands with acclaim and say in cheerful voice, 'That's great, that's great..'. They showed their great interest to form this network and to be one of the group members. They were exciting and participated in discussions actively. They initiated to elect a group member. The social worker had no need to push them. In just a moment, they chose a leader amongst themselves. Then they enthusiastically exchanged their telephone numbers. Some of them were not known to one another before this meeting.

In fact, they have formed a group of 'NAW environmental cleaning corporation' which provides domestic services to different households. Once a service order is received, they distribute it to NAW who are available according to their duty schedule. Actually, this kind of network among NAW does enhance their competitiveness in looking for a job. In the second round of in-depth interview, many informants (Kitty, Lucy and Lily) reported that they got jobs from which they can earn supplementary

²⁶ She is the social worker of NGO.

income for their families. Pragmatically, this network does improve their financial situation and can increase their ability to enter the job market. In short, the initiatives of forming networks are a coping strategy as well as a means to social adjustment in a hostile environment.

Most NAW families have to adjust themselves to the living standard in Hong Kong which is relatively high. They could be in an even worse situation when the breadwinner is sick or disabled. Under such circumstances, a NAW need to take care of her husband and young child. With no relatives in Hong Kong, the proactive support from a social worker that assists them to apply CSSA could ease her feelings of helplessness. A NAW may appreciate how the social system of the receiving society operates after she has gone through the family crisis with the helps of social worker. As a result, she may be encouraged and motivated to become more involved in society. To a certain extent, this encourages NAW to integrate into mainstream society.

In the second round of in-depth interviews, it was revealed that both Pasty and Spring volunteer to work in NGOs at least once a week. Pasty also expresses that after she got CSSA, she was relieved from insomnia which caused by financial difficulty. She has also aborted the idea of going back to the Mainland²⁷. These kinds of changes could be an indication of integration or assimilation (Fong, 1959, Greif, 1974).

Summary of social adjustment in social life

Clearly, NAW have to make great efforts to adjust successfully in their social lives

²⁷ Actually, because of the *Hukuo* (Residence) policy, NAW could not go back to Mainland of China to live as a resident.

because of the many challenges they face. Their reaction to the different life styles of LPRs could have significant effect on the development of harmonious relationships with LPRs. If genuine harmony has been achieved, this should be reflected in their integration into the host society. However, findings suggest that it is only an apparent harmony notwithstanding that they have changed their life styles in accordance to that of the host society. Conflicts also occur when NAW fail to adopt the local life styles. As a result, the internal tension and marginalizing of themselves from of NAW lead to their separation from LPRs. In other words, the result in terms of social adjustment is their separation from the receiving society.

There are three aspects of adjustment in the social life of NAW which affect their process of adjustment (Figure 8). Because of the lack of relatives' support and social service information, NAW could only build up a supporting network which gave them limited access to useful information for dealing with changes in their lives. In addition, the lack of wealth and relevant knowledge made it difficult for them to help their children to adapt to Hong Kong's educational system; NAW's poor networks are unable to help them in helping their children either. The various constraints mentioned make it difficult for them to access these information in the process of adjustment. Consequently, we find their mixed feelings of helplessness, depression and regret of having migrated to Hong Kong. As social adjustment is a process in relation to the capability to interact with the social environment as a result of migration, the ability of NAW to access useful information does indicate their level of satisfactory adjustment. Since they are unable to access these useful information, they are in an unfavourable position to deal with other areas of life. NAW cannot develop a sense of belonging in the receiving society. On the contrary, a sense of rejection is developed. When this unfavourable sentiment reaches a saturation point, the motivation of regarding Hong

Kong as their homeland may subside. At the same time the capacity to interact with other people may diminish.

On the other hand, those who can be reached by social workers know where to access the social resource effectively. As such, their economic and emotional pressures are relieved. Furthermore, these NAW actively participate in the community and dedicate themselves as volunteers serving the receiving society. In other words, NAW who are provided with adequate social services may be empowered in their adjustment process. As a result, NAW are motivated to merge into the society which leads to integration.

7.2 Social adjustment and paid work

Immigrants' paid work is critical for their social adjustment because it will affect other aspects of life especially family life. We will look at four aspects in the adjustment in the work life of NAW, namely the downward mobility of their careers, the irrelevance of their educational credentials, the balance of work and family life, and the differences in the way employers treat them.

In international migration, unless immigrants migrate from a developed country to a developing country, they often experience a kind of 'downward mobility' in their careers (Salaff, Greve & Xu, 2001). Downward mobility means that one moves from a high rank to a lower rank in terms of job nature, salary and social status. According to Singer and Anasari (1988:40, 11, 67) and Pasternak (1998), though both Mainland China and Hong Kong are defined as developing countries, Hong Kong is classified as economically more developed.

Therefore, a new arrival woman from Mainland China will encounter difficulties when she tries to look for a job commensurate with hers in the Mainland. The availability of ideal jobs is limited especially during a period of economic recession. Furthermore, for female new immigrants, it is more difficult to get a job in a male-dominant society like Hong Kong. On the one hand, their qualifications are not recognized; on the other hand (see Section 2.4, P. 16-17) institutionalized discrimination work against NAs. Thus, the capability of NAW in coping with the work situation is constrained by the socio-cultural and socio-structural background of the receiving society. Eventually, NAW look for unskilled work to maintain their basic living.

Many informants have accepted jobs which are at a lower status in comparison with that in Mainland China. Lisa, for instance, worked as a sales officer in a large book publisher's when she was in the Mainland. Now she works as a domestic helper in the Hong Kong. Sallie was an assistant to the manager in the mainland, but now works in a construction site as an unskilled worker (see Table 11).

Table 11. Job difference in HKSAR and Mainland

Job Informant	In Mainland	In HKSAR
Lisa	Publisher sales supervisor	Part-time domestic helper
Sallie	Assistant to manager	Domestic helper, construction site worker
Linda	Housewife	Dim sum seller
Salina	Clerk in bank	Hotel house keeper
Helena	Supervisor, doing her own business	Waitress of Chinese restaurant
Kitty	Garment worker	Cleaning worker of construction site
Miranda	Housewife	Cleaning worker of construction site
Sissy	Clerk	Part-time domestic helper
Amenda	Teller, administrator of foreign investment firm	Cannot find a job
Fanny	Clerk, teacher of primary school	Cannot find a job
Fiona	Housewife	Elderly home worker
Yolanda	Postal services clerk	Worker in a café

The educational qualifications of NAW are normally not recognized by the Hong Kong government and employers. Therefore, their educational credentials become useless for job search; this is the belief of Valley and Amenda regarding why they could not get the same kind of job as they had in the Mainland.

VALLEY: They have learnt English from their childhood and we haven't learnt it in the past. Though we graduated from high school, it is useless. To graduate from high school in the Mainland is equivalent to Form Three here. I've studied for more than ten years. My father also studied in the Mainland.

S: Well, you must have a good education.

VALLEY: In the Mainland it was said to be quite good in the past. But it is useless in Hong Kong.

S: Well, you think your qualification would not be recognized in Hong Kong.

VALLEY: Surely it is not recognized.

(Valley worked as a stock-keeper clerk in the Mainland.)

The limitation of their qualifications arising from government policy has restricted their potential to look for better jobs. Consequently, they have to further equip themselves to have more security for their basic living.

Furthermore, they need to balance their family and work lives in which there are drastic differences between Hong Kong and the Mainland. Most informants' husbands are in the working class, working as skilled or unskilled workers. This implies that there are great economic needs. Therefore NAW have to look for a job in spite of terrible working schedules in comparison with jobs in the Mainland China. However, the working hours clash with their schedule of childcare - according to the traditional household division of labour they are supposed to be the homemakers while their husbands are supposed to be the breadwinners. For instance, they need to work on Saturdays and Sundays or work night shifts. Informants reported that in the Mainland, most of them do not need to work on Saturdays and Sundays. Also, some of them were well-off enough to hire domestic helpers in the Mainland. However, in Hong Kong, they could only earn low wages. Therefore, their earnings could not afford domestic

helpers to assist them with childcare. It is difficult to find jobs that do not conflict with their children's schedules. Lisa is a typical case:

LISA: I don't think it (find a job) is difficult provided that you have no language problem. On the other hand, I have to take care of my daughter. My husband has to work on Saturdays and Sundays and it would be a bit difficult for me, as in the Mainland we worked more regular hours.

S: Who took care of your daughter when you were in the Mainland?

LISA: I had a baby-sitter and I had my parents. My helper would take care of her.

S: So in Hong Kong you have to take care of her by yourself and it is difficult for you to adjust, is it right?

LISA: Yes. Yes. Yes.

S: It takes a long time to look after her. It is not that you don't love her but the time is too long. You said it is not difficult to find a job but it is unsuitable. Can you share with me your experiences in seeking a job? Have you try that?

LISA: No. I had gone to see the advertisements and about the job requirements posted by the Labour Department and the time was not suitable. Some were part-time jobs and some full-time jobs required long working hours. If it is to work on Saturdays and Sundays, I cannot take care of my daughter.

(Lisa. She was a sales supervisor in Mainland. In the 2nd in-depth interview, she has got a job as domestic helper. In fact, she was offered a job as an office assistant 3 months after the 1st in-depth r. However, she refused the job offered because it conflicted with the school schedule of her daughter.)

Laura's case is similar to Lisa:

Not really, but my schedule doesn't fit. I have to take care my daughter. When I helped my friend to find a job, it turned out that the employer gave me an offer, but I had to go to work in the morning, the schedule doesn't fit me. *(Laura)*

Lisa and Laura's cases suggest that it is difficult for them to find jobs due to their child rearing responsibility. Like immigrants elsewhere, NAW do not have immediate relatives in the receiving society (Salaff, 2000). Therefore, they could not count on the help of their mothers or mother-in-laws²⁸ as LPRs could.

Suki took a job with lower wages because it fitted with her schedule to take care of her children.

Yes. The working schedule of this job is good for me to take care my children. When my children are back from school, I'd have finished work. They'll see me when they are back. It's better. I love this job, that I can take care them. *(Suki)*

²⁸ Most informants' mother-in-laws were in the Mainland because their husbands migrated to Hong Kong between the 1970's and the 1980's.

For instance, Flora has to work twelve hours on night shift. This is bad for her physical condition, but it seems good for her parenting role:

This job lasts for two years. I have been working here for two years, but my salary hasn't changed at all.
I work here probably because it's near my apartment. Because I'm not well paid, the working time is long though. I'm not well paid, if I spend some money on transport, that doesn't work.
Since I take the need of my children into consideration, I work at night. If I work at night, I'll finish my breakfast before I leave ...From 7 p.m. to 7 a.m., 12 hours.
(*Flora*)

From informants' experiences, conflict between work and child rearing responsibilities are inevitable for NAW and they need to adjust to it without relatives' assistance. This is because their working hours in Mainland China are regular and shorter, such as from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. and 5 days a week.

In the second round of in-depth interview, Miranda expressed that she had got a job with better pay. However, she needs her twelve years old daughter to help with the housework and to care for two younger brothers. Though her daughter did it, she is unhappy and always complains that she is tired of doing too much housework, including cooking and doing the laundry. This disturbs Miranda. While NAW may solve the family financial problem, the stress caused by the clash of work schedule and housework responsibilities emerges. With regard to social adjustment, the process of adapting to a different working environment means that unlike LPRs in similar situations who may have more support, NAW may need to sacrifice their family responsibilities and this may create family problems.

Finally, they need to make a great effort to adjust to the treatments that they encounter in the workplace because they came from a society with different a working culture. The interaction of informants with their bosses and colleagues reflect their

social adjustment in workplace.

For instance, Yuki's husband did not approve of her working in a Chinese restaurant as a waitress because the workers often use foul language. Due to this kind of working culture, Yuki had to bargain with her husband over this matter,

It's not very difficult to find a job. My friend has recommended me to work as a waitress in a Chinese restaurant. The working schedule is good for me to take care for my children. It is from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m. for HK\$4,500 per month. But my husband just didn't let me go to work. He said, 'Don't go! Don't work. That's bad to work with workers who always use foul language.' I said, 'You work in a Chinese restaurant as a cook, why you don't let me go to work in one.' He just said, 'Don't work in one.' If I go to work in one, he surely will be very unhappy.
(Yuki had two chances to work in Chinese restaurant, but her husband asked her to reject the job offers)

For those who work as part-time domestic helpers, their bosses treat them nicely except in Sallie's case. They expressed that their bosses accepted their constraints, and give them a day off during the school holiday of their children. Lancy's boss likes her very much and treats her as a friend and chats with her all the time. Sissy's boss let her work with a flexible schedule during long school holidays.

For those who work in an organization, such as hotels and elderly homes, they are treated like other LPRs worker. There are no differences in wages and workload when compare with their local colleagues. Fiona and Flora both work in elderly homes.

My boss treats all the colleagues in the same way. There are not many local permanent residents working in elderly homes, only one or two. *(Flora. After about one year, in the second in-depth interview, she mentioned that this situation has changed. When the employer wanted to employ some new workers with a lower wage than her, the employer allocated more difficult work for her than to LPR colleagues in order to force her to resign. See Section 6.2, P. 91)*

Then the boss employed me. At first I worked as a long-term worker and the salary for the first month was \$5800. Then they saw me capable and it was increased to \$6000 in the next month and it was \$6000. *(Fiona)*

The colleagues respect them and have a good co-operation with them. Fiona has

gained respect and a lot of help from her colleague:

Miss Yeung was a nice person and she was very kind to me. She did not look down upon me and called me ' *Dai⁶-lug⁶-po⁴* '. My colleagues were all local people and they were kind to me and respected me. We chatted together and they taught me Cantonese. I said that I did not have enough money to move to a new flat, as I had to pay the deposit.

The Miss Yeung spoke to me, ' Don't worry. Just tell me how much money you need. I can lend you the money. How about ten thousand or twenty thousand? '

For those who work in the Chinese restaurant and café, the employers treat them quite well; but the colleagues' attitudes towards them vary. For instance, one of Helena's superior seriously scolded her for no good reason (see Section 6.2, P. 91), but other colleagues are nice to her. Suki's colleagues treat her very well. In contrast, Yolanda and Sissy were insulted by her colleague's innuendo (see Section 6.2, P.91).

She did not call me a prostitute but attacked me by innuendo. She just insinuated me. She dared not reproach me directly. (*Yolanda*)

In short, those who worked as domestic helpers have better experience than those working in Chinese restaurants because the former only need to interact with one boss and they have no colleagues. However, domestic helper is work that LPRs do not want to do. Thus, there is less competition in this industry. Therefore, they face less challenges and discrimination from LPRs. As a result, NAW who work as domestic helpers have greater job satisfaction. This also leads better social adjustment. Sissy's working experience gives her a lot of job satisfaction as a domestic worker. She reported her experiences in a happy manner:

S: Do you like your work or you do feel disgust at your work as a domestic helper, as you have finished your high school and worked as a clerk in the Mainland?

SISSY: No. I don't feel disgust at my work. I am quite happy that I can work in this field, as I am 40 years old. I am satisfied with my working experience because my employer shows satisfaction and appreciation to my performance.

S: How do you know she satisfy you?

SISSY: Sometimes, I heard her praising me on the phone when she chatted with her friend.

(Sissy works as a part-time domestic help for four families. She goes to each family to work for about four hours, once a week.)

Sissy's case suggests that NAW may adjust to lower status work better. In addition, in the second in-depth interview, Lucy, a part-time domestic helper, expressed that her employer's appreciation of her performance enhances her confidence to work in Hong Kong and her view that NAW may be accepted in the job market also. This contrasts with her anxiety of being discriminated which she mentioned in the first in-depth interview (see Section 6.2, P.96) after she has work as a part-time domestic helper for a month. Thus, good treatment from employer allows NAW to establish their confidence to work in the receiving society; it may also ease their anxiety of being excluded by the receiving society. In contrast, those who work in Chinese restaurants as dim sum sellers have to make great efforts to adjust to the working culture especially if they used to be white-collar workers in the Mainland.

Summary of social adjustment in work lives

To summarize NAW's social adjustment in their work lives, Figure 9 shows how the human capital of NAW in terms of the education attained in Mainland cannot become a resource of looking for a job in Hong Kong - mainly because there is no policy to assess these qualifications. On the one hand the Hong Kong Council for Academic Accreditation (an organization which is formally appointed by the government to assess overseas educational qualification) does not provide assessment on the college and secondary level education attained in the Mainland (2001, <http://www.hkcaa.edu.hk/>). On the other hand, employers question NAW's English ability. Obviously, the deficiency of relevant human capital diminishes their ability to regulate their work life in the process of social adjustment.

Figure 9. Social Adjustment of work life

In the job market, the irrelevance of their human capital affects their choice of jobs which leads to ‘downward mobility’ in their careers. On the one hand, this situation means that they could only choose jobs with lower status and lower pay; low wages cause a decline in economic well-being. On the other hand, this ‘downward mobility’ affects their balance of work and family responsibilities. When NAW can only earn low income, they are not wealthy enough to hire a family tutor to provide assistance for their children to adapt to the educational system. As a result, they regret having migrated here because to acquire a better future for their children is one of the main reasons for coming here in the first place. Lisa, Linda, Lucy, Macy, Salina and Teresa are this situation. Lisa is a typical case (see section 7.1, P. 102). Linda, as a dim sum seller explain her situation,

My son has not gone to the tutorial class of the Chan Centre. The tutorial costs several hundred per month. How can we afford it? Now he goes to another church center for tutorials which are free of charge. He goes twice a week to improve his English. But I still worry that he is behind in Mathematics. This troubles me. (*Linda*,

2nd in-depth interview. She still expresses regret of having come to Hong Kong, as she could not see her children improve in their study.)

When the regret of coming to Hong Kong reaches a boiling point, with no solution in sight regarding their economic situation, it may result a sense of alienation or separation from the host society.

In addition, most informants express that child rearing is the first priority in their lives especially for those with children under twelve years old. Childrearing responsibility has limited NAW's choice of jobs because the working schedule of many jobs is different from theirs in the Mainland and also did not fit with the school schedules of their children. Time clash creates conflict between family responsibility and work. After some struggle, NAW may sacrifice their parenting role or earn less money and have to live under economic pressure. Macy left her job in order to take care of her children, but she has to live under economic pressure:

MACY: He (her husband) got only \$7500 a month. Therefore, there is some pressure. I am looking for a job so that the financial pressure might be lessened. We have a family of four and it all depends on him and he does not have a high income and there is pressure.

S: What is the impact on you?

MACY: Definitely there is some impact. I am a bit worried about this and also the study of my children. I am worried that they could not catch up. I ask my friends to introduce some jobs to me. I have gone to register in the Labour Department but all they want are those university graduates.

(Before the 1st in-depth interview, she was working for three jobs one after another during a period of one year. However, she could not continue after her children arrived with a single permit.)

Informants' working experience suggests that in Hong Kong there is a decline in their economic well being compared to their lives in the Mainland, which is why they may miss their lives in their place of origin. For instance Pasty has mentioned that she wants to go back to China. To go further, this kind of feeling also reduces their incentive to build up relationship with others especially LPRs. A weak sense of belonging may lead to a sense of separation from the receiving society.

Finally, interactions between NAW and their bosses and colleagues vary according to different jobs. Those who work as domestic helpers are treated fairly, while those who work in the restaurants and cafés encounter more difficulties. Clearly, being fairly treated by employers and colleagues make them feel that they are accepted and appreciated in the receiving society, which increases their confidence in their work and in interacting with employers and colleagues. This enhances their integration into Hong Kong society.

7.3 Social adjustment in family life

Adjustment in NAW's family lives influences their settlement in the receiving society. This was mentioned in section 6.3, where we saw how husband's support may enhance their confidence in interacting with others, especially LPRs. Nevertheless, our data shows that NAW need to face a lot of adjustment issues in their family lives, especially their relationships with their husbands. They have to face several challenges in their families, reflecting differences in patterns of family life before and after their arrival in Hong Kong. Those aspects include knowing their husband's personal habits and characteristic clearly, and the limitation of living in a small room. Most changes have adverse effect on their family lives. In addition, NAW create financial burdens for their husbands. And an extra-marital affair of the husband is another problem. All of these are discussed in the following.

NAW are different from other immigrants because most of them have become separated from their husbands since the day they got married. Therefore, adjustment in their family lives becomes a significant aspect in addition to adjustment to a new environment.

Nineteen out of thirty-three informants expressed that their relationships with their husbands have worsened since their arrival, while two claimed that their relationships with children have worsened. Six informants experienced positive changes in their relationships with their husbands and children. Five informants said that their relationships remained just the same as in the Mainland. Below are descriptions of their deteriorating family lives:

I think, yes (means getting worse). In the past, when I was in the Mainland, every time my husband came to see me, we talked a lot. It is better if he went back from time to time. You know seeing each other is good, living together is difficult. Now I have come, we see each other for such a long time. We do not have much to talk about now. (*Spring*)

After I came here (Hong Kong), we felt hard to adapt to the changes at first. Especially when I hadn't got any job yet, he had a heavy economic burden. You can ask Ming, he also knows it well too. Our relationship has been very tense. (Her mood becomes unstable. Some tears in her eyes). We always quarrel. (*Salina*)

I feel it's worse. After coming (means Hong Kong), I feel that he didn't care for me. So I don't treat him well. I think he is not same as before. [In the Mainland] He would talk about something, and play with our daughter. Going out for shopping and eating. There's definitely none of that after coming here. (*Sissy*)

Though there are positive changes in some couples' marriages, the majority did not. Regrettably, there are four wife-abuse cases among the informants. One informant who had been abused, Teresa, divorced in September 2000. Another, Amenda, has moved to a government center through the assistances of social workers since the first in-depth interview. Suki continues to suffer physical and mental abuse. Miranda was released from mental abuse after her husband got regular paid work and moved to public housing.

The negative changes on their relationships with their husbands after having arrived in Hong Kong highlights the difficulties of social adjustment in the family

lives of NAW. Having a better idea about their husbands' personal habits, such as gambling, spending money arbitrarily, and their introvert character, surprise most of the informants because their husbands had behaved differently before. Before these informants arrived in Hong Kong with their one-way permits, their husbands visited them the Mainland once or twice a month, or even only once every six months. In other words, they did not get a chance to know their spouses deeply. Informants expressed that after having arrived in Hong Kong, they see their spouses in person in everyday life and their behaved differently compared to their regular but brief and intermittent visits in the mainland:

But it seems he's liberated after I came to Hong Kong. All his shortcomings come out together. I didn't notice all of his shortcomings in the past because he kept his good points. There's nothing now. I hate the way he is now. He listened to me and was obedient in the past. He accepted your opinion and won't listen to others easily. But now he doesn't listen to me and just listens to others. (*Amenda, Her husband physical abused her.*)

LISA: There are some conflicts.

S: Generally speaking, what are the conflicts?

LISA: There are some conflicts in daily life. As I am a Hunan person and he has come to Hong Kong for more than 20 years his life style is similar to that of Guangdong people. But I am a Hunan person and I am used to eating chillies. There are differences in food and life styles.

S: Would he tell you not to add chili to the food? If you do, he will not eat.

LISA: Yes, it happens. He will not eat and tells me to eat it.

S: Then would you feel bad about it?

LISA: A little bit.

The husbands of Amenda, Vanessa, Helena and Teresa like to gamble very much. Yvonne' husband spends money arbitrarily. Due to the different habits in eating, conflicts occur between Lisa and her husband. Most informants who experience negative changes in their relationships with their husbands suggest that the unique marriage situation before re-union are the main factors that made adjustment in family life very difficult. When NAW come to know their husbands better, they found out that it is quite different to live with their spouses everyday. The different habits of husbands and wives create conflicts and worsen their relationships. Bad relationship

with spouse leads to stress which discourage the them rather than enhance their ability to adjust to their new lives in the receiving society. The discovery of their husbands' gambling habits is quite destructive to some informants. Amenda experienced the impact of her husband's gambling habit:

AMENDA: Because nobody gambled in our homeland. Our parents don't let us to and confined us. I worked in the 'Overseas Chinese Farm'. I felt gambling is strange at first. Because at home we're not allowed to say anything about gambling, not even mentioning the word 'gamble'. So I'm not used to it. When I see them gamble, I just hate it. I just hate them gamble.

AMENDA: He gave me money once a month in the past and this satisfied me. But now he gives bit by bit to me and it's very troublesome. It's annoying.

S: It's like asking him for money when you don't have enough.

AMENDA: Yes. Yes.

S: Do you ask him and then he gives you, or... [She interrupts]

AMENDA: He gives you only when you ask him. If you don't ask him, he doesn't give you. You know those who gamble, they wish you never ask them for money or else how could they place the bet? I don't ask him for money for myself. They're for our child. So I always ask him for money. Or else then...

S: When you ask him for money he'd [she interrupts]

AMENDA: He'd use foul language and pretends not having heard what I said.

Amenda's case shows that love turned into hatred as she suffers from physical abused by her husband caused by quarrels over his gambling. Such kinds of conflict make adjustment in family life difficult.

With respect to social adjustment, when reunited with their families, their ability to accept their husbands' characteristics becomes a trial.

Besides adjusting to the habits and characteristics of their husbands, since many of them are in low-income families, NAW have to adjust to living in a small room and commonly share other facilities with other tenants. Some of them live in a small room divided by plywood boards in an apartment where three or five families live together, sharing the kitchen and washroom. If they speak a little louder, neighbours in the other rooms can hear them clearly. Compared with the living environment in the Mainland

(most informants lived in apartments with at least three bedrooms), the living environment in Hong Kong is extremely small and crowded. This kind of crowded living environment provides very little personal 'space' for a married couple to build up intimate relationship since they are constantly under the threat of being heard by their neighbour. This results in tense situations:

Our living has improved greatly. We could move out to live and no longer had to face those neighbours embarrassingly. When we lived together with that family, I felt very stressful once my children came back from school. I had to remind my children all the times 'Don't make any noise. Keep silent. The old man has come back. If you are noisy, he will scold us.' I had to ask my two sons to remain silent all the times. But I have 3 children and they must make some noise when they are together. (*Miranda*)

The small living environment affects their family lives seriously. In some cases, whole families live in a small room of 40 to 100 square feet. Many of them mentioned that the limit of living space induce conflict between couples, children and even with neighbour.

Yes. Because the living space is small, they don't have enough space for fun. (*Sandra*)

There are some differences. Now we meet each other more often. The place is small and we always collide with others, especially when we go to toilet, one going in and one out and it is troublesome. (*Fanny*)

Before (she live in a smaller room when she first come to Hong Kong), we shared a flat with other tenants to cut costs. The tenants and us came from the same hometown but later the two men could not communicate well. The relationship was getting worse and we felt so embarrassed that we moved out earlier than we planned. At that time, we lived in a room partitioned by boards. My two sons yelled once they came back from school, 'Why did we come to Hong Kong? We have no house to live in and I can't switch on the fan as I want to.' Regrettably, the relationship was getting worse as we lived together for a time. When we lived together with that family, I felt very stressful once my children came back from their schools. I had to remind my children all the times that 'Don't make any noise. Keep silent. The old man has come back. If you are noisy, he will scold us.' I had to ask my two sons to keep silent all the time. But I have 3 children and they must make some noise when they are together. Yes, the relationship (of our family) was poor. (*Miranda*)

Also, a lack of space affects a couple's sexual activities within marriage. This is a serious problem for marriage life.

We don't talk much. I mean we also have not talked much about couple's lives (i.e. sex). There is no space for us. It isn't only our problem but it's also the problem of many people. A while ago, there's a woman coming with me. She has two sons and lives in a master room. On the other hand, we have some Hakka people talk together. They say, 'There's no space for us doing those things (i.e sex). We don't have such mood.' Some women say that they don't also have the sexual desire. I feel the same. (*Shirely*)

Besides, the unstable employment situation of their husbands, caused by Hong Kong's recent economic recession, also affects their marital relationship.

My relationship with him was better at the first two years. But then the two years following was hard as the economic condition is not good. We have more quarrels. (*Milky*)

My hubby was unemployed for two months. So, when Ms Ho asked me about my situation in the Centre, I couldn't control my emotion and I really wanted to cry. At that time, my hubby did not have enough jobs to do. He lost his temper and scolded us frequently. (She broken into tears) (*Miranda*)

Family financial problems push the NAW to work. When they are unable to balance paid work and child rearing, they fall into depression.

At the beginning I worked day shifts, and there was little difference. Now I want to work on day shifts again. As I work on night shifts, he comes home and feels lonely and has to cook for the daughter. The daughter has her own friends and then he becomes lonelier. We have more quarrels since I have worked on night shifts. In the past we had less conflicts. I feel quite frustrated. (*Yolanda*)

The frustration from balancing paid work and family life create pressure for our informants. Yolanda expressed that she could achieve a better balance between the two when she was still in the Mainland:

YOLANDA: I worked in postal services.

S: Now what is your occupation?

YOLANDA: Now I work in catering.

S: You work as a waitress and it is quite hard. How many hours do you work?

YOLANDA: I work nine hours.

S: It's quite hard.

YOLANDA: Not really. Now I have one job and it is not so hard. In the past, it was hard to have two jobs. Of course, I work better and live better than in Hong Kong. If it is not for better future development of my daughter, I won't come.

(*Yolanda, 1st in-depth interview.*)

NAW could have more stable income and could fulfill the responsibility of child

rearing better when they were in the mainland. The qualities of their family lives are in decline both in terms of their economic well-being and their ability to fulfill their child rearing responsibilities. Such decline in the quality of family lives in the process of adjustment makes it difficult for them to acquire better prospect for their children. As acquiring a better future for their children is the goal of migrating here, the inability to achieve this goal broke their dream and may lead to frustration in the process of adjustment (Ward et al., 2001). Such negative impact sows seeds of marginalization in the receiving society for these NAW and even for their next generation. In short, this may also reduce their capacity in social adjustment.

Finally, husbands of NAW who have extra-marital affairs significantly affect their family lives. Five informants experienced such situation. Teresa has been abused and is now divorced from her husband. Most of them always quarrel with their husbands due to suspicion of extra-marital affairs. For these informants, this is the most influential incident of adjustment in their family lives compared with other informants who only need to deal with the financial problem and small living space. Suki's husband battered her when she tried to trace the facts of her husband's extra-marital affairs. Below is the scenario of how she was treated when she wanted to clarify whether her husband was involved in an extra-marital affair or not.

He didn't stay at home overnight, without a word. I washed his clothes the next day. There was a strand of long hair, I kept it and showed it to him. I said: 'How can you explain it? He didn't admit it. We quarreled, quarreled and quarreled seriously. He beat me up. (*Suki, her husband did not stay overnight twice a week.*)

Extra-marital affairs become a factor in family life adjustment because none of these women know about the affairs before they arrived in Hong Kong. Therefore, they are shocked when they found out. They have to face this unexpected challenge in

a new environment, which creates double difficulties for a married woman in a new social environment. In the social adjustment of NAW, a significant support should be given from their husband. Thus, the broken marriage creates more problems in their adjustment process, such as having to weigh the ability to raise their children independently with limit human capital and social capital. The result of handling the frustration may vary with respect to their social adjustment. Consequently, the frustration may force them to seek help from government and rely on the welfare for survival. However, living on government support, such as the CCSA, may make them feel inferior to LPRs. This could make them withdraw from interacting with LPRs. As a result separation from the receiving society may result.

Summary of Adjustment in Family lives

To summarize the adjustment in family life of NAW (see Figure 10), they have to adjust to changes in their families and in husband-wife relationships after they having lived apart from their husbands since they got married. NAW's marriage life had depended on the seasonal visit of their husband. Many informants expressed that their relationship with their husband had worsened since they arrived in Hong Kong. Naturally, living geographically apart from their husbands hinders them from knowing their husband better. After their arrival, they found out more about their husbands, and many were shocked by their discoveries. With a poor financial situation, they can only afford to live in a small room which creates difficulties in their family lives. Furthermore, the financial situation also pushes them to get paid work without help with childcare. Consequently, work and family conflicts result in frustration and depression. Some NAW chose divorce because their husbands engaged in extra-marital affairs. Some of them continued to suffer from the stress in their marriage.

Figure 10 Adjustment of family life

7.4 Summary and discussion

To summarize, both socio-structural and socio-cultural factors affect the social adjustment of NAW in the three areas of life. The data suggests that three areas of lives of NAW have been affected by a series of Hong Kong government policies, namely, the immigration policy, the policy of accreditation and the social service policy for immigrants. More specifically, the immigration policy has set up a quota for Mainland immigrants which confines the rights of LPR husband to apply for their wife to reside in Hong Kong (see Section 1.1, P.1). Undeniably this policy is a main reason why NAW had to live apart from their husbands for long periods of time. Therefore, we may say that this policy predisposed a barrier to the social adjustment in NAW's family lives. As the NAW lived separately from their husband before their arrival, they could only develop their marriage relationship by communicating with and observing their husbands during seasonal visits. Once NAW arrive with one-way permit, they have to start a new family life and a new marriage life also. However, the small living

environment and financial pressure create problems for their adjustment. In other words, basically, the unfavourable social adjustment in family life is expected with above factor. Indeed, most informants reported that their relationship with their husbands became worse than when they were still in Mainland China. Undoubtedly, this marital stress reduces their capacity to adjust in other aspects of life.

Another socio-structural factor —the policy of accreditation allow NAW to be exploited in their work (see Section 6.2, P. 86-95) and subsequently influence their family lives. The qualifications that NAW earned in the Mainland are not fully recognized by employers and the Hong Kong government. The non-recognition of their human capital made NAW work in a lower status jobs with lower pay even though they may have received tertiary education. Their low wages cannot improve their family financial situation or their living environment; this affects their ability to fulfill their parenting roles when the working schedule could not match their child-rearing schedules. This also creates conflicts in their marriages. As NAW consider child rearing as their first priority, when they cannot accomplish this responsibility, they may fall into depression.

Furthermore, the low waged work leads to a decline in their economic well being compared with that in Mainland China. Due to their low wages, they may not spend addition money on achieving their goal of securing better prospects for their children (e.g. through providing extra tuition), especially in their education. As a result, they may feel that they are being marginalized in the community. It is difficult for them to integrate into the receiving society when they are going through such problems in their adjustment process.

In the process of social adjustment, NAW deal with the poor family financial situation by taking up the jobs in lower status that gives lower income. Their experiences do not live up to the expectations they had prior to migration, and this may cause them to fall into deep depression, which is a mal-adjustment (Halmos, 1998) in relation to psychological well-being. The most serious expression of inability to adjust in various life situations is self-destruction. Fiona has reported that she had attempted to commit suicide one month before accepting the second in-depth interview.

Because of poor financial situation, social service policies are crucial in helping them go through some of their difficulties. However, the Social Welfare Department is not active enough to reach out to needy NAW. Data shows that NGOs provide good outreaching service for the NAW families which help to relieve their economic pressure and to assist them to build up a supporting network. In return, these NAW actively participate in the community and dedicate themselves as volunteers serving the receiving society. In other words, providing social services for NAW may empower them in the receiving society and enable them to merge into the society. As a result, this may lead to integration in social adjustment.

The Social Welfare Department should be more proactive in providing services such as outreach services for NAW families, since it may help them with the many difficulties encountered in the early stages of their arrival. This may cultivate the feeling that NAW are accepted as a member of the community. Being accepted may enhance the capability to handle many changes, building harmonious relationship with LPRs and narrow the differences. Thus, this may make NAW's social adjustment easier as well as help them to integrate better in Hong Kong (see Section 4.4, P. 44; Jary & Jary, 2000:303-304; Marshall, 1994:251).

Beside these socio-structural factors, several socio-cultural factors and individual factors affect NAW's social adjustment, namely the different lifestyles under different cultures, child-rearing priority, and the extra-marital affairs of their husbands. Obviously, different lifestyles create conflicts between NAW and LPRs in daily life. As a result of such difference, they cannot easily approach one another, and NAW can only build mutual supporting networks among themselves. This kind of supporting network provides certain practical assistance and emotional support to help them coping with difficulties. However, this type of network is not that effective in helping them access the needed useful information. Rather, this type of network enhances solidarity amongst NAW, which may separate themselves from the mainstream society by forming a sub-group.

Finally, the extra-marital affairs of husbands are very destructive to NAW's adjustment in their family lives and in other areas of life. Without sufficient support from relatives in a new social environment may lead them to choose to suffer the stress in the marriage rather than to divorce. When they get formal social service supports from government in the struggling period, however, they may be release from the depression and helpless feeling. The support may enhance the attachment of NAW to the receiving to society. However, being supported by the government such as living on CSSA may make them feel inferior to LPRs. This discourages them from interacting with LPRs (see Appendix 8). As a result separation from the receiving society appears.

Data shows that their marriage relationship with husbands and helping their children adapt to the educational system of Hong Kong are two areas that greatly challenge NAW's adjustment. To them the outreaching of NGOs service provides great

help to. As has been mentioned above, the proactive services of the Social Welfare Department may become a strategy of helping NAW to integrate into society.

Data also suggests that with minimum input from social workers, NAW can form self-supporting network amongst themselves. When there is a lack of formal services to support NAW in the process of social adjustment, they would establish informal supporting networks amongst themselves. To a certain extent, this reflects that NAW adopt the value of most Hong Kong people. In this sense, they can be said to be integrating into the receiving society, while greater solidarity amongst themselves may also result.

Chapter Eight

Summary & Discussion

I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment that I still have a dream. It is the dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal.'

This is our hope. This is the faith with which I return to the South. With this faith we will be able to hew out the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hand singing the words of Negro spiritual, "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God almighty. We are free at last!"

Martin Luther King

8.1 Summary

On the basis of the findings on discrimination and social adjustment in chapters six and seven, which described the interaction of NAW with LPRs in their social lives, with their bosses and colleagues in the workplace and in looking for a job, it appears that institutionalized and individual discrimination influence the social adjustment of NAW. Discrimination effects in the family increase stress to NAW in relation to the capability to interact with others, especially LPRs, in other life situations. In a few cases, those who have experienced less discrimination in social life and work life have benefited

Figure 13 Social adjustments with less discrimination

from the proactive services of NGOs, and have moved to newly developed districts where they tend to integrate with the dominant group better, but it is still difficult for NAW to abandon their own culture to be assimilated into the receiving society (see Figure 13). Potentially, NAW may take up to a decade in order to integrate and assimilate into Hong Kong society.

Figure 14 Social adjustments for those who experience more

For most NAW who experience discrimination without formal support from the government to deal with their economic situation and psychological distress, solidarity appears amongst themselves. As a result, NAW identify themselves as ‘we’ group and LPRs as ‘they’ group. Under the influence of individual (due to cultural difference) and institutionalized (due to policies) discrimination, NAW built up supporting network amongst themselves to solve difficulties in suffering from illnesses, and looking for a job. They exclude LPRs from the network. Thus, after they struggle for the changing situation that induces by the migration for family reunion, NAW separate themselves from the dominant group of the receiving society. Alienation by the

dominant group of the receiving society appears at the same time (see Figure 14).

In addition, somewhat unexpectedly, the residence duration, residential environment and proactive social service have a significant impact on the discrimination and social adjustment of NAW. The longer residence provides more time for the exploration to the discrimination rather than allowing them to develop a sense of belonging in the receiving society. Furthermore, residential environment can be a factor which affects individual discrimination and social adjustment. Whether such influence is positive or negative depends on whether the residential area is newly developed or an old district. Finally, the effects of proactive social services for NAW become a paradoxical factor which affects the social adjustment of NAW. These services affect their adjustment by giving them the feeling of being accepted by the receiving society. On the contrary, these services also enhance LPRs' perception that NAW are coming to deplete their social welfare sources. As a result individual discrimination (i.e. NAW's image as competitors of LPRs) is reinforced. As a result, they are alienated and separated from the receiving society.

The relationship between discrimination and social adjustment of NAW is presented in Figure 15. Though factors which affect the capability of NAW to interact with LPRs may vary, major positive factors include 'proactive social services'²⁹ provide by NGOs and residential environment. These positive factors enhance the ability of NAW to deal with changes in their life situations, which lead to integration or assimilation. On the one hand, NAW and LPRs act as a collective unit. On the other hand, they cooperate with the dominated group and function in unity (Marshall,

²⁹ Social service provides by Government and NGOs by outreaching teams, where social workers takes the initiative to seek the client's need (Chan, 2000).

1994:251).

Figure 15 Relationship between Discrimination and Social adjustment of NAW

Several policies (e.g. housing, ID card and accreditation policies) worsen institutionalized discrimination which affects social adjustment and results in NAW's alienation or separation from LPRs. Findings show that the family income of NAW is lower, so they can only afford to live in old districts with high population density. In old districts, LPRs have been long-time residents, and their perception is that that NAs have come to deplete their social resources. This results in individual discrimination against NAW. Besides, cultural difference between NAW and LPRs also explain individual discrimination.

8.2 Generation of the model

Based on the above empirical findings, the research proposed in Chapter three is refined. To generalize data so as to form a model, thirty-three in-depth interviews with

NAW may be small, and the observation is not be long enough. However, our data provides a deeper perspective on the issue and also fills the theoretical gap regarding causes of social maladjustment and points out that discrimination is an important intervening variable on NAW's social adjustment. Based on these reasons, we believe that it is valid for us to generate a new model on the social adjustment of new immigrants.

Figure 16 Model of Discrimination and Social adjustments

According to the model, the relationship between discrimination and social adjustment is that discrimination of dominant group against new immigrants is a significant factor in the latter's social adjustment (see Figure 16). In this model, different degrees of discrimination determine the result of social adjustment. The ‘perceived conflict of interests’ (Esses et al. 2001:390-391) is verified by the ‘dominant group's perception that immigrants have come to deplete their resources,

which produces individual discrimination.

Furthermore, when stereotyping and stigmatization - which is socialized through the mass media and press - of immigrants prevail in the receiving society (Thio, 1992, Borgatta & Montgomery, 2000:2855), the dominant group will use the cultural difference between themselves and the new immigrants to justify discrimination (Borgatta & Montgomery, 2000:2855). According to Chan (2000), the affirmative action framework illustrates how 'proactive social services' for them is one way to improve the quality of life of new immigrants, since this can empower them to deal with the new situation in the receiving society by giving them confidence and security. It also promotes a message that new immigrants are accepted as members of the receiving society. This encourages new immigrants to think and act in unity with the dominant group. However, 'proactive social services' also provoke individual discrimination because this reinforces the perception amongst LPRs that NAs are depleting social resources of the dominant group.

Besides the 'perceived conflict of interests' and stereotyping of new immigrants and their culture, findings suggest that policy which classifies residents is a form of institutionalized discrimination, which also provokes individual discrimination or reinforce such behaviour in the dominant group. Together, individual and institutionalized discrimination have prominent influences on the process of adjustment. They create emotional distress and affect one's ability to maintain stability in one's life, which decreases their sense of belonging (see Section 4.4, P. 44-47). Feelings of alienation and the inability to merge with the dominant group cultivate the solidarity amongst the minority group. Consequently, alienation and separation from the dominant group also occur.

In addition, this model proposes that the physical environment significantly affects social adjustment in two ways. Different residential environments result in different kinds of experiences for new immigrants. Immigrants living in a new district feel less like newcomers when they interact with their neighbours and other inhabitants. In a newly developed district, everyone in that housing estate moved there within the same period. Be they permanent residents or new immigrants, they have a similar status - that of newcomer. When most inhabitants identify themselves as newcomers, they may easier to accept each other and develop new relationship with neighbours. On the contrary, when dwelling in an old district with dominant groups of the receiving society, immigrants are easier to be identified as newcomers. When large numbers of new immigrants move into an old district, their occupancy of public areas and facilities such as parks, government clinics and schools may magnify the conflict of interests between the dominant group and the new immigrants in the minds of LPR inhabitants in that district. In addition, these permanent residents may identify new immigrants through observation of their symbolic features. This identification reinforces their differences in culture and status in the living environment. When the dominant group amplifies such differences and perceived newcomers as a threat, individual discrimination against the immigrants happens. Then, the stresses of adjusting into the receiving society as a result of such discrimination are added to the immigrants.

To deal with stresses in adjusting to different physical and economic environments, immigrants may do so by their human capital and social capital. However, when discrimination intervenes in the process, the irrelevance of immigrants' human capital will provide a chance for employers to exploit them by

suppressing their wages. Then, greater stress is added to their adjustment since the irrelevance of their human capital diminishes their ability to earn enough. As immigrants are marginalized, alienation from the dominant group is enforced. To enhance and empower themselves, they ally with other new immigrants which reinforces their separation from the receiving society.

Finally, time has been a critical variable in the social adjustment of immigrants. For decades, 'U-curve adjustment theory' (Ward et al. 2001:80; Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1963) has been commonly used studying cultural adjustment and international adjustment. The process of adjustment resembles a 'U' shaped which goes through four stages. The beginning is known as the 'Honeymoon' stage. Everything looks great. After that, immigrant might feel isolated from the receiving society's residents. They experience communication problems in intensive interaction. They may see the receiving society's culture itself as the source of their problems. This is called the conflict stage. When conflicts begin to resolve themselves, immigrants come to see the similarities between their home culture and that of the receiving nation. They begin to enjoy the process of learning about the receiving society's culture. Then they enter the critical stage. Finally, they enter the recovery stage. Immigrants will be more comfortable in identifying with parts of the receiving society and blending the receiving country's culture with their own (The University of Tennessee, 2002, Black & Mendenhall, 1991:225-246).

At the end of the U-curve adjustment process, immigrants would feel as comfortable as they would in their home country. The process of adjusting most likely will end up with integration or assimilation into the receiving society. However, in studying the social adjustment of immigrants from others, the time dimension will not

lead to integration as optimistic as that argued in the 'U-curve adjustment theory'. Alternatively, Black & Mendenhall (1991) suggest the 'social learning theory', which states that situational and individual factors would or would not be important as well as likely to give impact of the direction on adjustment (1991:245-246). Because the shift from culture shock to adjustment is a function of the individual's ability to learn and reproduce new behavior, immigrants learn from the interaction with the receiving nation's member in re-adjusting their behaviour for reducing the anxiety of cultural conflicts (Black & Mendenhall, 1991:243).

Residential duration of the new immigrants is supposed to be important for them to integrate. It provides the chance for them to know more about how the receiving society sees them. Thus, when discrimination takes place, it will be adverse their ability of learning to behave more appropriately. At the same time, they are unable to reduce their anxiety of associating with members of the receiving society. Consequently, they maintain a distance from the members of the receiving nation. For a certain period of time, separation and alienation appear between immigrants and the dominant group of receiving society. In other words, longer residence does not necessarily allow immigrants to integrate or assimilate into the receiving society. The longer the residence, if there is extensive individual discrimination, would actually further obstruct social adjustment.

To sum up, discrimination is significant. Many researches (Eisikovits, 2000; Aroian, 1998; Lemish, 2000) only take it as one of the factors that induces psychological distress, which in turn influence social adjustment. This research proposes a model where discrimination has to be counted as a critical factor that affects the social adjustment of immigrants regardless of how long they might have

lived in the host society.

8.3 Discussions and Conclusion

After describing the model generated from findings of previous chapters, we now discuss whether the research accomplishes the objectives that have been stated in chapter one. The first objective is to examine how discrimination may influence NAW's process of social adjustment in the areas of social activities, family life, job search and work life. The second objective is to examine the impact of discrimination on the social adjustment of new arrivals women in the Hong Kong. Finally, it is to identify the need for social policy that may facilitate NAW to cope better in the new social environment.

Findings show that discrimination plays a significant role in affecting the lives of NAW. In an extreme case, discrimination has resulted in violence in a hospital. It also results in physical and mental abuse by their spouses. And their economic well-being has declined due to institutionalized and individual discrimination which occur in the process of job search and in the workplace.

The argument is that the environment or context of the receiving society significantly affects the social adjustment of NAW. Appropriate behaviour of the NAW in associating with the host population does not solely depend on their ability in dealing new economic and social environments. Their capability is highly affected by the host populations' perception and interpretation regarding conflict of interests, as well as the Hong Kong government's policy on housing, accreditation and ID card policy.

Regarding the ‘perceived conflict of interests’, re-socialization of LPRs becomes quite an important issue for agents such as the government, mass media, schoolteachers and parents. Unless the bias or prejudice of mainstream society is taken away, the government policies may not be able to provide fair treatment to NAW. Nevertheless, government policy and the ‘perceived conflict of interests’ interact with one another. Government policies can lead to more serious individual discrimination. Therefore, policy makers have to be aware of interaction effect when they amend or launch policies relating to NAW.

Chan (2000) suggests that the government need to launch social policies to improve the quality of life of new immigrants because bias and prejudices prevail in the society. Our findings show that ‘proactive social services’ can enhance NAW's ability to deal with the lack of informational and financial resources in the early settlement stage and can also empower them to deal with their survival. The enhancement of their capability to face challenges also promotes their appreciation of the host society. As a result, this may motivates them to actively participate in the community, such as volunteering in social services. This can enhances them to think of themselves as a collective unit with the receiving society's members.

However, the latent effects of launching ‘proactive social services’ have to be taken into consideration. On the one hand, this promotes the integration of NAW into society. On the other hand, this policy may also reinforce individual discrimination among LPRs when they are unready to accept new immigrants as members of their society. Consequently, the cycle of perceived conflict of interests repeats itself, especially when the receiving society is in economic recession (Cheung, 2002). Holly (1995) points out that new immigrants always become scapegoats in a bad economic

environment. Therefore, the re-socialization of LPRs must precede the launching of such policies in order to prepare the dominant group to accept the policy as one which contributes to a stable society.

Previous chapters show that as time goes by, NAW's integrating or assimilating into the receiving society should not be expected, unless discrimination is eliminated from the dominant group. When the dominant group oppresses new immigrants, harmful physical and psychological effects enhance their incentive to separate themselves from the dominant group and set up self-defense a system to deal with life in Hong Kong. Therefore, the 'melting pot'³⁰ culture may be one of the values that need to be socialized to members of society in order to advance the social relationship between the minority and majority group.

³⁰ This refers to the situation where more than one culture is being accepted in a society.

APPENDIX 1

受訪前問卷

第一部份：個人背景資料（請在適當空格上√或填寫）

1) 年齡：☐ 15-19 ☐ 20-24 ☐ 25-29 ☐ 30-34 ☐ 35-39 ☐ 40-44 ☐ 50-54

2) 籍貫：_____省_____縣

3) 到港年期：_____年；

1) 抵港有多少年：☐ 1-2 年 ☐ 3-4 年 ☐ 4-5 年 ☐ 5-7

2) 教育程度：☐ 小學以下 ☐ 中學 ☐ 專上（非學位） ☐ 大學學位 ☐ 碩士
以上 ☐ 專業學歷

6) 婚姻狀況：☐ 已婚（年期：__） ☐ 未婚 ☐ 寡居（年期：__） ☐ 離婚（年期：__）

7) 除了直系親人外（即父母、配偶、子女），還 ☐ 有/ ☐ 沒有其他親屬在港。

若有，是 誰：_____

什甚關係：_____

8) 職業：（在港）_____（☐ 全職 ☐ 半職）

（在內陸）_____（☐ 全職 ☐ 半職） 薪金：RMB¥_____

9) 現職薪金：

☐ \$2,000–3,999

☐ \$4,000–5,999

☐ \$6,000–7,999

☐ \$8,000–9,999

☐ \$10,000–14,999

☐ \$15,000–19,999

☐ \$20,000–24,999

☐ \$25,000 以上

10) 配偶職業及收入：_____

11) 家庭成員狀況：

性別	關係	年齡	來港年日	職業	學歷	備註

第二部份：約見範圍

一般的生活適應

- 1) 從你抵港至今，你要花最大力量適應的是什麼？(例如：居住環境、與人溝通、語言障礙、工作、沒有娛樂、與同事相處、生活習慣、與配偶相處和子女教養等)請分享。
- 2) 你認為是什麼原因，引致你要花這麼大的力量來適應呢？
- 3) 你怎樣去處理這些適應上的難題？

就業經驗

- 4) *[你在內地有工作呢？是何種類？]你在港有工作嗎？為甚麼有或沒有？
 - a) 你在香港找工作有困難嗎？若有，是甚麼？請分享。
 - b) 你認為你的僱主對你與對其他員工有沒有分別？若有，分別是甚麼？你怎樣評價這些不同的對待？你心情如何？你又如何面對呢？
- 5) 你的同事如何對你？[可跟進的問題：]
 - a) 他/她們對你與對其他本土同事有分別嗎？若有，怎樣不同？(如：工資、工作量、福利和態度等)
 - b) 你認為他/她們為甚麼這樣對你？
 - c) 與他們的關係對你有甚麼影響？(例如：情緒波動、自卑、難與本港人認同等)

家庭生活

- 6) 抵港前後你與配偶及兒女的關係有轉變嗎？若有，是甚麼的轉變？你們在內地時的關係如何？
 - a) 你認為導致這些轉變的原因是甚麼？
 - b) 這些轉變對你有甚麼影響？[例如：你的身體健康、情緒、自我形象等]
 - c) 從丈夫及兒女的行為中，你認為他/她是否尊重你？
為甚麼？
若否，你認為他/她有歧視你嗎？如何？為甚麼
- 7) 在港的家庭生活與在內陸的生活有甚麼分別？(特別是與家人的關係，相處的方式)
 - a) 這些改變做成甚麼困惑？
 - b) 社會人士對新來港人士的看法你的家庭生活有產生著甚麼影響呢？

社交生活及支援

- 8) 在港你有遇上甚麼困難嗎？若有，是甚麼？你會尋找誰/機構幫助呢？(例如：親戚、同鄉朋友、社會福利署社工、志願機構社工、新的朋友或沒有適合人選)。社工們如何對你？
- 9) 抵港至今你有沒有面對甚麼壓力？若有，是甚麼？
 - a) 這些壓力的來源和成因是甚麼？
 - b) 這些壓力對你有甚麼影響？你如何處理這些壓力？

- 10) 若你在香港遇上不愉快的事情，你會向誰傾訴？(例如：家人、親戚、同鄉朋友、社會福利署社工、志願機構社工、新的朋友或沒有適合人選)傾訴後對你有幫助嗎？如何幫助你呢？
- 11) 當你接觸本港永久居民時*[除了同事外，任何你有機會接觸的人]，你的心情和感覺如何？
- 12) 按你的了解本港永久居民一般對新來港人士抱甚麼看法？這些看法對你有影響嗎？若有，是甚麼影響。
- 13) 直到現在，你有多少在港新結交的朋友？你可以向他們傾訴心事嗎？甚麼原因，促使你可以/不可以與呢？

總結

- 14) 普遍來說，你認為香港人歧視新移民嗎？這對你在港的生活有何影響？
- 15) 你的丈夫怎樣看歧視這課題？這看法對你有何影響？

註：*[]乃在先鋒測試後修改部份。

English Transcript Questionnaire

Pre-interview questionnaire

Part One: personal information (Please give a tick in appropriate brackets)

1) Age : ☐ 15-19 ☐ 20-24 ☐ 25-29 ☐ 30-34 ☐ 35-39 ☐ 40-44 ☐ 50-54

2) Native place : _____ province _____ county

3) Year of arrival : _____

1) Arrived HK for : ☐ 1-2years ☐ 3-4years ☐ 4-5years ☐ 5-7years

2) Educational level : ☐ primary and below ☐ secondary ☐ tertiary (non-degree)
☐ university graduate ☐ post-graduate ☐ professional qualification

6) Martial status : ☐ married (duration of marriage: __year(s)) ☐ single ☐ widowed
(duration of widowhood : __year(s)) ☐ separated (duration of separation : __year(s))

7) There ☐ is/ ☐ isn't any other relatives living in HK, except next of kin (including parents, spouse and children).

If there is, who is he/she: _____

relationship : _____

8) Occupation : (in HK) _____ (☐ full-time ☐ part-time)

(in mainland) _____ (☐ full-time ☐ part-time) Salary:

RMB¥ _____

9) Salary of present occupation :

☐ \$2,000–3,999

☐ \$4,000–5,999

☐ \$6,000–7,999

☐ \$8,000–9,999

☐ \$10,000–14,999

☐ \$15,000–19,999

☐ \$20,000–24,999

☐ \$25,000 and above

10) Spouse's occupation and salary : _____

11) Family members :

Name	Relationship	Age	Date of arrival	Occupation	Educational level	Remarks

Part Two : Interview Schedule (Key leading questions)

General adaptation

- 1) Since your arrival in HK, which area did you find the hardest to adjust with?
(Such as: living environment, communication with others, language barrier, work, lack of entertainment, dealing with colleagues, habits and parenting) Please share.
- 2) What do you think are the reasons that you have to try so hard to adjust with?
- 3) How do you deal with the problems of adjustment?

Working experiences

- 4) *[Do you have a job in Mainland China? What kind of job you did?]
Do you have a job in Hong Kong? Please give reasons for having or not having a job.
 - a) Have you come across any difficulty in finding a job? If yes, what's that? Please share. (What's the nature of job & what you do at work?)
 - b) How do your employee treat you compare to the other colleagues? If there is any difference, what is that (such as: salary, workload, fringe and attitude)? What do you think about the difference? How do you feel? How do you deal with it?
- 5) How do your colleagues treat you?
 - a) Do they treat you the same as other local colleagues? If there is any difference, what is that?
 - b) What do you think are the reasons they treat you in this way?
 - c) What is the impact of such perception on the relationship between you and your colleagues? (Such as: up and down in emotion, a low self-esteem, difficulty in identifying yourself with local people etc.)

Family lives

- 6) Is there any change in the relationship between you and your family since coming to HK? (spouse and children)? If there is any, what is that? How was the relationship while in China?
 - a) What do you think are the reasons for the change?
 - b) What is the impact of the change on you? (Such as: your health, emotion and self-esteem etc.)
 - c) As for the behaviour of your spouse and children *[delete it (for singles: parents, brothers and sisters)], do you think he/she respects you? Why? If not, do you think he/she discriminate against you? How? Why?
- 7) What are the differences of family lives in HK and in mainland? (Especially the relationship with other family members, the mode of dealing with each other.) What is the impact of these differences? What is the impact for how the HK people think about the new arrivals?

Social lives and support

- 8) Have you come across with any problems in HK? If the answer is yes, what are

they?

- a) Whom or which organization will you seek help from? (Such as: relatives, fellow villagers, social workers of Social Welfare Department, social workers of non-government organizations, new friends or no suitable target)
 - b) How you were treated by the social worker.
- 9) Have you come across with any pressure since your arrival? If the answer is yes, what is that?
- a) What are the causes and sources of the pressure?
 - b) What is the impact of the pressure? How do you deal with the pressure?
- 10) If you come across with something unhappy in HK, whom will you talk to? (Such as: relatives, fellow villagers, social workers of Social Welfare Department, social workers of non-government organizations, new friends or no suitable target) After you have talked with them, does it help? How?
- 11) When you meet a permanent HK citizen *[except colleague, anyone you contact], How do you feel?
- 12) To your understanding, what is the general impression of HK citizens on the new arrivals? Is there any impact for such kind of impression? If the answer is yes, what is that?
- 13) Up till now, how many new friends you have made in HK? Can you tell them your inner feelings? What are the reasons for doing so?

Conclusion

- 14) Generally speaking, do you think there is any discrimination against new arrivals in HK? What is the impact to your daily lives in HK?
- 15) How your spouses perceive these issues? (E.g. being discrimination in working experience, social lives and support) Does your spouse perception have any impact on you?

Remark: *[] This is the amendment after the pilot test.

APPENDIX 2: Process in coding and analysis- an illustration (work life of NAW)

APPENDIX 3 Participant Observation notes

Participant observation in a Chinese Restaurant 16 June to 30 June 2001

Working environment and employment contract

1) The hierarchy of the Restaurant: (Top down)

Manager

Supervisor→ Assistant Supervisor→ Supervisor Trainee→ Waiter/Waitress→Trainee

Dim Sum Department Head→Dim Sum Seller Supervisor (LPR)→Assistant Dim Sum Supervisor (NAW)→Dim Sum Seller

[主管→副主管→管事→侍應→練習生

售點總管→售點領班→售點副主管→售點員]

Other staffs include cashiers, clerks & different kinds of cooks.

2) I was employed as a dim sum seller. Working hours were from 6:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Probation period was one month. The monthly salary was HK\$4,000 (during the probation period, I was paid HK\$157 per day) I had 4 days pay holiday after the probation. I needed to wear a uniform. The uniforms indicate the position of the staff in the restaurant's hierarchy. From the uniform, I inferred that my post belonged to the lower ranks in the restaurant. This is because each staff was issued a staff identity (ID) card (to be worn on their uniforms) with the description of their posts and their names, but dim sum seller staff ID card only have a “number” on it. Therefore, clients and other staffs do not know their names.

Some observation:

1) The LPR worker: divide into two groups. 1st group is born in HK.

2nd group are those who had lived in HK for over 7 year and had obtained permanent residency.

The 1st group did not talk and eat together with the NAW workers. In general they were friendlier to other Hong Kong colleagues. For instance they spoke with the local born HongKongers colleagues with a nice attitude. Also, the NAW workers did not talk with them much.

2) The NAW workers were also divided into two different groups. The 1st group was those who had immigrated to HK for a relatively longer period of time (LNAW: NAW who have longer residence) but still less than 7 year (approximately over 5 year). This group was the majority among the dim sum sellers. The 2nd group had immigrated to HK for less than three year (SNAW: NAW who have shorter residence). They are less defensive and less offensive

towards others than the 1st group.

- 3) The LPR supervisor treated the NAW workers differently; one example is that NAW workers were allocated a heavier workload than other workers.
- 4) Because of the solidarity amongst the NAW workers, the LPR supervisor could not manage those who had worked longer in the restaurant. For achieving effective management, she scolded them for requesting the workers to do some works, but she did not do that for me because she thought I was a local born Hong Konger.
- 5) The LNAW workers often spoke to the SNAW workers with offensive language, such as foul language with sexual connotation.
- 6) The restaurant patrons' conversation showed their discriminatory attitude towards NAW. For example, I heard one old lady diner say, “ ‘*Dai⁶-lug⁶-po⁴*’ is so cheap. They are not worthy to marry. Though they provide dowry themselves, I will not let my son to marry one.” This coincides with the interviewee's experience in the social environment and the workplace.
- 7) LPRs are friendly to the LPR supervisor. The LNAW are friendly with the SNAW supervisor.
- 8) I was fired on the last day of June. Indeed, I had planned to resign on that day. However, the supervisor informed me of the decision before I could resign. The termination of my employment was the result of power politics in the higher management. My direct supervisor had told me that two managers wanted to recruit two of their lovers to work in the dim sum selling department and to do that they had to dismiss two employees. The supervisor and the assistant supervisor said that my dismissal had nothing to do with my performance. I had come to realize that in principle when the restaurant had to fire somebody, the manager should lay off staff with the least experience in the restaurant. Nevertheless, me and another worker who had work for about three months had been laid off. There was one new worker who was an NAW who was more junior than me, but she has not been laid off. The possible reason is that she was recruited directly by the manager (she told me this when she reported duty on the first day). That means NAW may obtain a post or keep her job by having affairs with the management.
- 9) The SNAW worker was made a fool by the supervisor on the confirmation of her working hours. Every dim sum seller should get the signature of the waiter supervisor when she gets on and off duty. On the last day, I observed that the supervisors had been making this difficult for Wai-King on purpose. No one wanted to sign her arrival time. The reason they gave was that they do not sign anybody whilst they were eating their breakfasts. Nevertheless, they had signed mine just a couple minutes before Wai-King asked for their signatures.

APPENDIX 4 Transcript of Fiona's discrimination experience in a hospital

On 2 June (2001) I was Queen Elizabeth Hospital. The nurses there were good to me. One evening I met a security guard and he was bad. I would have to sue him. He treated me as a psychiatric patient and abused me. That evening, I asked him to allow me to make a phone call to my family to see how my husband and sons were. He did not allow that and did not answer me. I did not know if he allowed or not and I could not tell. I talked to him, 'Please let me use the telephone to call back my husband.' He did not answer and went away. When he went away, I knocked on the door. As I knocked on the door, he thought that I got a psychiatric problem. I slept alone in a room. He thought that I got psychiatric problem and called three security guards. One young man stuck out his tongue behind a glass door and called me insane. I said, 'I am not insane. Don't think that I am insane.' Then he scolded at me, 'You are not quite right in the head. You've a big problem.' As he scolded at me, I lost my temper and said, 'You damned guy. Go to hell. You call me insane. Go to hell. Damned you.' I cursed him and he opened the door and bound my limbs. I did not mind that he bound but he bound me and beaten me. The bruises have not gone. (She shows me the bruises.)

They bound me and this young security guard beat me. Two nurses were watching. My neck was painful and swollen and bruised. They scolded at me, 'Nuts, Mainland bumpkin, bumpkin.' They called me 'Hakkan bumpkin.' I said, 'I am not a Hakkan bumpkin nor Mainland bumpkin. I come from Chaozhou. Yes, I am a new arrival.' Then he scolded at me, 'You nuts, fuck your damned mother.' This young man said, 'Fuck your damned mother.' Then I replied, 'Young man, if you want to fuck your damned mother, don't discuss with me but with your father. You should ask your father that you want to fuck your damned mother and if he agrees you can do this.' Then two nurses were standing beside but he continued to say, 'You are a woman and I am a man. I can kill you with a fist.' I said, 'No problem. In Hong Kong men and women are equal. You can beat me if I have done something wrong. If I have done something very wrong you can kill me with a fist. No problem. If you have the gut, just kill me here. No one will sue you.' Then he said, 'This is a damned bumpkin. This is a damned fool.' As he scolded at me like that, I could not take it amiss and I quarreled with him and he started to beat me.

(Fiona, her spoken Cantonese carries a heavy home county accent. Due to this, she is easily identified as a NA.)

APPENDIX 5 Observation in Mongkok wet market

The following happened in Mongkok market:

When I walked approaching the immigrant woman, she was choosing some black plums. She just took one or two plums and pressed them. The hawker (a man) scolded her loudly, "Don't press it! If you press every plum, how can I sell them to the other customers? I don't know how many you are going to buy!" The immigrant let go of the plums quickly and said to the hawker, "I want to buy the plums for ten dollars." There was a tablet that indicated that the plums were sold at "ten dollars for twelve". Then I walked by and I pressed the plums intentionally. The man didn't say anything. I took another plum, pressed it, and he didn't respond either. Then I asked him "Can I buy six plums for five dollars?" He answered me gently, "of course". Then I got the plums for five dollars. He wrapped the six plums for me and added politely "just take a look at it, we offered many things for you". There was a really big difference in the way I was treated and the way the immigrant was treated.

APPENDIX 6 Interview transcript of Helena on her working experience

HELENA: No, the superior. I don't know whether he knows I'm a new immigrant or not. He's not the one who employed me. And then another superior came and he scrutinized me very closely. He always orders me to do this and that and scolded me a lot. He said what I done is not correct. You have to do something first, and not to do that thing. Whenever he started talking, he scolded me.

S: He scolded you with rude wordings?

HELENA: No. He scolded me something bad. It's very immoral and it hurt.

For example like 'Bitch!' 'let's admit the fault!' Like that. 'So what?' 'What did you say?'

S: Did he treat other waiters like the way he treats you?

HELENA: No. He liked to find fault in me. I said, 'But those people have fault that I made? Why should I admit?' He didn't say anything in response. I felt so upset and I told this to my husband. My husband said he's afraid that people would treat me badly because I'm a new immigrant. I said, 'Why did he did this to me? What's wrong with me? Did I say a few words wrong?' I said, 'He has to tell me clearly what's wrong with me.' My superior didn't admit it at first, but my husband became irritated. He called and said, 'I'm going to the restaurant to destroy your place.' I said to my husband, 'Don't get in such bad temper, let's have some talk.' Later on the manager called us and apologized to my husband and me. He said my superior would not find fault in me intentionally again.

HELENA: In fact, I'm hard working and efficient. I didn't complain. But sometimes perhaps the way of doing things is different.

S: But you feel he would not treat other colleagues in that way, he especially picked on you.

HELENA: Yes. I don't know whether he knows that I'm a new immigrant. I don't know.

APPENDIX 7 Participant observation notes in the workplace

The observation focuses on the discrimination of NAW in the workplace. Findings show that individual discrimination differs according to the position of workers in the hierarchy. Findings (See **Figure 11**) show that there is individual discrimination against the NAs who arrived Hong Kong during different period. At the same time, LPR workers discriminate against the NAW workers in a subtle way. For instance, occasionally, when NAW asked them about the price of dim sum or how they can get some tools for work, LPR workers do not answer them.

Figure 11 Interaction of LPR & NAW workers

Regarding the definition of LPRs, there is a different group amongst the LPR workers, i.e., the group who are born in Hong Kong (called as LPR 1) and the group who have resided in Hong Kong for over seven years and have permanent citizenship (called as LPR 2). LPR 1 did not talk with the NAW workers when they have lunch together. In contrast, LPR 1 spoke to the LPR supervisor with a nice attitude. Also, the interaction between LPR 1 and LPR 2 is rare and the NAW workers did not talk much with LPR 1.

The NAW workers are also divided into two different groups. The first group are those who have immigrated to Hong Kong for longer (LNAW) but have lived here for less than seven years (approximately 5 years). This group is the majority amongst the dim sum sellers. The second group is those who have immigrated to HK for less than

three years (SNAW). They exhibit less defensive and offensive behavior toward others compared with LNAW. The LNAW workers always speak to the SNAW workers using offensive language, such as using sexual foul language and ridiculing the sex life of the SNAW workers.

The LPR supervisor treated the SNAW workers differently by allocating more workload for them than the LPR workers. Figure 12 explains the interaction between the LPR supervisor and the workers. Because of the solidarity amongst the LNAW workers, the LPR supervisor could not manage them well. The LPR supervisor scolded LNAW workers and requested them to do some work, but she would not do that to the researcher because she thought the researcher was a local born Hong Konger. Furthermore, the LPR 1 is friendly to the LPR supervisor. The LNAW is friendly with the SNAW supervisor. Though LPR 1 and LPR 2 did not behave in a disgusted way towards the NAW directly, they reveal their discrimination in the big differences on conversation mood, tone and facial expression when they talk to the NAW and the LPR.

Figure 12 Interaction between supervisors and workers

Legend

LNAW: Longer residence NAW
SNAW: Shorter residence NAW

Dim sum sellers serve many different kinds of people. Therefore, in the workplace, individual discrimination comes from the clients also. From the clients' conversations, the researcher could found out the discrimination attitude of the general public toward NAW. For example, one of the old lady said, “ ‘*Da⁶-lug⁶-po⁴*’ are so cheap. They are not worth marrying. Though they provide dowry themselves, I will not let my son marry one.” Such conversations are similar to verbal discrimination experience of the informants in the social environment and in the workplace.

Finally, the dismissal of the researcher from her job reveals an important factor regarding how a NAW can keep her job. Indeed, the researcher had planned to resign, however, the supervisor fired her before she could do that. The direct LPR supervisor confirmed the reason of dismissal to the researcher, which was that a result of politics in higher management. Two managers wanted to recruit two lovers (that means persons with whom they are having sexual relationships) to work in the dim sum selling department and to do that they need to dismiss two workers. Both the NAW and LPR supervisor said that her dismissal had nothing to do with her performance. In

principle, the manager should lay off the newcomers first. Nevertheless, the researcher and another worker who had work about three months have been laid off. There was one new NAW worker who was more junior than researcher, but she has not been laid off. The possible reason is that she was recruited directly by the manager (she had told the researcher how she got the job when she reported duty on the first day). This incident implies that a NAW may obtain a post or keep a post by having relationship with the management person rather than by virtue of her good work performance.

APPENDIX 8 Transcript of informants who received CSSA (two examples)

1. SALLIE' s condition:

S: So you got many things to worry over and sometimes you can't fall asleep. Would you turn to Ming (social worker of Mission for New Arrivals Ltd.) or other social workers or you just leave it in your heart?

SALLIE: I rarely turn to others. But you ask me now. I don't want to talk about it.

S: You don't want to talk about this even with Ming?

SALLIE: Yes. To be frank, there's not much to talk over. They have their affairs. It's not like you look for me today. They have their affairs.

S: You can make an appointment with her and talk to her.

SALLIE: I know. But I'm afraid I'd trouble him. I don't have many good properties. But I care about others. I'd think about others. I discovered that recently I got such low self-esteem. I was proud all the time in the past. Really. But now not. You'd talk to anybody if you don't feel you're inferior to others. 'Let me talk to you and let you talk to me.' You'd say this. But you won't say things loudly as it's different now. My friend is like this. I said, 'Are you being a snob?' I mean I helped you people a lot in the past. But today you not only yell at others, but also at me. I said, 'Are you a snob?'

S: So what do you feel is the relationship between you and your friends that is different? It's different for people looking down on you and you looking down on yourself.

SALLIE: I feel inferior to others. I don't want to stay with them. I thought of moving to Yuen Long. I went to look for a place before I got the sickness, before I had the treatment. I wanted to move to Yuen Long.

S: Why?

SALLIE: I want to be separated.

S: I don't want to meet people I knew.

SALLIE: I don't want to others know. Am I being cruel to myself? I want to move as far as possible where no one knows me or finds me. We can stay in contact through phone.

S: I guess it's because your situation now is not so good and so is your economic condition. So you don't want to talk to others.

SALLIE: Yes. It's so bad. Once a person could come to my home to ask me to pay back money. But he said to my daughter, 'You SALLIE still owes me \$2000.' I gave them \$500 and I still owe them \$2000. He could talk to me but why he talked to her?

S: You called your daughter to came to this centre but you didn't come.

SALLIE: I don't feel good. I came once I got the money. You can talk to me but you shouldn't talk to my daughter. She knows nothing about this. It's different. You talk to her if she's 20-year-old and has job. It's no problem and she can accept that. But how old was she at that moment? She cried once she arrived home.

S: Yes. So did you talk to them about this?

SALLIE: I talked to Ming. I was really mad that Ming said that. I said, 'you shouldn't tell the child how much I owe you. You should said, 'SALLIE owes me \$2000.' (She said loudly) She asked me, 'Mom, you still owe others \$2000 this much?'

S: How did Ming react?

SALLIE: No. I just told her (Ming) and I don't know how she reacts.

S: You didn't talk this thing over with her?

SALLIE: I don't want to make a fuss of it. I just tell her something happened. It's his matter that how he reacts. I don't mean to ask for something.

S: I understand. It's already happened and you just want her to know your feeling. You feel it's not alright.

SALLIE: Yes. It really doesn't matter for me. But I feel sad to see my daughter being affected.

S: You love her so much.

SALLIE: It's adult's matter, not child's. You shouldn't tell this to my daughter. I'm not good-tempered and I'd slap you in the face. It's true.

S: Really.

SALLIE: Really. I'd. I know what's happened and I don't need you to say that. Right? You tell me. No talk to my daughter. I know I have nothing now and I have no influence now. I went to Shengzhen and people said I've changed. It's not those economical. I was like quite rich but not now. I just got diffidence now, not confidence. I find out there're a lot of people saying that to me. I was a tough person and I won't die in front of you.

S: But you feel you don't have any measures now?
 SALLIE: It's different and it won't work anyway. I was poor but I got hands and legs. But I'm just like a limp. The doctor said I was a fifty to seventy percent disabled.
 S: Your economic burden and health condition make you feel inferior to others.
 SALLIE: I'm afraid to face it. I don't say things loudly. I'm not lying.
 S: Do you feel this yourself or you feel others think you're this way? Do you think it's others' looking down upon you and discriminate against you that make you like this? Or, it's just your own feeling?
 SALLIE: It really doesn't matter as for how others see me, Miss Choi. You have your feeling. The most is that I feel that.
 S: You feel others look down on you.
 SALLIE: It's for sure. For instance, if you owe me \$2000, would you tell my daughter loudly that, 'Hey, I owe you \$2000.' Would you?
 S: So you feel others treated your daughter that way is a sign showing they somehow discriminate against you?
 SALLIE: Yes. I tell things straightaway the way it is. But many things have already happened. I can't get through if it wasn't 'Mission for the New Arrivals Ltd.' There's difference. A lot of them are very nice and not all of them are bad. Hong Kong people are nice. People tell you how to get to places when you ask them.

(Sallie developed such kind of feeling after her divorce and gaining CSSA from the Social Welfare Department. Besides getting CSSA, she has loan from a NGO's for solving urgent financial needs.)

2. SPRING'S condition:

S: Well you talk about your husband and he is now having the social security assistance, do you think he isn't so used to that, or thinking people are discriminating him?
 SPRING: Of course he is afraid of that. He said, 'Don't let other people know he is depending on social security assistance. It's shameful.' When my husband first got cancer, the social workers at Yang advise me apply for social security assistance. My husband told me, 'Don't go to get the social security assistance. We can depend on ourselves. When I recovered, I could go to get a job. There's no use of getting those support.' At the very beginning, there has not been a year since I am there. We just take the support (CSSA) for my husband. He wasn't willing to do that. Later he couldn't work anymore and he has no choice for received the CSSA. Those social workers said, 'If you don't get those support, how can you have food for basic living.' He is willing to get the support after that, but I am taking my husband's.
 S: Do you think you fear that people discriminate you?
 SPRING: Yeah, I am afraid. I don't want people to know. No one knows that in Tai Po, and I will try my best not letting others know.
 S: That means you don't let people know that you are getting social security assistance?
 SPRING: It's really bad if other people know you are getting social security assistance. There is a friend; her husband had a stroke. Her husband is seriously ill and not able to walk, how can he work. So his wife has to take care of him. They have three kids from the mainland who have already migrated to Hong Kong. All five people in their family depend on government support for their lives. But some people said, 'You get the government money and buy those good food, this and that.' This is what those people scolded at them when they bought food in the market. They let others know, so the people wonder if they are getting government support. Her husband isn't able to work, so people would guess they are depending on government support.
 S: People in the market scold them?
 SPRING: Yes, possibly because they were scolded by their neighbors and they are so ashamed.
 S: Didn't they coming from the mainland?
 SPRING: Yeah, they are from the mainland. They didn't say any words when people scolded at them.
 S: But, just scolding at her, not her husband?
 SPRING: Not scolding at her.
 S: Will you be affected by this event?
 SPRING: Yeah, I am sorry for them. If her husband is able to work, they won't have to depend on social security assistance.

S: If you were her, will you think, 'It's better not letting others know you're getting social security assistance.'

SPRING: This is what I said. I always remind my daughter not to let others know that we are getting social security assistance.

S: It has been hard though.

SPRING: Yes, it's very hard. I would have alerted myself when I am talking to friends. One of my friends, she doesn't know we are getting this (CSSA). I don't want to tell her, and there is no use telling her, to avoid her discriminating us.

S: Oh, you got a kind of pressure.

SPRING: Yes.

S: But, sometimes when people talk to you, they might ask what is your husband doing.

SPRING: I would just tell lies, lying to them. I would say, 'Anything, he works at the construction site, for several thousands dollars.' You know as he is working at the construction site. He works irregularly; all the people who come to my home don't know we are getting social welfare assistance. My husband doesn't talk, I told them, '

'My husband isn't so comfortable with his throat, and he doesn't work temporarily.' I lied to them in order not to let them know. They would discriminate you.

S: That means you think people would discriminate you because you get those social welfare assistance, but not the discrimination because you are from the mainland.

SPRING: Getting that social welfare assistance. I am worrying a lot of my husband's health. I don't want people know that we are getting social welfare assistance. Now all my neighbours don't know about this.

S: This is the bad thing about Hong Kong. Let me help you to find more information of the centre. I thank you again for the interview.

(Spring's received CSSA for support their family after her husband discovered he has cancer.)

APPENDIX 9 Publication related to thesis research project

1. Paper title ‘Discrimination and Social Adjustment of new arrival women from Mainland China in Hong Kong’ presented at the Annual Conference of North America Chinese Sociologist Association (NACSA) in Anaheim, in Anaheim, CA 17 August 2001 [co-author with Dr. William Lee Keng-mun]
2. Paper title ‘Social Capital of New Arrival Women from Mainland China’, presented at the ‘First International Symposium of Women in Network’ which is held at Hong Kong University, 20-21 June, 2002 [co-author with Dr. Annie Chan Hau-nung]
3. Paper title ‘Social Experience of New Immigrant Women from PRC in Hong Kong’, presented at the XV-International Sociological Association World Congress, 7-13 July, 2002 [co-author with Dr. William Lee Keng-mun]

GLOSSARY

Comprehensive Social Security Assistance Scheme (CSSA): This is a welfare scheme to provide a safety net for those proven to be in need of financial assistance. The Scheme is designed to enable such individuals such as disabled and families (low income) to meet their basic and special needs. It is non-contributory but means-tested.

Coll: Colleagues of the new arrival women

Discr: Discrimination

Identity (ID) Card: Legal document issued by Hong Kong Immigration Department for certify and classify one's identity, in which shows the eligibility of residence and the right of her/him.

HK: Hong Kong

Hong Kong Special Administration Region (HKSAR): The formal address of Hong Kong after People's Republic China took over the regime in 1 July, 1997.

Local permanent residents (LPRs): Resident was born in Hong Kong or resided in over seven years qualify to apply the permanent residence.

New arrival women (NAW): Women come from Mainland China under the family re-union policy and reside in Hong Kong less than seven years.

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