人口學刊
第 60 期，2020 年 6 月，頁 95-143
Journal of Population Studies
No. 60, June 2020, pp. 95-143

Research Article
DOI:10.6191/JPS.202006_(60).0003

Early Taiwanese-Chinese Immigrants in Hong Kong: Social and Cultural Adaptation

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Received: May 15, 2020; accepted: November 19, 2020.

Abstract

Despite burgeoning research on middle-class immigrants to developed countries, early immigrants from newly industrialized countries have not been well studied. This research takes a close look at 48 Taiwanese immigrants who moved to Hong Kong between 1965 and 2002 to study their reasons for immigration, their lived experiences (cultural and social dimensions, and the challenges they encountered), and their sense of belonging (identity, sense of home, and belonging). Absence of statistics required the author to conduct fieldwork to obtain background information and ethnographic data based on face-to-face interviews of immigrants from Taiwan to Hong Kong. Three major categories of immigrants are included in the sample: Taiwanese women married to Hong Kong men, highly skilled Taiwanese who entered Hong Kong with working visas, and those who lived in Hong Kong while conducting business in Mainland China. Difficulties with the local dialect (Cantonese), human relationships (*renqingwei*, 人情味) and cultural practices form major barriers to their adaptation. Over time, these early immigrants have settled down, developed successful careers, made Hong Kong their home, and contributed to the economic, social and cultural landscape of Hong Kong society, despite vast differences in culture.

Keywords: early Taiwanese immigrants, Hong Kong, economic integration, social-cultural adaptation, gender roles

I. Introduction

Despite burgeoning literature on New Asian immigration which epitomize the age of globalization in the last three decades, early migrants/ old-timers[1] are much less well studied. This may be accrued to the obscurity of this phenomena in the "classical immigration countries" (the U.S., Canada, and Australia) where immigrants flocked to. The author argued that early immigrants are examples of acculturation and adaptation for the New Asian immigrants in their experiences of planting their roots, and the social and economic incorporations of early Taiwanese immigrants need to be documented and understood by receiving countries which they adopted as their new homelands. Emigration of Taiwanese to developed countries have received scrutiny over the years, as the phenomena was related to changing economic and political situations in Taiwan on one hand, and policy changes regarding immigration in the destination countries, on the other.

Despite being well educated and successful in securing employment as "privileged migrants," early immigrants from Hong Kong to Taiwan needed to cope with cultural barriers of various kinds (Chiang 2018). One would not be surprised to see that Taiwanese who immigrated to Hong Kong face parallel situations in their process of adaptation. This research project is therefore initiated to complete the study of counterparts of HongKongers in Taiwan, by engaging early Taiwanese migrants in Hong Kong for a qualitative study.[2] Two themes are included in the research agenda:

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1 "Old-timers" are defined as those who immigrated to a country prior to 1980, to differentiate them from the New Asian immigrants who came to developed countries in large numbers in the late 1980.

2 This paper is based on a research project that started in 2014 to study Taiwanese in Hong Kong who settled in Hong Kong since the 1960s. It was based on intensive fieldwork of

(1) What kinds of socio-cultural adaptation issues did they encounter in Hong Kong? The answers come from face-to-face and in-depth interviews with open-ended questions, to obtain a nuanced understanding.

(2) What supported their intention to remain in the destination (identity, home, and sense of belonging)? This is retrieved from time-consuming interviews of an ethnographic type.

Background on Early Taiwanese Immigration to Hong Kong

Hong Kong has long been an international city and a regional center for business, finance, information, tourism, entrepôt activities, and manufacturing. It is a leading world city and the "Capital of the Overseas Chinese" (Sinn et al. 2009). While Hong Kong was a British colony for over 150 years, Taiwan has been ruled for 50 years (1895-1945) by the Japanese until the end of WW II. Before Hong Kong was returned as Special Administrative Region (SAR) to China, major infrastructure categories such as communication systems, law and order, finance, civil service, public housing, and environmental conservation had been well developed. The post-war economic situation of Taiwan lags behind that of Hong Kong, as shown in their gross domestic product (GDP) in 1951, being USD $280 for the latter and USD $154 for the former (Appendix 1). In comparison with Hong Kong's USD $960, Taiwan's GDP was USD $397 in 1970. In 1980, Taiwan started its first Industrial Park, attracting large numbers of young educated Taiwanese from overseas for the first time, helping to build strong human capital. The GDP for Hong Kong and Taiwan were respectively USD $13,487 and $8,216 in 1990. The latest figures recorded in 2018 were

the ethnographic type, to focus on migration patterns and process, economic incorporation, cultural adaptation, notions of home, sense of belonging, and intentions of returning.

USD $48,675 and $25,008, respectively, still showing quite a discrepancy. As a whole, Hong Kong is regarded as a more developed state with a well-established financial system, well-maintained law and order, and a global city on a par with London and New York. Taiwan was (and still is) regarded as a bit far behind Hong Kong in many aspects. Per capita income and cost of living is much lower in Taiwan.

Since the 1970s, Hong Kong's economy grew rapidly, as local Chinese took part in innovative decision-making by the government to include the construction of the Mass Rapid Transit in 1972, the establishment of the Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) in 1974, public housing schemes, and countryside parks. Benefitting from her successive five-year plans, Taiwan rose to be one of the Newly Industrialized Countries. A new turning point for Hong Kong's economic growth occurred in the 1980's, as the cost of land and labor increased, leading to the re-location of manufacturing industries to Mainland China. In 1980, Taiwan started her first Industrial Park, attracting large numbers of young educated Taiwanese from overseas for the first time, helping to build her strong human capital. As the leader of the Four Asian Dragons, Taiwan provided incentives to attract entrepreneurs from Hong Kong who came to set up businesses and branches of banks.

The majority (95%) of immigrants in Hong Kong came from Mainland China, particularly Guangdong Province (86%). In the 1981 census, less than 3% of the people considered Hong Kong to be their place of origin. Taiwanese constitute a small number of 18,144 officially (Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong Government 2016). The author learned from Taiwan officials in Hong Kong that Taiwanese in Hong Kong ranges

from 20,000 to 80,000.[3] The earliest immigrants from Taiwan include those who went as economic criminal (經濟犯), illegal immigrants, and employees. After staying for three years, they received an ID, and would not be sent back to Taiwan because of the Touch Base Policy (抵壘政策). Speaking with government officials and old-timers such as an immigrant who went to Hong Kong in 1968, the author learned that there are three types of Taiwanese immigrants in Hong Kong. The first type are mostly women who were married to OCS who finished their tertiary education and returned. They follow the characteristic of "gender imbalance" in intra-Asian flows of cross-border marriages, which means that the majority are men of wealthier countries marrying women from economically less developed countries (Lu and Yang 2010). Constable (2005) wrote that "Hong Kong women are described as spoiled and demanding, too materialistic, too feminist or career-oriented, and less committed to their families." Taiwanese women, on the other hand, make good wives and mothers, respect the elderly, and follow family traditions.

The second type of Taiwanese immigrants in Hong Kong are members of families who went to mainland China to establish business and set up their offices in Hong Kong. This occurred mostly when businesses were moving out from Taiwan to seek less expensive labor elsewhere, such as in Dongguan (東莞) and Shenzhen (深圳) in the Pearl River Delta. The third type are Taiwanese men and women who entered Hong Kong directly with working visas.

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3 The author learned from personal communication with a prominent Taiwan government official previously working in Hong Kong, that the number of HongKongers depends on how Taiwanese are defined. In theory, they include two main types: (1) those who were born and raised in Taiwan, and have obtained Hong Kong citizenship; (2) those who had completed tertiary education in Taiwan as overseas Chinese students (OCS, 僑生), and returned with Taiwan citizenship. A conservative estimate of Taiwanese in Hong Kong is at least 30,000 for the first generation. The second generation born from Taiwan parents may not identify with Taiwan, and some have not obtained permanent residence status while working in Hong Kong.

In recent years, Taiwan and Hong Kong has developed steadfast economic relations. As reported by Hong Kong Economic, Trade and Cultural Office (HKETCO, 2020). Taiwan was Hong Kong's third largest trading partner in 2019, with a growth of bilateral trade averaging 5.4% per year from 2015 to 2019. In addition, Taiwan was the sixth largest market for domestic exports; fifth largest market for re-exports; and second largest source of imports. Statistics have also shown that a USD $52.5 billion worth of trade between Mainland China and Taiwan was routed through Hong Kong, accounting for roughly 22% of the total trade between Mainland China and Taiwan. Moreover, travel between nationals of the two regions is popular. In 2018, there were approximately 1.68 million nationals of Taiwan who traveled to Hong Kong, the third largest destination after Japan (4.91 million) and Mainland China (4.04 million). In the same year, Hong Kong-Macau tourists (1.65 million) ranked third after Mainland China (2.69 million) and Japan (1.96 million). Non-stop flights are operated between Hong Kong and Taipei (Taoyuan), Taichung, Tainan, Kaohsiung, and Hualien airports. Starting in 2011, a Taiwan office was set up in Hong Kong, while her counterpart also began in Taiwan to sustain mutual interest in the promotion of trade, tourism and culture.[4]

To conclude, proximity, similarities in Chinese culture and affinity between Hong Kong and Taiwan have minimized social distance between HongKongers and Taiwanese. As the number of Taiwanese were growing rapidly in the last few decades in the Hong Kong SAR, including students who went to study in Hong Kong, and young people who joined the labor force (Chiang and Huang 2014), the number became significant among the

4 Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Hong Kong (TECO) is the representative office in Taiwan, Republic of China in Hong Kong, while the HKETCO is the representative office of Hong Kong SAR.

Mandarin Chinese speakers in Hong Kong. Taiwanese and HongKongers both originate from different parts of China and are culturally similar, albeit differences in history, politics, social experiences, and development for more than a century. Despite differences in their colonial history and socio-economic development, Chinese Culture has been well preserved in both regions, as manifested in the written Chinese language, values toward education, family relations, festivals, and customs. Compared to HongKongers who speak Cantonese mainly and embrace their culture and identity (Sinn et al. 2009), the Taiwanese are multi-cultural among themselves, while a Taiwanese identity is still evolving (Huang 2014).

Using Hong Kong as a case to study early immigrants from Taiwan, the author intends to differentiate Taiwanese immigrants in Hong Kong from new Taiwanese immigrants who moved to more developed countries such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. This research is intended to inform our readers of the patterns of immigration, lived experience, and social and cultural adaptation. In the following sections, this paper will continue with review of pertinent literature, explanation of the method of study, presentation of the findings, and the conclusion.

II. Burgeoning Scholarship on Asian Migration Studies

Since the 1970s, the Asian-Pacific region has not only undergone a rapid change in social, economic and political development, but a dramatic growth in both international and internal migration (de Haas et al. 2020). In the second half of the twentieth century, the magnitude of new immigrants from Asia evolved as a significant part of the migration transition, reaching out to developed countries such as the U.S., Canada, and Australia, which

has repealed discriminatory rules against Asian entries.[5] Increased foreign investment and trade had helped to create the communicative networks needed for migration, while the openness of the U.S., Canada, and Australasia to family migration meant that primary movements, whatever their cause, gave rise to further entries of permanent settlers.

In the age of globalization, rapid economic growth in several Asian countries enabled the middle-class to move as highly-skilled workers, forming a different generation from the early migrants. Apart from changing immigration policies of the developed countries, there are vast differences in reasons of emigrants to leave their home countries. A major flow of HongKongers to the leading destinations was mainly to avoid political turmoil before the handover in 1997 (Skeldon 1994). It was followed by a subsequent return when perceived pressure from China was not so severe in the first twenty years (Salaff et al. 2010; Sussman 2011).

Asian Migration to Developed Countries

Research on New Asian Immigrants have not discussed differences among sub-ethnics such as Taiwanese, Mainland Chinese, and HongKongers in great depth, although they are treated as separate categories (Ip 2001). The author's research on recent and early Taiwanese immigrants to developed countries in the last two decades focused on various aspects of immigration experiences including employment (Chiang 2004; Chiang and Kuo 2000), and migrant's adaptation (Chiang 2008). Immigration experiences of middle class Taiwanese to highly-developed countries had varied with respect to destinations, generations, and timing of moves,

5 As summarized by Castles and Miller (2003, p. 158), discriminatory rules against Asian entries were repealed in Canada (1962 and 1976), the U.S. (1965), and Australia (1966 and 1973).

apart from the macro forces of migration policies at the receiving ends. As cultural assimilation has always been the concern of receiving countries to ensure social stability, studies of cultural adaptation of immigrants are critical to inform public policy makers in the receiving community.

Similar to those who left Hong Kong before the Handover, Taiwanese families relocated to seek political stability, life-style, and cosmopolitan education for their children (Chiang 2011). Pioneering work on Taiwanese immigrants at the end of the 20th century included Ip et al. (1998), Schak (1999), and Tseng (1999). They had inspired Chiang and Kuo (2000) to examine employment issues by analyzing census data, and Chiang (2004) to do a detailed analysis of ethnic business using her fieldwork data on self-employment, and residential decision making (Chiang and Hsu 2005). New topics such as Taiwanese professionals continue to evolve (Chang 2006; Moore 2016; Tseng 1995), but limited comparisons have been made among receiving communities.

Social economic changes in Asia had brought about a plethora of literature covering the diversity of migration patterns. Using ethnographic field research over a long time period, Constable (2015) investigated "failed migration" among Indonesian and Filipino migrant workers who became mothers in Hong Kong. Constable used an ethnographic and affective approach and global assemblage approach to improve understandings of the complex interplay of factors—at various levels—that shape normative and queer families and different types of children's absences (Constable 2018).

Fan et al. (2011) conducted pioneering work on couple migration and family migration as rural Chinese actively rearranged their household division of labor, in order to maximize earnings from urban work opportunities. Left behind children staying with migrants' parents depends on whether migrants' parents are available to help. These findings challenge the theory

of circulation, as migrants did not necessarily end up as permanent settlers in Beijing. “Failure migrants” in the context of rural-urban migrants was also studied by Wang and Fan (2006) who analyzed the selectivity of return migrants and their reasons for return. Their findings suggest that migrants’ institutional and social inferiority in the city undermines their likelihood to succeed in the destination and reinforces their desire to return when family needs arise. Furthermore, Fan and Chen (2020) used biographical stories of two rural women, 30 years apart, to show that traditional gender norms persisted across generations. However, the younger women’s priority which is also caregiving, illustrates a strong connection between income-generation ability and identity, compared with the older women who provided care to her husband, children, and later grandchildren when she was left behind, participated in migration, and returned to her village.

Mainland Chinese who work overseas has received increasing attention in Singapore and Malaysia respectively. Lu et al. (2016) studied the experiences of mainland Chinese marriage migrants in Singapore as an example to explore the notion of “transgovernmental friction” and how it reinforces state boundaries, reshapes body politics, and animates waiting as an active practice that transforms migrant subjectivities. Zhang et al. (2015) used the term “entrepreneurial” to depict mobility patterns of mainland Chinese women marriage migrants in Malaysia, to depart from the institutionally organized, commercially arranged, or kinship and social network-mediated migration patterns.

In a different context, Chiu et al. (2005) examine the initial labor market outcome and the subsequent mobility process of Chinese immigrants in post-Colonial Hong Kong using complete work history data and event history modeling. Mainland Chinese were found to be penalized in their initial class placement, subsequent mobility, and current income attainment.

Moreover, the disadvantage of immigrants was also embedded in the local economic structure. In a recent compendium to fill in research gaps in the changing landscape of migration in Asia, Choi and Fong (2018) provided critical evidence of Chinese immigrants to Hong Kong. As the population in Hong Kong ages rapidly with a leveled fertility rate in the 1980, "New Immigrants" become a source of population growth, entering Hong Kong in large numbers with single entry permits. Despite the improvement in the educational level of Mainland Chinese migrants since 1991, and their increased involvement in paid employment, migrants have continued to experience great difficulty integrating into Hong Kong society; and anti-immigrant sentiment seemed to have increased over the same period (Choi and Fong 2018). Their work has helped to comprehend the political turmoil and unsettling situation of Hong Kong that contributed to the challenges faced by Hong Kong SAR in the last two decades.

Ho's onerous undertaking of multi-sited ethnographic studies for more than half a decade offers a sophisticated analysis of the challenges and opportunities for belonging and states' management of cultural diversity in China, Canada, and Singapore (Ho 2020). She brings together various migration experiences and national contexts under the same analytical framework to create a rich portrait of the diversity of contemporary Chinese migration processes.

Research outcome from individuals have built burgeoning scholarship on Asian migration in the last two decades, when migration took place mainly from developing to developed regions/countries, unraveling a great diversity of migration patterns. Little is written on "cross border" migration between Chinese speaking states/countries. Statistics are not sufficient to demonstrate the extent of flow, while case studies are needed as supplementary information. As relatively little on Taiwanese migrants are known, especially

early migrants, the author takes up this study to fill in the gap in the Greater China area. Even though the volume of Taiwanese immigrants is far less than Mainland Chinese immigrants who moved to Hong Kong, the context and consequence need to inform policy makers of the origin and destination of migration when increasing contacts are taking place.

Theoretical Aspects of Socio-Economic Integration of Early Immigrants

Massey took the lead to produce the ideas, concepts and conclusions of the collective work of demographers and economists, to explicate and integrate the leading contemporary theories of international migration for the twenty-first century (Massey et al. 1993). It stated that there is no single, coherent theory of international migration, only a fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another, sometimes but not always segmented by disciplinary boundaries. The World Systems Theory posited that cross-border movements do not happen randomly among unrelated countries, but arise from particular "material links" (movement of goods, products, information, capital, and people); or "ideological links" between core capitalist countries and their hinterlands within the developing world.

The diversity of migration in the late 20th century had covered a lot of ground in the age of globalization, while rapid social economic changes was occurring in the home country, as policies of countries of immigration facilitated a high degree of mobility of the middle-class families. These studies posed a big challenge to the thesis generated by neo-classical theorists that immigration were economically driven, and have broadened the horizons of the migration transition. Studies on immigrant assimilation have covered residential patterns, socio-economic attainment, language and

cultural acquisitions, intermarriage, and political attitudes (Alba 2005; Alba and Nee 1997; Gordon 1964; Hirschman 1999; Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Pioneering work on the arguments frequently made to distinguish between the earlier mass immigration of Europeans and the immigration of the contemporary era such as Mexicans in the U.S., and Turks in Germany has been inconclusive.

Having studied early Taiwanese immigrants who had settled down in various countries. the author found that they who have planted their roots (*luodi shenggen*, 落地生根), and their reasons for immigration and lived experiences were different from those of New Asian Immigrants. Several attempts have been made by the author to study early migrants in various countries, such as those who remained in the host country due to political reasons (Chiang 2013), while students and opportunity seekers dominated during the cold war period in Canada and Guam (Chiang 2014).

As this paper focuses on the socio-cultural adaptation of the early Taiwanese immigrants in Hong Kong, we will refer to literature pertaining to theoretical aspects. Socio-cultural adaptation by definition is "a process regarding how immigrants overcome difficulties in the new context, adapt to the local lifestyle and develop a new identity" (Ngo 2018). To put it shortly, it is the ability to "fit in" the new environment. A research on Turkish immigrants in Canada (Ataca and Berry 2002) has found that these immigrants will face a plethora of barriers, such as language barrier, a lack of social support network, and discrimination by some.

The process of adaptation of the immigrants could be divided into three aspects: psychological, economic, and socio-cultural (Ngo 2018). Psychological adaptation involves psychological wellbeing and satisfaction. Employment, salary, and discrimination in the workplace are covered in

economic adaptation. Successful socio-cultural adaptation, as argued by Ngo (2018), will lead to a reduction in acculturation stress, a high level of job satisfaction, and so on. Poor socio-cultural adaptation, on the contrary, causes high levels of depressive symptoms among immigrants, in a study conducted by Yu et al. (2014) on Chinese immigrants to Hong Kong. They find that these Chinese immigrants are susceptible to psychological problems without emotional support from their family when they are in the face of stress.

Ward and Kennedy (1999) examines the construct of socio-cultural adaptation and describes the development and refinement of its measurement. The measurement and patterns of socio-cultural adaptation are examined across (1) 16 cross-sectional samples, (2) four longitudinal samples, and (3) one paired comparison between sojourning and sedentary samples. To measure the socio-cultural adaptation of immigrants in the host society, a variety of reliable indices, designed by sociologists and social psychologists, have been used. Social psychologists Searle and Ward (1990) in their studies on Singaporean and Malaysian students in New Zealand first used the Sociocultural Adaptation Scale (SCAS). A wide range of socio-cultural adaptation barriers and social situations are covered. Some items were adopted and modified from a "social situations questionnaire" on cultural shock designed by Furnham and Bochner (1982). Twenty-one social situations, such as "worshiping in your usual way," "understanding a joke," or "using transportation system," are contained in the questionnaire. Similarly, the questionnaire designed by Ngo (2018), consisting of seven items, also deal with the immigrants' capability of "fitting in" the society. Questions regarding adaptation to the local lifestyle and interaction with local people are included.

III. Methodology and the Socio-Economic Profile of Taiwanese Immigrants

It has to be noted that some of the aforementioned papers in the previous section use quantitative methods, whose strengths lie in their validity and reliability, and a large number of respondents are included in the survey. Quantitative analysis without doubt gives us a broad and general picture of the socio-cultural adaptation of immigrants. However, they fall short of unraveling the complexity of socio-cultural adaptation difficulties faced by the immigrants. Take for instance, the third question in Ngo's questionnaire asks the respondents their opinion on the statement "I view Hong Kong as my home town" on a 4-point scale. Statistics, fail to unveil what image of "home" the interviewees have in mind, let alone their concept of "home" may differ.

In contrast, a qualitative approach would be useful for the researcher to go beyond the immigrants' experiences, and the strategies the immigrants employ to "fit in" the host society. By giving voice to immigrants, researchers are therefore able to obtain a nuanced understanding of socio-cultural adaptations in their migration experiences, without bypassing vigorous analysis. Chiang (2008), for example, adopts a qualitative method to investigate the socio-cultural adaptation of the Taiwanese female middle class immigrants in Canada, and early Hong Kong migrants to Taiwan (Chiang 2018), in an attempt to gain in-depth understanding of their migration process based on the accounts they give on their "lived experiences." In their research on the adaptation of the Mainland Chinese students in Hong Kong, Yu and Zhang (2016) collected their qualitative

data through the focus group method, which provides a warm and friendly environment for the immigrant participants to be fully engaged, and to share their inner feelings.

This research project employs mixed methods (Creswell 2014) that includes engagement with existing literature, statistics, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions, and "the intended outcome is a triangulation of methods, with intensive qualitative research providing understanding while framed by the extensive bounds of quantitative sources that offer a wider validity to findings" (Ley 2010, p. 30). As estimates of Taiwanese immigrant cannot be derived from statistics, nor key informants in Hong Kong, there is no sampling frame from which cases can be selected. Like most of the author's previous research on Taiwanese immigrants abroad, the author used snowballing to look up interviewees who were recommended by Taiwan officials and key informants who are usually leaders of Taiwanese organizations. As most of the respondents belonged to two or more Taiwanese organizations, this chain referral method was used effectively through interviewees' networks.[6] Those who consented to be interviewed were welcoming, cooperative, patient, and willing to give their time. It demonstrated the culture of human warmth (*renqingwei*, 人情味) among Taiwanese, even in the busy global city of Hong Kong.

Self-administered questionnaires received by e-mails prior to face-to-face interviews and follow-up phone calls were made to clarify information. Each interview lasted from 1.5 to 3.0 hours, enabling respondents to use their own words to tell her a great deal about their experiences and attitudes.

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6 The major ones are the Taiwan Business Association (Hong Kong), Ltd. (香港臺灣工商協會), Hong Kong and Macau Taiwanese Association Ltd. (港澳臺灣同鄉會), International Association of Chinese Traders (國際華商協進會), Hong Kong Taiwan Ladies' Association (香港臺灣婦女協會), Hong Kong Taiwan Chamber of Commerce (香港臺灣商會), and Hong Kong Taiwanese Hakka Association (香港臺灣客屬同鄉會).

The proximity between Hong Kong and Taiwan enables the author to make successive visits to Hong Kong, and paid second or third visits to some of the interviewees.[7] Altogether, six short trips of up to two weeks each between 2013 and 2018 were undertaken to Hong Kong by the author.

The approach taken by the author reflects the importance of recognizing positionality and challenging hierarchal research relationships between academic "expert" and interviewees (Valentine 2003). The author argues that, by sharing the same background as a Taiwanese means that she is positioned as an "insider," and as such has a closer connection with the participants than a researcher who is an "outsider." Minimizing the social distance from participants while treating their information in strict confidence is essential to get their trust in obtaining data.[8]

In addition, the author seized the opportunity to carry out participant observation in social gatherings and public events. Several focus group interviews in participants' homes, bible study groups, religious institutes, and cafeterias were held. These settings have enabled the participants to express themselves freely and speak up spontaneously about their lived experiences. However, the author acknowledges the limitations of using snowball sampling procedure and the uneven turnout of women and men among the cases. There is a higher non-response rate among Taiwanese men than Taiwanese women. Men are understudied in this project not on purpose, but simply, they are not as numerous and easy to be approached as women, despite introductions. While this sample bias exist, it cannot represent the entire Taiwanese immigrants who are settled permanently

7 In addition, several interviews of Taiwanese immigrants were conducted in Taiwan.

8 Nevertheless, the author was turned down by two university teachers for interviews, as they were concerned about being identified in her publications, and feared that "private information may be released."

in Hong Kong. While keeping in mind the importance of diversity and generational differences, quality control was exercised in the process of gathering data. It is hoped that a nuanced understanding of immigrants and their circumstances, while presenting the complexities of their experiences can be attained. The author has consistently employed the same research method in recent research of Taiwanese immigrants in various countries (Chiang 2014; Chiang et al. 2016), while always observing "rigour" in interview analysis (Baxter and Eyles 1997).

IV. Research Findings on Adaptation to Hong Kong Culture

Our sample consists of 48 cases that include seven males and 41 females who are early Taiwanese living in Hong Kong. Table 1 summarizes the Socio-economic Profile of Research participants to include gender, age, year of migration, fluency of Cantonese, migration categories, education, occupation, and migration categories. In the research findings, participants are numbered #1 to #48 in the questionnaires used for interviews. Pseudonyms are used instead of real names.

Participants were aged between 40 and 75 at the time of interview, and have immigrated to Hong Kong from Taiwan (including migration from a third country) between 1965 and 2002, spanning close to four decades. Close to three-quarters (35 out of 48) immigrated to Hong Kong in the last 22 years (1980 and 2002), while the rest (27%, or 13) came to Hong Kong much earlier (1965-1979). Those who entered Hong Kong in the last two decades are not included in this research.

Five women obtained high school education, 16 (15 women and one man) attended vocational schools in Taiwan, and 27 received university and

Table 1. A summary of social and economic characteristics of research participants

Variables	Male	Female	Total
Gender	7	41	48
Age (years)			
30-39	0	0	0
40-49	0	7	7
50-59	2	15	17
60-69	3	17	20
70-79	2	2	4
Year of migration			
1960-1969	1	1	2
1970-1979	2	9	11
1980-1989	3	5	8
1990-1999	1	24	25
2000-2009	0	2	2
Fluency in Cantonese			
Very well	0	7	7
Well	5	23	28
Not so well	2	11	13
Migration categories			
Marriage	0	24	24
Employment	7	15	22
Others	0	2	2
Highest education			
Secondary	0	5	5
Vocational	1	15	16
Bachelor's degree	2	16	18
Master's degree	2	4	6
Ph.D.	2	1	3
Occupation upon arrival in Hong Kong			
Entrepreneur	2	4	6
Medicine	0	1	1
Education	1	8	9

Table 1. A summary of social and economic characteristics of research participants (continued)

Variables	Male	Female	Total
Homemaker	0	11	11
Insurance	1	4	5
Government	0	1	1
Secretary	0	2	2
Business	1	1	2
Law	1	0	1
Management	1	2	3
Banking	0	1	1
Real estate	0	1	1
Clerk	0	1	1
Cultural events	0	1	1
Accounting	0	1	1
Sales	0	1	1
Others	0	2	2

higher education (21 women and six men). Apart from receiving education in Taiwan, 15 received their education or have pursued further studies in the U.S., Canada, U.K., Japan, Mainland China, and Hong Kong SAR. Their high levels of education have enabled them to obtain employment in Hong Kong without difficulties. The 15 women who obtained vocational school education in Taiwan had no problems finding work in Hong Kong. Vocational schools which were later upgraded to universities, provided professional training that enabled their graduates to be employed readily in Taiwan.

As shown in Table 1, the diversity of occupations of women is larger[9]

9 Manager, health specialist, educator, insurance agent, government worker, special education advisor, language teacher, company secretary, university administrator, kindergarten

than that of men.[10] Among the women, a large majority was employed in Hong Kong at one time. They are not like the female Taiwanese immigrants in Canada, Australia, or New Zealand who became deskilled upon entering a new country where their qualifications are not recognized, nor due to circumstances that prevent them from continuing in the work force (Chiang 2011; Salaff et al. 2010). This inevitably has helped them with socio-economic incorporation in the Hong Kong society. Eleven women were homemakers, even though they were employed in Taiwan before coming to Hong Kong. They performed traditional wifely duties of "to assist one's husband and educate the children, the traditional roles of a good wife" (相夫教子) in their own words.

Three categories are used to differentiate Taiwanese in Hong Kong, based on their reasons of immigration. The largest category are women (24) who were married to Hong Kong men and most entered Hong Kong as dependents (受養人). A large majority of these women met their Hong Kong husbands who were studying, working or traveling in Taiwan, and elsewhere. The second largest category (22) include those who entered Hong Kong with working visas (seven men and 15 women). The third category include two men who went to China to do business, while keeping their office or families in Hong Kong. They are the hardest to look up for interviews due to their mobility beyond Taiwan and Hong Kong.

In this section, the process of adaptation of the immigrants may include three aspects—economic, socio-cultural, and psychological. Instead of exhausting the wide aspects of adaptation. The author tries to solicit

administrator, banking officer, accountant, real estate agent, equity research analyst, sales and marketing manager, wedding gown and photography, beautician, etc.

10 Entrepreneur, insurance, university teacher, business, sales, traditional medicine, education marketing, and management.

narrative responses which suggest cultural differences between Hong Kong and Taiwan that include dialects, human relations, lifestyle, attitudes of local people, and customs, finishing with home and sense of belonging. They suggest that even with similarities in race and culture, there are challenges in adaptation which is an on-going process over time.

Learning to Speak Cantonese

Language difference has led to difficulties in adaptation among the Taiwanese immigrants in Hong Kong. This was found to be true of early professional HongKongers adapting to Taiwan culture, although the context was different (Chiang 2018). Being helped by schoolmates or colleagues at the place of work, HongKongers adapted in no time. Before they came, none of them spoke Mandarin, and might have picked up Mandarin from Chinese films and songs in Hong Kong. As most early Taiwanese immigrants in Hong Kong started as female spouse and employees, they tried extra hard to learn Cantonese as a completely new dialect, which was spoken by over 90% of the Hong Kong population, in order to get around Hong Kong. Cantonese is the dominant living language for schools, local businesses, urban service, and popular culture; or else English would be used.

Historically, Hong Kong residents who were relocated from various parts of China spoke different dialects. However, Cantonese became the "lingua franca" for different sub-ethnics, with Shanghainese, Fukienese, Kejia, and Teochow dialects prevailing in different sub-ethnic enclaves in Hong Kong (Lin 2002). Under British colonial rule, there was freedom to use different dialects in the radio, places of worship, and schools.

Most of the participants in this research spoke Cantonese within a year, but not without difficulties, as demonstrated by the following examples:

> Not being able to speak Cantonese was my first difficulty of living in Hong Kong. I tried hard to learn by listening to tapes, watching TV, and memorizing words; but I could not help making mistakes and being laughed at. (#2 Walter)
>
> For several years, I commuted weekly to North Point for 1.5 hours each way by public transport to learn Cantonese. (#48 Carol)
>
> I started picking up Cantonese in the kindergarten that my children attended. (#42 Ellen)
>
> My wife and I learnt Cantonese by watching TV, listening to tapes, and picking up terms at the wet market. I also learned from my colleagues at the university which uses Cantonese or English for teaching. (#20 James)
>
> I joined a bible study group that was conducted in Cantonese. (#9 Josie)

Mary (#5) who learned Cantonese from her husband's family and watched outdated Cantonese movies (粵語殘片) found that speaking Cantonese was not the hardest part of adaptation, She notices that some words in her native tongue (Minnan) resembles Cantonese. Her first job as a cashier in Hong Kong has helped her to pick up Cantonese quickly.

Some Taiwanese immigrants felt discriminated against for not speaking Cantonese well enough:

> (It seems that) Cantonese do not like outsiders. Once I tried to buy a newspaper using Mandarin, but did not succeed. I think that Taiwanese women do better than men in learning to speak Cantonese. As lots of people in Hong Kong could not speak Mandarin, they spoke English instead. (#33 Shawn)
>
> My first culture shock was not being able to speak Cantonese while

> buying food, and often came across rude hawkers in the wet market. I could not even buy fish, and I cried every day. (#26 Eva)
>
> As I could not speak Cantonese properly in the wet market, I paid more than the local people when I bought chicken. One time, the "tofu" vendor said to me: "if you want to buy, just do it; otherwise, get out of my way." (#47 Eliza)
>
> At the international school that my children attended, the mothers (from different countries) did not speak Cantonese. As we lived in the mid-level on Hong Kong side, I never shopped in the wet market, and had no chance to learn. The first time I heard people speak Minnan was in North Point, where Fujianese are concentrated. (#25 Hillary)

The above stories tell us that speaking Cantonese was an imperative not only in daily communication, but also affirming one's position in society as a member of the rightful linguistic group, as recalled by several respondents:

> In the first five years, we didn't dare say we were from Taiwan. We usually told the locals that we were from Fujian. (#3 Sara)
>
> I was regarded as a "Shanghainese" when I first came. (#43 Jade, #7 Janet)
>
> In the 1970s, HongKongers looked down on Mainland Chinese whom they regarded as "poor relatives" (窮親戚) from the countryside. Since I spoke Mandarin, they thought that I was from Mainland China. When I switched to Japanese, they changed their attitude. (#12 Shirley)

On the other hand, the difficulty of learning Mandarin by HongKongers was of a different nature in Taiwan. They found that some Taiwanese who

came from Mainland China (between 1945 and 1949) spoke mandarin with different local tongues. Compared to Taiwanese immigrants in Hong Kong who picked up Cantonese within one year, it was more difficult for early Hong Kong immigrants in Taiwan to speak Minnan, the dominant dialect in Taiwan (Chiang and Huang 2018).

Immigrants most likely faced language challenges when they first got started in a different country. Ataca and Berry (2002) who studied Turkish immigrants in Toronto employed "language proficiency" as an acculturation variable to illustrate the extent of socio-cultural adaptation of immigrants. Taiwanese and Hong Kong immigrants in Canada had difficulties in finding work in the late 1980s without sufficient English language proficiency (Chiang 2009).

In our survey, those who managed to speak Cantonese "very well" and "well" in Hong Kong form a large majority (35 out of 48, 73%) especially among Taiwanese women married to Hong Kong men. Those who used Cantonese at work (#2 Walter, #3 Sara, and #7 Janet, and #11 Shirlena), also did well. As Putonghua is increasingly spoken these days by local service providers and business people, it may be harder for recent Taiwanese immigrants to pick up the Cantonese dialect. Nowadays, not speaking Cantonese in Hong Kong may not constitute a problem, nor would experience discrimination like in the old days.

Lack of *Renqingwei* in Hong Kong Culture

After "learning to speak Cantonese," the lack of human warmth in Hong Kong culture tops the list of all other challenges for the Taiwanese immigrants. This issue has been brought up by a large number of participants. As observed by Walter (#2) who had lived in Hong Kong since 1989:

> It is difficult to make friends among colleagues in Hong Kong, and not be isolated, because Hong Kong and Taiwan customs are not quite the same. Taiwanese are warmer in human relationships, and are not as status conscious as HongKongers. The locals go AA system when they dine out, and I always get ready with small changes to split the bill. If you want to live in a different place, it is necessary to familiarize yourself with the local dialect and customs. (#2 Walter)
>
> My Hong Kong husband thinks that Taiwanese are naïve, inquisitive and often go out of the way to help others. (#10 Karen).
>
> HongKongers do not chit-chat (搭訕) with strangers nor shopkeepers like we do in Taiwan. When I first came to Hong Kong, my husband reminded me not to speak to strangers: "If you appear friendly to them, they think that you may have an ulterior motive." (#48 Carol)

To Taiwanese immigrants, *renqingwei*/human kindness is missing in Hong Kong:

> It is not as easy to make friends in Hong Kong as in Taiwan because HongKongers in general are too busy to express hospitality and cultivate friendship. Even though we have learned to speak Cantonese over the years, most of our friends are from Taiwan. HongKongers are generally lacking in human warmth and do not want to waste their time speaking to strangers. HongKongers are not the types to open their hearts and make friends with you. (#5 Mary)

On the other hand, *renqingwei* is regarded as a marked Taiwanese cultural trait, as felt by many early HongKongers in Taiwan (Chiang 2018).

Hong Kong respondents frequently described Taiwanese as enthusiastic and polite (熱情有禮), kind (善良), helpful (樂於助人), and simple (純樸). Even for young Taiwanese who worked in Hong Kong, they found *renqingwei* missing in the workplace (Chiang and Huang 2014). Due to crowding, small and expensive living space,[11] high cost of living, and focus on efficiency in mundane matters, an environment with more subdued human feelings is formed.

Cuisine, Customs, and Lifestyle Differences

As the Hong Kong cuisine is distinctly different from that of Taiwan, it is a challenge for women married to HongKongers to pick up new cooking styles, especially making Cantonese soups (煲湯) for the family. Women who married Hong Kong men learned to make soups as an emblem of successful integration, but not without trials and tribulations:

> My mother-in-law thought that the soup I made taste like broth. (#8 Alice)
>
> As my son has moved to our second apartment which is closer to his place of work in Central, I bring soup to him every week, like Hong Kong mums do. (#11 Shirlena)

Early Taiwanese immigrants in Hong Kong were not used to the small space at home, omnipresence of crowded streets, fast pace of life, and tense relationships among people:

11 To rent a 100 sq. ft. apartment, which is smaller than a parking space, one pays over HKD $6,500 (around NTD $26,000) per month.

> In Taiwan, my family lived in an apartment building with three floors; but here in Hong Kong, we could only afford to live in a flat of 1,200 sq. ft. (33 *ping*) in North Point. (#4 Gail)
>
> When I first landed in Hong Kong, I felt pressure from seeing so many buildings/people. I still remember the clothesline outside of windows. (#8 Alice)
>
> HongKongers are impatient, walk fast, rude, and rarely give up their seats to the elderly. (#29 Lillian)

The above remarks tell a great deal about differences in lifestyle between Hong Kong and Taiwan. Pace of life remains one of the most difficult part of immigrant's socio-cultural adaptation. This is commonly felt by immigrants who moved to live or work in developed countries, as studied by Ward and Kennedy (1999). Other differences in lifestyle were brought up by Andrea (#45) who has immigrated for over 20 years:

> HongKongers lead very materialistic and extravagant life, such as wearing name brand clothes, and living in luxurious apartments. The income gap between rich and poor is large. Almost every family has a live-in maid. (#45 Andrea)

Condescending Attitudes of HongKongers

Having lived in Hong Kong for more than three decades, Ivan (#14) noted that HongKongers in the old days looked down upon people coming from outside. This is an irony as 90% of Hong Kong people are also outsiders themselves, largely from cities in the Pearl River Delta of China. Our participants recall the discriminatory practices of HongKongers:

> HongKongers display a superiority complex in their behaviors. They are concerned with practicality (現實), and are not as friendly as Taiwanese. (#37 Daphne)
>
> As British subjects, HongKongers in general are haughty and cold in their manners. You could only get their attention and respect if you speak English. Their values are mono-cultural—only money talks. (#12 Shirley)
>
> I think HongKongers in general looked down on Taiwanese. They called us "Taiwan Mei" (臺灣妹). Some HongKongers think that Taiwanese women marry HongKongers in order to leave Taiwan. (#13 Lynne)

Mary (#5) who moved to Hong Kong in 1976 explained how HongKonger's attitudes towards Taiwanese changed over the years:

> HongKongers had a condescending attitude toward Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese in the early days; but as Taiwan became the head of the Four Asian Dragons, HongKongers' attitudes started to change. When Taiwanese went abroad as tourists in 1989, and sought after name brand goods, Hong Kong salespersons were keen in serving Mandarin speakers. (#5 Mary)

Gender Roles

Our focus group formed by women noticed that the atmosphere of Chinese New Year in Hong Kong are quite different from Taiwan's, whereby traditional customs have been observed with more flexibility in the former British Colony. An example is the demand of the daughter-in-law

to stay with her husband's family on New Year Eve, and continue into the next day (年初二) to wait on her sisters-in-law who visit their natal homes (回娘家). Daughters are not allowed to visit their parents on the first day of Chinese New Year, to risk bringing bad luck to her natal family.

The customs of celebrating wedding and childbirth are quite different in Hong Kong:

> A wedding feast in Hong Kong starts with playing *majong* at 5:30 p.m., followed by late dinner at 9:00 p.m. and finishes at 11:00 p.m. We don't celebrate the 100th day of our new-born like in Hong Kong. (#2 Walter)

Two generations of a family living under the same roof in Hong Kong is rare, not only due to small space, but also to avoid conflict, as the saying goes, "Living together is not as easy as getting along" (相處容易同住難). Nowadays, some Taiwanese adult children still live with their parents as an expression of filial piety. In some families, daughters-in-law are expected to cook, undertake household chores, and wait on their parents-in-law.

Without such gender role expectations, Fanny (#39) who was married to a HongKonger felt treated with respect and trust by her parents-in-law:

> We live in the same building as my parents-in-law, but have no conflicts of any kind. They are both over ninety years old and are always together. My father-in-law drives to the Jockey Club to do exercise, both of my sisters-in-law have their own careers, and their husbands inherit their family business. We don't need to help with household chores as they are done by domestic helpers. (#39 Fanny)

Belinda (#44) told the author that she feels free and at ease in living with her father-in-law:

> He often asks me not to clean the floor, which I did as a habit from Taiwan. My mother-in-law is not around, as she lives in Canada with her children. My father-in-law keeps his office close by, and comes home for dinner only three times a week. I would like to do the same when my son marries. (#44 Belinda)

Despite being lonesome at times, and not having many friends from Taiwan, women who were married to Hong Kong men were "happy strangers" (快樂的異鄉人) overall (Chiang and Huang 2018). They even find their husbands supportive of the idea of returning to live in Taiwan. As asserted by Jade (#43):

> Women's rights come first (女權至上) is the "motto" in my family, and we all speak Mandarin at home. I can return to live in Taiwan anytime, with my husband coming along." (#43 Jade)

At the other extreme, Edith (#30) who married a much older Hong Kong Fujianese had a difficult life:

> My husband's relatives kept coming from Mainland China and stayed with us. At one time, there were 16 people living under the same roof, and I had to sleep on the floor. Moreover, I was the major carer of my mother-in-law who lived until 103. (#30 Edith)

This section concludes that most of the Taiwanese women married to Hong Kong men have a better edge than Hong Kong women married to Taiwanese men. This argument is supported by the biographical narratives of the participants in the author's earlier study (Chiang 2018):

> My husband grew up in a conservative rural community in southern Taiwan, where women were expected to devote themselves fully to the family…. Although I was teaching in a national university, my mother-in-law asked me several times to resign, and constantly reminded me of my duties as a wife and mother. (p. 15)
>
> Men and women are not treated as equals in Taiwan despite modernization, because traditional Chinese social values still prevail. (p. 16)
>
> Subjugation of women to men (男尊女卑) is commonly practiced in Taiwan, as in the past. Customs inherited from the Japanese culture is suffocating. (p. 16)

Taiwanese women who have joined Taiwanese organizations of various kinds in Hong Kong are free to meet friends of their own kind, share information, and help one another out. Social media Apps like Facebook and Line serve to make their life more comfortable, and to enable them to acquire tacit knowledge of Hong Kong. For women, the extent of staying true to themselves is higher (活出自己) in Hong Kong than in Taiwan. On the contrary, despite being well-educated and employed, the Hong Kong women married to Taiwan men cannot get away from (擺脫) patriarchal expectations. It can be said that Taiwanese women who immigrated to Hong Kong are liberated from traditional Taiwanese gender roles, as individual freedom and self-development are more valued in Hong Kong.

Home, Identity, and Sense of Belonging

When participants are asked: "How well do you speak Cantonese?" a large proportion (35 out of 48) answered "very well" and "well." They are mostly Taiwanese women who are married to Hong Kong men, and those doing business with HongKongers. This supports Gordan's model of cultural and structural assimilation in America, as this particular sub-group is socially astute, equipped with business dexterity, and able to participate in community activities that enable them to connect, to collaborate, and to forge friendships with HongKongers.[12] Without language barriers, they should feel more at ease living in Hong Kong than in a foreign country.

The identity issue has always been a complex one in immigration studies. From the narratives, one learns that identity is associated with home, as expressed by Gail (#4) and several others who have planted their roots:

> I feel that I am Taiwanese and HongKonger at the same time. Taiwan is my place of birth, while Hong Kong is my home, because my family members are here. (#4 Gail)

In her effort to become a HongKonger after 33 years, Belinda (#44) expresses her disappointment of being identified neither as a local by her Hong Kong, nor Taiwan friends:

12 Tzu-Chi Bhuddist Asssociation and Bhuddist Light Association both have long histories in Hong Kong and have embraced sub-ethnic Chinese in their religious activities, and philanthropic work. The Hong Kong Taiwan Ladies' Association had engaged local community groups in distributing surgical masks and coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) prevention kits.

> I have never been regarded as a HongKonger here, as some speaks to me like: "You Taiwanese …" When I go back to Taiwan, they speak to me like: "You HongKongers …, despite bringing back home goodies every time." I simply call myself a "Taiwanese living in China." (#44 Belinda)

Similarly, some of the early HongKongers studied by Chiang (2018) who regarded Taiwan as their home after decades of settlement, felt "excluded." They are similar to Taiwanese immigrants who are dismayed by being treated as aliens. Overtime, networking abilities and increasing adaptability of Taiwanese would help them with forging friendships with more locals in their new homeland.

V. Conclusions

> Migration is not just—or even mainly—a reaction to difficult conditions at home: it is primarily driven by the search for better opportunities and preferred lifestyles elsewhere. Some migrants experience abuse or exploitation, but most benefit and are able to improve their long-term life perspectives through migrating. Conditions are sometimes tough for migrants but are often preferable to limited opportunities at home—otherwise migration would not continue. (de Haas et al. 2020, p. 4)

Taiwanese and HongKongers have ancestry from different parts of China and are culturally similar, despite having differences in history, politics, social experiences, and development for more than a century. Those

who emigrated at different times have transferred their roots to countries overseas, and formed distinct diasporas that may reshape the culture of the destination. In the author's simultaneous studies of HongKongers in Taiwan and Taiwanese in Hong Kong, she learns that vast differences are found between them. This qualitative study concludes that multi-faceted cultural differences (臺港文化大不同) are a major issue in adaptation, and cultural compromise (入鄉隨俗) is greatly needed. Taiwan enjoys more democracy than Hong Kong, while Hong Kong enjoys a higher degree of cosmopolitanism as a global city that leads in free trade, banking and commerce, and attract expatriates and sub-ethnic Chinese from the world over.

Cultural adaptation is always expected of immigrants. The question remains as to how social and cultural adaptation of Taiwanese differs from place to place, such as Hong Kong, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. This study does not focus on demographics nor economics, and has not subscribed to any theory that would explain differences in the culture of places and how they pose challenges. Rather, it has taken a step to solve the puzzle of how Chinese culture is manifested differently between places where the majority of residents are Chinese.

It was originally assumed that similarity in culture between origin and destination have helped immigrants to adapt in each other's territory. In the case of Hong Kong and Taiwan, Chinese language and race constitute the major denominators (同文同種), on top of proximity of the two regions, enabling easy adaptation. However, it turns out that people from Hong Kong and Taiwan speak completely different dialects, belong to different Chinese sub-ethnic groups in their ancestry, and have experienced different colonial histories as well as post-colonial political and economic developments. The extent of global development, which has led to higher cost of living in

Hong Kong, congestion, a fast pace of life, and distant human relationships, has posed major cultural shocks for Taiwanese. The author concludes that despite cultural commonalities, people in Hong Kong and Taiwan tolerate minor differences (大同小異) of each other.

This study attempts to accomplish a fruitful and nuanced understanding of early Taiwanese immigrants in Hong Kong through field studies. The Taiwanese author's sufficient tacit knowledge of Hong Kong, enables her to identify key issues of social and cultural adaptation. Due to her bi-lingual ability, she has the advantage in discerning differences between the Hong Kong and Taiwan cultures with an empathetic understanding. Even though the sample is not "statistically" representative of Taiwanese immigrants in Hong Kong, it covers a diversity of occupations taken by Taiwanese immigrants who are permanent residents in Hong Kong. This study supports the notion of "structural" assimilation contained in Gordon's work (1964), using the example of intermarriage which has helped to reduce prejudice and discrimination. On the other hand, "segmented" assimilation, proposed by Portes and Zhou (1993), does not explain employment of Taiwanese in Hong Kong, as they do not end up in the lower rungs of the stratification order. It is found that immigrants are highly educated starting from vocational schooling to university education in Taiwan, and further education abroad. Both men and women constitute highly skilled human resources in Hong Kong, enabling them to obtain employment without difficulties. With few exceptions, women are economically active, and are represented in a larger diversity of employment than men.

The socio-cultural adaptation issues they encountered in Hong Kong include learning to speak Cantonese well, as demonstrated by 35 out of 48 participants. Lack of *renqingwei* constitutes a major contrast to their lived experience in Taiwan. Crowding, small and expensive living space,

high cost of living, and focus on efficiency in mundane matters, all make socializing with immigrants a luxury for local HongKongers. Legacies of British and Japanese culture may have produced differences in culture between the two regions. For Taiwanese women married to "Westernized" Hong Kong men, traditional gender role expectations in the family are not as stringent as in Taiwan, and women are free to work as men do.

Despite challenges in adaptation, most of the participants expressed a strong sense of belonging to their new homeland. Nevertheless, many expressed a wish to return to live in Taiwan, as they still have friends and family members living back home. While a majority consider both Hong Kong and Taiwan homes, those with children who grew up in Hong Kong tend to regard Hong Kong as their first home. Similar to HongKongers in Taiwan, "home" and "sense of belonging" were part and parcel of the early immigrant's experiences of becoming a HongKonger.

This study attempts to raise the visibility of Taiwanese immigrants among Asian migrants in developed regions. In the absence of supporting statistics, this research is carried out with qualitative methods in the main, while fitting them to the economic and social context of mobility, to deliver the complexities of the outcome at the micro level. It is not a usual practice in migration research, to study "counterparts" of migration, in which the participants and those in the receiving communities are similar racially and culturally. Differences in culture are not easy to discern, unless the researcher is culturally sensitive to both, and able to exercise transcultural positionality. Bilingual ability and rapport were essential in carrying out this fieldwork smoothly for an extended period. It is hoped that this pilot study will enable scholars with better resources to study Taiwanese immigrants in Hong Kong, by getting a larger sample and including more men in the future.

Based on information gathered from a sample of 48 interviewees, the author found that immigrants have become a part of the middle-class population in the receiving community. As they are equipped with good education and working experiences prior to moving to Hong Kong, they have contributed to the highly skilled labor force in Hong Kong. Acquiring a new dialect, Cantonese, is critical in preparing them to adapt to a different culture, join the local labor force in a wide range of occupations, and engage in community services. Some have earned credentials for career advancement and networking, by pursuing further studies in Hong Kong or Mainland China. Compared to Mainland Chinese who came to Hong Kong in the last two decades (Choi and Fong 2018), Taiwanese immigrants have integrated very well, by participating in lucrative jobs in a global city without great difficulties.

Acknowledgements

The author is deeply grateful to the Taiwanese participants who enabled her to conduct her fieldwork smoothly at different times with face-to-face interviews and focus groups. Special thanks are due to the Lam's Institute of East-West Studies at Hong Kong Baptist University for their logistical support and arrangements of numerous visits between 2013-2018. Appreciation goes to Shawn Sun for his assistance in searching published sources of data and literature. The anonymous reviewer's comments are critical for improving the analysis and substantiating the arguments in the paper.

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Appendix 1. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per Capita for Hong Kong and Taiwan, USD$

Year	Hong Kong	Taiwan
1951	280	154
1960	429	163
1970	960	397
1980	5,700	2,389
1990	13,486	8,216
2000	25,757	14,941
2010	32,550	19,278
2014	40,247	22,668
2015	42,351	22,400
2016	43,681	22,561
2017	46,225	24,390
2018	48,675	25,008

Source: Chiang (2018).

人口學刊
第 60 期，2020 年 6 月，頁 95-143
Journal of Population Studies
No. 60, June 2020, pp. 95-143

Research Article

早期香港臺灣移民的社會文化適應

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摘要

既有遷移研究中對於移民至已開發國家的中產階級移民有著大量的討論，而來自新興工業化國家的早期移民卻相對地缺乏關注。在缺乏官方統計資料的前提下，本研究採取質性方法蒐集第一手資料，作者深度訪談了1965-2002年間移居香港的48位臺灣人，目的是瞭解其移民原因、生活經歷（文化與社會層面、所遇到的挑戰），以及認同與歸屬感。訪談對象包括三大類移民：與香港男性結婚的臺灣女性、持工作簽證進入香港的臺灣技術工作者，以及住在香港但於中國內地經商的臺灣人。本研究發現，早期香港臺灣人在適應上的主要困難，包括：語言障礙、缺乏人情味的互動、文化習俗上的差異。儘管如此，隨著時間的流逝，這些早期臺灣移民大多已經在香港安定下來，發展了成功的事業，視香港為自己的家園，並對香港的經濟、社會和文化做出了一定貢獻。

關鍵詞：早期香港臺灣人、香港、經濟融入、社會文化適應、性別角色

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收稿日期：2020.05.15；接受刊登：2020.11.19