Thesis MA History

The *Man* lineage in the Netherlands and Europe (1950 – 2010): A migration narrative

Wan Loi MAN

August 2011

Leiden University

Student no. S0876798

Summary

It is exactly 100 years ago that hundreds of Chinese migrants set foot in the Netherlands. They were seamen employed by Dutch shipping companies and came originally from Guangdong province in China. The Chinese community has now grown into a highly diverse community of 100,000 people. It is highly diverse in terms of their place of birth, socio-economic status and immigration history. Among the Chinese immigrants originating from the New Territories in Hong Kong who re-migrated from Britain to the Netherlands in the 1950s, there was a significant lineage, i.e. the *Man* lineage. Currently, this lineage in the Netherlands is made up of approximately 2000 – 2500 members and in Britain over 4000 members who share the same surname *'Man'*.

This thesis has sought to find out what were the causes of migration that contributed to the exodus of the *Man* lineage to Europe from two particular villages – namely San Tin and Chau Tau – in the New Territories in Hong Kong. The thesis has conducted a comprehensive analysis that consists of a three-level examination, namely that of the macro, meso and micro levels. As a matter of fact, the rationale behind such decisions demonstrates the interaction between structure and agency, culminating in chain migration. In other words, factors such as colonialism, the economic situation, national immigration policies and established social networks all played a role in the decision-making process, making transnational migration possible. It has also demonstrated that family structure has a strong correlation with the pattern of migration. This thesis has also identified certain major changes in relation to the *Man* lineage in Europe as a result of migration. First of all, there has been an upward social mobility. Second, there has been a conversion in consciousness, notably, from a diasporic consciousness to a transcultural consciousness. Finally, there has been a change in social relationship among the second and the third generation *Man* lineage members since, according to the survey, they do not have close ties with their their agnates established in Europe and in the New Territories or the villages of their ancestors.

Table of Content

Introduction 7

Chapter 1 **Migratory Chinese and the Chinese social organization**

Introduction 17
Migration and China 17
Overseas migration from South China 20
The historical development of lineage and its organization in China 24
Conclusion 30

Chapter 2 **The migration of Chinese to the Netherlands**

Introduction 32
The migration history of Chinese and their community 33
Integration issues and why the restaurant trade? 37
The migration trajectory of the lineage Man from the New Territories 40
Reinforcing the lineage identity 46
Conclusion 49

Chapter 3 **The rationale behind the exodus**

Introduction 53
An examination at the macro level 54
An examination at the meso level 58
An examination at the micro level 65
Conclusion 69

Chapter 4 **change through migration**

Introduction 72
Two types of rooting – return versus home-building 73
Integration of the second and third generation 78
A new identity and a diasporic lineage? 84
A fragmented lineage? 89
Conclusion 93

Conclusion 96

Appendix

Tables

Table 1	Chinese migrants from Guangdong and Fujian provinces of Southern China, 1846 – 1940	107
Table 2	Chinese in the Netherlands (not including Peranakan Chinese)	108
Table 3	Number of Chinese restaurants in the Netherlands, 1920 –1996	109
Table 4	Chinese in the Netherlands and their languages	110
Table 5	The percentage of Chinese Indonesian restaurants of the total number (of cafés)	111
Table 6	Numbers of lineage members from San Tin interviewed distributed into years in which they migrated to Europe (1950 – 1975)	112
Table 7	Num ber of Passports Issued for *Mans* from San Tin (1946 – 1970)	113
Table 8	The educational level of the 2nd and 3rd generation lineage members of *Man* in the Netherlands in 2010	114
Table 9	The educational level of Man S. K.'s children and grandchildren, showing The education-driven social mobility of this family	115
Table 10	The educational level of Man T. W.'s children and grandchildren, Showing the education-driven social mobility of this family in the Netherlands	116
Table 11	Second and third generation lineage members of *Man* and the ethnic background of their partners	117
Table 12	Fields showing the extent to which the 2nd and 3rd generation linage members of *Man* are integrated in the mainstream society	118
Table 13	Fields showing the extent to which the 2nd and 3rd generation lineage members of *Man* are integrated in the mainstream society	119
Table 14	Fields showing the extent to which the 2nd and 3rd generation lineage members of *Man* have an affinity with the lineage	120

Diagrams

Diagram 1	Map of Southeastern China	121
Diagram 2	The grave of Man Sai Gor, the founding ancestor of San Tin	122
Diagram 3	Hundreds of Man Sai Gor's descendants visiting his grave during the Chong Yang Festival	123
Diagram 4	The ancestral grave of Man Sai Gor and the offerings	124
Diagram 5	Ancestral Hall of Man Lun Fung, the son of the founding ancestor of San Tin village, Man Sai Gor	125
Diagram 6	Chinese peanut-cookie seller in the 1930s	126
Diagram 7	A letter written by the Chief Commissioner of Police in Utrecht	127
Diagram 8	Chinese population in the Netherlands in 2010	129
Diagram 9	Personal information of Wen Chang registered in the population register in 1936	130
Diagram 10	Personal information of Wen Chang registered in the population register in 1936	131
Diagram 11	Personal information of Man Tchao Tcho registered in the population register in 1936	132
Diagram 12	Personal information of Man Tchao Tcho registered in the population register in 1936	133
Diagram 13	The advertisement of Chinese restaurant owned by one of *Man* lineage members in Utrecht in the 1960s	134
Diagram 14	Chinese restaurant New Garden in Utrecht owned by one of the *Man* lineage members in the 1970	135
Diagram 15	A letter of financial support from the Man Clansmen Association (Europe) n London	136
Diagram 16	A group of 50 Dutch lineage members of *Man* paid a visit to their fellow lineage members in Britain in July, 2009	137
Diagram 17	British leaders of the Man Clansmen Association (Europe) standing in front of the Foundation premises for Dutch Man lineage members	138

Diagram 18	The Labour Voucher of a member of the *Man* lineage from San Tin	139
Diagram 19	Part of the genealogy of *Man* lineage in Guangdong province	140
Diagram 20	One of the pages inside the Genealogy of San Tin in which the relationship between Man Chung Yuen (of the 6th generation) and Man Sai Gor is indicated	141
Diagram 21	Map of Hong Kong. San Tin is located in the frontier area overlooking Shenzhen, which is located on the fringe of South China	142
Diagram 22	An alley within San Tin village, which can be demarcated as a boundary between different sub-villages	143
Diagram 23	Ancestral tablets displaying the names of the ancestors and their wives are placed inside the Ancestral Hall Tun Yu Tong	144
Diagram 24	A voluntary member of a lineage militia that was deployed at the Ancestral Hall Man Lun Fung in San Tin	145
Diagram 25	Man Ying Sang (in the middle) and his restaurant in London	146
Diagram 26	Man T. W. (with luggage in front of him) and his family members grouping at the Kai Tak Airport before departure to Europe (1957)	147
Diagram 27	A group of young members of the *Man* lineage visiting the premises of Lineage Man Foundation in Europe based in Amsterdam on August 29, 2010	148
Diagram 28	A piece of article in the Dutch daily *De Echo*, in which the first pharmacist of the *Man* lineage is reported	149
Diagram 29	The composition of the *Man* lineage which can still be imagined as a cohesive, transnational community	150
Diagram 30	The scene of a sub-village in San Tin in December 2002	151
Diagram 31	The portal of Chau Tau village at the entrance	152
Diagram 32	This is a possible scenario of *Man* lineage in the future	153

List of interviewees 154

The *Man* lineage in the Netherlands and Europe (1950 – 2010): A migration narrative

Introduction

Chinese migration has made China into a geographic and multi-ethnic empire. Historically, Chinese migrated in order to exploit vacant lands enlarging Chinese settlements in outlying areas.[1] For example, under the regime of the Ming and Qing Dynasties, Chinese settlers migrated to the west and southwest in order to settle among peoples at the frontier of the empire.[2] Currently, given China's four thousand year old civilization and the opportunity to move outside China, Chinese now live overseas in virtually all parts of the world. As the famous Chinese poem describes 'wherever the ocean waves touch, there are overseas Chinese.'[3] Since the beginning of the Ming Dynasty (1368 – 1644), many Southern Chinese traders and some peasants migrated particularly to Java, Sumatra and West Borneo. Traditionally, the Southern-Chinese coastal provinces, such as Guangdong and Fujian, have traditionally been the cradle of Chinese migration.[4] In 1852, some thirty thousand Chinese also migrated mainly through Hong Kong to San Francisco due to the California Gold Rush. In the 1850s, the rate of migration continued at several thousand a year to California and Australia by means of the so-called credit-ticket system.[5] In the 19th century, many Chinese also moved to work in tropical plantations due to the European recruitment of indentured workers.[6] In the last two centuries, Chinese migration to Europe has occurred in primarily different waves. Like the Chinese coolie trade in Southeast Asia and North America a half century earlier, many European shipping companies, due to the dominance of European sailor unions, recruited Chinese seamen as temporary contract labourers before the Second

[1] Lee, 1978, p. 20

[2] Manning, 2005, p. 118.

[3] Poston & Yu, 1990, p. 480.

[4] Van Heek, 1936, p. 11.

[5] Chen, 1940. Cited by Mckeown, 2001, p. 68.

[6] Cohen, 2006, p. 9.

World War. In fact, over one hundred thousand Chinese labourers had been recruited by Allied Forces during the First World War to fight in one of the European wars.[7] Moreover, from the 1950s onwards, the chain migration from the New Territories in Hong Kong began to emerge because of the social and economic upheavals in the area. This led to one of the most significant influxes of Chinese immigrants into Britain in recent history. On the one hand, it was largely the strong lineage structure that helped to facilitate the migration of Chinese immigrants in order to take up jobs in the restaurant sector there. On the other hand, Chinese specialized cooks were specifically recruited from Hong Kong, Southeast Asia and Mainland China in order to cater to the booming Chinese restaurant trade in Britain starting in the 1950s until the end of the last century. In addition, as a result of decolonization and subsequent warfare and ethnic policies, a substantial percentage of Chinese also migrated from, for example, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia and Surinam streaming into major metropolitan areas in France and the Netherlands.[8]

In the Netherlands, as early as 1898, 11 Chinese seamen were registered with Dutch shipping companies as foreign labourers in Amsterdam and in 1911 hundreds were recruited as a consequence of the strike of European seamen. This period heralded the beginning of Chinese migration to the Netherlands. The number of seamen fluctuated between two to three thousand each year until 1930.[9] In the 1930s, the Chinese community began to be identified with a national stereotype. The Chinese became largely associated with the sale of peanut-cookies. This means of earning a living was adopted by unemployed seamen and was largely the result of the economic hardships during that time.[10] In 1945, due to the independence of Indonesia, a relatively large influx of about 5000 Peranakan Chinese immigrated to the Netherlands.[11] By the end of the 1950s, in addition to the direct flow of immigrants from Hong Kong, a substantial number of Chinese, who had come from the New Territories in Hong Kong to Britain, re-migrated to the Netherlands due to the expanding

[7] Benton & Pieke, 1998, pp. 3 – 4; Christiansen, 2003, pp. 40 – 41.

[8] Christiansen, 2003, pp. 41, 48 – 49.

[9] Li, 1999, pp. 28 – 30, 262.

[10] Benton & Pieke, 1998, p. 128; van Heek, 1936, p. 22.

[11] Website of Inspraakorgaan Chinezen.

restaurant trade. The established Chinese community which consisted primarily of people who settled in the Netherlands after the Second World War could no longer satisfy the increased demands for restaurant workers.[12] Moreover, 10 to 15 years after the Chinese came from Hong Kong, Singaporean and Malaysian-Chinese – albeit not as an independent group within the Chinese community – came to the Netherlands through personal networks and relatives in order to pursue employment in the restaurant sector. After 1976, there was a sudden surge in emigration from Zhejiang in China – especially from the Wenzhou and Qingtian areas – because China had eased its requirements for emigration. Between 1975 and 1982, the Dutch government received a few thousand political refugees from Vietnam, of which a quarter were of Chinese[13] origin.[14] A few thousand Surinamese-Chinese[15] also moved to the Netherlands after Suriname – a Dutch colony – proclaimed its independence in 1975.[16] According to the Inspraakorgaan Chinezen (IOC)[17] the current size of the Chinese population in the Netherlands as of 2010 is estimated at approximately 100,000, of which fifty thousand emigrated from mainland China – predominately from Zhejiang – and twenty thousand from Hong Kong.[18] The composition of the Chinese community in the Netherlands is highly diverse in terms of their language, region, socio-economic status and immigration history. However, the Cantonese and the Zhejiangese can be considered to make up the core of the Chinese community in the Netherlands.[19]

Among the Chinese immigrants originating from the New Territories in Hong Kong who re-migrated from Britain to the Netherlands in the 1950s, there was a significant lineage, i.e. the *Man* lineage. Currently, this lineage in the Netherlands is made up of approximately

[12] Benton and Pieke, 1998, pp. 133 –134

[13] The bulk of Vietnamese refugees of Chinese origin speak Cantonese.

[14] Li, 1999, pp. 36 – 37, 39, 50.

[15] The bulk of Surinamese-Chinese speak Hakka.

[16] Li, 1999, p. 37.

[17] The 'Inspraakorgaan Chinezen' or the IOC is based in Utrecht and is the official interlocutor to the Dutch government representing the Chinese community in the Netherlands. .

[18] Website IOC.

[19] Benton and Pieke, 1998, pp. 4, 125.

2000 – 2500 members and in Britain over 4000 members who share the same surname *'Man'*.[20] What is a lineage? In order to answer this question, the focus of my discussion must now look at the social organization of families in China. Historically, the 'family' *(Jia or Jiazu)* in China has been identified with a genealogically related kin group having a common ancestor rather than just a single household. This related kin group can also include a specific residential organization as well as economic relations that group members together. These 'families', which are units made up of men and patrilineal descendants of a common ancestor, form a 'higher-order'[21] agnatic unit – the lineage – which is rooted in the acknowledgment of an 'apical' ancestor,[22] progenitor or founding ancestor who is considered to have established the lineage; ancestral hall; tomb; or the benefits of corporate property.[23] A lineage differentiates from a clan since the latter, in general, refers to surname associations in which members need not trace their genealogical relationship with one another.[24] A clan is also not characterized by a residential arrangement, which is a peculiarity of the lineage. Clan associations are usually based in urban centers or in overseas Chinese communities.[25] During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, clan ties, as common as regional associations – *huikuan*, spread out over vast geographical areas and instigated a surge of migration, providing clansmen with support during their travels over long distances as well as after their journey.[26] Since China is an agrarian country, the village has historically formed the basic unit of the agrarian community. Many villages consist of single lineages with agnates bearing one surname, who are the descendants of an 'apical' ancestor.[27] This highly nucleated settlement pattern is fairly common in Fujian and Guangdong provinces and the villages of the New Territories in Hong Kong resemble this paradigm to a great

[20] It is 文 In Chinese and is phonetically romanized from Cantonese as *Man*. It is '*Wen*' in Mandarin.

[21] Freedman, 1966, p. 21.

[22] 'Apical' ancestor is at the apex of the genealogy. Jordan, 2011, p. 6.

[23] Cohen, 1970, pp. 13, 22; Jordan, 2011, pp. 3, 7.

[24] Watson, 2004, p. 50.

[25] Watson, 2004, p. 50.

[26] Lee, 1978, p. 35.

[27] Freedman, 1958, pp. 1, 4, 9.

extent.[28] In effect, the *Man* lineage in the New Territories is one of the five largest lineages in Hong Kong,[29] notably, the *Tang,* the *Man,* the *Liu,* the *Pang* and the *Hau* lineages. The *Man* lineage settle primarily in three villages in Hong Kong, namely, San Tin, Chau Tau and Tai Hang. By the middle of the 1975s, it was believed that 85 – 90 percent of the male villagers from San Tin had emigrated to Europe and were living abroad.[30] Therefore, starting in the 1950s until the present day, the migration of *Man* lineage to Europe has had a sixty year history.

This thesis has several objectives. The first objective is to explore what were the causes of migration that contributed to the exodus of a single lineage from these villages, particularly from San Tin and Chau Tau. Next, it is to examine whether there has been a change in the identity of these lineage members because of their migration. Finally, it is to investigate further the historical context of lineage in general and with special reference to the *Man* lineage. Several research questions have been developed in this regard: why did a lineage such as the *Man* emigrate to Europe and particularly to Britain and the Netherlands? How does the lineage help build *Man* identity in the Netherlands and what bearing did emigration have on their lineage and social relationships? Does the second generation of *Man* descendants have emotional ties with the village of their (grand) father or have they constructed a new identity for themselves? What are the prospects of these transnational villages of *Man* when the lineage members have settled in the New Territories in Hong Kong as well as in Europe? The aims of the thesis are to demonstrate that there is a relationship between lineage and the pattern of migration and how the *Man* lineage decided to emigrate, and if there has been a change, why and how a change in their identity has occurred and how have they made their homes in a transnational space against the background of various theories or concepts such as transnationalism, networks and integration approaches.

Since the focus of this thesis is on the *Man* lineage, an overview of the general literature published to date concerning these topics is being provided. These works are separated into three categories, notably, the relevant studies dealing with the family structure and lineage

[28] Freedman, 1966, p. 31.

[29] Chan, 2001, p. 263.

[30] Watson, 1975, p. 2.

organization in China; research studies regarding the *Man* lineage in the New Territories in Hong Kong in general and studies concerning the *Man* lineage in Europe in particular; and finally studies that have been conducted on Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands. Several western scholars have conducted studies on the lineage structure in China, namely, Maurice Freedman, David Faure and Myron Cohen. Freedman was the first to publish two inspiring books in this field, notably, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China* and *Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwantung*. The former concerns his reflections on certain aspects of Southeastern Chinese society during the last hundred and fifty years,[31] while the latter discusses the role of unilineal descent grouping in China.[32] Both books are ethnographies and offer profound insight into the social structure of Southeastern China. One of his contributions is the term 'higher-order lineage' that was coined by him in the latter work.[33] As an historian, Faure provides in his book *Emperor and Ancestor* a coherent description of the historical development of lineage dating as far back as the Ming Dynasty in South China. He has proposed a new understanding of lineage by claiming that it is a product of China's commercial revolution from the 16th century on.[34] Cohen has also written a book in this field entitled *Kinship, Contract, Community and State*, in which Section III is devoted to lineage studies.[35] Since this book concentrates solely on lineage development in North China, it unfortunately has not made a comparative study between the two different lineage systems of North China and the Southeast.

There are few scholars who have tried to investigate the *Man* Lineage in Europe, let alone those lineage members in the Netherlands. James Watson, an anthropologist who carried out research in San Tin from 1969 – 1971, has published a book entitled *Emigration and the Chinese lineage* describing the *Man* lineage established in San Tin and Britain. The contribution of this book is that it has accurately depicted the background setting – an agricultural crisis – which was among the contributing factors that led the *Mans* to decide to

[31] Freedman, 1958, p. V.

[32] Freedman, 1966, p. V.

[33] Freedman, 1966, p. 21.

[34] Faure, 2007, p. 11.

[35] Cohen, 2005, pp. 153 – 219.

move to Europe in the 1950s. Another plus of this book is that it includes a follow-up study – even though it is rather simplistic in its approach – to the *Mans* living in Britain.[36] However, this book lacks a strong theoretical consideration to construe the *Man's* motive to migrate. [37] Watson has also referred to *Man* lineage in a number of his articles. However, Watson's claims in his article 'Presidential Address: Virtual Kinships, Real Estate, and Diaspora Formation – The Man Lineage Revisited' that members of the *Man* lineage were flying on a regular basis between Europe/Canada in business class and that the daughters of the *Man* have become politically visible[38] are very misleading, if not entirely disputable. Gregor Benton's article entitled 'San Tin: Lineage and Emigration in Hong Kong' is one of two articles written in Dutch and published in the book *De Chinezen*[39] that was edited by Benton and Vermeulen. In this article about the *Man* lineage in the Netherlands, Benton argues that the emotional ties of people who are living abroad to their home village do not completely disappear even in the second and third generations.[40] However, this claim needs to be substantiated with data. The other article written in Dutch is by Tina Romeijn. In her article entitled 'De Man-Lineage', Romeijn argues that *Mans,* probably as the only lineage of the New Territories, have managed to become entrepreneurs in the modern society in large part because of their lineage solidarity.[41] However, this argument also seems somewhat outdated and questionable.

The third category of literature concerns studies of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands. Since the early arrival of Chinese dated from the beginning of the last century, two books merit attention, namely the book written by F. van Heek entitled *Chinese Immigrants in the Netherlands*[42] and a book by H. Wubben entitled the *Fate of Chinese immigrants in the*

[36] Watson, 1975, pp. 30 – 53, 103 – 110.

[37] Watson invoked push and pull factors to interpret the movement, which seem not capable of providing a complete analysis of the underlying causes of San Tin's transition into an emigration community. See Watson, 1975, pp. 8, 55 – 56, 70 – 71, 78 – 82.

[38] Watson, 2004, pp. 900 – 901.

[39] The Chinese.

[40] Benton, 1987, p. 33.

[41] Romeijn, 1987, p. 82.

[42] Chineesche Immigranten in Nederland.

Netherlands, 1911 – 1940.[43] The strength of the former is that it gives a full and detailed account of the employment of Chinese stokers by shipping companies, the Chinese peddler's sale of peanut cookies and the situation of Chinese immigrants in the Katendrecht area in Rotterdam in the early decades of the last century.[44] Because the latter focuses predominately on the lives of Chinese seamen, a historical overview of the Chinese migrants is missing here. In view of the perception that Chinese are apt to trade, the book entitled *Ethnic Entrepreneurship*[45], written by Boudewijn Rijkschroeff, exclusively sheds light on the entrepreneurship of Chinese restaurant owners. In this book, Rijkschroeff attempts to explore the historic development of Chinese restaurants in the Netherlands. Benton and Pieke have also published a succinct historical overview discussing Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands in their edited volume *The Chinese in Europe*.[46] They have outlined the history of Chinese immigrants covering almost the entire 20th century in one chapter. It is a readable and comprehensive piece of work in this field.

Since no research has been conducted in this field so far, this thesis will add to the available knowledge and contemporary debates about the relationship between migration and lineage. It will attempt to answer the question why the *Man* lineage from the New Territories in Hong Kong immigrated specifically to the Netherlands. As a matter of fact, the rationale behind such decisions demonstrates the interaction between structure and agency, culminating in chain migration. In other words, factors such as colonialism, the economic situation, national immigration policies and established social networks all played a role in the decision-making process, making transnational migration possible. In this regard, social networks can be understood as the established cross-border interpersonal connections that brought migrants together because of kinship, friendship and descent from a shared place of origin, while transnationalism can be considered as the 'process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement'.[47] This

[43] Lotgevallen van Chinese immigranten in Nederland, 1911 – 1940.

[44] Van Heek, 1936, pp. 15, 21 – 22.

[45] Ethnic Entrepreneurship.

[46] The Chinese in Europe, 1998, pp. 125 – 167.

[47] Levitt, 2001, p. 8; Ma & Cartier, 2003, p. 4.

thesis also seeks to expound, on the one hand, why and how these immigrants became economically integrated into their host country and, on the other hand, how they were able to maintain and consolidate their lineage identity in their host society. Since identity is socially constructed, it also happens that the lineage identity has undergone a change in a transnational space. In other words, the *Man* lineage – especially from San Tin and Chau Tau – has become both a transnational and a fragmented one owing to migration. It is beyond doubt that there are now Dutch, English, German, French, Flemish and Chinese speaking members of the *Man* lineage and this has changed their personal relationships with their agnates, given their cultural affinity and the pattern of dispersed residential settlement.

The thesis will be organized into four chapters. Chapter 1 will briefly touch upon how migration played a role in moulding China into a geographic and multi-ethnic empire. It then explains why people in South China were inclined to emigrate. Finally, it will focus on the social organization of China by looking at the historical development of lineage and its system since lineage seems to have played an important role in shaping patterns of migration.[48]

Chapter 2 will focus on Chinese in the Netherlands. It seeks to investigate the origin and reasons for Chinese emigration to the Netherlands. After exploring the composition and social status of the Chinese community, and the problems associated with the process of integration in the Netherlands, it then moves on to explain why they are engaged exclusively in the restaurant trade. Subsequently, the discussion will exclusively focus on the *Man* lineage in the Netherlands. It will trace the historical trajectory of the migration of lineage members from two different villages in the New Territories. It will examine through personal accounts how the first immigrants experienced their migration. Finally, it will examine why they have reinforced their lineage identity by establishing two lineage/clan organizations in Europe, namely in London and in Amsterdam.

In order to find out the rationale behind their exodus to Europe, particularly to Britain and the Netherlands, Chapter 3 will address this issue at different levels, namely the macro, meso and the micro levels. At the macro level, it will refer to factors such as the agricultural

[48] See Watson, 1975, p. 5.

crisis in the New Territories, the British and Dutch national migration policies and the labour shortage in the booming restaurant trade in both countries in the 1950s and 1960s. At the meso level, membership in an emigration community seemed also be a driving force for migration. Accordingly, the thesis will delve into the history of *Man* lineage, putting the emphasis on their lineage identity and mutual support. Arguably, lineage members would have availed themselves of such a network at hand, felicitating their sojourning in their host society. At the micro level, it will specifically look at how the initiative of individual lineage members to emigrate was for the most part totally contingent on the personal expectations and ambitions of the actor involved. In this chapter, some of the reasons why they were willing to move will be revealed by providing the personal narratives of the immigrants.

There has been a divergent development since the 1990s, particularly when Hong Kong was handed over to China. Some lineage members decided to return to their villages, while the second generation, who have grown up and have been educated in the West, have become fully integrated into their host society. Chapter 4 will attempt to provide an account of their return on the one side and will apply integration theories to explain how integration occurred among the second and third generation lineage members in the Netherlands on the other. The question is whether such a new identity resulting from migration represents a threat to the existence of the lineage in Europe since villages such as San Tin and Chau Tau have become transnational with European agnates who are not acquainted with one another.

The thesis will argue that it might be somewhat premature to predict a looming collapse of the *Man* lineage in Europe. However, it seems unrealistic to assume that the European descendants are likely to have close ties with their agnates either established in Europe or in the New Territories. Change has taken place due to migration.

Chapter 1 Migratory Chinese and the Chinese social organization

Introduction

According to Tilly and Moch, migration refers to spatial moves that are relatively remote and relatively perpetual.[49] Migration implies a shift away from daily ventures and connections at home, and a reconfiguration of life in a new locality. This describes the particular experience of those Chinese who went abroad in the past as coolies, farmers, miners and merchants. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, indigenous and dialect groups of migrants accounted for almost all the Chinese moving overseas to form diaspora communities abroad. These groups included Cantonese from the counties near Guangzhou, Hokkien from Southern Fujian, Teochiu from Chaozhou and Shantou, and Hakka from the mountainous region in Guangdong and Fujian. Hong Kong functioned as the epicentre for the transshipment of migrants, serving as a nexus between migrations, since it had foreign companies that arranged for their emigration.[50]

This chapter will begin with a discussion of internal migration in China and briefly touch upon how migration played a role in moulding China into a geographic and multi-ethnic empire. It then will attempt to explore why people in Southern China – especially in Guangdong and Fujian provinces – were inclined to emigrate at an increased rate in the second half of the nineteenth century. Finally, it will focus on the social organization in China by looking at the historical development of lineage and its system since lineage seems to have played an important role in shaping patterns of migration.[51]

Migration and China

Throughout history, China has frequently used migration as a tool to advance its political policies in the areas of social integration, popular relief and economic development. Therefore, migration played a major role in creating China into a geographic and multi-ethnic empire. As early historical records show, almost all early migrations of peoples were

[49] Tilly, 1978; Moch, 1992.

[50] Ma, 2003, pp. 2, 20.

[51] See Watson, 1975, p. 5.

launched by the government and were concerned with frontier control. As early as the Western Chou Dynasty (1027 – 771 BC), feudal lords sent colonists to settle in newly conquered fiefs. Between the second century BC and the first century, utilizing migration as a policy instrument, Han Emperors settled more than one and a half million migrants northward.[52] Under the regime of the Ming and Qing Dynasties, Chinese colonists migrated to the west and southwest in order to settle among peoples at the border of the empire.[53] At the beginning of the 1860s, the Chinese government, fearing Russian territorial encroachment, actively stimulated settlement with homesteading policies into Siberia and Manchuria.[54] Migration flows increased once the railway was constructed in the 1890s,[55] pushing 28 – 33 million new Chinese migrants into these regions.[56] As a rule, the army was responsible for organizing the governments-planned migration. Thus, in 221 BC, more than five hundred thousand military colonists were sent by Qin Shi Huang, the Emperor of Qin Dynasty, southward to the contemporary Hunan, Jiangxi and Guangdong provinces in order to settle among the indigenous inhabitants there.[57]

Moreover, at all times, a considerable amount of migration has occurred based on individual initiatives. These private migrations date from the start of Chinese history. The great migrations in the Age of Disunion are illustrative of the widespread and persistent population movements that took place in early China. At the turn of the 4th century, hundreds of thousands of Ti and Han Chinese refugees fled southward from Southern Shanxi to Sichuan and Yunnan.[58] The Ming Dynasty founded in the fourteenth century also

[52] Lee, 1978, pp. 20 – 22, 39.

[53] Manning, 2005, p. 118.

[54] Mckeown, 2004, p. 158.

[55] Lee, 1970, cited by Mckeown, 2004, p. 158.

[56] Mckeown, 2004, p. 158 – 159.

[57] Lee, 1978, p. 22.

[58] Lee,1978, pp. 26, 29, 31.

witnessed the fluctuation of migrations resulting from the war between insurgent armies and the Yuan (Mongol) Dynasty.[59]

During the mentioned Ming and early Qing Dynasties, peasants from every corner of the Empire rushed to southwest China because of tremendous development there. In 1477, more than 430,000 immigrants were registered in Hupei province alone. The different origins of these migrants represented the all-encompassing mixture of voluntary associations founded on a common locality called *hui-kuan*. For example, in Tang Yang County, Hupei, migrants from different provinces such as Hunan, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Gansu and Fujian founded regional associations that contributed to social integration and triggered population change. Clan ties, like *hui-kuan*, also helped contribute to migration since this common bond led to the support of their clansmen during their journeys or even after their arrival in new regions.[60]

Most Chinese tended to move south, rather than moving north due to the amount of available agricultural land in Southern China, as well as favorable political and geographical conditions. In particular, Hakka[61] migrants followed this pattern of movement.[62] Moreover, just to mention a few examples, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, two counties in Canton province (now known as Guangdong that is situated in Southern China), notably, Dongan and Xining enticed literati and degree-seekers from the emergent Pearl River delta lineages and other Chinese migrants to settle down because of the less stringent county-level examination available there. These counties were also striking because of their promise of land and commercial opportunities.[63] After the defeat by the Mongols in the thirteenth century, the brother of famous patriotic General Man Tin Cheung[64] of the Song

[59] Manning, 2005, p. 112.

[60] Lee, 1978, pp. 34 – 35.

[61] Hakka means literally ‘guest people’.

[62] Lee, 1978, p. 31.

[63] MIles, 2006, pp. 226, 228.

[64] Wen Tianxiang in Mandarin.

Dynasty (960 – 1279), Man Tin Sui[65] also fled to Guangdong and became established in Hainan.[66] The *Man* Lineage from Canton (including Hong Kong) are all descendants of this apical ancestor. Hence, contrary to the viewpoint held by contemporary scholars that in general Chinese were reluctant to leave their ancestral homes, the Chinese, nevertheless, were mobile and prepared to move for certain reasons, including war, overpopulation, famine, natural catastrophes, epidemics, political upheavals or the compulsion by the state.[67]

Overseas migration from Southern China

The period from 1842 to 1949 can be characterized as the modern era of Chinese migration (See Table 1).[68] The bulk of Chinese migrants came from the southern provinces of China, notably, Guangdong and Fujian since these southern coastal provinces have traditionally been the epicentres of emigration (see Diagram 1).[69] In both provinces, there are lineages that have maintained their genealogical records for many generations, revealing both their origin from Northern or Central China and the southern overseas migration of some the lineage members.[70] In addition, a reading of nineteenth and twentieth century Pearl River delta genealogies disclose a multitude of cases of 'lineage members who ventured up the West River basin, into Southeast Asia, or to destinations further abroad.'[71] Guangdong (Canton), which often served as a departure point for émigrés due to its proximity to the Pearl River Delta, was an outstanding regional economy where rural and urbanized counties interacted in a system of manufacturing and cash cropping. Traditionally, the Cantonese were not against exporting their labour and looking for opportunities for a better livelihood abroad. Owing to the Manchu conquest, many Cantonese sought refuge and settled in

[65] Wen Tian Rui in Mandarin.

[66] Website Stichting Familie in Europa, Amsterdam.

[67] Lee, 1978, p. 26. See also Moch, 2007, p. 98.

[68] Mckeown, 2001, p. 61.

[69] Mckeown, 2004, p. 158; Van Heek, 1936, p. 11; Kuhn, 2008, p. 28.

[70] Chen, 1940, p. 22.

[71] Miles, 2006, p. 221.

Vietnam and Cambodia, heralding in a period of substantial emigration into Southeast Asia. Moreover, in the wake of the opening of Shantou city, the export of Teochiu workers from eastern Guangdong grew considerably, about one-third of whom were indentured coolies. Teochiu migrants moved across Southeast Asia with Thailand as their final destination.[72] At present, the Chinese in Thailand are predominately Teochiu, often operating in business and finance.[73]

Historically, the coastal region of Fujian province – Minnan – has been the most productive emigrant source for Southeast Asia. From the 1500s on, the Minnan have been involved in maritime trade, in which large lineages held sway.[74] Poor lineages were forced to engage in petty trade, crafts and unskilled labour in nearby towns that ultimately culminated in migration across the sea, reaching Taiwan and subsequently the Philippines, Java, Siam, Borneo and Malaya.[75] On the other hand, there were sojourning Fujian people living in port cities ranging from Guangzhou to Tianjin, who, often collaborating with one another based on networks of common dialects, engaged in the shipping and entrepôt business. Transnationally or nationally, a family member might be sent out to a number of venues in order to pursue trade for extended periods of time.[76] Migration in Fujian is still considered a proud tradition and the best, even the only, path to realize affluence, preponderance and prosperity because of the success of past immigrants, their transnational contacts and their overseas networks.[77]

The Hakka people, who were frontier-bred, have also contributed considerably to the number of migrants both within and outside China. As overseas migrants, they managed to survive in harsh environments, such as the vast jungle of western Borneo, where they were

[72] Kuhn, 2008, pp. 36 –38.

[73] Kuhn, 2008, p. 38; Skinner, 1957, 1958, cited by Kuhn, 2008, p. 39.

[74] Kuhn, 2008, pp. 33 – 34.

[75] Ng, 1983, cited by Kuhn, 2008, p. 37.

[76] Kuhn, 2008, p. 36.

[77] Thunø and Pieke, 2005, pp. 495, 508.

recruited by the local Malay sultan to mine gold around 1750.[78] In effect, the Chinese migrants, who came exclusively from Canton and Fujian, faced additional pressures which may have also influenced their decision to emigrate. For the first time, alien traders and foreign capital had started to encroach upon the peripheral areas in these coastal provinces and the Taiping revolt in the 1850s in the neighbouring inland regions prompted social upheavals, setting the stage for a series of emigration movements.[79] Although migration from the coastal regions in Southern China accounts for the vast majority of Chinese migrants in the modern era, it is also worth mentioning the migrants from Zhejiang province in Eastern China, especially those from Wenzhou who have formed a powerful group of Chinese migrants, moving in particular to Europe throughout the twentieth century.[80]

Hong Kong was ceded as a colony to Britain by the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842, as a result of the First Opium War between China and Britain. It served as the main hub through which Chinese overseas migrants passed in unprecedented quantities, replacing the Fujian merchant networks and the Hakka miners from Western Guangdong, which made up the initial stages of Chinese migration.[81] As the main international steamship port, Hong Kong acted as a transshipment port for migrants from the Xiamen (Fujian), Shantou (Teochiu and Hakka) and Guangzhou, who spread to the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and Siam.[82] In 1852, some thirty thousand Chinese also migrated mainly through Hong Kong to San Francisco due to the California Gold Rush. In the 1850s, the rate of migration continued at several thousand a year to California and Australia by means of the so-called credit-ticket system.[83] In the following four decades, Hong Kong contributed to the growth in Chinese labour migration to Cuba and Peru in the form of indentured workers. According to Mckeown, Hong Kong was most accountable for venting regional revolts and lack of opportunity into

[78] Yuan, 2000, p. 83 – 85, cited by Kuhn, 2008, p. 39.

[79] Gabaccio, 2005, pp. 180 – 181.

[80] Wenzhou municipality acknowledged 165,000 as inhabitants in Europe, of which 95 percent found themselves in France, The Netherlands, Italy and Spain. Li, 1999, p. 31 – 32, cited by Kuhn, 2008, p. 336.

[81] Mckeown, 2001, p. 65.

[82] Kuhn, 2008, p. 113.

[83] Chen, 1940, cited by Mckeown, 2001, p. 68.

concentrated overseas migration.[84] From the 1960s on, after the US and Commonwealth countries eased their immigration policies towards Chinese, Hong Kong served as the major source of immigrants to North America, New Zealand and Australia. In the 1980s and 1990s, before Hong Kong was handed back to China from Britain, many Hong Kongers moved to Canada and Australia seeking political security.[85] Lin points out that the great spatial mobility exhibited by Hong Kongers – or their so-called 'refugee mentality' is due to their embedded 'marginal sub-ethnic identity in the nation.'[86]

In the last two centuries, Chinese migration to Europe has occurred in different waves. Like the Chinese coolie trade in Southeast Asia and North America a half century earlier, many European shipping companies, due to the dominance of European sailor unions, recruited Cantonese seamen as temporary contract labourers before the Second World War. In fact, over one hundred thousand Chinese labourers had been recruited by Allied Forces during the First World War to fight in one of the European wars.[87] Moreover, from the 1950s onwards, chain migration from the New Territories in Hong Kong began to emerge because of the social and economic upheavals in the area. This led to one of the most significant flows of Chinese immigrants into Britain in recent history. In addition, as a result of decolonization and subsequent warfare and ethnic policies, a substantial percentage of Chinese also migrated from, for example, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia and Surinam re-migrating into major metropolitan areas in France and the Netherlands.[88] In the Netherlands, as early as 1898, 11 Chinese seamen were registered with Dutch shipping companies as foreign labourers in Amsterdam and in 1911 hundreds more were recruited as a consequence of the strike of European seamen, heralding in the beginning of Chinese migration to the Netherlands.

[84] Mckeown, 2001, pp. 66 – 67.

[85] Lin, 2003, p. 146.

[86] Lin, 2002, p. 63.

[87] Benton & Pieke, 1998, pp. 3 – 4; Christiansen, 2003, pp. 40 – 41.

[88] Christiansen, 2003, pp. 41, 48 – 49.

Mckeown argues that a crucial factor that contributed to the upsurge in overseas migration after the 1850s was the 'connections and networks established through a long tradition of migration' and the family was one of the most fundamental institutions constituting migrant networks.[89] As historical records or genealogies[90] illustrate, his claim can also be applied to lineage which is a broader kinship group (*Zongzu*) made up of basic family units. People who have family or lineage ties with experienced migrants may obtain available information and assistance on hand, reducing the risk of migration,[91] and increasing their desire to move. Therefore, the next section will discuss how the family is organized in China, in particular in relation to the family structure in the two emigrant provinces, namely, Guangdong and Fujian in Southeastern China.

The historical development of lineage and its organization in China

Before delving into the historical developments of lineage in China, it is first necessary to understand some of the key anthropological concepts associated with family structure. Agnates *(Zu)* refer to the 'general category of people related patrilineally.' The descent group *(Zong)* indicates groups of agnates, originating from a common ancestor by descent *(Zong)*, who are not all members of a single family (*Jia)*. Lineage (*Zongzu*) refers to a group of descendants united on the basis of common properties, generally, but not exclusively, land.[92] Watson defines lineage as a 'corporate group which celebrates ritual unity and is based on demonstrated descent from a common ancestor.'[93] However, decent from a common ancestor alone does not automatically mean that one is entitled to equal access to the ancestral properties of the lineage, since ancestral assets were held in the name of a particular ancestor,[94] and living members of the lineage must be among the patrilineal descendants of that particular ancestor. In other words, property is considered a core

[89] Mckeown, 2001, p. 66.

[90] See Chen, 1940, p. 22; Miles, 2006, p. 221.

[91] Massey et al., 1993, cited by Kok, 2010, p. 240.

[92] Ebrey & Watson, 1986, p. 5.

[93] Watson, 1982, p. 594.

[94] Faure, 2007, p. 2.

feature of lineages.[95] In this regard, it is not merely the consanquineal relationships that bind the family and the lineage, but economic factors also matter. Members of the lineage are usually grouped into patrilineal segments or sub-lineages *(Feng).*[96] A clan is defined as an organization consisting of lineages or descent groups.[97] Clans do not harness ancestral graves as the central feature of their rituals. Instead, national heroes taken from history or mythical figures often are used as a substitute for a common apical ancestor as the binding factor.[98]

Since at least the Han Dynasty (202 BC – AD220), if not much earlier, local agnates often lived close to each other in local communities [99] because they were regarded as the core of a literati's world, offering assistance and guidance to their agnatic kinsmen.[100] During the Six (Dynasty)(420 – 589) and Tang Dynasty (618 – 907), some men – of upper class in particular – strived to express their common ancestry with a view to defining and establishing their social status within an aristocratic society.[101] During the Tang (Dynasty) and Song Dynasty (960 – 1279), the bulk of historical records referred to organized groups of agnates as 'communal families.' 'Communal families' were considered domestic units that had not split up – either in terms of members or assets – for five to ten generations. The structure of 'communal families' can be considered the predecessor of the lineage system, since they represented large localized groups organized on the basis of a patrilineal descent system and common shared properties. The collapse of communal families in some cases gave rise to the establishment of descent groups. The establishment of descent groups was attributed to the endeavour of some agnates, who sought to retain some semblance of group organization or common properties, even though they were no longer able to maintain all of

[95] Ebrey, 1986a, p. 40.

[96] Freedman, 165, p. 36, 46.

[97] Ebrey & Watson, 1986, p. 6.

[98] Watson, 1982, p. 610.

[99] Ebrey, 1986, cited by Ebrey, 1986a, p. 18.

[100] Ebrey, 1986a, p. 18.

[101] Johnson 1977; Ebrey 1978, cited by Ebrey, 1986a, p. 19.

their assets. Thus, from an anthropological perspective, the estate constitutes a central feature of lineages, that is, 'descent groups with substantial properties.' However, as Ebrey points out, lineages should not be considered the 'most fully developed descent group', but rather as a certain special type of descent group.[102] According to her historical research, Ebrey points out that a determinant factor that contributed to the founding of descent groups was ritual, such as burial rites and ancestral venerations,[103] rather than estate, which only served as a means to set up ancestral halls, genealogies and schools.[104] Her standpoint is roughly in accordance with Cohen's idea of a fixed genealogical model that serves to assert lineage solidarity though symbolism, village social structure and the organization of rituals in the absence of considerable corporate holdings.[105] During the early Ming Dynasty, the government imposed hereditary occupation and *Lijia*[106] household registration which involved the organization and collaboration of kinship groups and thereby served to create a significant catalyst for encouraging membership in lineages.[107]

Historically, one of the most essential traits of kinship activities has been ancestral veneration at graves in the hills during the Qing Ming Festival[108] which were 'held in the spring, 105 days after the winter solstice' since Chinese traditionally believed that they were indebted to their ancestor for the endowment of life and maintenance.[109] By the mid-Tang Dynasty, worshipping early ancestors at their graves at Qing Ming was already acknowledged as the occasion for agnates to assemble. In this regard, there are two important factors that promote the development of group consciousness among local agnates, notably, the involvement of departed ancestors in rites and the practice of the cult

[102] Ebrey, 1986a, pp. 30, 32, 40, 55.

[103] Watson, 1986, 280.

[104] Ebrey, 1986a, p. 55.

[105] Cohen, 1990, p. 510; see also Szonyi, 2002, p. 6.

[106] *Lijia* is a system designed to ensure neighbourhood security.

[107] Szonyi, 2002, p. 58; Faura, 2007, p. 68

[108] It is also referred to as Ancestors Day.

[109] Ebrey, 1986a, p. 21; Freedman, 1965, pp. 86 – 88.

on the same day for all descendants.[110] Similarly, the Chong Yang Festival – the so-called 'double-nine'[111] celebration – also requires a visit to the ancestral graves on the same day. However, there has been a change in public rites with respect to ancestral cults during the late Ming (1368 – 1644) and early Qing Dynasty (1644 – 1912) in Guangdong and Fujian provinces where strong lineages held sway. Qing Ming has been preserved as a rite of ancestral veneration at their graves for local lineage members and for 'recent' ancestors – probably up to the twelfth generation after demise, while the Chong Yang Festival is intended for the veneration of the more remote ancestors, attracting substantial numbers of lineage members from extraterritorial districts to pursue the cult. For example, hundreds of lineage members of San Tin and Chau Tau, many of whom are living abroad, visit the grave of Man Sai Gor – the founding ancestor of these two villages – once a year during the Chong Yang Festival (see Diagrams 2 – 4). Hence, the observance of the Chong Yang Festival represents also a 'lineage-wide ritual of solidarity.'[112] Here, the status of the common ancestor is deemed to be absolutely utmost and supreme. As one member of the Man lineage living in London claimed while celebrating in front of his ancestral tomb during the Chong Yang Festival last year, 'Our ancestor was never wrong and for good right.'

One of the major contributions to the agnatic kinship practice made during the Song and Yuen Dynasties was the establishment of ancestral halls[113] which served as a lynchpin for descent groups or higher segments of the lineage.[114] In the Song Dynasty, a particular bureaucratic class emerged as a result of the Imperial Examination. This new class bolstered the lineage system and ancestral customs, such as the founding of ancestral halls, promoting filial piety, and caring for lineage members with a view to maintaining social security.[115] It became an established tradition with regard to local lineages that sacrifice to one's

[110] Ebrey, 1986a, pp. 21 – 23

[111] The 9th day of the 9th lunar year.

[112] Watson, 1986, p. 280.

[113] Descent-line shrine *(Zongci)* or offering hall (Citang), see Szonyi, 2002, p. 91.

[114] Abrey, 1986a, p. 51; Freedman, 1965, p. 81.

[115] Siu, website District Council HK Government.

ancestors was to be staged at one's ancestral hall. From the sixteenth century onwards, worship and lineage activities were directed by degree-holders.[116] At present, ancestral halls have become the most conspicuous symbol of organized patrilineal kinship and lineage solidarity throughout Southern China including the New Territories (see Diagram 5).[117] There is one important ritual function of the ancestral hall, that is, the registration of the birth of the male members of the lineage so that his membership is confirmed. The so-called 'lightening-lantern' ceremony takes place in the ancestral hall as the newly born male member becomes one month old or older.

Since the various regimes among the Northern and Southern Dynasties (317 – 589) elevated descendants of 'great families' in ranks along aristocratic lines that were organized into kinship groups, these families gained national fame and the family genealogies were used to manifest membership according to rank that ensured access to political privileges.[118] As a matter of fact, the written genealogy was obviously an indispensable tool for the operation of the lineage. It revealed who were members of the lineage.[119] Moreover, it can be used to link distant but patrilineally related descent groups, giving rise to a 'higher-order' descent group. Thus, on the one hand, genealogies served both the internal and external needs of a descent group, while also on the other hand representing a symbolic and pragmatic act of descent groups.[120]

From a traditional Chinese perspective, if a family has no son as a hereditary successor, it is considered as a guilt. It is the son who is committed to the continuation of the patrilineal family line, pursuing the supreme practice of 'filial piety' *(Xiao*).[121] As R. Watson describes the situation in Ha Tsuen village[122] where the lineage Tang is established: 'the ultimate goal

[116] Faure, 2007, pp. 109, 177.

[117] See Szonyi, 2002, p. 91, Potter, 1970, pp. 127 – 128.

[118] Ebrey, 1986a, pp. 19 – 20.

[119] Freedman, 1965, p. 70.

[120] Ebrey, 1986a, pp. 45, 48.

[121] Watson, 2004a, p. 100.

[122] Ha Tsuen is one of the villages where the Tang Lineage is based in the New Territories.

of all males is to produce an heir, to have a grandson at one's funeral, to leave property that guarantees the performance of one's ancestral rites.'[123] Thus, there were only two major options available if a male lineage member failed to achieve this ultimate goal. One option was to take a concubine. The other option was to adopt a son. Under normal circumstances, adopting the son of a brother was common practice. However, there were also exceptional cases. According to the genealogies of San Tin, which registered about 2000 male descendants up to 24 generations, there were 89 cases of adoption, of which 9 were adopted outside the lineage.[124] The adoption of male member clearly demonstrates the 'asymmetric male power of kinship' – patriarchy. This patrilineal structure ensured that daughters were excluded from the family.[125]

At this stage, it is important to discuss the differences in lineage structure between the southern provinces, notably Guangdong and Fujian, and the rest of China because these differences seem to play a pivotal role in the increased flow of migrants during the second half of the nineteenth century. Potter argues that lineages in Central and Southern China were stronger than lineages in other areas of China. He created a model which identifies four factors for the favourable development of a strong lineage, notably, 'a rich agricultural environment, frontier conditions, the absence of strong governmental control and commercial development.'[126] Indeed, these conditions seem to apply to the Southern provinces. Guangdong and Southern Fujian are located within the double-cropping rice area, while Northern Fujian falls within the rice-tea area,[127] meaning that the region was generally self-sufficient, having enough surpluses to espouse the lineage organization.[128] However, from the Song Dynasty on, these areas were not only the most productive agricultural regions of China; they were also commercially developed so that ancestral properties could be accumulated, partly due to the agricultural surplus and party due to the presence of

[123] R. Watson, 1986, p. 629.

[124] Watson, 2004, p. 104.

[125] Therborn, 2004, pp. 14, 63.

[126] Potter, 1970, p. 137.

[127] Buck, 1937, p. 27. Cited by Freedman, 1965, p. 9.

[128] Freedman, 1965, p. 9; Potter, 1970, p. 132.

foreign trade. Finally, governmental control was weak in the remote frontier areas where these two provinces are situated, giving rise to strong lineage organizations that had to seek recourse to self-defence. Taken together, these factors contributed to creating strong lineage organizations that were fraught with the economic potentials of shared ancestral assets.[129] In other words, the corporate holdings of lineages and their segments brought about land tenure in Guangdong and Fujian provinces. When a tenant was privileged in terms of tenancy because he was member of the agnatic group which held the ancestral properties, members of poorer lineages, who had no collectively owned lands, were squeezed out and had to migrate somewhere or even overseas to make a living.[130]

Conclusion

Hence, the foregoing is illustrative of the fact that the Chinese are a migratory people dating from the beginning of Chinese history, whether because of government plans or individual motives,[131] and that voluntary clan associations based on a common regional origin helped to facilitate social integration in their host societies. Moreover, clan ties were the driving force of migration because they provided clansmen with support during their migration. Chinese migrants were more inclined to migrate southward rather than northward. This also includes the apical ancestor of the *Man* lineage who fled to Canton in the thirteenth century because of the collapse of the Song Dynasty.

The provinces of Guangdong and Fujian in Southern China were the two proliferous sources for exporting labour migrants to Southeast Asia in the modern era because of war, trade, economic status and the tendency of the people to migrate. Cantonese, Teochiu, Minnan and Hakka people are adventurers, looking for opportunities in Asia, Europe, America and

[129] Potter. 1970, pp. 129, 135.

[130] Freedman, 1965, pp. 13, 147.

[131] The dichotomy between planned migration and private migration are sometimes considered as forced and free migration in other literature. See for example, Lucassen, 2007, p. 92; Moch, 2007, p. 103; Gabaccia, 2005, p. 186.

Australia .[132] Hence, Chinese migration began centuries ago, but the volume of migrants after 1850 expanded to such a degree that the Chinese diaspora is best regarded as new.[133] The *Man* lineage followed this pattern as well.

From an anthropological perspective, a lineage distinguishes itself from a descent group by virtue of the corporate holding of properties which elicits lineage solidarity. Historically, 'communal families' can be considered the predecessor of lineage, since they were large localized groups organized on the basis of a patrilineal descent system and sharing common assets. The worship of remote or apical ancestors, the establishing of ancestral halls and the compiling of genealogies are key features of descent groups.

The lineage system in Guangdong and Fujian has a strong character in the sense that these provinces had an affluent agricultural environment, remote geographical location, weak state control and well-developed commerce, and the corporate holdings of rich lineages forcing landless lineage members to migrate.[134] Once migrated overseas, it is the family or lineage network that in turn triggered chain migration.[135] In other words, it was the nexus and networks generated through a long tradition of migration that accounts for the increased flow of migrants in the second half of the nineteenth century and lineage was one of the most fundamental institutions making up migrant networks. Therefore, the family structure in Southern China seems to have had a relation to and an impact on the increased migration from Guangdong and Fujian in the second half of the nineteenth century.

[132] See Ma & Cartier, 2003, p. 57.

[133] Manning, 2005, p. 160.

[134] See Freedman, 1965, p. 128.

[135] See Mckeown, 2001, pp. 66 – 67; Kok, 2010, p. 217.

Chapter 2 The migration of Chinese to the Netherlands

Introduction

The recruitment of Chinese seamen by European shipping companies in 1911 represents the beginning of Chinese migration to the Netherlands. The current size of the Chinese population in the Netherlands as of 2010 is estimated at approximately 100,000. Nearly fifty thousand of these migrants emigrated from mainland China – predominately from Zhejiang – and about twenty thousand emigrated from Hong Kong. Therefore, Cantonese and Zhejiangese immigrants make up the core of the Chinese community in the Netherlands.

From the 1950s onwards, the chain migration of immigrants from the New Territories in Hong Kong began to emerge because of the social and economic upheavals in the area. This led to one of the most significant influxes of Chinese immigrants to Britain in recent history. Among the Chinese immigrants originating from the New Territories in Hong Kong who re-migrated from Britain to the Netherlands in the 1950s, there was a significant lineage, i.e. the *Man* lineage. Currently, this lineage in the Netherlands is made up of approximately 2000 – 2500 members and in Britain over 4,000 members who share the same surname *Man.*

This chapter will focus first on Chinese emigration to the Netherlands. It seeks to investigate the origin of and reasons for Chinese emigration to the Netherlands and to demonstrate how extremely diverse the composition of the Chinese community is in terms of their origins, socio-economic status and immigration history. After exploring the composition, the social status of the Chinese community, and the problems associated with the process of integration in the Netherlands, the chapter then moves on to examine why the Chinese community have almost exclusively been engaged in the restaurant trade since the 1950s. The subsequent discussion will focus in particular on the *Man* lineage in the Netherlands. It will trace the historical trajectory of the migration of lineage members from two different villages in the New Territories, namely Chau Tau and San Tin. It will explore how the first immigrants experienced their migration by examining personal accounts of lineage members of *Man* . Finally, it will analyse why they have sought to reinforce their lineage identity by establishing two lineage/clan organizations in Europe, namely in London and in Amsterdam.

The migration history of Chinese and their community

In the Netherlands, as early as 1898, 11 Chinese seamen were registered with Dutch shipping companies as foreign labourers in Amsterdam.[136] By 1911, hundred more Chinese seamen were recruited by Dutch shipping companies from Liverpool and London as a consequence of the strike of European seamen.[137] This period heralded the beginning of Chinese migration to the Netherlands. Almost all of these seamen came originally from Guangdong province – Boan and Dongguan counties[138] – in China. Once arrived in the Netherlands, most of them became established in boarding houses in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Working as stokers and coal porters, these seamen were often willing to work for relatively low wages.[139] The number of seamen coming to the Netherlands fluctuated between two to three thousand each year until 1930.[140] Another significant regional group among early Chinese immigrants to the Netherlands came from Wenzhou and Qingtian districts in Zhejiang province. These migrants were primarily colporteurs, selling small toys, cheap ties or necklaces.[141] In the 1920s and 1930s, another group of traders in small wares also migrated to the Netherlands from Shandong in Northern China.[142]

However, in the 1930s, the Chinese community began to be identified with the emergence of a national stereotype. The Chinese became largely associated with the sale of peanut-cookies.[143] Many of the Chinese seamen became unemployed when the Great Depression set in and their situation only got worse once ships began to substitute coal for oil at the

[136] Li, 1990, p. 30.

[137] Li, 1999, pp. 30, 262; Willems *et al*., 2010, p. 43; Van Heek, 1936, p. 16; Benton & Pieke, 1998, p. 127.

[138] Christiansan, 2003, p. 93.

[139] Willems *et al*., 2010, p. 43; Benton & Pieke, 1998, p. 127; Van Rossum, 2009, p. 87.

[140] Li, 1999, pp. 28 – 30, 262.

[141] Li, 1999, p. 32.

[142] Benton & Pieke, 1998, p. 127.

[143] Benton & Pieke, 1998, p. 128.

beginning of the 1930s.[144] The unemployed seamen, joined by Zhejiang peddlers, became largely associated with the sale of peanut-cookies in the streets (see Diagram 6).[145] During this period, the number of Chinese in the Netherlands dropped significantly. Due to the economic crisis and increased unemployment among the Chinese migrants, the Dutch took stringent measures against the Chinese peanut-cookie traders (See Diagram 7) and deported hundreds of migrants, leaving less than a thousand Chinese living in the Netherlands by the late 1930s (See Table 2).[146]

Almost at the beginning of the 1920s, Chinese restaurants first introduced Chinese food to the Dutch public.[147] As in Britain and the US, the restaurants essentially catered to the demands of the Chinese sojourners. Many of the first-generation restaurateurs had a similar background as owners or former owners of boarding houses.[148] In 1928, Ng Ho Yong established the first Chinese restaurant on the Amsterdam's Binnen Bantammerstraat, which is in the vicinity of the current China Town. Ng had bartered his boarding house in order to go into the restaurant trade.[149] In the late 1940s, after Indonesian independence, a mass migration of the Dutch Eurasians returning from Indonesia to the Netherlands took place. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics,[150] about 44,000 repatriates arrived in the period 1945 – 1949.[151] According to Lucassen and Lucassen, hundreds of thousands of Dutch soldiers were engaged in the colonial war.[152] Almost 68,000 person arrived in the Netherlands from Indonesia, of whom many were civil servants and soldiers between 1950

[144] Li, 1999, p. 32; Van Heek, 1936, p. 20; Van Rossum, 2009, p. 151.

[145] Van Heek, 1936, pp. 22 – 24.

[146] Benton & Pieke, 1998, p. 129.

[147]For example, The Hague's first Chinese restaurant was opened to the Dutch public in 1922. See Willems *et al*., 2010, p. 54.

[148] Rijkschroeff, 1998, pp. 55, 77; Zhou, 1992, p. 35; Wong, 1989, p. 14.

[149] Website International Social History. The Chinese of Amsterdam. http://www.iisg.nl/collections/chinezen-zeedijk/chinezen.php.

[150] Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.

[151] Cited by Rijkschroff, 1998, p. 58.

[152] Lucassen & Lucassen, 2011, p. 112.

and 1951.[153] With the increase in these numbers of immigrants, including those who were repatriated from Indonesia and the military, a new market was created for Chinese restaurant proprietors.[154] The arrival of the Dutch Eurasians led to the creation of a new mix of cuisines, namely Chinese and Indonesian cuisines in the restaurant sector.[155]

Between 1911 and 1940, about 900 Peranakan Chinese from Indonesia came to the Netherlands to study.[156] In 1945, due to the independence of Indonesia, a relatively large influx of about 5,000 Peranakan Chinese immigrated to the Netherlands.[157] By 1958, there were about 1,400 Peranakan Chinese living permanently in the Netherlands as immigrants. Many of these 'indo-Chinese' immigrants are academics and professionals, and a substantial percentage of this group is engaged in the medical sector.[158] As of 1992, 37% of the respondents in a survey conducted among the indo-Chinese community had pursued work in the medical professions and 80 per cent of these respondents regarded themselves as integrated in Dutch society.[159]

At the end of the 1950s, a substantial number of Chinese, who had first come to Britain from the New Territories in Hong Kong, were able to re-migrate to the Netherlands thanks to their British passport in order to remedy labour shortages in the rapidly expanding restaurant sector. The established Chinese community, which consisted primarily of people who settled in the Netherlands after the Second World War, could no longer satisfy the increased demand for restaurant workers.[160] Particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, when the number of Chinese restaurants rapidly expanded (See Table 3), Chinese were recruited directly from

[153] Rijkschroff, 1998, p. 59.

[154] Rijkschroeff, 1998, pp. 58, 60.

[155] Rijskschroeff, 1998, p. 62.

[156] Van Galen, 1987, p. 136; Tan, 1986, p. 2, 7. Cited by Li, 1999, p. 29.

[157] Website of Inspraakorgaan Chinezen.

[158] Benton & Pieke, 1998, pp. 129 – 130.

[159] Verlaan, 1992, pp. 9, 14.

[160] Benton and Pieke, 1998, pp. 133 –134

Hong Kong, forming one of the largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands.[161] The bulk of these immigrants migrated from a number of specific villages in Hong Kong between the late 1950s and the 1970s. The *Man* lineage also originates from some of these particular villages in Hong Kong.

Ten to fifteen years after the Chinese came from Hong Kong, Singaporean and Malaysian-Chinese – albeit not as an independent group within the Chinese community – came to the Netherlands largely through established personal networks and relatives in order to pursue employment in the restaurant sector. After 1976, there was a sudden surge in emigration from Zhejiang in China – especially from the Wenzhou and Qingtian areas – because China had eased its requirements for emigration (See Table 2). Between 1975 and 1982, the Dutch government received a few thousand political refugees from Vietnam, of whom a quarter were of Chinese[162] origin.[163] A few thousand Surinamese-Chinese also moved to the Netherlands after Suriname – a Dutch colony – proclaimed its independence in 1975.[164] According to the Central Bureau of Statistics in the Netherlands, as of 1 January 1990, 39,000 people identified their ethnicity as Chinese originating from Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and the Republic of China.[165] Verlaan estimates the number of Peranakan Chinese who emigrated from Indonesia approached as many as 10,000 in 1992.[166] Beginning in the 1990s, an entirely different group of new Chinese emerged in the Netherlands, namely, overseas students from China. These students are commonly known as the *liuxuesheng* group (Chinese student group). In recent years, one of the major goals of university students in China has been to spend time studying in a Western country.[167] In 2003, the estimated

[161] Rijkschroeff, 1998, p. 66; Inspraak Orgaan Chinezen.

[162] The bulk of Vietnamese refugees of Chinese origin speak Cantonese.

[163] Li, 1999, pp. 36 – 37, 39, 50.

[164] Li, 1999, p. 37.

[165] Rijkschroeff, 1998, p. 96.

[166] Verlaan, 1992, p. 2.

[167] Inspraak Orgaan Chinezen; Li, 1999, 31.

number of *liuxuesheng* students studying in the Netherlands was 1371.[168] As of 2010, the current size of the Chinese population in the Netherlands is estimated at approximately 100,000, of which the Cantonese and the Zhejiangese can be considered to make up the core of the Chinese community in the Netherlands (see Diagram 8).[169] Thus, as shown, the composition of the Chinese community in the Netherlands is highly diverse in terms of their origins, languages (see Table 4), socio-economic status and immigration history.[170]

Integration issues and why the restaurant trade?

During the early period of Chinese immigration to the Netherlands, the integration of the Cantonese seamen was almost out of question since 'many were sojourners'.[171] At the same time, many Chinese seamen felt completely at home in the Katendrecht area in Rotterdam. Some also forged lasting connections with Dutch women. The first Dutch-Chinese intermarriage was recorded in 1921.[172] Yet most of these Chinese were considered unwanted, if not illegal,[173] since some were engaged in smuggling opium, gambling, and violent internal conflicts between underworld organisations such as the 'Tong' conflict in 1922.[174]

The Dutch government has never advanced an integration policy for the descendants of pre-war Chinese. After the Second World War, Chinese migrants were successful in their own niche which reinforced the group image as self-reliant. The pre-war Chinese have always desired to remain invisible in Dutch society.[175] The majority of the Chinese migrants who

[168] Inspraak Orgaan Chinezen.

[169] Website IOC; Benton and Pieke, 1998, pp. 4, 125.

[170] Benton and Pieke, 1998, p. 125.

[171] Li, 1999, p. 32.

[172] Van Heek, 1936, p. 20, 66. According to van Heek, barely 5% maintained a long-term relationship with European women.

[173] Schrover, *et al*, 2008, p. 45.

[174] Wubben, 1986, pp. 66, 73, 81.

[175] Chong, 2005, p. 146.

originally came to the Netherlands believed that they were building a temporary livelihood and that they would eventually return to their homeland. As a direct consequence of this belief, the Chinese immigrant communities remained largely focused on their country of origin. They were primarily concerned with their own ethnic group and were not so much interested in integrating into their host country.[176] In a report, Pieke examines some of the social problems that emerged within the Chinese community at the end of the 1980s. During these years, there was a high unemployment rate among the Chinese because Chinese restaurants were facing increasing competition from other ethnic restaurants.[177] To some extent, this situation persisted into the 1990s (see Table 5). Besides, many of the Chinese elderly still cannot speak Dutch.[178] Almost 54 per cent of them have had no education or only primary school,[179] creating specific adaptation problems and making integration almost impossible.[180] According to Rijkschroeff, the director of IOC,[181] there are also other problems currently facing the Chinese community in the Netherlands such as the reintegration of the unemployed into the labour market, insufficient social assistance for the elderly, domestic violence, the adaptation challenges of the mail-order brides, gender inequality and discrimination against homosexuals.[182] This situation is in stark contrast to that of the Peranakan Chinese seniors, who, as a group, were not threatened by issues of self-reliance in any field as a result of a 'disadvantaged position'.[183] This might be a telling example of 'multilinear acculturation.' This is the idea that 'immigrant groups selectively acquire linguistic and other cultural practices of the majority culture without rejecting their

[176] Rijkschroeff, 1998. Cited by Vogels, Geense & Martens, 1999, p. 145.

[177] Pieke, 1988, pp. 17, 19.

[178] Butter & Chung, 1990, p. 28.

[179] Vogels, Geense & Martens, 1999, p. 59.

[180] Vogels, Geense & Martens, 1999, pp. 145, 184.

[181] IOC stands for Inspraakorgaan Chinezen, which is based on Maliebaan 13 in Utrecht and is the official interlocutor to the Dutch government representing the Chinese community in the Netherlands. It is established within the meaning of the Minority Policy Deliberation Law (Wet Overleg Minderhedenbeleid), denoting that the Chinese has had an official minority status since 2004.

[182] Interview with Rijkschroeff, April 4, 2011, in the telephone.

[183] Verlaan, 1992, p. 73.

own ethnic identity and culture.'[184] Indeed, Peranakans still maintain their Chinese identity, or at least keep it as one component of their socio-cultural identity.[185] For example, the majority of senior Peranakan Chinese maintains contacts within their own group, despite the fact that they have a good command of the Dutch language.[186]

However, overall Chinese educational performance is better than other ethnic groups in the CITO, which is a test in the final year of the primary school in the Netherlands, with the exception of the native Dutch and Northern and Western Europeans.[187] A similar situation also applies to tertiary education, where second and third generation Chinese students score far better than that of other immigrant ethnic groups such as the Turks or the Moroccans.[188] Their educational performance may be seen as an outcome of the Chinese family strategy, which is utilized to promote individual success and safeguard the economic security of their children in the future.[189] This is also reflected in the drive among Chinese for entrepreneurship. In particular, the Chinese are keen on being entrepreneurs in the restaurant trade.

A question may be posed as to what are the reasons behind Chinese immigrants' preference for pursuing specifically the restaurant trade? This question can be explored by examining two different aspects, namely, the cultural and the pragmatic aspects. Culturally, Chinese are in general willing to work long hours, especially when they are immigrants. In terms of solidarity, the Chinese family structure also plays an essential part. This means that family members are prepared to support one another[190] by providing financial means or practical help. Mutual reliance on the pooling of resources among relatives and lineage members

[184] Gibson, 1988, p. 217. Cited by Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 217.

[185] See Verlaan, 1992; Benton & Pieke, 1998, p. 130.

[186] Rijkschroeff, 1998, p. 120.

[187] Pieke, 1988, p. 20.

[188] Vogels, Geense & Martens, 1999, p. 54 – 55.

[189] See Pieke, 1991, p. 172.

[190] Rijkschroeff, 1998, p. 119.

provides an alternative for loans from financial institutions.[191] Moreover, among Chinese immigrants there is a competitive drive for achievement. Most Chinese immigrants want to start their own business and become independent entrepreneurs so that they can sustain their family members and provide a good education for their children.[192] Moreover, an important incentive for going into the business is autonomy and financial independence.[193] A well-known Chinese saying tells that, 'you will never get ahead if you are a worker'. These are the cultural factors that contribute to the desire for setting up one's own business. From a pragmatic point of view, only a limited know-how, a low formal education and a meager capital investment are required to run a small restaurant while one's wife and children can serve as a readily available labour force used free of charge.[194] Besides, there were few other opportunities to earn a livelihood and to get ahead due to limited education in the Western labour market.[195] However, a favorable market situation and an active government policy in the catering trade are prerequisites needed for the entrepreneurs to run a successful business in this sector. Ethnic economies provide migrant workers with employment.[196] It was thus the Chinese restaurant trade that led to the emigration of the *Man* lineage from Hong Kong to Britain and the Netherlands.

The migration trajectory of the lineage Man from the New Territories

The migration trajectory of the *Man* lineage follows the general pattern of Chinese migration to the Netherlands which was marked by the initial migration of Chinese seamen and the later chain migration that emerged from Hong Kong. According to a census conducted by Watson in San Tin village, one-third of 38 households he studied had a male who had been a seaman between 1900 and 1940 since they were poor and landless. They were recruited as

[191] Christiansen, 2003, p. 148.

[192] Rijkschroeff, 1998, p. 111.

[193] Leung, 2004, p. 113.

[194] Benton and Pieke, 1998, pp. 130 – 131; Pieke, 1987, p. 72 – 73; Song, 1995, p. 289.

[195] Song, 1995, p. 287; see also Leung, 2004, p. 113.

[196] Alba & Nee, 2005, p. 233.

seamen by European ships during the first decades of the last century since most Pacific freighter companies had usually a transitory stop at Hong Kong. Once employed, if they saw an opportunity, the seamen often jumped ship either in New York, London, Liverpool or Amsterdam. At least 15% of seamen never returned; 'they were either killed at sea or never heard from again'.[197] However, there were successful stories.

One of the successful stories of seamen among the *Man* lineage coming to the Netherlands was that of Wen Chang.[198] Wen Chang was born in Chau Tau in 1905. In 1927, he arrived in the Netherlands through Jakarta. He initially worked as a cook in a restaurant in Rotterdam but he eventually started his own business in The Hague in 1936. He and another lineage member Man Tchao Tcho (see Diagrams 9 and 12) from San Tin first opened a grocery store[199] and then later a Chinese restaurant[200] in the same street. In 1942, he married a Dutch woman in The Hague and they had four children. Although he had settled down in the Netherlands, a 'blind marriage' had been arranged for him while he was away. A ceremony had been held in which, because of his absence, a live chicken had been used to replace the groom during the wedding festivities. In 1948, he returned to Hong Kong and arranged work for his brother and a number of other family members in the Netherlands.[201] According to the municipal population register, there were other members of the *Man* lineage registered in The Hague during the 1930s and 1940s; one of whom was a keeper of boarding houses. By the late 1950s, Wen Chang opened a noodle factory in Amsterdam. He had opened a number of restaurants in different places throughout the Netherlands, namely, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Landsmeer and Uithoorn between 1950 and 1975.[202]

[197] Watson, 1975, pp. 60 – 61.

[198] *Wen* is mandarin for *Man*. His name in Cantonese is Man Kam Sheung. Because he had to collect his documents from Shenzhen in the Southern border of China, Mandarin is used instead of Cantonese.

[199] Toko Insulinde is located at Thomsonplein 26c in The Hague.

[200] Restaurant Insulinde is located at Thomsonplein 51 in The Hague.

[201] Interview with Wen T. T. and Wen T. C. Sons of Wen Chang, October 17, 2010 in Chau Tau. See also Watson, 1975, p. 65 about 'blind marriages' arranged for seamen.

[202] Interview with Wen T. T. and Wen T. C. Sons of Wen Chang, October 17, 2010 in Chau Tau.

As a result of the agricultural crisis in the New Territories in Hong Kong in the 1950's, farmers were unable to extract a profit from growing red rice. Moreover, they were not enthusiastic to work on poultry farming or fish pond management. By the end of the 1950s, chain migration to Britain took off in San Tin (See Tables 6 and 7) because the villagers started looking overseas for work due to limited education for skilled jobs and gloomy prospects in San Tin. On the one hand, emigrants from New Territories were admitted freely to Britain by virtue of 1962 Common Wealth Immigration Act,[203] and, on the other hand, lineage members of San Tin had already been gradually migrated to Britain through lineage networks throughout the 1950s. Once they arrived in Britain, they were usually accommodated by either co-villagers or lineage members who then tried to find a job for them. However, eventually many of these immigrants re-migrated to the Netherlands because of the restaurant boom and the labour shortage here. Another additional reason to have a job in the Netherlands was due to the child allowance, which could provide substantial financial resources on a regular basis for the household.[204]

By the end of the 1950s, as usual, lineage members from San Tin travelled in groups by ship since it was cheaper than by plane. The ship voyage took more than a month to arrive in Marseille and from there they travelled to London by train. After having paid almost 1,400 Hong Kong dollars[205] per person, they lodged in the storage cabin in the hull of the ship and slept in camp beds. In order to afford the ship ticket, many of them had to sell their properties, including land or buffaloes.[206] The following narrative tells the story of a senior member of the lineage of *Man* who first went to Britain in 1958 and then immigrated to the Netherlands. He explains:

'I was born in 1921. I was a farmer and farming became difficult at that time. I went to London first, working there for two weeks, and became unemployed. I therefore came to

[203] Watson, pp. 51 - 52 – 59.

[204] Interview with Man M. F., September 20, 2010 in the Netherlands & Man C. S., October 13, 2010 in San Tin.

[205] The exchange rate was 1 Dutch Guilder = 1.5 HK Dollar.

[206] Interview with Man P. H., October 8, 2010 in San Tin.

Holland. Residence permit was easy to get provided you were employed. Like everyone from the village at that time, I worked as a cook and earned f400 a month.[207] Saving money is not easy until my wage got higher. At first, I was just a sojourner because ultimately I thought we would be deported. Later, when I started my own restaurant, I began to settle down. I let my wife and children come here. It was regrettable to leave my mother at home. I opened my restaurant with little capital because the brewery and the suppliers had provided me with loans. As if I am a dumb man, I can't speak Dutch. Therefore I had only contact with my own people. I'm satisfied with what I've achieved. But in order to succeed, one must not gamble, be willing to work hard and save money.'[208]

After starting his own restaurant, he arranged jobs and residence permits for some young fellow lineage members from San Tin in the 1960s and 1970s. The following narrative of another member of the *Man* lineage shows just how difficult the situation was when he arrived in Amsterdam in 1963. He recounts:

'I borrowed £350 from a fellow lineage member in Britain and came via Belgium to Holland. Because I had no work, I was accommodated by a lineage member from Chau Tau village in his restaurant in Amsterdam. At night, I and a fellow lineage member slept in one single bed but in the opposite direction with his feet beside me. I learned some skills while working there. In 1966, I started to run a restaurant in Utrecht with other 4 co-villagers as partners and later I opened 3 other restaurants of my own. In order to start, I had to borrow money from other lineage members. I think I'm successful, but I would have preferred to stay in San Tin because of nostalgia.'[209]

[207] It is noteworthy that those who had no experience in cooking must first carry out low-paid menial jobs such as cleaning or washing dishes in the kitchen. His wage of f400 would have amounted to about 600 HK Dollars. The wage of an average unskilled worker was 150 –250 HK Dollars in Hong Kong in that period.

[208] Video recorded by Man S. Y. To be seen on Youtube.

[209] Interview with Man S. K., July 10, 2010, in the Netherlands.

During the 1960s, many lineage members returned to their villages for a while. Those who had found success displayed their wealth by constructing new modern houses.[210] The obvious success of their family members or co-villagers encouraged many to embark on a similar adventure. However, this time most new migrants travelled by plane. Eager to get started, many young lineage members followed the trend and began to migrate even though they had not finished their secondary school. Other young lineage members migrated on account of family reunification or for political reasons because political riots broke out in Hong Kong in 1967.

By the middle of the 1970s, almost all able-bodied men had left the village for work overseas, leaving mainly the elderly or women with small children at home (see Tables 6 and 7). The situation in Chau Tau was not much different from San Tan. The emigrants included farmers, teachers, policemen, industrial workers, truck drivers, bus drivers, and students, whose labour voucher were generally arranged by agnates who owned a restaurant here. However, many young lineage members returned to Hong Kong for a few months in the 1970s. They sought for an espouse, got married and then came back to Europe again. It is noteworthy that not all lineage members had arranged work or residence permits in Europe before they left. Many were initially illegal immigrants in Europe and some were deported. Furthermore, there were some lineage members who failed in their attempt to establish successful businesses.

The restaurant trade in the Netherlands continued to flourish in the 1960s and 1970s (See Table 3).[211] Restaurants continued to spring up in cities, towns and villages throughout the Netherlands, providing many lineage members with steady employment. However, because only minimal capital[212] was needed and partnership was for the most part unnecessary, many (young) lineage members, who learned the skills of the restaurant trade, started restaurants or takeaways of their own (See Diagrams 13 – 14). Some even tried to set up

[210] Watson called them 'Sterling house'. Watson, 1975, p. 155.

[211] Rijkschroeff, 1998, p. 63.

[212] One of the interviewees mentioned that he only started with f3,000 to open a restaurant of his own, but this represents a very exceptional case.

other businesses, such as grocery stores, growing Chinese vegetables, producing fortune cookies, exporting mushrooms and manufacturing pizza, with limited success[213] except in just a few cases. For example, one set of brothers established a travel agency based in London and Amsterdam, with the aim of organizing charter flights between Europe and Hong Kong especially for the so-called restaurant workers in the 1970s and early 1980s.[214] However, ultimately owning a restaurant represented a sort of achievement and earned own much prestige among lineage members. Some interviewees felt extremely proud, particularly when they mentioned the number of restaurants they had opened, or when they recounted their ability to mastermind a chain of restaurants at such a young age. By virtue of the European Economic Community (EEC) provision on the free movement of EU citizens,[215] some naturalised Dutch lineage members even re-migrated to Germany and Belgium, while others in Britain moved back and forth between different EEC countries in the 1970s and 1980s. However, the majority of Man lineage members, who immigrated to the Netherlands, settled down here because they had established a business or a household. Their children went to school in the Netherlands and obtained a Dutch education. However, a few children (6 out of the 47 surveyed) were sent back to Hong Kong in order to learn Cantonese and to be exposed to Chinese culture. At present, some lineage members of the second generation have taken over restaurants from their fathers and many are professionals. Some have moved to Hong Kong, taking up well-paid jobs there thanks to their achieved education in the Netherlands.

Beginning in the middle of the 1990s, increased numbers of lineage members started to return to San Tin or Chau Tau for business, or for retirement. Most of the experiences their recount about their immigration are positive. The following narratives reveal some of their migration experiences:

[213] Interview with Man S., October 20, 2010 in San Tin.

[214] Watson, 2004, p. 899.

[215] Every EU citizen is entitled to move freely within the Union.

As a young lineage member who migrated at the age of 17 to Britain in 1965 and then re-migrated to the Netherlands in the 1980s, Man P. said: 'The key to success is language.'[216] As a returnee after establishing in Britain, the Netherlands and Canada for decades, Man S. said: 'Migration is a good thing. My children are professionals. Education is very important.'[217] According to Man L., 'If one migrates for the sake of livelihood, he must go wherever, has to adapt whatever circumstances he faces. '[218] In 1997, Man L. returned home after initially working as a young illegal migrant in Belgium and then becoming legally established in the Netherlands and Belgium from 1970s onwards.

The former chairman of the Man Clansmen Association based in London, Man K. Y., who has lived abroad since the 1950s, believed that 'migration was a way to make money despite a lack of knowledge.'[219] Another interviewee, who had established in the Netherlands since the 1960s, confessed that he would have also achieved something if he had not got involved with gambling.[220] Man H. L., who migrated to the Netherlands when he had just finished his pre-university education in the 1970s, regretted that his move had contributed to a disconnection between young lineage members.[221] Many of the interviewees mentioned that their roots were in San Tin. In terms of educating their children, some parents adopted a more liberal position, while other parents attempted to introduce Chinese tradition and cultures to their offspring as much as possible and let them recognize their former home village and their ancestral roots.

Reinforcing the lineage identity

The migration of the *Man* lineage to Britain and the Netherlands has led to the establishment of a lineage organization for their members. The aim of this organization is on

[216] Interview with Man P., October 19, 2010, in San Tin.

[217] Imterview with Man S.., October 20, 2010 in San Tin.

[218] Interview with Man L., October 19, 2010, in San Tin.

[219] Interview with Man K. Y., October 18, 2010 in San Tin.

[220] Interview with Man H., October 17, 2010 in San Tin.

[221] Interview with Man H. L., March 30, 2010 in Amsterdam.

the one hand to stimulate mutual contacts between lineage members in their host countries, while on the other hand, also attempting to consolidate their nostalgic ties with the village of their birth. Originally, the gathering of the *Mans* in Britain had an informal character and meetings might be convened on an *ad hoc* basis for special occasions.[222] There were nevertheless more personal contacts between certain agnates at the individual level. However, on July 18, 1976, a special meeting was convened in London with the aim of establishing a *Man* Clansmen Association in Europe. Fundraising for the association had begun. The initial target was set at £120,000. The association commenced operation on 1 February 1977 and lineage members in Britain began to raise funds in different European countries, such as the Netherlands and Germany, in order to purchase a premises in London, which was primarily intended for meetings and recreation. The plan was ultimately realised a few years later.[223] In the Netherlands, lineage members also tried twice to establish such an organization in the 1980s and 1990s, but failed. It is not until August 8, 2000 that the Stichting Familie Man Europa[224] was founded in Amsterdam. Ultimately, a premises serving as venue was purchased for over €550,000 in Amsterdam in June 2001 with financial assistance provided by the *Man* Association in London (see Diagram 15) and a great deal of help from other lineage members due to a sequence of intense fundraising events in different European countries, Hong Kong and China. Over the past decade, a range of activities such as the celebration of festivals (especially for the elderly), day trips and golf tournaments were organized, and the contact between lineage members – in particular the first generation – in Europe has been intensified thanks to the Foundation (see Diagram 16 – 17). However, it is noteworthy that the functions of these two organizations differ from early regional *Hui-kuan*, which provided accommodation for their clansmen and looked for jobs for them.[225] Although one of the objectives of the *Man* Foundation in the Netherlands is to assist lineage members to better integrate into Dutch society, their efforts in this regard have been very limited. Instead, the *Man* Foundation has focused to a great extent on recreational activities and stimulates mutual contacts among lineage members.

[222] Watson, 1975, p. 123.

[223] The premises of Man Clansmen Association is based on 4 Romilly Street, London.

[224] Lineage Man Foundation in Europe. It is based on the Binnen Bantammerstraat 20 in Amsterdam.

[225] These functions were already carried out by individual lineage members.

But why has the *Man* lineage attached so importance to the establishment of such organisations? What do these types of organizations mean to the *Man* lineage? To put it simply, these organizations are seen as a way to reinforce lineage identity. Identification is associated with ascription; so it matters who is considered a member of the group.[226] According to Castles and Davidson, there are four forms of ethnic consciousness in responding to the reality and experiences in Western societies, notably, assimilation, separatist consciousness, transcultural consciousness and diasporic consciousness. The *Man* lineage has a diasporic consciousness because they identity chiefly with their ancestral village and with people of the same origin in their host society.[227] In other words, lineage members have overlapping and partially shared perceptions of what is significant to them, for example, 'communal assets, common roots, lifestyles, organization and business forms.'[228] Group identification, by definition, postulates that all lineage members regard each other in part as similar and lineage membership hinges on this symbolic construction because it fosters a sense of shared belonging. For example, both *Man* lineage organizations in Europe use the story of the famous patriotic General Man Tin Cheung of the Song Dynasty on their websites. General Man is used as a symbol to spur loyalty among all or most of the lineage members of *Man* in Europe. Another illustration of fostering the feeling of belonging to a larger group occurs during the yearly celebration of the moon festival in August of the lunar year. At this time, those lineage members who have achieved tertiary education are granted a prize as an incentive for their hard work. This practice can also act *for* the lineage, as a symbol *of* the lineage, diffusing a range of, not necessarily congruent or harmonious meanings. This is the way, on the one hand, that the *Man* lineage – as a group – distinguishes themselves, and discriminates against other groups, with the intent of ascertaining their own positive social appraisal and collective self-respect. Yet, on the other hand, the similarities of lineage membership are largely imagined.[229] It is an imagined bond

[226] Jenkins, 2008, p. 131; Christiansen, 1998, p. 42.

[227] Castles & Davidson, 2000, p. 139.

[228] Christiansen, 1998, p. 42.

[229] Jenkins, 2008, pp. 113, 132, 134 – 136.

because most lineage members – as agnates of a kinship group – will never know the majority of their co-villagers, will ever come across them or will ever even hear about them.[230] In the case of group formation, the imagined lineage is utilized to generate a sense of belonging that lends pride to their collective memory, common ancestors and rituals. Imagined lineage thus constitutes the integral part of identity consolidation, especially for the diasporic consciousness.[231] Thus, organizations as task-oriented collectivities are among the most significant contexts within which group identification appears to be consequential.[232]

For both organizations, succession appears to be a problem since few young lineage members intend to participate in these organizations. In Britain, the young lineage members – many of whom are professionals – are not overly enthusiastic about the Association, while in the Netherlands, the majority of young lineage members do not even know that the Foundation exists. For this reason, a specific body, notably, the Stichting Familie Man Jongeren,[233] was established at the end of 2010 in order to organize more activities for young members in the Netherlands. They hope to stimulate more contact between the younger lineage members, for example, through the internet, so that, hopefully, more young members will be interested in getting involved in the organization.

Conclusion

The composition of the Chinese community in the Netherlands is highly diverse in terms of their place of birth, socio-economic status and immigration history. At present, there are Chinese who come from Zhejiang and Guangdong provinces in mainland China, as well as Indonesia, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Suriname and Vietnam. The Netherlands has also witnessed a recent influx of Chinese students who are pursuing a degree abroad. For the most part,

[230] The concept is borrowed from Anderson's notion of imagined community. See Anderson, 1983, pp. 15 – 16.

[231] See Matthews, 2002, p. 75.

[232] Jenkins, 2008, p. 45.

[233] Lineage Man Youth Foundation.

Chinese immigrants, because of their own self-reliance, have been largely invisible in Dutch society since the prewar period. Their integration in Dutch society was also never considered a large priority because they did not regard the host society as their home. Not only did many of the new immigrants have low levels of education which would make learning a new language difficult, they also considered themselves sojourners and they anticipated returning home someday. In the 1980s, social problems began to emerge in the Chinese community. This was in part caused by the high employment rates among restaurant workers since Chinese restaurants were facing increasing competition from other ethnic restaurants. Currently, there are other problems facing the community, such as the reintegration of the unemployed into the labour market, insufficient social assistance for the elderly, issues concerning domestic violence and mail-order brides, and gender inequality and discrimination against homosexuals. Yet compared to the performance of other second generation immigrant youth, the Chinese students perform on average far better than other ethnic students, such as the Turks and Moroccans. When comparing the integration problems of the Chinese elderly with the 'multilinear acculturation' of the Peranakan Chinese and the educational performances of the second generation, it can be argued that education and language are two important determining factors in the process of integration.

Beginning in the 1920s, Chinese food was first introduced to the Dutch population and continued to flourish until the 1980s. The success of the Chinese restaurant trade in the Netherlands was due in large part to the return of the Dutch Eurasians to the Netherlands and the experience with Indonesian food of some 108,000[234] Dutch soldiers who were engaged in the colonial war at the end of the 1940s. Chinese are inclined to run restaurants as a livelihood. The structure of Chinese family and their lineage networks also contribute to their success in running and staffing their restaurant. It was the restaurant trade that led to the emigration of the *Man* lineage first from Hong Kong to Britain and then later to the Netherlands by the end of the 1950s. As a matter of fact, the migration trajectory of the *Man* lineage follows the general pattern of Chinese migration to the Netherlands. It initially began with the migration of Chinese seamen and later developed into chain migration from Hong Kong to Britain and then the Netherlands. Before the chain migration to Europe, poor

[234] Lucassen, instructed in 2011.

lineage members of San Tin had already been forced to seek work as seamen because they were poor and landless. This fits with the assumption that family structure has a strong correlation with the pattern of migration since these seamen operated as pioneers and paved the path for their kinsmen at home to move abroad. As a result, a lineage network spanning the place of origin and the place of destination developed which facilitated chain migration. However, the chain migration that occurred during the 1950s and later had more impact on the two villages of Chau Tau and San Tin than the earlier seamen's adventures.

Many lineage members of *Man* began their migratory trek to the Netherlands in the late 1950s 'with little but the shirts on their backs'[235] or even with debts. Like other Chinese immigrants here, their livelihood was inextricably linked with the restaurant trade. As a matter of fact, their social behaviors, norms, values and beliefs, such as their competitive impulse, drive to achieve, autonomy, diligence and resilience, as well as their sojourners' mentality in the initial period, do not differ from the general traits of the Chinese immigrant community in the Netherlands. Moreover, the tendency of the *Man* lineage members to primarily have contact with people of their same origin or community is not very different from the experience of other Chinese immigrants. The migration of the *Man* came also out of a desire to provide a better future for their children similar to other Chinese migrants. As a result, their experience of migration has for the most part been positive because they have been able to provide their children with an opportunity to have a good education.

However, although being part of the larger Chinese community, the *Man* lineage makes up its own separate group because of their specific kinship identity. Before the male agnate left the village, a kinship network was already in existence abroad to provide him with accommodation and facilitate his adaptation in a new environment, exhibiting the virtues of a strong lineage such as mutual countenance and responsibility. This is the bearing the emigration had on their lineage and social relationship. In other words, its success in Europe can to a great extent be attributed to its social capital. The success of fundraising in order to purchase a property for the Dutch lineage organization is also evidence of the mutual support and solidarity of the *Man* lineage in Europe, China and Hong Kong. Nevertheless,

[235] Watson, 2004, p. 894.

although this organization has consolidated the lineage identity abroad, it remains to be seen whether it can involve the Dutch–speaking young agnates in observing the tradition of strong lineage, notably, brotherhood, unity and solidarity.

Chapter 3 The rationale behind the exodus

Introduction

According to Watson, it was the waning agricultural economy in San Tin village that constituted the major 'push' factor, which contributed to making it into an emigration community, while the enticement of better paid jobs in Britain and 'a nucleus of fellow members already established abroad' comprised the 'pull' factors drawing the outward flow of migrants.[236] However, a complete examination of the residents of San Tin and their choice to migrate must include a wider survey of (interdependent) developments during that period. Moreover, how these decisions were made by lineage members at the personal level should also be taken into account. Therefore, in order to find out the rationale behind their exodus to Europe, particularly to Britain and the Netherlands, it seems more logical to address the 'conditioning effects'[237] of the complex variables at different levels across time and space, namely the macro, the meso and the micro levels. The advantage of such a comprehensive analysis is that it takes into consideration the broader context and examines how personal actors responded to certain emerging structural factors embedded in this broader context. The underlying causes of chain migration can then be investigated in this case given that the transformation of San Tin was largely the result of a combination of a series of (interdependent) events that would 'set this village apart from most others in the New Territories.'[238] As a matter of fact, the rationale behind such decisions to migrate demonstrates the interaction between structure and agency, culminating in chain migration. In other words, various structural factors and previously established social networks simultaneously influenced the decision-making process of individual lineage members to leave the village, thereby playing a significant role in making transnational migration possible.

The chapter will first embark on the examination of various structural factors at the macro level which contributed to the exodus of the villagers, notably, the ramifications of

[236] Watson, 1975, p. 54.

[237] Boyd, 2000, p. 65.

[238] Watson, 1975, p. 54.

colonialism, the national immigration legislation and policies, the economic situation in the New Territories at the end of the 1950s, the labour shortage in the restaurant trade in Britain and the Netherlands between the 1950s and the 1970s and the political developments in China. It will then move on to the meso level and examine membership in an emigration community which seemed to serve as a driving force for migration. Accordingly, this thesis will delve into the history of the *Man* lineage, placing emphasis on their lineage identity and mutual support. Lineage members would have arguably availed themselves of such a network at hand, helping to facilitate their sojourn to their host society. Finally, it will examine the issue at the micro level. It will specifically look at how the initiative of individual lineage members to emigrate was for the most part totally contingent on the personal expectations and ambitions of the actor involved. In relation to this fact, some of the reasons why immigrants were willing to move will be revealed by providing the personal narratives of the migrants themselves.

An examination at the macro level

Between 1800 and the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the European colonial empires – in particular Britain – incorporated a substantial amount of land into their colonial properties. The heyday of imperialism laid the foundation for the movement of people, since migrants travelled while empires expanded. In the post-World War II period, European colonial empires collapsed, thereby creating an additional impetus for a great deal of migration. As a matter of fact, all 800 million citizens of the British Commonwealth and Empire were entitled to settle in Britain by virtue of the British Nationality Act of 1948.[239] In other words, if Hong Kong had not been a British colony, then migration to Britain would have never occurred. Without European imperialism, as Mckeown points out 'Asians would have remained tradition-bound, immobile peasants, subject only to Asian despotism and crude Malthusian pressures',[240] therefore precluding the possibility of the formation of a flourishing Chinese diaspora in Britain.

[239] King, 2007, p. 117.

[240] Mckeown, 2008, p. 46.

One of the ramifications of colonialism was that Britain had to reconsider its immigration policy. In order to strengthen the nexus between Britain and the White Commonwealth,[241] the British Nationality Act of 1948 was promulgated. As a result, citizenship was bestowed upon all residents of the colonies and Commonwealth by virtue of this Act, entailing that Chinese in Hong Kong were entitled to the same right of abode in Britain as other British citizens.[242] At the colonial level, due to increasing unemployment in the New Territories, the colonial government encouraged villagers to emigrate to Britain and other European countries in the 1950s. This policy was adopted in order to alleviate the unemployment problems,[243] but it might also be considered an additional motivating factor which influenced the villagers' decision to leave their homeland. Although the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962[244] split citizenship rights from immigration rights by abolishing the right of free access to Britain and making admittance conditional upon a Labour Voucher (see Diagram 18),[245] the *Man* lineage members from both villages could still enter Britain because their kinsmen in Britain were able to arrange such labour vouchers for them.

In Continental Western Europe, due to persistent economic growth and the aversion of native workers towards certain jobs in relation to wages and working conditions, migrants – or the so-called 'guest workers'[246] – became structurally indispensable in the 1950s.[247] In the Netherlands, the labour shortage persisted into the 1960s. In 1964, a favourable migration regime – Act of Work Permits for Foreigners[248] – came into force, granting many *Man* lineage members the right to work in the Netherlands. By virtue of this legislation,

[241] Brown, 2006, p. 178.

[242] Benton & Gomez, 2008, p. 326.

[243] Watson, 1975, p. 76.

[244] According to Watson, the increase in migration levels in 1962 was attributed to the conscious desire to beat the Act's deadline. However, such a claim was never made by the interviewees for this study. See Tables 6 & 7 and Watson, 1975, pp. 70 – 77.

[245] Benton & Gomez, 2008, p. 326; Hoerder, 2002, p. 502.

[246] See also Lucassen, 2005, p. 15.

[247] Hoerder, 2002, p. 520.

[248] Wet Arbeidsvergunning Vreemdelingen. Vijfeeuwenmigratie.nl.

many work permits were successfully arranged by lineage members in the Netherlands for their agnates at home. Only in the 1970s did the Dutch government adopt a more strict admission policy for migrant workers because of an economic recession.[249] Hence, the emigrants' choice of their final destination was largely dependent upon the national immigration legislation and policies. These policies played a crucial role in the decision-making process of the emigrants. For example, the reason why *Man* lineage members were not inclined to emigrate to the US was probably because of its 1882 Exclusion Act that 'banned the immigration of Chinese labourers',[250] despite the fact that lineage members had become established there in the early decades of the last century.

In the 1950s, farmers in the New Territories in Hong Kong shifted away from growing paddy rice to growing vegetables. In order to decrease the colony's dependence on China, the colonial government encouraged the cultivation of vegetables culminating in the so-called 'vegetable revolution.' It was also much more lucrative[251] to grow vegetables because of high demand in the urban vegetable markets as result of increasing population growth.[252] However, the villagers of San Tin were unable to extract profits from growing vegetables because their environment was not suitable for cultivation alike. As a result, San Tin was severely hit for several reasons. For centuries, the *Man* lineage in San Tin had been able to sustain themselves through traditional agricultural production, notably, the growing of 'red rice' in 'brackish' or 'salty' fields. While other farmers were switching to vegetable production, the *Man* lineage in San Tin continued to adhere to its traditional production since one of the main prerequisites for engaging in vegetable cultivation was securing a fresh water supply which would require a considerable investment. Moreover, the old brackish fields in San Tin would need to be properly flushed by means of a fresh water ecosystem and it would take years before the land would become suitable for growing vegetables. In addition, they lacked the know-how needed to manage individual plots in terms of water

[249] Vijfeeuwenmigratie.nl.

[250] King, 2007, p. 158.

[251] It was more lucrative because most vegetable plots were capable of yielding 5 crops a year while paddies produced only a crop. See Watson, 1975, p. 44; Benton & Gomez, 2008, p. 36.

[252] Watson, 1795, pp. 30, 43 – 44; Benton & Gomez, 2008, p. 36.

supply and fertilizer and it required a lot of hard work just to make vegetable farming profitable. For these reasons, the villagers of San Tin leased most of the dry land they possessed, which was considered to be potentially amenable to vegetable production and poultry farm, to Teochiu immigrant farmers from Shantou by the end of the 1950s. However, this sort of 'landlordism' did not bring in more income than the value of a few cigarettes a year. Most critically, the red rice the farmers of San Tin produced at the beginning of the 1960s faced severe competition from the relatively cheap Southeast Asian long-grain rice imported from Thailand. To make matters worse, labour costs rose during the harvest period since the labour-intensive vegetable farming had hired nearly all the temporary labourers available. Therefore, as a result of 'agricultural crisis', the majority of *Man* farmers in San Tin stopped farming between 1960 and 1962.[253] According to a senior lineage member, life had become difficult because agricultural products from China were dumped into the market.[254] The only option available to San Tin villagers was to look for other opportunities or employment alternatives to sustain their livelihood.[255] However, due to the presence of large numbers of refugees from China who were also looking for jobs,[256] it seemed almost impossible for the afflicted farmers to find work because of their limited education and experience. This gloomy view was even shared by the young people, who were studying at school and did not believe that the general economic situation offered many prospects in Hong Kong in the 1960s and 1970s. It was not even easy for them to find a job, notwithstanding that some had pre-university qualifications. Entering the university was almost impossible because there was only one university[257] and it had a very high admissions threshold and tuition fees. Therefore, migration to Europe seemed a reasonable decision, since working in a restaurant abroad offered more favourable employment alternatives while providing relatively high incomes. Moreover, they were colonial subjects so their entry

[253] This situation dovetailed with the pinnacle of the first wave of the chain migration that took place in 1962. See Table 6 & 7.

[254] Interview with Man C., September 6, 2010 in Amsterdam.

[255] Watson, 1975, pp. 39, 42, 45 – 49, 51 – 52, 54.

[256] Benton & Gomez, 2008, p. 36.

[257] Though a privately funded tertiary educational institute was granted an official status as a university in 1964 – the second university in Hong Kong then, the provision of public tertiary education still fell short at that time.

into Britain was unrestricted particularly prior to 1962. As already mentioned in Chapter 2, many lineage members were able to re-migrate to the Netherlands thanks to their British passport. They moved to the Netherlands because of the labour shortage in the restaurant sector between the 1950s and 1970s. The opportunity to work was one of the major factors enticing villagers to move here. In other words, the villagers would have opted for other countries, if they had not been employed.

In 1967, riots broke out in Hong Kong as a result of an industrial dispute. These protests soon culminated in violent conflicts between the police and industrial workers. On the one hand, the leftists, who organized the protests against the colonial authority, used the confrontation as an opportunity to expose social injustice and vent disgruntlement.[258] On the other hand, the uprising was considered a spillover of the Cultural Revolution[259] which occurred in China in 1966. At the height of the turmoil, a bomb exploded outside the office of the Rural Committee, which was subsidized by the colonial government.[260] As a consequence, many villagers became concerned about social disorder and political security in Hong Kong and scrambled to move to Europe. The height of migration levels in 1966 echoed this panic (See Table 6). One of the ramifications of the riots was the further deterioration of the economic situation in Hong Kong, producing even fewer employment opportunities that in turn prompted more migration. Hence the structural factors mentioned above were among the causes of the migration of the *Man* lineage to Europe.

An examination at the meso level

Before analysing the contributing factors which affected villagers' behaviour with regard to migration at the meso level, a brief history of the *Man* lineage will be introduced. According to the genealogy of San Tin, the apical ancestor of the *Man* lineage is Man Tin Sui, who was the first cousin[261] of General Man Tin Cheung[262] (1236 – 1283), a highly regarded national

[258] Wong, hku.hk.

[259] Wong, hku, hk.

[260] Watson, 1975, p. 18.

[261] In the Chinese family structure, such a relationship is still regarded as a brother of each other because they originated from a common paternal grandfather. By the same token, agnates also refer to their fellow agnates as 'brother.'

hero and patriot of the Southern Song Dynasty in Chinese history. Although he was captured and imprisoned by the Mongol invaders, General Man did not surrender. He was eventually executed in 1283. General Man has always been admired as an exalted figure for his unyielding spirit and persistent observance of righteousness and his poems are often invoked to educate and to instill patriotism.[263] Naturally, such a historical figure has become part and parcel of constructing the identity of the *Man* lineage, diffusing significant symbolic meaning for its lineage members. Several years ago, a Man Tin Cheung Park was established in memory of the patriotic hero at San Tin, reaffirming the affinity of the *Man* lineage with this loyal figure.

After defeat by the Mongols, Man Tin Sui fled to Huizhou in Guangdong province and later became established in Hainan.[264] The seven segments *(Feng)* of the Man lineage in this province can all trace their heritage to this apical ancestor. The progenitor of Tai Hang village Man Yam (of the 5th generation) belonged to the sixth segment, while the progenitor of San Tin village, Man Maan Sheung (of the 5th generation), belonged to the seventh segment. The grandson of Man Maan Sheung, Man Sai Gor (of the 7th generation), was believed to be a deserter from the Ming Dynasty and fled to Tuen Mun[265] in the New Territories. Due to the nuisance of bandits in that area, he had moved to San Tin in 1429,[266] and is therefore considered the founding ancestor of this village. His grandson, Man Ting See (of the 9th generation) moved to Chau Tau, and is, by the same token, regarded as the founding ancestor of that village. In sum, all three villages are single-lineage villages based in the New Territories that share a (remote) common ancestor, namely, Man Ying Lun (of the 2nd generation), the son of Man Tin Sui (see Diagrams 19 – 20). Currently, the group of descendants in San Tin has now reached the twenty-eighth generation. San Tin is the largest

[262] Wen Tianxiang in Mandarin.

[263] Website Cultural China.

[264] Currently, the *Man* lineage in San Tin has been raising funds for the construction of an ancestral hall for him in Qu Chong in Hainan.

[265] His grave is therefore situated on the side of a hill at Tuen Mun. See Diagram 2 & 21.

[266] *Man* Clansmen Association (Europe).

village among the three with a population of over 3,000 inhabitants,[267] while Chau Tau has a population of no more than 800. There are also a few thousand villagers in Tai Hang.

Geographically, San Tin is located in the Northwest frontier of the New Territories, enclosed on three sides by the brackish marshes of the Deep Bay (see Diagram 21). San Tin is made up of eight sub-villages with little discernable demarcation between them (see Diagram 22).[268] It is a single-lineage village because of its nucleated settlement pattern,[269] which is fairly common in Guangdong and Fujian provinces. Chau Tau lies only a few kilometres away from San Tin so it is sometimes considered a sub-village of San Tin, while Tai Han is located near Tai Po (see Diagram 21). In San Tin, there are five ancestral halls (see Diagram 5), serving as a symbol of common descent and a token of lineage solidarity. These ancestral halls are structurally indispensable within an organized kinship for their ceremonial importance and symbolic meaning. For example, incense is offered on certain ritual occasions to the ancestral tablets kept above the altar (see Diagram 23).

As mentioned above, San Tin had an ample agricultural environment, even though lineage members were not prepared or lacked the technology to put it to optimal use. About 65 per cent of the land in San Tin is property owned by a trust or 'patricorporations'[270] established by the lineage segments as 'corporately-owned ancestral estates.'[271] Like the Tang lineage in Pin Shan, the *Man* lineage found itself in a remote region on the edge of the frontier of the Chinese empire. In these remote places, the influence of the empire was particularly weak.[272] In such 'a state of near anarchy',[273] the *Man* lineage also took up a military function to protect its property or defend itself against any attempt of invasion by organizing a strong lineage militia that patrolled and guarded the village as a method of mutual protect and self-

[267] *Man* Clansmen Association (Europe).

[268] Watson, 1975, p. 12.

[269] Everyone living in the village is in principle a member of the lineage.

[270] Gates, 2005. Cited by Kok, 2010, p. 236.

[271] Watson, 1975, p. 36.

[272] Potter, 1970, pp. 135, 137.

[273] Potter, 1970, p. 135.

defence (see Diagram 24).[274] Although San Tin was not located in an area where industry and commerce were highly developed, it can be argued that, Man lineage in San Tin has traditionally been a tightly-organized and stable lineage because of its agricultural environment, its location on the edge of the frontier and the lack of governmental control. These are among the contributing factors which provided favourable conditions for the evolution of a relatively strong lineage.[275] It was strong in the sense that collectively owned ancestral property had precluded the disintegration of the kinship group over time.[276] Such a strong lineage had generated strong ties, cohesion and the common bonds that easily triggered chain migration by means of the transnational lineage network because fellow lineage members were already working and living in the country of destination[277] and 'families were the basic institution on which migration networks were built',[278] rendering the village into en 'emigrant community with an economy almost totally dependent upon remittances'.[279] Moreover, when farming the land became futile, many villagers were forced, like the landless lineage members or seamen before them, to try to find fortune elsewhere.

According to Boyd, 'networks connect migrants and non-migrants across time and space' where 'migration flows often become self-sustaining, reflecting the establishment of networks of information, assistance and obligations which develop between migrations in the host society and friends and relatives in the sending area.'[280] Moreover, kin are, in general, deemed to be the most important, most long-lasting elements of the networks.[281] Yet questions may be asked as to how did the transnational lineage network operate to trigger chain migration and how, in the case of San Tin and Chau Tau, would membership in such a lineage network enhance a migrant's opportunities? This occurred in several ways.

[274] Watson, 1975, p. 23.

[275] See Chapter 1 & Potter, 1970, p. 137.

[276] Potter, 1970, p. 129.

[277] See Herman, 2006, p. 200.

[278] Mckeown, 1999, p. 317.

[279] Watson, 1975, p. 2.

[280] Boyd, 1989, p. 641.

[281] Kok, 2010, p. 243.

First of all, both villages were not only emigration communities, but were also transnational communities. According to Rouse, transnational communities are migrant's networks linking origins and destination 'woven so tightly that, in an important sense, they have become a form of single community spanning the variable locales.'[282] One of the most significant aspects of transnational communities is the sustaining of close economic and social ties with the home village by remitting a portion of their relatively high wages to their households, immediately improving the living standards of their family members.[283] According to senior lineage members of *Man*, remittances were usually sent back once or twice in two months.[284] Remittances sent from abroad had become so important for the village of San Tin that the Hong Kong government specifically opened a post office there by the 1960s.[285] There was a prevalent saying among the young lineage members at that time: 'eat up quickly, your father will send you money again.' From the 1960s onwards, a range of modern and conspicuously elegant houses began to be erected in the village, which were not only a token of the families' success but also the most tangible consequence of remittances sent from abroad. Such developments spurred the ambitions and the anticipation of other lineage members, instigating them to leave their homes and go abroad as a result.[286]

Secondly, in chain migration, 'pioneers' often paved the path for their subsequent kinsmen by sending home information to their fellow lineage members of the village from their transnational community.[287] Particularly, the news that they could earn higher wages[288] abroad became extremely encouraging, creating for many a fundamental incentive to move. Moreover, returning lineage members also spread information and resources about their

[282] Rouse, 1992, p. 45. Cited by Roberst & Morris, 2003, p. 1256.

[283] Watson, 1974 – 1975, p. 74; Levitt, 2001, p. 21.

[284] Interview with Man Y. W., Man P. H., Man S. K. & Man H. on different dates in San Tin and the Netherlands.

[285] Watson, 1975, p. 134.

[286] Watson, 1975, p. 75.

[287] Kok, 2010, p. 217.

[288] According to Man K., his weekly wage as a restaurant worker was £8.50, which was 3 – 4 times higher than an unskilled worker at the beginning of the 1960s.

receiving country.[289] In the 1960s and 1970s, the returns of lineage members from Britain to San Tin were announced by delivering boxes of matches as a gift to the households of each of their agnates in the village so that information could be passed among their kinsmen. However, these often served to display affluence or conspicuous luxury, rather than serving to disclose to their kinsmen the harsh realities abroad – cold and foggy weather, long working hours, language problems and minimal recreational activities, which consequently 'helped perpetuate the cycle of migration.'[290]

Thirdly, many *Man* lineage members abroad were prepared to provide loans for their agnates as an advance on wages so that they could afford their passage. Trust funds with the accumulated revenues of ancestral estates were also used as loans to buy tickets during the take-off period of chain migration.[291] In their hypothetical model of migration as a business, Salt and Stein defined intermediary agents as 'a set of institutions, agents and individuals, each of which stands to make a commercial gain.'[292] Indeed, at the beginning of the 1960s, a commercially-minded member of the *Man* lineage opened a travel agency to fly charter flights between Europe and Hong Kong. Lineage members of *Man* in Hong Kong could purchase tickets on credit.[293] Hence, the financial difficulties in terms of passage money hindering the possibility of travelling abroad had in many ways been solved and this resulted in the movement of many more.

Fourthly, kinsmen in Britain and the Netherlands provided fellow lineage members with a place to sleep and a job. The presence of a lineage network abroad was of great significance for the newly arrived kinsmen who would work in the restaurant trade. Thanks to the network, they would be able to adapt to their new environment gradually. They were

[289] Boyd, 1989, p. 650.

[290] McKeon, 2001, p. 74.

[291] Watson, 1975, p. 89.

[292] Salt & Stein, 1997, p. 468. Cited by Herman, 2006, p. 199.

[293] Watson, 1975, p. 89.

assured of a shelter, social contact and a job.[294] For example, Man Ying Sang,[295] who was born in 1908, was one of the pioneers of San Tin. He worked as a seaman at the age of 16, jumped ship and settled in London in the 1920s. Between 1959 and 1961, he rented accommodations (a single bed) to members of the *Man* lineage in Chitty Street in London.[296] He opened three restaurants (see Diagram 25) in London and a coffee bar and successfully arranged for resident permits or labour vouchers for many members of the *Man* lineage by providing them with jobs.[297] By the same token, Wen Chang[298] – one of the pioneers from Chau Tau – also arranged for at least 5 kinsmen from his village to obtain work permits. Needless to say, there were a multitude of cases in which accommodation and employment of kinsmen from San Tin were arranged by their fellow lineage members in Britain and the Netherlands.

Finally, transnational lineage networks also played a significant part in lowering migration costs, such as information and search costs.[299] This is another aspect of a transnational community, which is based on specific know-how and 'migration expertise.'[300] In other words, thanks to the 'migration expertise' of the pioneers, the costs of emigration for subsequent lineage members decreased, since they were able to rely on their kinship ties for assistance[301] and 'to more effectively insure against risk.'[302] To put it differently, the 'capacity of individuals to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks' – i.e. the social capital[303] – became more effective. As a result, the lineage network, which, as a set of interpersonal ties interlinking migrants, former migrants, and

[294] See Rijkschroeff, 1988, p. 124.

[295] He was also called Man Tak Sang or Man Yung Tak.

[296] At £0.5 a week. The weekly wage of an average restaurant worker was about £8.

[297] Interview with Man E., October 7, 2010 in San Tin.

[298] See Chapter 2.

[299] See Mckenzie, 2006, pp. 131 – 132.

[300] Bruneau, 2010, p. 43.

[301] Herman, 2006, p. 168.

[302] Fafchamps, 1992, p. 148. Cited by Roberts & Morris, p. 2003, p. 1257.

[303] Coleman, 1988. Cited by Vertovec, 2003, p. 648.

non-migrants through the bonds of kinship,[304] became a contributing factor to further chain migration by systematizing the whole process of providing information, loans, tickets, labour vouchers, accommodations and jobs, 'involving people both at the place of origin and the place of destination.'[305]

An examination at the micro level

Manning argues that even when human beings widened the geographical scope of their movement, the fundamental nature of their habits largely remain unaltered. Some people will always be interested in emigrating to another country and a different society.[306] Thus, individual choice among the migrants should not be played down, since personal motivations often played a role in their migration. Some lineage members sought adventure, some were motivated by the desire for a more comfortable life excited by the sight of their returning kinsmen showing off his accumulated wealth,[307] and there were still others who emigrated, for example, just because one could not stand the idea of becoming a policeman. The following are some of the personal accounts of the *Man* lineage members from San Tin, indicating why there were willing to leave their village and move abroad.

Man P. N., who was born in 1927, was a farmer. In 1952, he migrated to Britain because he was unsatisfied with the social reality in Hong Kong. The police were corrupt and he could not stand having to give money to them.[308] Man K. is now 75 years old. In the 1950s, he began to farm because he could not continue to study, but he could not sustain a livelihood as a farmer. He therefore left the village at the age of 19 in 1955. He migrated to Britain because he considered migration an opportunity to solve joblessness. He said that if he had to make a choice now, he would make the same choice again.[309] Man L. S. is now 83. He left San Tin in 1953 at the age of 24. He also decided to migrate to Britain because he could not

[304] Massey, 1988, p. 396. Cited by Rijkschroeff, 1998, p. 124.

[305] Christiansen, 2007, p. 48.

[306] Manning, 2005, p. 180.

[307] Mckeown, 1999, p. 317.

[308] Interview with Man P. N., October 8, 2010 in San Tin.

[309] Interview with Man K., October 18, 2010 in San Tin.

earn a living by farming and it was not easy to find a job.[310] For the same reason, Man P. H. migrated to Britain in 1956, when he was 22, and then re-migrated to the Netherlands via Belgium in 1959. According to Man P. H., there were too many refugees coming from China to complete for jobs at that time.[311] Man Y. W. was born in 1923 in Hong Kong and has now been living in the Netherlands for more than 50 years. He acknowledged that he himself did not initially choose to emigrate, but that fellow lineage members had arranged for documents for him. Although he was assisting to run a school at the time, he eventually was persuaded to leave the village in 1958.[312]

In 1961, Man Y. K. migrated to the Netherlands at the age of 16 because he could not continue to study and was not able to find a job.[313] In 1962, Man K. C. moved to Belgium at the age of 13 on account of family unification. For the same reason, Man K. L. migrated to Britain to join his father at the age of 14 in 1964.[314] Man L. moved to Belgium as an illegal migrant at the age of 16 in 1966. He was a student and had many siblings at home. Such a situation had put a lot of pressure on his father to support the entire family. The average wage at the time was only few hundred Hong Kong Dollars a month in Hong Kong. The average wage he could earn abroad would be 6 to 7 times higher if he migrated. This became very appealing to him. He came to Belgium because his uncle[315] was already there.[316] Man L. H. was a student when he moved to the Netherlands at the age of 15 in 1967. He was an illegal immigrant. He migrated at the behest of his parents.[317] As an illegal immigrant, Man W. K. departed San Tin village for the Netherlands at the age of 16 in 1967. He had been a student at home but he chose to move because he was curious what it would be like to live overseas. Man H. migrated to the Netherlands in 1967 when he was 30

[310] Interview with Man L. S. by telephone, October 20, 2010 in Hong Kong.

[311] Interview with Man P. H., October 8, 2010 in San Tin.

[312] Interview with Man Y. W., September 20, 2010 in Amsterdam.

[313] Interview with Man Y. K., July 7, 2010 in Rotterdam.

[314] Interview with Man K. L., October 13, 2010 in San Tin.

[315] The brother of his father.

[316] Interview with Man L., October 19, 2010 in San Tin.

[317] Interview with Man L. H., March 12, 2010 in Amsterdam.

because of political turmoil in Hong Kong.[318] He had been a policeman there.[319] Man C. S. was a student when he migrated at the age of 20. He was compelled to leave San Tin owing to the political riots in Hong Kong. He joined his father in the Netherlands in 1968.[320]

In 1972, Man H. T. migrated to the Netherlands. He decided to leave San Tin because, as a 40 year old policeman, he did not see any promotion opportunities in his career.[321] In 1973, Man T. moved to the Netherlands because his uncle[322] needed staff in his restaurant. In Hong Kong, he had been a clerk after finishing secondary school.[323] In the same year, Man T. K. moved to the Netherlands because of his desire to embark on an entirely new environment. He had been a factory worker.[324] After finishing his pre-university education, Man H. L. decided to migrate to the Netherlands in 1975 because of the murky economic outlook at home. He noted that it was extremely hard to find a job after the political riots in Hong Kong.[325]

Up to this point, the chain migration of the *Man* lineage has been examined for two villages, namely San Tin and Chau Tau, where the *Man* lineage is based. The question now arises why chain migration did not occur in Tai Hang, which is also one of the villages where the *Man* lineage is established? Their relative immobility can presumably be ascribed to several different factors. At the macro level, the agricultural crisis that gravely affected San Tin did not occur in Tai Hang. The farmers in Tai Hang could still grow vegetables which had potentially a higher profitability.[326] Like the *Tang* lineage in Ping Shan, [327]the lineage

[318] Interview with Man W. K. , October 13, 2010 in San Tin.

[319] Interview with Man H., October 17, 2010 in San Tin.

[320] Interview with Man C. S., October 11, 2010 in Hong Kong.

[321] Interview with Man H. T., October 15, 2010 in Hong Kong.

[322] The brother of his father.

[323] Interview with Man T., October 11, 2010 in Hong Kong.

[324] Interview with Man T. K., October 21, 2010 in Hong Kong.

[325] Interview with Man H. L., March 20, 2011 in Amsterdam.

[326] See Watson, 1975, pp. 42 – 44.

[327] See Potter, 1970, p. 137.

members in this village might have benefited from the commercialization of agriculture.[328] On the other hand, they may have also had better business opportunities and more job options because Tai Hang is located near Tai Po which is a market town. At the meso level, because there were only a few lineage members from this village in the Netherlands, the network was not large enough to have any impact on the village itself, let alone, generate a transnational community. On the other hand, economic and social situations in the place of origin have a tendency to shape the activation of lineage networks that trigger chain migration and can influence how such networks are employed.[329] Moreover, the kinship ties between the *Man* lineage members at San Tin and those at Tai Hang were also weak even though they were of common descent, i.e. their apical ancestor was Man Tin Sui. Only at the micro level, an individual person can play an active and open role in the decision-making process when contemplating migration. The story of a senior member of Tai Hang village serves as an ultimate example in this regard. Man T. W. was a shipping clerk in Hong Kong, but moved when he was 32 to Belgium in 1957 because his father-in-law was there. He came by plane and had paid HK$ 3,800 for the ticket (see Diagram 26). He decided to migrate because he wanted to earn more income so that he would be able to provide his children with a good education. In addition, he was scared of communism. He re-migrated to the Netherlands in 1961 and later became a successful restaurateur in Rotterdam in the 1960s and 1970s. He has ultimately achieved his goal because two of his sons have obtained Ph.D. degrees in the United States.[330]

According to Stalk, the analysis of the individual factors which influence people to move is premised on an assumption that migrants are rational human beings and will choose to move to the place where they can get the most out of their human capital, even though labour may be their only human capital.[331] The push and pull theory also considers people's movements to be the result of rational calculations.[332] Yet these claims appear to be

[328] See Watson, 1975, p. 81.

[329] Boyd, 2000, p. 661.

[330] Interview with Man T. W., September 26, 2010, in Rotterdam.

[331] Stalk, 2001, p. 21.

[332] See Boyd, 1989, p. 640.

refutable in regard to the migration of the *Man* lineage. With regard to the preceding narratives, the migration of the *Man* lineage was clearly motivated by the poor economic conditions at that time and limited choices in Hong Kong.

Conclusion

The study of San Tin and Chau Tau villages shows how the flow of migration was prompted directly by a migration configuration that included a wide range of structural factors, which emerged not only in their place of origin, but also in their place of destination. At the macro level, colonialism was one of the most significant factors that influenced migration to Europe since Hong Kong was a British colony. As a result, British citizenship was bestowed upon the Chinese in Hong Kong, entitling them unfettered access to Britain before 1962. After 1962, *Man* lineage members could still enter Britain by virtue of a system of Labour Vouchers, although the current immigration policy has become more restrictive since then. Furthermore, thanks to their British passports, Chinese migrants from Hong Kong were able to satisfy increasing demands for labour in the restaurant trade in the Netherlands where a relatively liberal immigration control policy was adopted between World War II and 1972.[333] *Man* lineage members from Hong Kong were able to benefit thanks to the Act for Work Permits for Foreigners, which was enacted with the purpose of recruiting 'guest workers' due to robust economic growth in Europe.

In the 1950s, farmers in San Tin were unable to take advantage of the so-called 'vegetable revolution' launched by the colonial government because switching to the cultivation of vegetables required financial investment and knowledge. Moreover, their produce – 'red rice' grown in 'brackish' fields – faced unprecedented competition from relatively cheap long-grain rice imported from Thailand. After local employment opportunities dried up, they had little alternative but to immigrate to Britain to work in restaurants.

In 1967, many lineage members left the village for abroad. Many villagers had become scared of the social turmoil and insecurity as a result of the political riots at that time, which were largely regarded as a spillover of the Communist Cultural Revolution in China. Thus, at the macro level, colonialism, national immigration laws and national policies, as well as the

[333] Meyers, 2004, p. 88.

economic situation in the host country and their place of origin and political developments were among the dynamics which influenced the migration of the *Man* lineage to Europe.

At the meso level, membership in the *Man* lineage enhanced one's opportunities for migration. This is because San Tin village had a strong lineage that had generated robust ties, cohesion and the common bonds which easily triggered chain migration by means of a transnational lineage network, and families were the basic institution on which the migration networks were constructed. Since San Tin and Chau Tau villages were part of a transnational community, the lineage members benefited from these networks in several ways. First of all, remittances sent home from abroad had an encouraging effect on chain migration. Secondly, 'pioneers' paved the path for their subsequent kinsmen by sending information to the fellow lineage members of their village. Moreover, the conspicuous wealth and generous behaviour flaunted by returning agnates created a desire and influenced the decisions of fellow lineage members. Thirdly, for passage money, loans and credit were provided by the future employer – an agnate abroad, ancestral corporations and travel agencies. Fourthly, they were provided with accommodation and employment. All these factors led to a decrease in migration costs, so that they were protected against all sorts of potential risks. In sum, the bonds of kinship had become a stimulating factor to further chain migration by systematizing the whole process of providing information, loans, tickets, labour vouchers, accommodation and jobs, involving people on both ends of the spectrum – at the place of origin and the place of destination.

Finally, how lineage members made their decision to migrate has been taken into consideration when exploring the rationale behind the exodus. On the one hand, in the 1950s, farmers were the most predominant among lineage members seeking to migrate because they had been most severely affected by the deteriorating economic conditions. On the other hand, the 1960s witnessed the movement of teenagers, illegal migration, emigration in relation to family unification and attempts to move to escape social turbulence at home. Furthermore, some young illegal lineage members were prepared to shoulder more responsibility for their parents and often exposed themselves to more risks[334] than the

[334] For example, they were not insured for medical care and sometimes exploited by employers or bullied by colleagues. Critically, there were subject to deportation once arrested by immigration authorities.

farmers because they had given up their educational opportunities at home and were more physically vulnerable to heavy manual labour. In the 1970s, most of the migrants already had a job, and migration was based on a totally different motivation from that of the 1950s. Overall, their migration was owing to the poor economic situation at the time, rather than based on rational calculations because their choices were limited, as shown by the analysis at the micro level.

As for the question why chain migration did not occur in Tai Hang village, since it was also one of the villages where the lineage *Man* was established, the conditioning effects of micro and meso variables across space[335] have been succinctly discussed. It seems that the structural factors did not have a tangible impact on the village and that the network failed to cause much effect because it was too small. At the individual level, only Man T. W. was willing to move in search for better financial security for his children so that they could have better educational opportunities. Therefore, it may be possible to argue that, in order for the network to function well, certain conditions at macro and micro levels (the path paved by pioneers) must first be satisfied. In other words, it is the interaction between the structure and agency that determined the direction of the development of migrant networks.

[335] See Boyd, 1989, p. 655.

Chapter 4 Change through migration

Introduction

There have been some divergent developments in the history of the migration of the *Man* lineage since the 1990s, particularly after Hong Kong was handed back to China. Since then some of the elderly lineage members have decided to return to their villages, while second generation lineage members, who have grown up and have been educated in the West, have become integrated into their host societies. In order to depict how the members of the *Man* lineage regard their host countries, this chapter discusses two types of rooting: namely one's return home and one's home-building in the host society. The life story of some lineage members seems to follow the ancient verse in a Chinese poem that states, 'leaving home young, and getting home old.' These older lineage members have decided to go back to their home villages after finishing their sojourns abroad. In other words, when a leaf falls, it returns to its roots. This is the first type of rooting – the return to one's homeland. However, being an active participant in one's own community and adopting a proactive attitude towards one's host country can also be regarded as a type of rooting. This is the second type of rooting, like leaves falling from the stem to the ground and once there taking root.

This chapter will first, on the one hand, attempt to provide an account of the return of some lineage members to their homeland, and on the other, explore how other lineage members have built their home in their new environment in their host society. It will then apply integration theories to explain how integration occurred among the second and third generation lineage members in the Netherlands. In this regard, a survey was held in order to assess the extent to which they have integrated into the Dutch mainstream society. It is noteworthy that the term 'second generation' refers also to those who have received their primary education in the Netherlands, even though they were not born here. The 'in-between generation' refers to those who came here to join their father or both parents, but did not receive any primary education in the Netherlands.

Subsequently, a question will be raised as to whether the second and third generation lineage members of *Man* in Europe have forged a new identity resulting from migration and, if any, why and how a change in their identity has occurred. It will then consider whether

such a new identity represents a threat to the existence of the *Man* lineage in Europe, since villages such as San Tin and Chau Tau have become transnational with European agnates who are not acquainted with one another. Can and will a diasporic lineage be maintained? Several possibilities will be examined in order to have a sound grasp of the prospects of the lineage in Europe. Finally, a discussion will follow in order to investigate whether the lineage will become fragmented in Europe in the future. At the end of this chapter, some conclusions will be drawn in relation to the major changes that have emerged as a result of migration.

Two types of rooting – return versus home-building

As Watson puts it, 'To the Man, therefore, Britain is not their home; it is simply the country where they work.' The majority of them intended to retire in San Tin.[336] For instance, Man L. said that he already had nostalgia on the first day of his departure. In any event, he would return because he liked his home village very much.[337] In 1997, he eventually returned to San Tin after initially working as a young illegal migrant in Belgium and then becoming legally established in the Netherlands and Belgium from the 1970s onwards.

Hence, nostalgia is one of the causes of return. This applies particularly to those lineage members who have lived for years in Europe and have ultimately returned due to nostalgia when they get older. As a 75 year old returnee from Germany, Man K., said, 'San Tin is my roots, I must return when I get older.'[338] Obviously, sojourners have emotional ties with their villages and remained loyal to their native place.[339] This is the first of type of rooting. When a leaf falls, it returns to its roots.

Moreover, many lineage members regarded repatriation as an opportunity.[340] Man L. pointed out that now that the European economy was in decline, it was China that had more

[336] Watson, 1975, p. 104.

[337] Interview with Man L., October 19, 2010 in San Tin.

[338] Interview with Man K., October 18, 2010 in San Tin.

[339] Benton & Gomez, 2008, p. 341.

[340] Watson, 2004, p. 901.

potential to develop.[341] Man P. W., who returned in 1996 after migrating to the Netherland in 1968, had a similar view.[342] According to Man P., who has been a returnee since the middle of the 1990s, there were opportunities abroad, but they were not applicable to him.[343]

However, Man K. K. returned for totally a different reason. He moved back with his entire family from Germany to San Tin in 1996 because he did not want to see his son, who was then 10, grow up to become German with a limited knowledge of his Chinese heritage.[344] Thus the ties with Europe – the potential home for such a child – is completely uprooted. Although there are lineage members who have decided to settle permanently in San Tin, there are other lineage members who travel to and fro between their host country and their place of origin on a regular basis, which is one of key features of transnationalism. For example, they live for several months within a year in both the Netherlands and Hong Kong so that they can maintain strong ties with their village.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, many second generation lineage members have moved to Hong Kong, having a well-paid occupation there. For example, the children of some of the interviewees are currently working in Hong Kong as an architect, an engineer in information technology and a manager in the bank sector. This is similar to the experience of a young lineage member, Man K. H., who was born in Britain in 1969 and brought up there. He moved to Hong Kong in 1993. According to him, he has a sense of belonging to the village and his emotional bonds keep getting stronger as he gradually becomes more familiar with other lineage members. In fact, he tells that he often joins his fellow lineage members to venerate their ancestral grave.[345] One of the sons of Wen Chang,[346] Wen T. C., who was born

[341] Interview with Man L., October 19, 2010 in San Tin.

[342] Interview with Man P. W., October 8, 2010 in San Tin.

[343] Interview with Man P., October 19, 2010 in San Tin.

[344] Interview with Man K. K. junior and his mother, October 11, 2010 in San Tin.

[345] Interview with Man K. H., October 22, 2010 in San Tin.

[346] See Chapter 2.

in Amsterdam, has also returned since 1985. He lives in Chau Tau now. He married a Chinese woman and they have three children. For him, his first impression of the village of his father – Chau Tau – was home upon his arrival. Since moving there, he has developed strong emotional ties with his father's home village. Now he sees himself more as Chinese than Dutch.[347] The cases of Man K. H. and Wen T. C. reveal the reverse of their parental migration – 'going back to their roots.'[348] According to King and Christou, they are moving from one home to another, but the return to their parental home has a different connotation – that home is their homeland. It is very much a genuine, ontological repatriation to the land of their ancestors.[349] This also belongs to the first type of rooting.

Naturally, every migrant once they emigrated to a new host society would usually encounter language problems. In other words, migration is inextricably linked with social assimilation – acculturation – that refers to the 'ability of migrants or minorities to adapt to the language and culture of the host society'.[350] In Britain, the Chinese community was by far the least assimilated of all immigrant communities due to their low English proficiency and their habits to use their own language among themselves and other restaurant workers.[351] In the 1970's, Watson also observed among the *Man* lineage in Britain a similar incompetence for speaking the English language.[352] The situation in the Netherlands was not much different than in Britain as far as the older first generation lineage members were concerned. In general, as other first generation Chinese migrants in this country, lineage members kept their distance from outsiders by remaining closely attached to members of their own community.[353]

[347] Interview with Man T. C., October 16, 2010 in Chau Tau.

[348] Wessendorf, 2007. Cited by King & Christo, 2010, p. 168.

[349] Bauböck & Faist, 2010, p. 168.

[350] Gordon, 1964, p. 80. Cited by Dietz, 2006, p. 129.

[351] Ng, 1968 p. 88; Broady, 1958, p. 34. Cited by Watson, 1975, p. 124.

[352] Watson, 1975, p. 125.

[353] See Lucassen, 2005, p. 95.

Despite the perceived distance that lineage members deliberately kept from mainstream society, intermarriage did occur between lineage members and Dutch women. In 1942, Wen Chang married Maria Wilhelmina Koenders,[354] which was the first intermarriage between a member of the *Man* lineage and a Dutch woman. Another case concerns Man Che who at the age of 32 married Cornelia J. de Lange, Dutch women in Leiden in 1954.[355] Implicitly, intermarriage entails home-building in the host country.

The situation with regard to language incompetence in Dutch improved when the in-between generation or those young lineage members arrived. Thanks to their earlier experience with the English language, they usually managed to communicate in Dutch moderately well. Only a handful of them had a good command of Dutch through personal efforts. They then acted as a mediator for those lineage members who were more hampered by the language barrier.

The following narratives are illustrative of how the young lineage members – at the time when they migrated – tried to cope with the new environment in their host society while building their homes here.

Man Y. K., who is now 65 years old, migrated at the age of 16 to the Netherlands in order to stay close to his agnates here. He recalled, 'Leaving the home village is like a leaf falling from a stem. The life was boring here. I felt forlorn and alone. I adapted gradually. Later I got married. Adaption became easier.'[356]

Man C. S. is now 63 years old. He migrated at the age of 20 to the Netherlands in 1968 in order to join his father in the wake of social and political turbulence in Hong Kong. He recalled, 'I had eagerly wanted to continue my education. But there it was taught in Dutch and I had to wait two years. So I gave up. I have become integrated in the society now.'[357]

[354] Interview with Wen T. T. and Wen T. C., the sons of Wen Chang, October 17, 2010 in Chau Tau.

[355] Van der Harst & Lucassen, 1998, p. 132.

[356] Interviewed with Man Y. K. on July 7, 2010 in Rotterdam.

[357] Interview with Man C. S., October 11, 2010 in Hong Kong.

Furthermore, throughout the years, there were lineage members who were actively engaged in a variety of activities for the Chinese community, fostering an unusual sense of the meaning of home. For example, Man P. H. in Arnhem and Man K. S. in Twello dedicated themselves to teaching the Chinese language to the children of Chinese migrants. The latter was also a master chef and the champion of the '1995 European Chinese Professional Chef Competition.' He was also engaged in promoting Chinese cuisine as well. Man K. M., who was one of the sons of Man K. W. from Tai Hang village,[358] was the founder of a Buddhist Temple on the Zeedijk in Amsterdam. He spent eight years setting up the project. Man K. N. in Amsterdam was a frequent donor to the largest Chinese elderly association and often sponsored a wide range of charitable activities.[359] The last three Man's mentioned have received Royal Honours for their contributions to society. Moreover, there are also lineage members who are evangelists.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, almost all lineage members between the 1960s and the 1980s were engaged in the restaurant trade. In the mid-seventies, Wen T. C., along with some peers[360] in the restaurant business, had taken over the leadership[361] of the Association of Chinese Restaurant Proprietors with the aim of making the Association into a powerful interest group. According to him, during the twelve years of its existence, the Association would have grown so much that it seemed to have operated only for fun. In addition, due to the incompetence in language, the elderly restaurateurs were often unable to communicate or negotiate with official authorities such as the Inland Revenue. Under the new leadership, the Association soon published a magazine for the restaurant proprietors, *Eurasia Magazine,* which provided them with information on all aspects of Dutch society.[362]

As a matter of fact, such active participation in one's host society and adaptations to one's new environment is a good example of home-building in one's host society. According to

[358] See Chapter 3.

[359] Interview with Man K. M. by phone, April 1, 2010.

[360] One was a lineage member, namely, Man K. M..

[361] He was secretary of the Association.

[362] Haagsche Courant, March 5, 1977. Cited by Willems *et al*., 2010, p. 134.

Hage, four key feelings are essential in 'building a feeling of being at home', notably, 'security, familiarity, community and a sense of possibility.' In this sense, a home is not something cordoned off from society, but rather a place providing residents the opportunity to pursue work, education, social mobility and emotional growth.[363] This is the second type of rooting, which refers to the 'accommodationist project and the private preservation of Chinese values,' like leaves falling from the stem to the ground and once there taking root. Immigrants sought to construct a place that they could again regard as home, pursuant to their own preferences or tendencies.[364] On the other hand, integration, in a broad sense, does not entail that it generates a 'uniform, unitary, and harmonious society or national culture,' but rather embraces significant differences according to, for example, 'class, gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation,' implying that 'every society or nation-state is automatically multicultural.'[365] To put it somewhat differently, the ethnic community does not represent a stop on the route to ultimate assimilation, but is a 'distinct model of immigrant incorporation.'[366]

Integration of the second and third generations

However, home-building seems unnecessary for the second and the third generation lineage members of *Man* (see Diagram 27) since they have become integrated into the Dutch society in the Netherlands. Lucassen has distinguished a dichotomy between structural and identificational integration. Structural integration focuses more or less on objective criteria by charting educational attainments, social mobility, and housing patterns and so forth, while identificational integration, which looks at integration from the subjective perspective, refers to the extent in which migrants and their children continually consider themselves as primarily different and to the extent they are regarded as primarily different by the rest of society.[367] It is therefore necessary to look at the extent to which the second and third

[363] Hage, 1997, p. 102. Cited by Castles and Davidson, 2000, p. 131.

[364] Castles and Davidson, 2000, p. 130.

[365] Lucassen, 2005, p. 18.

[366] Heisler, 2007, p. 86.

[367] Lucassen, 2005, p. 19.

generation lineage of *Man* members in the Netherlands have now integrated into Dutch society. Table 8 maps the structural integration of this group of lineage members in terms of their educational attainment. Almost forty per cent of them have accomplished tertiary education. This represents a great intellectual advancement when compared to the educational levels of their parents, who generally received only a few years at most of secondary education in Hong Kong. As Blanc-Chaléard rightly points out, diplomas in higher education have become more attainable to the offspring of immigrants than in the past.[368] As a matter of fact, one's educational level has become a main springboard for the second generation to jump into mainstream society.[369] For example, depending on their educational level, the young lineage members surveyed in Table 8 are now engaged in a wide variety of occupations in Dutch society. There are now second generation lineage members who are pharmacists, auditors, consultants, engineers, requirement analysts, nursing experts, business process managers, hairdressers, salesmen and so forth. Only two of the lineage members are an entrepreneur in the restaurant trade, the traditional market niche for Chinese in the Netherlands, and only one member is working in this sector as a waiter. In other words, structural mobility has taken place which is clearly identifiable. Structural mobility postulates the possibility of a gradual disappearance of ethnic boundaries, as firm, all-encompassing mobility involves an increasing amount of egalitarian contact between members of more and less disadvantaged groups.[370] Table 9 and 10 exhibits how social mobility – one of the aspects of structural integration – has occurred in two different *Man* lineage households in the Netherlands. Obviously, social mobility in this regard is education-driven (see Diagram 28) which is different from succession-driven mobility and niche improvement.[371]

[368] Blanc-Chaléard, 2006, p. 47.

[369] Pieke, 1991, p. 173.

[370] Alba & Nee, 2005, p. 106.

[371] See Gans, 1992; Zhou, 1997, p. 1003.

By now, the question arises as to why the second and third generation lineage members of *Man* have attained such relatively high[372] academic achievements. As a matter of fact, good performance in education, as well as successful achievements in society, constitute part and parcel of the Chinese family identity. Success in society is not regarded as the outcome of one's individual efforts just for oneself, but as a joint effort that brings prosperity to the family and gives credit to the family as a whole (See Diagram 28). The role the individual plays in this matrix of human relationships determines one's identity, whereby individuals are always considered in relation and inextricably linked to one's family.[373] Since education in China has a long history and Chinese have traditionally had high regard for education, which constitutes a channel to upward social mobility, a good performance in education has always been applauded with high appraisal.[374] Such beliefs are also supported by the desire to grant prizes by the Family Man Foundation (based in Amsterdam) annually to those lineage members who have accomplished their tertiary education.[375] On the other hand, good educational qualifications usually guarantee well-paid jobs, if considered from a pragmatic point of view. Therefore, offspring of the *Man* lineage were most often encouraged to pursue an occupation outside the conventional restaurant trade.[376] In this way, the unintended consequences of these pragmatic strategies and behaviours in view of obtaining a good education, a well-paid occupation and economic security often lead to 'specific forms of assimilation,' According to Alba and Nee, who regard these purposive actions as proximate causes of integration in their new institutional approach, integration is a by-product of the struggle to succeed at the individual level.[377]

[372] According to the figures gathered by Vogels *et al*., the percentage for Chinese, Turks, Moroccans, Surinamers, Antilleans and natives who had accomplished the tertiary education were respectively 33%, 13%, 10%, 23%, 35% and 39% in 1997. See Vogels *et al*., 1999, p. 64.

[373] Geense & Pels, 1998, pp. 50 – 51.

[374] Geense, 1994. Cited by Geense & Pels, 1998, p. 51.

[375] See Chapter 2.

[376] Pieke, 1991, p. 172.

[377] Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 41.

According to Zhou's approach of segmented assimilation, because host societies consist of segregated and unequal segments and growing up in two cultures can range from one's subservient acceptance to creating a dreadful clash, the process of integration comprises at least three possible multidirectional patterns. One outcome is the upward mobility pattern, implying acculturation into the middle-class, mainstream culture; another way may be downward mobility into poverty and becoming part of the underclass; and the third way may be swift economic advancement with lagged acculturation and a deliberate attempt to preserve immigrants' solidarity and values.[378] Seemingly, by only invoking the objective criteria adopted by structural integration, the integration of the second generation lineage members of *Man* is likely to fit with the first category. However, the delineation may become, hopefully, more clear when identificational integration is also taken into account below. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the process of integration in relation to the parents of the second generation fits better with the third pattern of segmented assimilation due to their social mobility by means of niche improvement.

Among those surveyed in Table 11, there are seventeen lineage members who have a partner. Six of them have a Dutch partner while two have an Indonesian partner. One has a Hindustani partner, and the remaining eight have Chinese partners. Strikingly, those who have a partner with an ethnic background other than the Chinese are female lineage members, while only one female has a Chinese partner. All male lineage members have a Chinese partner (See Table 11). Putatively, it may therefore be possible to infer that female lineage members are more open than male lineage members to accept a partner with an ethnic background other than Chinese. Man M., who is male and 34 years old, was born in Arnhem and cohabits with a Chinese partner. In the survey, he put down that he opted for a Chinese woman because there is no cultural conflict, no stark contrast and more balance in their relationship.[379] On the other hand, there is no correlation between educational level and preference for partners in terms of their ethnicity. According to Bauböck, the assimilation of immigrant groups allows for three boundary-related processes: boundary

[378] Zhou & Bankston III, 1994, p. 822.; Zhou, 1997, p. 984.

[379] Surveyed on December 29, 2010.

crossing, boundary blurring and boundary shifting.[380] The occurrence of interracial marriage thus creates a new 'racial'/ethnic landscape and would blur the rigid division of 'race.'[381] This is evidenced by the fact that two-third of female lineage members, who have a partner with an ethnic background other than Chinese, see themselves as more Western-oriented (See Table 11). Boundary blurring is one of the key characteristics of integration because the social boundaries have become less conspicuous and the clarity of the social demarcation involved has become obscured.[382]

According to Hamberger, acquiring competence in the language of one's host country constitutes one of the key elements for integration. Language is a requisite for active social contacts – making friends and chatting with one's neighbours,[383] thereby acting as a means for breaking down social boundaries and narrowing social distance. Social distance refers to the subjective, personal state of closeness, rather than physically tangible distance between groups. In other words, adaptation in subjective states, i.e. the elimination of social distance, encourages and proceeds structural assimilation.[384]

Have the second and third generation of lineage members of *Man* erected a social boundary that closes themselves to mainstream society? The answer seems to be in the negative. First of all, all lineage members surveyed in Table 8 speak Dutch fluently. The identificational aspects of integration are exhibited in Table 12, which is more indicative of this issue. To name a few examples, eighty per cent of the lineage members surveyed read Western newspapers only and none of them read Chinese newspapers. About half of them listen to Western radio and music, and watch Western TV only. Most crucially, about two-thirds of them have more Western friends. As Table 13 shows, it is also notable that fifty per cent of them attend pop-music concerts (Western concerts), which was not a conventional

[380] Bauböck, 1994. Cited by Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 61.

[381] Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 61.

[382] Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 60.

[383] Hamberger, 2009, p. 8.

[384] Alba &Nee, 1997, p. 838.

recreational activity for the first generation Chinese immigrants. On the other hand, none of them has a joined a political party and their turnout rate for political elections (59.6 per cent) is far lower than that for MP elections in the Netherlands, which ranged from 75.4 to 80.4 per cent in the four MP elections in the first decade of this century.[385] As a matter of fact, this phenomenon demonstrates a kind of political apathy that the Chinese community as a whole has towards politics in their host societies.

But does the integration of second and third generation lineage members of *Man* fit with Zhou's model of segmented assimilation? Their pattern of integration is more likely to straddle both the first and the third patterns, since they also tend to hold on to certain aspects of Chinese culture, norms and beliefs. As Man Y. writes in the survey: 'A son for my parents was very important because they wanted to continue the patrilineal bloodline of our branch of lineage *Man* given that my father was the only son in this branch of the lineage … Although we are very "westernized", we also attach some value to Chinese tradition.'[386] By virtue of Chinese tradition, there is a hierarchy of power in which the position of the individually is strictly arranged by age and gender. The elderly take a higher position than the younger men and higher than women.[387] Indeed, almost 58 per cent of those surveyed (30 out of 52) agreed that the elderly should have more authority, notwithstanding that this is at odds with egalitarian principles. Moreover, in terms of culture, some of them still watch Chinese TV and listen to Chinese music and radio. As a matter of fact, the way in which they understand their identity varies. It mirrors the availability of options in a continuum and indicates the degree to which their identities are miscellaneous and malleable. For example, as demonstrated in Table 12, some see themselves as entirely Chinese while others see themselves as totally Western. In the same vein, the hybrid nature of their identification is revealed by their food preference and the use of language at home (See Table 12). Moreover, about 65 per cent (34 out of 52) of those surveyed think that their children must learn Chinese. All in all, this leads to the inference that they, unlike their parents who have a

[385] The percentages for 2002, 2003, 2006 and 2010 were respectively 79.6%, 80.4%, 80.35% and 75.40%. nlverkiezingen.com.

[386] Man, Y., surveyed on September 1, 2010 via internet.

[387] Vogels, Geense & Martens, 1999, p. 141.

diasporic consciousness, have a transcultural consciousness, as perceived by Castles and Davidson.[388] Transcultural consciousness refers to a situation where 'young people of immigrant origin are seen as having dual (or multiple) linguistic and cultural competencies' that potentially lead to the development of new forms of culture and identity.[389] They have already become accustomed to negotiating varying cultures and navigating between different norms and values. According to Man Y. P., there is often conflict, but she tries to find a middle course.[390] In addition, 'positive' and 'open' are the words most often used in the survey to describe their attitude towards Western culture. The way in which Man C. S., who moved to the Netherlands because of family reunification at the age of thirteen – not really a second generation lineage member by definition – negotiates the two different cultures is rather striking. On the one hand, he said that there was much to learn from the West, such as the legal system, but on the other hand, he maintained that he was the boss in his household in terms of gender equality.[391] Contrary to what he argued in this respect, however, 75 per cent (39 out of 52) in the survey believe in gender equality. Nevertheless, choices between two different cultures are not always so pliable or resilient and can also be an epicentre of clash and strain for some of the younger lineage members of *Man*.[392] This is what Man C. F., who joined his parents at the age of seven, put down on the survey: 'In the beginning it was not an easy time for me. A big difference in culture. Other language, different food, different customs, unfamiliar surroundings, other norms and values. In short, a new life in a remote foreign country!'[393]

A new identity and a diasporic lineage?

According to Manning, as a result of accelerated movement and amalgamation over the past two centuries, migration of people around the globe has evoked new relations. The

[388] Castles & Davidson, 2000, p. 139. See also Chapter 2.

[389] Castles & Davidson, 2000, p. 139.

[390] Man Y. P. , surveyed on September 20, 2010 in Amsterdam.

[391] Interviewed with Man C. S. on October 13, 2010 in San Tin.

[392] Castles & Davidson, 2000, p. 139. See also Vogels, Geense & Martens, 1999, pp. 143 – 145.

[393] Man C. F., surveyed on August 29, 2010 in Amsterdam.

individual redefinition of family and group identity has culminated in the creation of new social strata, for example, creole, mestizo and settlers, emerged.[394] On the other hand, the concept of identity is associated with similarity and difference. According to Jenkins, 'identification is an interaction between similarity and difference.' Identity is constructed and reconstructed both in discourse – rhetoric, narrative and representation – and in the practical, often very material consequences of identification.' Individual and collective identities are in effect an interactional outcome of exogenous identification as well as endogenous self-identification.[395] By now, the question thus arises as to whether the second and third generation lineage members of *Man* in Europe have forged a new identity. The answer seems to be in the affirmative since these Westernized or Europeanized lineage members of *Man* are fundamentally *differen*t from their native-born kinsmen in the villages in Hong Kong. The difference is ascribed to one major factor that they have grown up in Western societies. They speak Western languages, receive Western education and are exposed to Western beliefs, norms and values. In Europe, there are Dutch, British, Belgian and German lineage members. In other words, identities are fostered with respect to place and language proficiency is at the core of notions of identity.[396] Moreover, identity is associated with a connection between the personal and the social, i.e. the social institutions in which they find themselves, including social roles and behaviours, daily interaction with other people and the language they use and so on.[397] As mentioned above, a new genre of culture and identity is developed, culminating in the emergence of a distinct group in mainstream society – the Dutch-born Chinese (DBC), as a consequence of their transcultural consciousness. The following remark illustrates how two lineage members interact with other people with regard to their identification: 'When I am with Chinese people, I'm Dutch. When I am with Dutch people, I am Chinese.'[398] Arguably, this might be a telling example of how second and third generation lineage members negotiate their similarities and differences.

[394] Manning, 2005, pp. 138, 154

[395] Jenkins, 2008, pp. 17, 200 – 201.

[396] Woodward, 2000, p. 34; Watson, 2004, p. 904.

[397] Woodward, 2000, p. 17.

[398] Man Y., surveyed on September 1, 2010 via internet; Man C. H., surveyed May 18, 2011 via internet.

But what is the impact of the second and third generation's new identity on the continuity of the *Man* lineage in Europe? One possible scenario is that the status of a transnational village remains intact, implying that the radius of a single community spans the different localities and transcends national borders (See Diagram 29). Old and young lineage members foster and maintain multi-stranded social relations that connect their societies of settlement and origin together.[399] These dispersed groups of lineage members in different European countries sustain and develop a myriad of exchange relations among themselves and with their home village through networks, demonstrating a strong sense of an imagined community.[400] In other words, the young lineage members live simultaneously in host societies and their home village, leading transcultural lives.[401] Despite the fact that they have integrated into the European countries, they have the incentive and competence to sustain some sort of long-term cultural, religious and traditional attachment to their home village.[402] For example, Man K. C., who migrated to Britain in 1964 at the age of seven for the sake of family reunification, goes back to San Tin three times a year. He is very proud to be a member of the *Man* lineage. Upon his behest, his own son must take part in the Spring (Festival) as well as the Moon Festival organised by the Man Clansmen Association in London.[403] Man J. is a second generation lineage member living Britain. He was thirty three years old when he went to San Tin in order to visit his father last year. He said that the village was very rich in culture. He found the village members very friendly. This was where his ancestors came from. He identified with other lineage members because they came from the same place. He did not plan to retire there like his father, but he said he would go back once every two years. He was concerned that other young lineage members might forget about their own roots and their ties to the village.[404] Man W. C. joined his father at the age

[399] See Basch *et al*., 1994, p. 279; Ruud Koopmans *et al.*, 2005, p. 110.

[400] See Bruneau, 2010, pp. 37 – 38.

[401] See Hoerder, 2002, p. 178.

[402] See Levitt, 2001, p. 205.

[403] Interviewed with Man K. C., October 17, 2010 in San Tin.

[404] Interviewed with Man J., on October 20, 2010 in San Tin.

of two in the Netherlands in 1969. He said that San Tin was a very friendly, warm and comfortable village where everybody knows one another. He feels at home there. He knew a lot about the ritual tradition of the village, such as the 'lightening-lantern' ceremony held the ancestral hall, 'Pun Tsoi' or basin meal[405] and ancestral veneration during the Qing Ming (Festival) as well as Chong Yang Festival. He goes to San Tin at least once every two years.[406] In the long term, it is possible that the lineage members with diasporic consciousness will transmit their identity from one generation to the other, including several generations after the initial exodus of the first generation of *Man* lineage members.[407] In this regard, both the clan/lineage organisations based in London and Amsterdam serve as a nexus to encourage relational exchange between these young second and third generation lineage members. Transnationalism is also associated with Zelinsky's heterolocalism which refers to the phenomenon whereby strong lineage ties are sustained through visits, telecommunication and other methods at the regional, national and international levels, despite the absence of any geographic vicinity.[408] The intensity of these strong ties is induced through easy travel and cheap transport that connect the globe. In other words, diasporic exchanges have gathered pace due to the popular accessibility of telecommunications and air travel.[409] This scenario can also be considered as a response to global connections, implying that a new form of citizenship – transnational citizenship – has emerged, and that the scope of citizenship pertaining to just one single nation has been shrinking.[410]

[405] 'Pun Tsoi' is a name designated for the serving of different courses of a meal in a basin, in which different kinds of meat, seafood, poultry, vegetables and ingredients are heaped in layers. The contents in the basin are generally shared by 10 lineage members sitting around a table. 'Pun Tsoi' is usually served at certain occasions such as during the marriage ceremonies or during birthday celebrations for an elder and so on. The lineage members then gather and enjoy together their meal in for example the ancestral hall. Holding such a ' Pun Tsoi' meal is also a symbol of lineage solidarity.

[406] Interviewed with Man W. C., on July 10, 2010 in the Netherlands.

[407] Bauböck & Faist, 2010, p. 37.

[408] See Zelinsky, 2001, p. 133; Hardwick, 2008, p. 165.

[409] Hoerder, 2002, p. 579.

[410] Castles & Davidson, 2000, p. 156.

The second possible scenario is the development of a large virtual lineage community through modern technology. In addition to finding themselves in an imagined community, young lineage members in Europe also seem to be able to organize themselves in an internet-based virtual community in cyber space. In order to stimulate more young lineage members to participate in the activities of the Family Man Foundation (based in Amsterdam), a young lineage member has set up an *ad hoc* website that is specifically intended for the young lineage members. On the website of the Family Man Foundation, a special button is created for *Hyves* Family Man that enables lineage members to contact one another through electronic networks. A lot of photographs can be found that show, for example, the school in Chau Tau village, the ancestral tablets showing the names of their ancestors in the ancestral hall, the scenes of their villages (see Diagrams 30 and 31), namely Chau Tau and San Tin and so on. Besides, young lineage members can also contact one another through 'Facebook'. A 'talk link' has been established in this context with the aim of organizing a 'worldwide Wen Tianxiang Ancestor Meet Up.' Currently, there are 75 members in such a virtual community that consist of only *Man* lineage members. This is what one of the founders/administrators writes:

'It would be interesting for all surnamed "Wen" (Man in Cantonese) to post in this TALK link and discover our family roots together.

I am a first generation BBC[411] and have visited San Tin a few times. I know I have many "cousins" all over the world. Unlike our parents we cannot pop down to the village hall to meet! So hopefully we can build our own family tree here!

The Man clan is one of the 'Five Major Clans' in Hong Kong. Although it was not the first clan settled in the territory, the Man clan already started its settlement in San Tin and Tai Hang as early as the 15th century. The Ancestral Hall, situated on the low lying ground of San Tin, was built more than 200 years ago to commemorate one of the clan's ancestors, Man Lun-fung.'

[411] British-born Chinese.

Evidently, such an online community is one on the ways lineage members are using to search for their ancestral roots, accentuating their lineage pride and their aspiration for the continuation of their lineage genealogy. According to a survey, almost 90 per cent attach value to the family name *Man* (See Table 14). As a response to the initiative, some lineage members have put down their feelings about the *Man* lineage on the notice board:

'Greetings from Germany. Did you know that a Harvard professor has done research on the Man clan for over 30 yrs? This article is very interesting' (Man Lai-Song);

'hey everyone, i'm first generation born here, am the 22nd generation...' (Man Nim Joe);

'I think it would be great if someone who knows a lot about the history of San Tin and made a nice Wikipedia article. I unfortunately cannot read Chinese that good and forgot a lot of the things my dad told me. And those were usually just stories' (Man Hoon Han).[412]

A fragmented lineage?

One final possible scenario for the prospects of the *Man* lineage in Europe is that the lineage might eventually dissolve after one or two generations due to a number of factors (See Diagram 32). First of all, according to the survey, only 48 per cent of the second and third generation lineage members state that they have a sense of belonging, while only 42 per cent have an emotional attachment to the village of their (grand)father. Almost 40 per cent have no knowledge about their village's tradition (See Table 14). Besides, only 15.1 per cent (8 out of 53) go to their villages once a year, implying that the bulk of them do not go to see their villages very frequently, much less celebrate Chinese New Year or participate in ancestral rites – for example, ancestral worship there. The following passage expressed by Man E. in his blog bears testimony to this phenomenon:

'It is new year again.[413] Compared with the period prior to the eighties, the atmosphere is much quieter. The presence of the fellow lineage members have decreased….The young cousins are staying abroad. The scene is no longer as lively as in the past.'[414]

[412] Facebook.com. Retrieved May, 20 2011 from http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=3354240636#!/group.php?gid=3354240636&v=wall.

In addition to this somewhat melancholy description of New Year celebrations, some lineage members complain that their younger agnates often do not go to see San Tin village even when they travel all the way to Hong Kong. Indeed, as a third generation lineage member working in Hong Kong, Man C. H. stated that he drops by San Tin only sporadically.[415] On the other hand, ritualized affirmation of ascriptive identity concerns an issue of individual membership or affective affirmation of a lineage. A public ritual plays an important part not only in the impartation of meaning, but also in the generation and diffusion of cultural common knowledge.[416] A public ritual such as ancestral veneration at the ancestral tomb bears such significance.

Furthermore, some young lineage members who took part in the survey do not have a good word to say about their villages. They find them obsolete, rural, remote, old-fashioned and densely overbuilt. Man K. S. was born in Amersfoort in the Netherlands in 1980 and is now living in Belgium. What he thinks about San Tin mirrors more or less the views of many young lineage members. He said that he did not have a sense of belonging to the village. It was not a beautiful village. He had no idea about his ancestors and he found the *Man* lineage too complicated.[417]

Secondly, unlike the first generation lineage members who migrated to Europe, the young lineage members do not usually associate with other lineage members in Europe, notwithstanding the fact that they belong to a specific group deriving from the same roots – the lineage. According to Jenkins, there are two different types of collective identification. The first type refers to the situation where members of a collectivity are able to identify themselves with the rest of their group – they know who they are. Group members also emphasize the similarities with the in-group.[418] However, only 38.5 per cent of the lineage

[413] Chinese Lunar New Year.

[414] Translated from Chinese in the blog of Man E. retrieved January 3, 2011 from http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_67401de40100ocw0.html.

[415] Man C. H., surveyed May 18, 2011 via internet.

[416] See Jenkins, 2008, p. 175.

[417] Interviewed with Man K. S. on October 23, 2010 in San Tin.

[418] Jenkins, 2008, pp. 104, 112.

members surveyed state that they identify with other lineage members when they come across one another and only 11.3 per cent acknowledge explicitly their similarities – they are family members. Moreover, only 18.2 per cent of them have frequent contact with other lineage members (See Table 14). This might lead to the inference that the lineage members may have ignored their lineage membership or even the existence of the lineage. Such a phenomenon is referred to as the second type of collective identification which is non-existent or invisible from the perspective of their members, but only recognized through the lens of scientific observers as a category. Collective identification elicits robust imagery of a group of people who are in some respects obviously similar to each other, bringing an intersubjectively genuine group into existence. In other words, group membership requires, as a pragmatic achievement, some consistent commonalities to what individual members actually do.[419] Ignorance of the membership of a collectivity occurs when lineage members do not consider that they have something intersubjectively significant in common.[420] Such a phenomenon may largely be ascribed to the dispersed settlement pattern in Europe. In other words, unlike those native-born lineage members who find themselves lumped together in certain villages in the New Territories in Hong Kong, the European-born lineage members are not acquainted with one another unless they are cousins. They constitute a category only from a perspective of social history, but they do not form a group in their own imagery. They have not lived together in a common village, have no collective memory, or symbols of a collective background.[421] In view of the foregoing, it does not seem to make much sense to speak of the young lineage members of *Man* as a coherent, meaningful collectivity – a kinship group in Europe, which was the case in the 1960s.[422]

Thirdly, symbols foster a sense of belonging. The symbolization of lineage identity creates an imagined similarity. In other words, lineage membership is contingent upon the 'symbolic construction and signification of a mask of similarity which all can wear, an umbrella of

[419] Jenkins, 2008, pp. 104, 153.

[420] Jenkins, 2008, pp. 102, 106. 104.

[421] See Chong, 2005, p. 256.

[422] Watson, 2004, p. 904.

solidarity under which all can shelter.'[423] Shared rituals, such as the sharing of the 'Poon Tsoi' meal, ancestral rites and ceremonies held in the ancestral halls, can serve *for* the lineage as well as be symbols *of* the lineage that embody and crystalize a variety of meanings.[424] However, the surname *Man* – although it is a symbolic marker for the lineage as well as the symbol of the lineage – does not seem robust enough to evoke a common sense of identity among lineage members or elicit imagery to form a particular group. Moreover, no specific public rituals or education in relation to lineage history and genealogy have been organized for the second and third generation lineage members in Europe. According to Man K. H., some young lineage members barely know who Man Tin Chung was – the national patriotic hero of the Song Dynasty – let alone the story of this famous figure in Chinese history.[425] So what then is the function of both the clan/lineage organizations based in Europe? They have become the basis for promoting socializing activities and for constructing vaguely defined loyalties between first generation lineage members who migrated to Europe, instead of proactively binding together local groups – the second and third generation lineage members – of patrilineal kinship.[426] Although the Family Man Foundation based in Amsterdam organizes annual moon fête celebrations and 'Poon-Tsoi' meals for their lineage members, it seems that the tenet of agnation – patrilineal kinship – may not easily survive in Europe without constructing a powerful symbol that acts as an umbrella of solidarity or unity under which the old and young can shelter.

Finally, as one of second generation lineage members described in his survey, 'I am a citizen of the world.' Indeed, when globalization and global consciousness are inextricably connected, an increased number of people might identify themselves as 'human,' or as 'people' or 'citizens of the world.'[427] As a consequence, the status of world citizenship might be one possible scenario for the identification of the *Man* lineage in Europe, substituting their lineage identity. In particular, the third generation might feel in an abstract-cultural

[423] Jenkins, 2008, pp. 134 – 135, 148.

[424] See Jenkins, 2006, p. 136.

[425] Interview with Man K. H., March 22, 2010 in Amsterdam.

[426] See Freedman, 1957, p. 192; Kuhn, 2009, p. 192.

[427] Manning, 2005, p. 179.

sense that they have affinity with the lineage group of their parents. In other words, their lineage identity is individual and is severed from the lineage community as a group.[428] They are less open to local, provincial, regional or national cultures, but are more exposed to a cosmopolitan popular culture such as 'photographs, magazines, recorded music, films, radio, dress, sports, bicycles, automobiles, cigarettes and various types of food and drink', [429] which have emerged as a new genre of symbolism. They focus more on the assurance of the material survival of the nuclear family by extracting benefits from economic activity, political security and education around the globe.[430] They are not, regionally, ethnically or nationally focused, but internationally oriented people. Their occupations constitute an important part of their social identity and they are merely concerned with the members of their professions or lifestyle group.[431] In essence, having less interest in the sustaining of the patrilineal line,[432] they attach no importance to lineage pride, lineage culture, traditions, roots and genealogy and so on. For them, they have no home to go back to because they live in a 'global village.'[433] This might be one of the reasons why the second generation, in general, are not interested in the activities launched by both clan/lineage organizations in Europe.

Conclusion

From the middle of the 1990s, growing numbers of *Man* lineage members began to return to their home villages, namely San Tin or Chau Tau. There have been several reasons for their return. Some members returned because of nostalgia or an ontological repatriation to the land of their ancestors. This chapter has demonstrated that there are a number of *Man* lineage members who were actively engaged in a variety of activities for the Chinese community throughout the years, fostering an unusual meaning of home. In other words, adopting an active attitude towards their host society or adaptations to their new

[428] See Chong, 2005, p. 285.

[429] Manning, 2005, p. 159.

[430] McKeown, 2001, p. 283.

[431] See Chong, 2005, p. 286.

[432] See McKeown, 2001, p. 283.

[433] See Hoerder, 2002, p. 579.

environment can also be regarded as home-building in the host society. It is likely that the discourse of 'roots' lends itself best to describe both situations.

However, home-building seems unnecessary for the second and the third generation lineage members of *Man* in the Netherlands since they are Dutch-born Chinese. While looking at the extent to which the second and third generation lineage of *Man* members in the Netherlands have integrated into the Dutch society – one of the aspects of structural integration – a pattern of upward mobility is identifiable through the survey, given their academic achievements. Young lineage members are engaged in a wide variety of occupations in the mainstream society. This is clearly different from the situation of their parents who migrated to the Netherlands and predominately worked in the restaurant sector. It is also not necessary for them to utilize the lineage network – a form of social capital – to be able to find a manual job in the restaurant sector since their human capital is far greater than that of their parents because of their education. This is the first major change because of migration. As a lineage member said in San Tin village last year, 'this is progress.' As a matter of fact, San Tin and Chau Tau are no longer agrarian villages. They are transnational, with the bulk of the kinsmen and their descendants living in Europe.

On the other hand, after exploring the identificational aspects of the integration of young lineage members by means of the survey, it shows that they, unlike their parents who are preoccupied by a diasporic consciousness, have a transcultural consciousness, which refers to a situation where young people of immigrant origin are seen as having dual (or multiple) linguistic and cultural competencies that potentially leads to the development of new forms of culture and identity. They have grown up in Western societies. They speak Western languages, receive Western education and are exposed to Western beliefs, norms and values. Hence, this conversion in consciousness is the second major change that in turn contributes to a change in identity. As a matter of fact, there are Dutch, British, Belgian and German speaking lineage members in Europe, who are Europeanized or Westernized and fundamentally different from their native-born kinsmen in the villages in Hong Kong.

In this regard, a question can be posed whether this new identity will have an impact on the continuity of the *Man* lineage in Europe. A few possible scenarios have been discussed. First of all, the status of a transnational village remains intact, implying that the radius of a single

community spans the different localities and transcends national borders. Old and young lineage members foster and maintain multi-stranded social relations that connect together their societies of settlement and origin. Secondly, the establishment of a large virtual lineage community through modern technology has encouraged more younger lineage members to search for their roots. Lineage pride and the continuation of the family tree are still regarded as a value that merits preservation. In other words, the family name still matters. Finally, the *Man* lineage in Europe may become splintered due to several factors. First, it cannot be argued that the second and third generation lineage members have a sense of belonging to their home village based on the results of the survey conducted. Neither can they be regarded to have formed a cohesive, significant group with a collective identity. Furthermore, a powerful symbol which can serve as a fortress of solidarity or unity under which the old and young can shelter is lacking. Finally, in the wake of globalization, a cosmopolitan popular culture has emerged, becoming a substitute for regional, provincial or national cultures. In other words, the guarantee of the material survival of the nuclear family by pursuing the benefits of economic activity, political security and education around the globe is prioritized over lineage pride, lineage culture, traditions, roots and genealogy and so on. For the young lineage members, the values such as brotherhood, solidarity and cohesion are but items enshrined in the baggage of the first generation migrants. Ironically, it was exactly these values that their parents espoused, generating the chain migration to Europe which enabled them to move.

In light of the foregoing, it might be somewhat premature to predict a looming collapse of the *Man* lineage in Europe. However, it seems also unrealistic to assume that the European-born or Westernized descendants of the *Man* lineage are likely to have close ties with their agnates established in Europe and in the New Territories or the villages of their ancestors. The survey proves that it is not the case. This is the third major change that has taken place due to migration.

Conclusion

The Chinese have always been a migratory people, whether forced or voluntary, dating back to the beginning of their history. There is historical evidence that China frequently used migration as an instrument in order to achieve its political policies in the areas of social integration, popular relief and economic development. To name a few examples, the feudal lords of the Western Chou Dynasty (1027 – 771 BC) sent colonists to settle in newly conquered fiefs. Under the regime of the Ming and Qing Dynasties, Chinese colonists migrated to the west and southwest in order to settle among peoples at the border of the empire. At the beginning of the 1860s, the Chinese government, in fear of Russian territorial inroads, actively stimulated settlement with homesteading policies into Siberia and Manchuria.

During the Ming and early Qing Dynasties, peasants from every corner of the Empire rushed to southwest China because of its rapid development. In 1477, more than 430,000 immigrants were registered in Hupei province alone. At the time, this represented quite a considerable voluntary movement of people. On the other hand, the varying origins of these migrants created an all-encompassing mixture of voluntary associations founded on their common locality called *hui-kuan*. *Hui-kuan* was a voluntary clan association formed on the basis of a common regional origin. Clan ties were the driving force of migration because they provided clansmen with support during their migratory journey and facilitated their social integration in the host societies. In modern times, the *hui-kuan* still serves as a source of mutual support and solidarity for migrants abroad. Members of lineages, which are usually related in a stricter family structure other than clans, espoused this principle as well. Chinese migrants tended to migrate southward rather than northward. In the same vein, the apical ancestor of the *Man* lineage – Man Tin Sui[434] also fled to Canton (Guangdong) in the thirteenth century because of the collapse of the Song Dynasty.

As a matter of fact, the coastal provinces of Guangdong and Fujian in Southern China were among the two most abundant sources of labour migrants in the modern era who left for Southeast Asia either because of the violence of war, increased trade, or people's desire to

[434] Wen Tin Rui in Mandarin.

migrate in order to improve their economic status. The Cantonese, Teochiu, Minnan and Hakka people were adventurers who sought opportunities in different continents such as Asia, Europe, America and Australia. In effect, although Chinese migration began centuries ago, the volume of migrants grew after 1850 at an unprecedented rate. In this regard, Hong Kong, which became a British colony after 1842 in the wake of the First Opium War, served as a point of departure through which Chinese overseas migrants passed in unprecedented numbers. In the last century, Chinese migration to Europe has occurred in different waves, including the recruitment of Cantonese seamen by European shipping companies before the Second World War and the chain migration to Britain from the New Territories in Hong Kong in the 1950s. As a matter of fact, as early as 1911, hundreds of Cantonese seamen were recruited by Dutch shipping companies as a consequence of the strike of European seamen. This was the beginning of Chinese migration to the Netherlands.

From an anthropological perspective, lineage refers to a group of descendants united on the basis of common properties, generally, but not exclusively, land. It is a corporate group which celebrates ritual unity and is based on demonstrated descent from a common ancestor. Thus, a lineage distinguishes itself from a descent group by virtue of the corporate holding of properties which elicits lineage solidarity. Historically, 'communal families' can be considered the predecessor of lineage, since they were largely localized groups organized on the basis of a patrilineal descent system and sharing common assets. The worship of remote or apical ancestors, the establishing of ancestral halls and the compiling of genealogies are key features of descent groups.

Guangdong and Fujian provinces had an affluent agricultural environment, remote geographical locations, weak state control and well-developed commerce. These were the four factors that potentially created an ideal environment for the development of strong lineage systems. However, such a system compelled poor, landless lineage members to migrate somewhere or even overseas to make a living because corporate holdings were in the hands of the rich lineages. Once established overseas, it was the family or lineage network that in turn triggered chain migration. To put it differently, a crucial factor that contributed to the upsurge in overseas migration from Guangdong and Fujian after the

1850s was the connections and networks established through a long tradition of migration, and the family – lineage in this case – was one of the most fundamental institutions constituting migrant networks. Thus, family structure seems to have a strong correlation with the pattern of migration. This is what the thesis has attempted to demonstrate.

It is exactly 100 years ago that hundreds of Chinese migrants set foot in the Netherlands. They were seamen employed by Dutch shipping companies and came originally from Guangdong province – Boan and Dongguan counties – in China. These migrants faced hard times during the Great Depression period in the 1930s and had to survive by selling peanut-cookies in the streets. The Chinese community has now grown into a highly diverse community of 100,000 people. It is highly diverse in terms of their place of birth, socio-economic status and immigration history. At present, there are Chinese who come from Zhejiang and Guangdong provinces in mainland China, as well as Indonesia, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Suriname and Vietnam. There are also Chinese students who have come to the Netherlands in order to pursue their degrees abroad. Cantonese and the Zhejiangese can be considered to make up the core of the Chinese community in the Netherlands. The first generation immigrants of Chinese origin have predominately been engaged in the restaurant trade except for the Peranakan Chinese, who emigrated from Indonesia and often worked in the medical profession. During the early period of Chinese immigration to the Netherlands, the integration of the Cantonese seamen was almost out of question since many considered themselves sojourners. On the one hand, their integration in Dutch society was also never considered a large priority because they did not regard the host society as their home, even though the first Dutch-Chinese intermarriage was recorded in 1921. Not only did most of the immigrants have low levels of education which would have made learning a new language difficult, they also considered themselves sojourners and they anticipated returning home one day. On the other hand, the Dutch government has never advanced an integration policy for the descendants of pre-war Chinese. As a consequence, Chinese immigrants were primarily concerned with their own ethnic group and were not so much interested in integrating into their host country. In general, Chinese immigrants, because of their own self-reliance, have been largely invisible in Dutch society since the pre-war period.

However, social problems, such as unemployment, emerged within the Chinese community in the 1980s, since Chinese restaurants were facing increasing competition from other ethnic restaurants. Besides, many of the Chinese elderly still cannot speak Dutch. Almost 54 per cent of them have had no education or only primary school, creating specific assimilation problems and making full integration almost impossible. Currently, there are other problems facing the Chinese community in the Netherlands, such as the reintegration of the unemployed into the labour market, insufficient social assistance for the elderly, issues concerning domestic violence and mail-order brides, and gender inequality and discrimination against homosexuals. Yet compared to the performance of other second generation immigrant youth, the Dutch-Chinese students perform on average far better than other ethnic students, such as the Dutch-Turks or Dutch-Moroccans. When looking the integration problems of the Chinese elderly and comparing them with the 'multilinear acculturation' of the Peranakan Chinese and the educational performances of the second generation Dutch-Chinese students, it may be possible to infer that language and education are two important determining factors in the process of integration.

Almost at the beginning of the 1920s, Chinese restaurants first introduced Chinese food to the Dutch public. The success of the Chinese restaurant trade in the Netherlands was due in large part to the return of the Dutch Eurasians to the Netherlands and the exposure of some 108,000 Dutch soldiers to Indonesian food who were engaged in the colonial war in Indonesia at the end of the 1940s. The arrival of the Dutch Eurasians led to the creation of a new mix of cuisines, namely Chinese and Indonesian cuisines in the restaurant sector.

As mentioned above, Chinese migrants – in particular, the first generation immigrants – were more inclined to run restaurants as means of earning a living. This thesis has also sought to investigate the reasons behind Chinese immigrants' preference for going primarily into the restaurant trade. Culturally, Chinese are in general willing to work long hours, especially when they are immigrants. In terms of solidarity, family members are prepared to support one another by providing financial means or practical help. Moreover, a competitive drive for success, autonomy and financial independence, and the desire to provide a good education to their children were among the contributing factors that influenced the decisions of Chinese immigrants to go into the restaurant business. From a pragmatic point

of view, only a limited know-how, a low formal education and a meagre capital investment are required to run a small restaurant while one's wife and children can serve as a readily available labour force used free of charge. As a matter of fact, it was the success of the restaurant trade that also led to the emigration of the *Man* lineage first from Hong Kong to Britain and then later to the Netherlands by the end of the 1950s.

The migration trajectory of the *Man* lineage followed the general pattern of Chinese migration to the Netherlands which was marked by the initial migration of Chinese seamen and the later chain migration that emerged from Hong Kong. Prior to the chain migration to Europe, some lineage members from San Tin had already been forced to look for work as seamen because they were poor and landless. This again attests to the assumption that family structure correlates strongly with the pattern of migration since these seamen operated as pioneers and paved the way for their kinsmen at home to move abroad. As a result, a lineage network spanning the place of origin and the place of destination expanded and prompted chain migration. In other words, before the male agnate left the village, a kinship network was already in existence abroad to provide him with accommodation and facilitate his assimilation in his new environment, exhibiting the virtues of a strong lineage such as mutual countenance and responsibility. This is the influence emigration had on their lineage and social relationship. In effect, it was the social capital on which they could rely in order to succeed in Europe. However, the chain migration that occurred during the 1950s and later had more impact on the two villages of Chau Tau and San Tin than the earlier seamen's adventures.

Many lineage members of *Man* began their migratory trek to the Netherlands in the 1950s 'with little but the shirts on their backs' or even with debts. Their migratory trajectory can roughly summarized into three stages: the adventurers' stage (1950 – 1975); the settlement stage (1976 – 1996); and return and the integration stage (1997 – present). Like other Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands, their livelihood was inextricably linked with the restaurant trade. As a matter of fact, their social behaviours, norms, values and beliefs, such as their competitive impulse, drive to achieve, autonomy, diligence and resilience, as well as their sojourners' mentality in the initial period, does not differ from the general traits of other members of the Chinese immigrant community in the Netherlands. However, in order to succeed in one's host society, not only did they have to work long hours in restaurants,

but they also had to refrain from other vices such as gambling no matter how boring life might seem. Integration into the Dutch society was difficult for many migrants, since it was hampered by the language barrier. In any event, moving to Europe represented an opportunity for them and their children. This is the general conclusion drawn from the personal interviews that were conducted for this survey with the various lineage members of *Man*. For this reason, their experience of migration has for the most part been positive and they have been able to provide their children with an opportunity to have a good education.

The *Man* lineage makes up its own separate group because of their specific kinship identity, even though they are part of the larger Chinese community in the Netherlands. They have reinforced their lineage identity by establishing two clan/lineage organizations respectively in London and Amsterdam. The construction of their collective identity is centred on their shared ancestral roots and the established core values of solidarity, cohesion and brotherhood. This is the way in which the lineage helps build *Man* identity in the Netherlands. The success of fundraising in order to purchase a property for the Dutch lineage organization is also evidence of the mutual support and solidarity of the *Man* lineage in Europe, China and Hong Kong.

Finding out the rationale behind the *Man* lineage's exodus to Europe, particularly to Britain and the Netherlands was one of the key objectives of this thesis. For this reason, the thesis has conducted a comprehensive analysis that consists of a three-level examination, namely that of the macro, meso and micro levels. At the macro level, colonialism was one of the most significant factors that influenced the migration of Chinese to Europe since Hong Kong was a British colony that provided unfettered access to the United Kingdom. Furthermore, thanks to their British passports, Chinese migrants from Hong Kong were able to satisfy increasing demands for labour in the restaurant trade in the Netherlands where a relatively liberal immigration control policy was adopted between World War II and 1972. In the late 1950s, as a consequence of an agricultural crisis and the drying up of local employment opportunities, lineage members had little alternative but to immigrate to Britain to work in restaurants. In 1967, many lineage members left the village for abroad. Many villagers had become scared of the social turmoil and insecurity as a result of the political riots at that time, which were largely regarded as a spill-over of the Communist Cultural Revolution in

China. These were the structural factors that contributed to the exodus of the villagers in San Tin and Chau Tau.

At the meso level, membership in the *Man* lineage enhanced one's opportunities for migration. This is because San Tin village had a strong lineage that had generated robust ties, cohesion and the common bonds which easily triggered chain migration by means of a transnational lineage network, and families were the basic institution on which the migration networks were constructed. Since San Tin and Chau Tau villages were part of a transnational community, the lineage members benefited from these networks. Remittances, information, and the presence of pioneers all played a part in prompting villagers to move. In other words, the bonds of kinship had become a stimulating factor to further chain migration by systematizing the whole process of providing information, loans, tickets, labour vouchers, accommodation and jobs, involving people on both ends of the spectrum – at the place of origin and the place of destination.

In order to find out why villagers – as an agency – made their own personal decision to move, a number of *Man* kinsmen were interviewed. These people were former farmers, students, workers and so on. By and large, as shown by the analysis conducted at the micro level, their reasons for migration were largely due to their poor economic situation at the time, rather than based on rational calculations. Certainly, their choices were often limited. This is reflected by the sometimes hasty decisions made by young lineage members who ventured to move abroad illegally. In this regard, the repercussions of chain migration were manifested by an already established lineage network. Thus, the argument can be made that the exodus of *Man* lineage members was actually the result of a number of different factors that found themselves at various levels. In reality, the emigration of the two villages of Chau Tau and San Tin cannot be ascribed to one of the two major factors at that time. In these villages, it was the interaction between structure and agency that culminated in chain migration. In other words, various structural factors and previously established social networks simultaneously influenced the decision-making process of individual lineage members to leave the village, thereby playing a significant role in making transnational migration possible. Such a claim is supported by the fact that chain migration did not occur in Tai Hang village, which was also one of the major villages where *Man* lineage was based in the New Territories. It seems that here the structural factors did not have a tangible impact

on the village and that the network failed to have much effect because it was too small. At the individual level, only Man T. W. was willing to move in search of better financial security for his children so that they could have better educational opportunities. Therefore, it may be possible to argue that, in order for the network to function well, certain conditions at the macro and micro levels (the path paved by pioneers) must first be met.

This thesis has invoked the discourse of roots in order to illustrate the divergent developments that have emerged in relation to the *Man* lineage in the Netherlands. From the middle of the 1990s, increasing numbers of *Man* lineage members began to return to their home villages, namely San Tin or Chau Tau. Their return home was often motivated by nostalgia or their desired ontological repatriation to the land of their ancestors. As the Chinese proverb describes, when a leaf falls, it returns to its roots. Such a phenomenon can also be used as a metaphor to describe the return of lineage members to their homeland. On the other hand, there are also a number of *Man* lineage members in the Netherlands who have been actively engaged in a variety of activities in the Chinese community throughout the years. These *Man* lineage members have created a new sense of home in their host societies. In other words, adopting an active attitude towards their host society or adapting to one's new environment can also be regarded as home-building in the host society. Therefore, when a leaf falls from the stem to the ground, once there, it takes root. Here the discourse of 'roots' illustrates both situations – describing the return home and establishing new roots or home-building.

However, the focus on home-building seems unnecessary for most second and third generation lineage members of *Man* in the Netherlands since they are Dutch-born Chinese. According to the survey, almost 40 per cent of these lineage members have achieved tertiary education. Since they have a good command of the Dutch language, they are now engaged in a wide variety of occupations in mainstream Dutch society. It is also unnecessary for them to utilize the lineage network – a form of social capital – in order to be able to find a low skilled job in the restaurant sector since their human capital is far greater than that of their parents. Thus, a pattern of upward mobility is identifiable. This is the first major change because of migration. These lineage members all speak Dutch fluently. Acquiring competence in the language of one's host country constitutes one of the key elements of

integration. This again shows that education and language are two important determining factors in the process of integration.

This thesis also has a second objective: that is to determine whether there has been a change in the identity of lineage members because of their parents' migration. The answer seems to be in the affirmative since these Westernized or Europeanized lineage members of *Man* are fundamentally *different* from their native-born kinsmen in the villages in Hong Kong. The difference is ascribed to one major factor that they have grown up in Western societies. They speak Western languages, have received Western education and are exposed to Western beliefs, norms and values. In Europe, there are Dutch, British, Belgian and German lineage members. In other words, identities are fostered with respect to one's place and language proficiency, which are at the core of notions of identity. Moreover, identity is associated with a connection between the personal and the social, i.e. the social institutions in which they find themselves, including social roles and behaviours, daily interaction with other people and the language they use and so on. Besides, they, unlike their parents who were preoccupied by a diasporic consciousness, have a transcultural consciousness. Hence, this conversion in consciousness is the second major change due to migration.

This thesis has also sought to find out what are the prospects of the transnational villages of *Man* – San Tin and Chau Tau – when lineage members are settled in the New Territories in Hong Kong as well as in Europe and whether the second generation of *Man* descendants in Europe have emotional ties with the villages of their (grand) fathers. A few possible scenarios have been discussed.

First of all, the status of a transnational village remains intact, implying that the radius of a single community spans the different localities and transcends national borders. These dispersed groups of lineage members in different European countries sustain and develop a myriad of exchange relations among themselves and with their home village through networks, keeping a diasporic consciousness on track and demonstrating a strong sense of an imagined community. Despite the fact that they have integrated into European countries, they have the incentive and competence to sustain some sort of long-term cultural, religious and traditional attachment to their home village. Nonetheless, this group of lineage

members only belong to the minority. Only a few lineage members interviewed have such a diasporic consciousness.

Secondly, the establishment of a large virtual lineage community through modern technology has encouraged younger lineage members to search for their roots. Lineage pride and the continuation of the family tree are still regarded as a value that merits preservation. However, developments in this regard remain to be seen. Both scenarios indicate that the family name still matters and the European descendants of *Man* still care about their roots.

The final possible scenario of the prospects of the *Man* lineage in Europe is that the lineage might eventually dissolve after one or two generations due to a number of factors. First, it cannot be argued that the second and third generation lineage members have a sense of belonging to their home village based on the results of the survey conducted. Only 48 per cent of the second and third generation lineage members state that they have a sense of belonging, while only 42 per cent have an emotional attachment to the village of their (grand) father. Neither can the young lineage members be regarded to have formed a cohesive, significant group with a collective identity because they, in general, do not associate with other lineage members in Europe, notwithstanding the fact that they belong to a specific group deriving from the same roots – the lineage. Furthermore, a powerful symbol which can serve as a fortress of solidarity or unity under which the old and young can shelter is lacking. In this sense, the symbolization of lineage identity is almost indispensable because it fosters a sense of belonging as well as an imagined similarity. Finally, in the wake of globalization, the status of world citizenship might be one possible scenario for the identification of the *Man* lineage in Europe, substituting their lineage identity. In other words, a cosmopolitan popular culture has emerged, becoming a substitute for regional, provincial or national cultures. The guarantee of the material survival of the nuclear family by pursuing the benefits of economic activity, political security and education around the globe is prioritized over lineage pride, lineage culture, traditions, roots and genealogy and so on. For the young lineage members born and educated in Europe, the values such as brotherhood, solidarity and cohesion are but items enshrined in the baggage of the first generation migrants.

In light of the foregoing, it might be somewhat premature to predict that the *Man* lineage will inevitability be fragmented. However, it also seems unrealistic to assume that the European-born or Westernized descendants of the *Man* lineage are likely to have close ties with their agnates established in Europe and in the New Territories or the villages of their ancestors. The survey proves that it is not the case. This is the third major change that has taken place due to migration.

Table 1. Chinese migrants from Guangdong and Fujian provinces of Southern China, 1846 – 1940.

Number	Destination	Occupation	Period
<250,000		Signed indenture contracts with European employers	
250,000	Latin America and Caribbean		Before 1874
250,000	Sumatra		1880s – 1910s
11,000,000	Straits Settlements		
	>1/3 to Dutch Indies, Borneo, Burma, and places further west		
<4,000,000	Thailand		
2,000,000 – 3,000,000	French Indochina		
>1,000,000	Dutch Indies		
<1,000,000	Philippines		
>500,000	Australia, New Zealand, and other islands in the Pacific and Indian Oceans		

Source: Figures taken from Mckeown, 2004, p. 158.

Table 2. Chinese in the Netherlands (not including Peranakan Chinese).

1931	**2,000**	**1963**	**1,697**
1933	2,500	**1964**	1,759
1936	1,200	**1965**	2,400
1937	1,000	**1973**	5,678
1939	903	**1974**	6,769
1944	1,487	**1975**	7,734
1955	1,766	**1976**	5,016 only ROC
1956	1,783	**1977**	11,000
1957	1,727	**1978**	5,904 only ROC
1958	1,696	**1979**	6,372 only ROC
1959	1,660	**1980**	6,847 only ROC
1960	1,500	**1981**	15,000
1961	1,644	**1982**	16,000
1962	1,640		

Source: See Schoorl, 1982, pp. 45 – 46. Cited by Custers, 1983, p. 8.

Table 3. Number of Chinese restaurants in the Netherlands, 1920 –1996.

Period	Chinese restaurants
1920 – 1930	2
1931 – 1940	8
1946 – 1950	65
1951 – 1960	225
1961 – 1970	618
1982	1,916
1993	1,847
1996	1,977

Source: Cheung & Lam, 2006, p. 60; over 1982 from Leung, 1989, p. 16, cited by Rijkschroeff, 1998, p. 64; over 1993 & 1993 from Horeca in cijfers 1994 en 1994, cited by Rijkschroeff, 1998, p. 64.

Table 4. Chinese in the Netherlands and their languages.

Guangdong	Cantonese, Hakka, Mandarin
Fujian	Fujian, Mandarin
Zhejiang	Wenzhou, Mandarin
Hong Kong	Cantonese, Hakka, Mandarin
Singapore	Cantonese, Fujian, Wenzhou, Mandarin
Malaysia	Cantonese, Fujian, Wenzhou, Mandarin
Indonesia	Fujian, Hakka
Suriname	Cantonese, Hakka
Vietnam	Cantonese
Taiwan	Mandarin

Source: Custers, 1983, p. 6. Modified.

Table 5. The percentage of Chinese Indonesian restaurants of the total number (of cafés).

Type business	**1960 n=**	**%**	**1970 n=**	**%**	**1982 n=**	**%**	**1991 n=**	**%**	**1996 n=**	**%**
Chinese Indonesian Restaurants	225	12	618	22	1916	32	1998	29	2170	28
Others	1700	88	2241	78	4065	68	4831	71	5460	72
Total	1925	100	2859	100	5981	100	6829	100	7630	100

Source: Bedrijfschap Horeca, 1996. Cited by Vogels, Geens & Martens, 1999, p. 108.

Table 6 Numbers of lineage members from San Tin interviewed distributed into years in which they migrated to Europe (1950 – 1975)(N = 116).

1950	**1**	**1963**	**3**
1951	0	1964	7
1952	1	1965	8
1953	1	1966	6
1954	1	1967	12
1955	1	1968	8
1956	4	1969	6
1957	2	1970	3
1958	5	1971	8
1959	5	1972	5
1960	4	1973	5
1961	3	1974	1
1962	11	1975	5

In this table, it is identifiable that the chain migration started to take off by the end of the 1950s. This situation was also reflected by the numbers of passports issued as shown in Table 7. The pinnacle of the first wave emerged in 1962, which was also confirmed in Table 7. The pinnacle of the second wave emerged in 1967, when political riots broke out in Hong Kong, pushing many villagers out of their homes. From 1968 onwards, the outflow of immigrants continued until 1975 and came to a halt after then (See also Table 7).

Table 7 Num ber of Passports Issued for *Mans* from San Tin (1946 – 1970).

1946	**1**	**1959**	**36**
1947	2	**1960**	42
1948	1	**1961**	46
1949	0	**1962**	71
1950	3	**1963**	18
1951	0	**1964**	53
1952	2	**1965**	57
1953	10	**1966**	58
1954	14	**1967**	3*
1955	19	**1968**	60
1956	21	**1969**	85
1957	51	**1970**	50**
1958	55		

Source: Hong Kong Government, Immigration Department, Documents Section, in a special search of the passport file. Cited from Watson, 1795, p. 70.

*This low figure may be a result of some unrecorded data in the passport files.

**As of July 1970.

Table 8. The educational level of the 2nd and 3rd generation lineage members of *Man* in the Netherlands in 2010.

Educational level	Status	Number	% Accomplished	% Including the Unaccomplished & Students
Secondary *	Unaccomplished	2		3.8
	Accomplished	13	24.5	33.9
	Student	5	9.4	
Tertiary **	Accomplished	21	39.7	62.3
	Student	12	22.6	
Total n =		53		100

*Including all forms of secondary education such as the general, occupational and pre-university education.

**Including all types of tertiary education such as professional universities (HBO).

Table 9 The educational level of Man S. K.'s* children and grandchildren, showing the education-driven social mobility of this family.

First generation	Second generation	Educational level/profession	Third generation	Educational level/profession
Man S. K. (restaurateur)	Man L. T.	MSc (Physical Geography)	Man J. T.*	University student (BA arts)
			Man K.W.*	M-medicine
			Man T.Y. *	University student (BSc biology)
	Man T. P.	Secondary (entrepreneur)	Man T. H.	Secondary student
			Man T. N.	University student
			Man T. L.	Primary student
	Man S. T.	Professional University (HBO) (catering)	Man K. L.	Lower secondary student
			Man S.	MSc in IT
			Man T. L. A. P.*	University student (HBO fashion)
	Man L. L.*	Professional University (HBO) (design)	Wen C. P. *	MSc (IT) in the USA

*All initials are derived from pseudo names.
** Female.

Table 10. The educational level of Man T. W.'s children and grandchildren, showing the education-driven social mobility of this family in the Netherlands.

First generation	Second generation	Educational level/profession	Third generation	Educational level/profession
Man T. W. Restaurateur	Man M.	Ph.D. in the USA	Man Alice*	Ph.D. in the USA
			Man Albert	Ph. D. in the USA
	Man S. C.*	Hong Kong (not migrated)		
	Man K. M.	BA (entrepreneur)	Man C. W.	BA
			Man C. H.	MA
	Man S. Y.*	Hong Kong (not migrated)		
	Man V.	Ph.D. in the USA		
	Man G.	Business	Man B.*	University Student BA
			Man C.*	Secondary student

*Female.

Table 11. Second and third generation lineage members of *Man* and the ethnic background of their partners.

Name	Gender	Ethnicity of partner	Educational level of the lineage member	Identification
Man M. L.	F	Dutch	Secondary	Both Chinese & Western
Man C. N.	F	Dutch	Tertiary	Only Western
Man E. F.	F	Dutch	Tertiary	More Western
Man T. E.	F	Dutch	Tertiary	More Western
Man H. E.	F	Dutch	Tertiary	More Western
Man S. L.	F	Dutch	Tertiary	Only Chinese
Man P. Y.	F	Indonesian	Secondary	Both Chinese & Western
Man F. Y.	F	Indonesian	Secondary	More Western
Man S. M.	F	Hindustani	Tertiary	More Western
Man N. F.	F	Chinese	Secondary	More Chinese
Man T. S.	M	Chinese	Secondary	World Citizen
Man W. S.	M	Chinese	Tertiary	Only Chinese
Man B. C.	M	Chinese	Tertiary	Both Chinese & Western
Man W. Y.	M	Chinese	Tertiary	More Chinese
Man H. M.	M	Chinese	Secondary	More Western
Man F. C.	M	Chinese	Secondary	More Chinese
Man T. F.	M	Chinese	Tertiary	More Chinese

Note: the initials are derived from pseudo-names.

Table 12. Fields showing the extent to which the 2nd and 3rd generation linage members of *Man* are integrated in the mainstream society.

Field	Only Chinese	More Chinese	Both Chinese & Western	More Western	Only Western	No answer*	Total
Newspaper			7.7%	7.7%	80.8%	3.8%	100%
N=			4	4	42	2	52
Radio	3.8%		5.8%	9.6%	50%	30.8%	100%
N =	2		3	5	26	16	52
TV	1.9%		32.7%	13.5%	48.1%	3.8%	100%
N =	1		17	7	25	2	52
Music		3.8%	23.1%	13.5%	51.9%	7.7%	100%
N =		2	12	7	27	4	52
Meals	3.8%	13.5%	67.3%	5.8%	1.9%	7.7%	100%
N =	2	7	35	3	1	4	52
Friends		13.5%	17.3%	67.3%		1.9%	100%
N =		7	9	35		1	52
Language at	32.7%		59.6%		1.9%	5.8%	100%
Home N=	17		31		1	3	52
Identification	15.4%	25.%	30.7%	15.4%	7.7%	5.8%	100%
N =	8	13	16**	8	4	3	52

*'No answer' can also imply that they do not like to listen to the radio.

**One young lineage member considers himself as a World Citizen.

Table 13. Fields showing the extent to which the 2nd and 3rd generation lineage members of *Man* are integrated in the mainstream society.

Field	Yes		No		No Answer		Total	
	N=	Per cent	N=	Per cent	N=	Per cent	N=	Per cent
Membership in political parties			41	78.8%	11	21.2%	52	100%
Vote	28	59.6%	15	31.9%	4	8.5%	47*	100%
Pub	23	44.2%	21	40.4%	8	15.4%	52	100%
(Pop) Concert	26	50%	19	36.5%	7	13.5%	52	100%

*After the subtraction of five minors.

Table 14. Fields showing the extent to which the 2nd and 3rd generation lineage members of *Man* have an affinity with the lineage.

Field	Yes		No		No Answer or neutral		Total	
	N =	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
Value attached to the family name 'Man'	46	88.5%			6	11.5%	52	100%
Certain knowledge of village's traditions	29	55.7%	20	38.5%	3	5.8%	52	100%
A sense of belonging to the village	25	48.0%	14	27.0%	13	25.0%	52	100%
Emotional attachment to the village	22	42.2%	14	27.0%	16	30.8%	52	100%
Frequent contact with other lineage members	10	18.2%	25	48.1%	17	33.7%	52	100%
Identification with other lineage members	20	38.5%	12	23.0%	20	38.5%	52	100%

Diagram 1. Map of Southeastern China.

Source: johomaps.com. Retrieved March 7, 2011, from http://www.johomaps.com/as/china/chinasouth.html.

Diagram 2. The grave of Man Sai Gor, the founding ancestor of San Tin.

Source: Stichting Familie Man in Europa. Retrieved March 7, 2011 from. http://www.familieman.nl/.

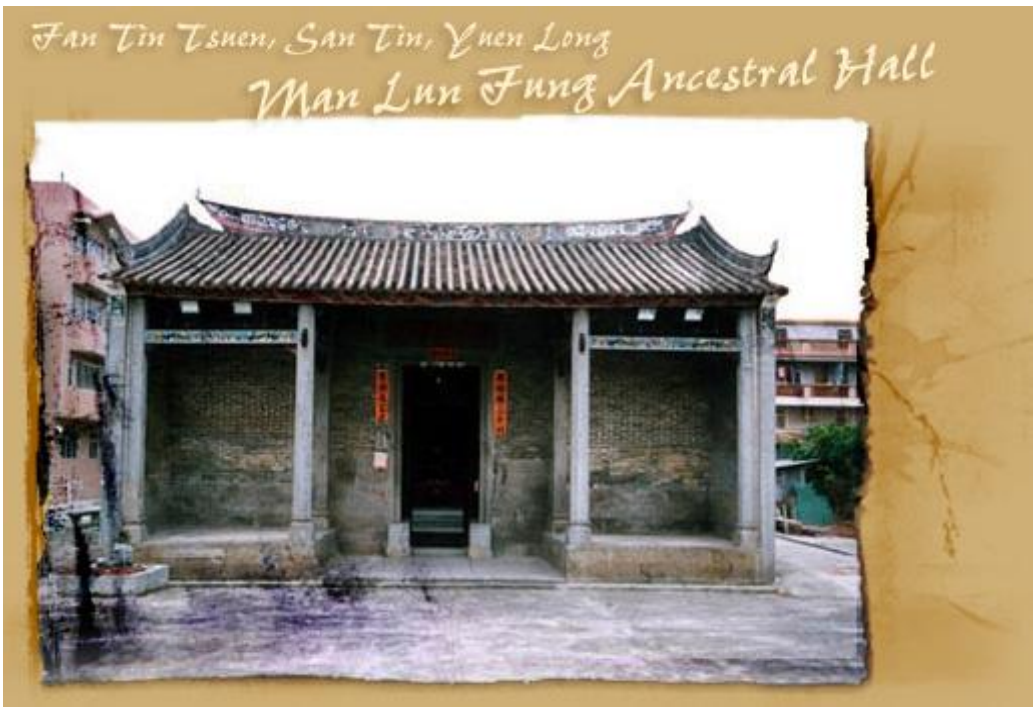
Diagram 3. Hundreds of Man Sai Gor's descendants visiting his grave during the Chong Yang Festival.

Source: Stichting Familie Man in Europa. Retrieved March 7, 2011 from. http://www.familieman.nl/.

Diagram 4. Providing an offering to the ancestral grave is part and parcel of the rite. The name of Man Sai Gor is inscribed on his grave, indicating that he is of the 7th generation in the genealogy.

Source: Stichting Familie Man in Europa. Retrieved March 7, 2011 from. http://www.familieman.nl/.

Diagram 5. Ancestral Hall of Man Lun Fung, the son of the founding ancestor of San Tin village, Man Sai Gor.

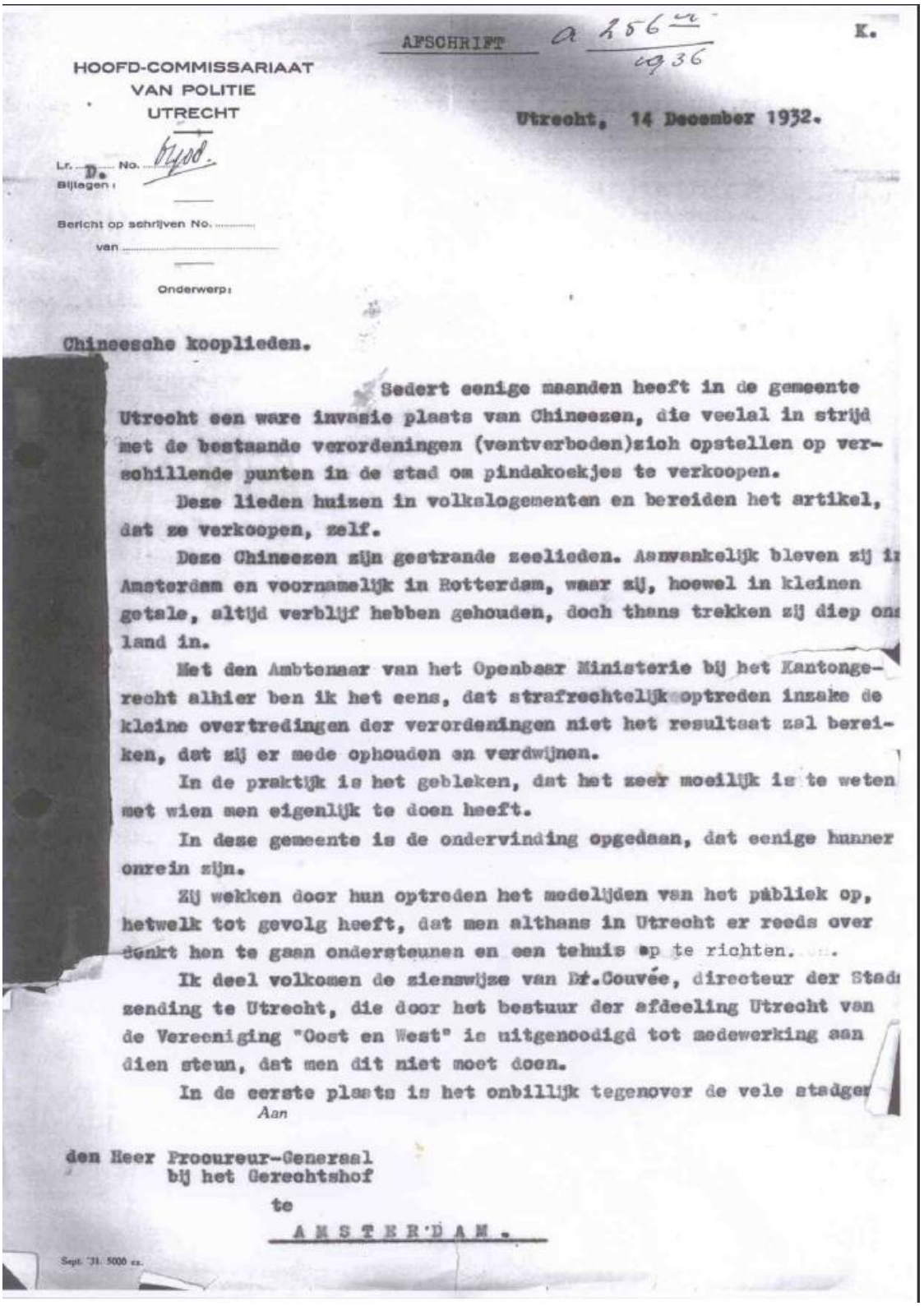


Source: AMO, Hong Kong government. Retrieved March 21, 2011, from http://amo.gov.hk/en/monuments_19.php.

Diagram 6. Chinese peanut-cookie seller in the 1930s.

Source: Inspraak Orgaan Chinezen. Retrieved January 11, 1011, from IOC website: http://www.ioc-ch.nl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=431&Itemid=231.

Diagram 7. This is a letter written by the Chief Commissioner of Police in Utrecht, describing how unpleasant the situation in his jurisdiction was as regards the sale of peanut-cookies in the streets. The Chinese sellers were in breach of the anti-peddling ordinance and thought to be infected with venereal diseases.



AFSCHRIFT a 256 1936 K.

HOOFD-COMMISSARIAAT
VAN POLITIE
UTRECHT

Utrecht, 14 December 1932.

Lr. D. No. 6408.
Bijlagen:

Bericht op schrijven No. .....
van .....

Onderwerp:

Chineesche kooplieden.

Sedert eenige maanden heeft in de gemeente Utrecht een ware invasie plaats van Chineezen, die veelal in strijd met de bestaande verordeningen (ventverboden)zich opstellen op verschillende punten in de stad om pindakoekjes te verkoopen.

Deze lieden huizen in volkslogementen en bereiden het artikel, dat ze verkoopen, zelf.

Deze Chineezen zijn gestrande zeelieden. Aanvankelijk bleven zij in Amsterdam en voornamelijk in Rotterdam, waar zij, hoewel in kleinen getale, altijd verblijf hebben gehouden, doch thans trekken zij diep ons land in.

Met den Ambtenaar van het Openbaar Ministerie bij het Kantongerecht alhier ben ik het eens, dat strafrechtelijk optreden inzake de kleine overtredingen der verordeningen niet het resultaat zal bereiken, dat zij er mede ophouden en verdwijnen.

In de praktijk is het gebleken, dat het zeer moeilijk is te weten met wien men eigenlijk te doen heeft.

In deze gemeente is de ondervinding opgedaan, dat eenige hunner onrein zijn.

Zij wekken door hun optreden het medelijden van het publiek op, hetwelk tot gevolg heeft, dat men althans in Utrecht er reeds over denkt hen te gaan ondersteunen en een tehuis op te richten. ...

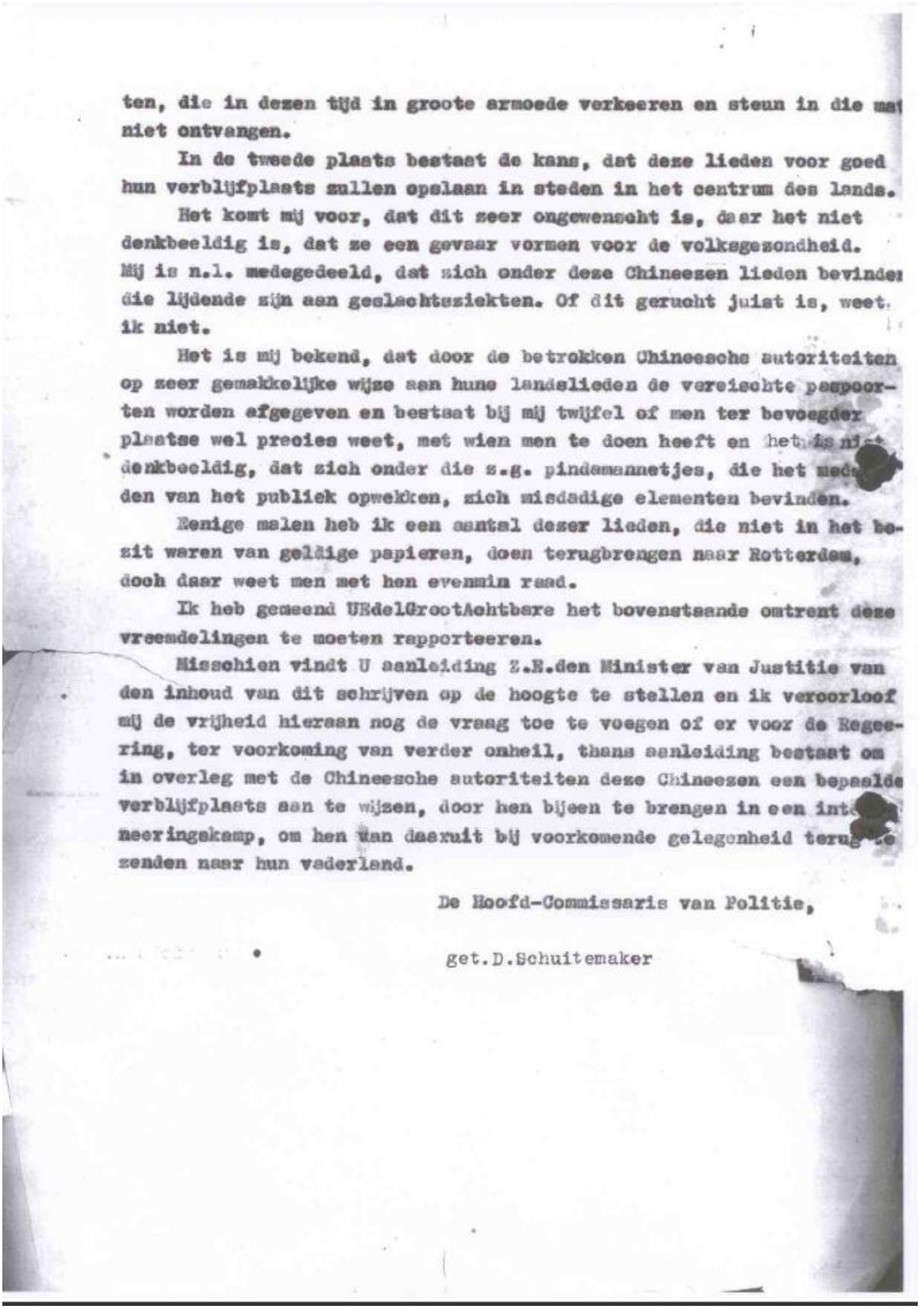
Ik deel volkomen de zienswijze van Dr. Couvée, directeur der Stadszending te Utrecht, die door het bestuur der afdeeling Utrecht van de Vereeniging "Oost en West" is uitgenoodigd tot medewerking aan dien steun, dat men dit niet moet doen.

In de eerste plaats is het onbillijk tegenover de vele stadger...

Aan

den Heer Procureur-Generaal
bij het Gerechtshof
te
AMSTERDAM.

Sept. '31. 5000 ex.



ten, die in dezen tijd in groote armoede verkeeren en steun in die mat niet ontvangen.

In de tweede plaats bestaat de kans, dat deze lieden voor goed hun verblijfplaats zullen opslaan in steden in het centrum des lands.

Het komt mij voor, dat dit zeer ongewenscht is, daar het niet denkbeeldig is, dat ze een gevaar vormen voor de volksgezondheid. Mij is n.l. medegedeeld, dat zich onder deze Chineezen lieden bevinden die lijdende zijn aan geslachtsziekten. Of dit gerucht juist is, weet ik niet.

Het is mij bekend, dat door de betrokken Chineesche autoriteiten op zeer gemakkelijke wijze aan hune landslieden de vereischte paspoorten worden afgegeven en bestaat bij mij twijfel of men ter bevoegder plaatse wel precies weet, met wien men te doen heeft en het is niet denkbeeldig, dat zich onder die z.g. pindamannetjes, die het medelijden van het publiek opwekken, zich misdadige elementen bevinden.

Eenige malen heb ik een aantal dezer lieden, die niet in het bezit waren van geldige papieren, doen terugbrengen naar Rotterdam, dooch daar weet men met hen evenmin raad.

Ik heb gemeend UEdelGrootAchtbare het bovenstaande omtrent deze vreemdelingen te moeten rapporteeren.

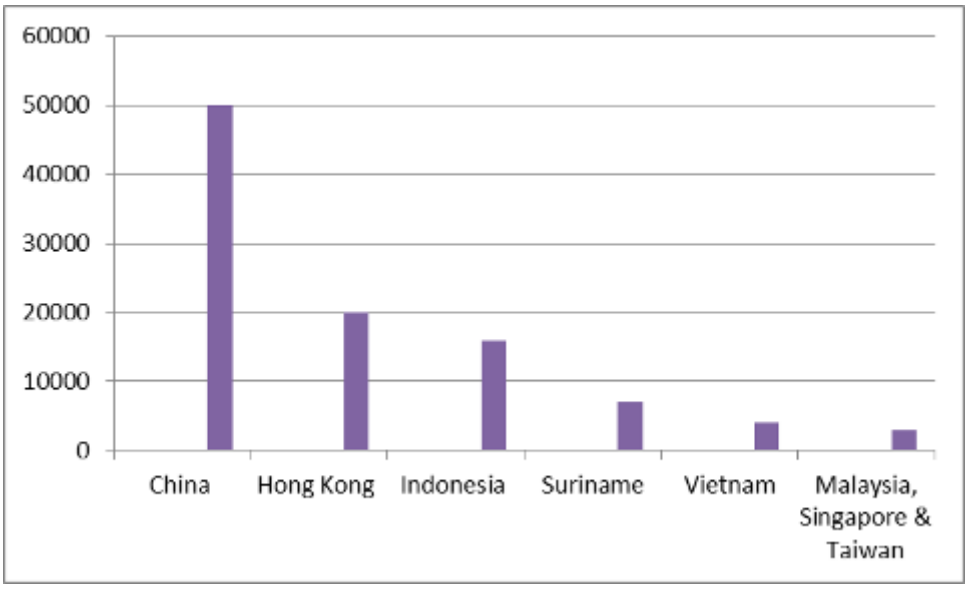
Misschien vindt U aanleiding Z.E.den Minister van Justitie van den inhoud van dit schrijven op de hoogte te stellen en ik veroorloof mij de vrijheid hieraan nog de vraag toe te voegen of er voor de Regeering, ter voorkoming van verder onheil, thans aanleiding bestaat om in overleg met de Chineesche autoriteiten deze Chineezen een bepaalde verblijfplaats aan te wijzen, door hen bijeen te brengen in een interneeringskamp, om hen van daaruit bij voorkomende gelegenheid terug te zenden naar hun vaderland.

De Hoofd-Commissaris van Politie,

get. D. Schuitemaker

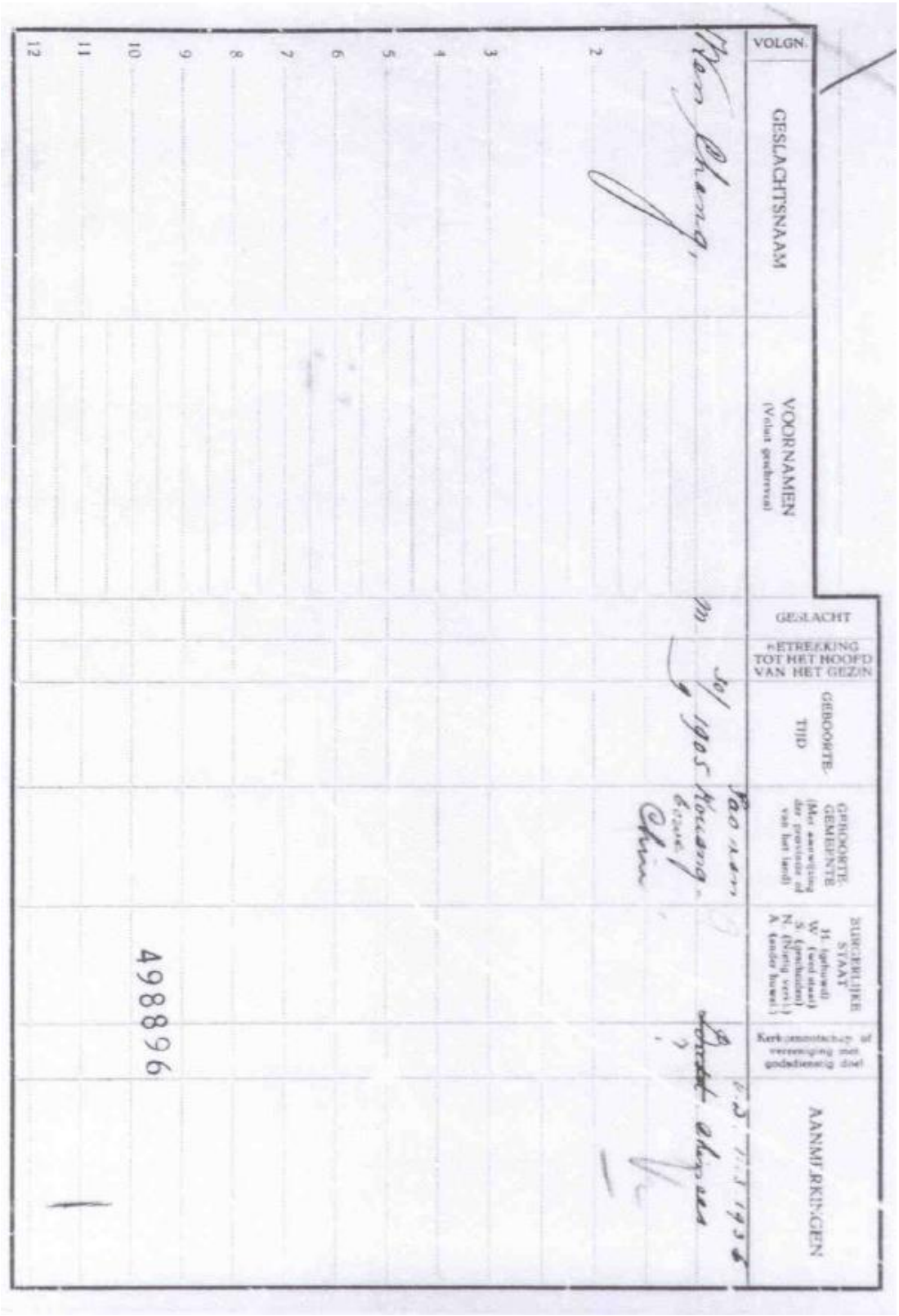
Source: Municipal Archive Rotterdam, Municipal Police , access no. 63, file no. 3804.

Diagram 8. Chinese population in the Netherlands in 2010.



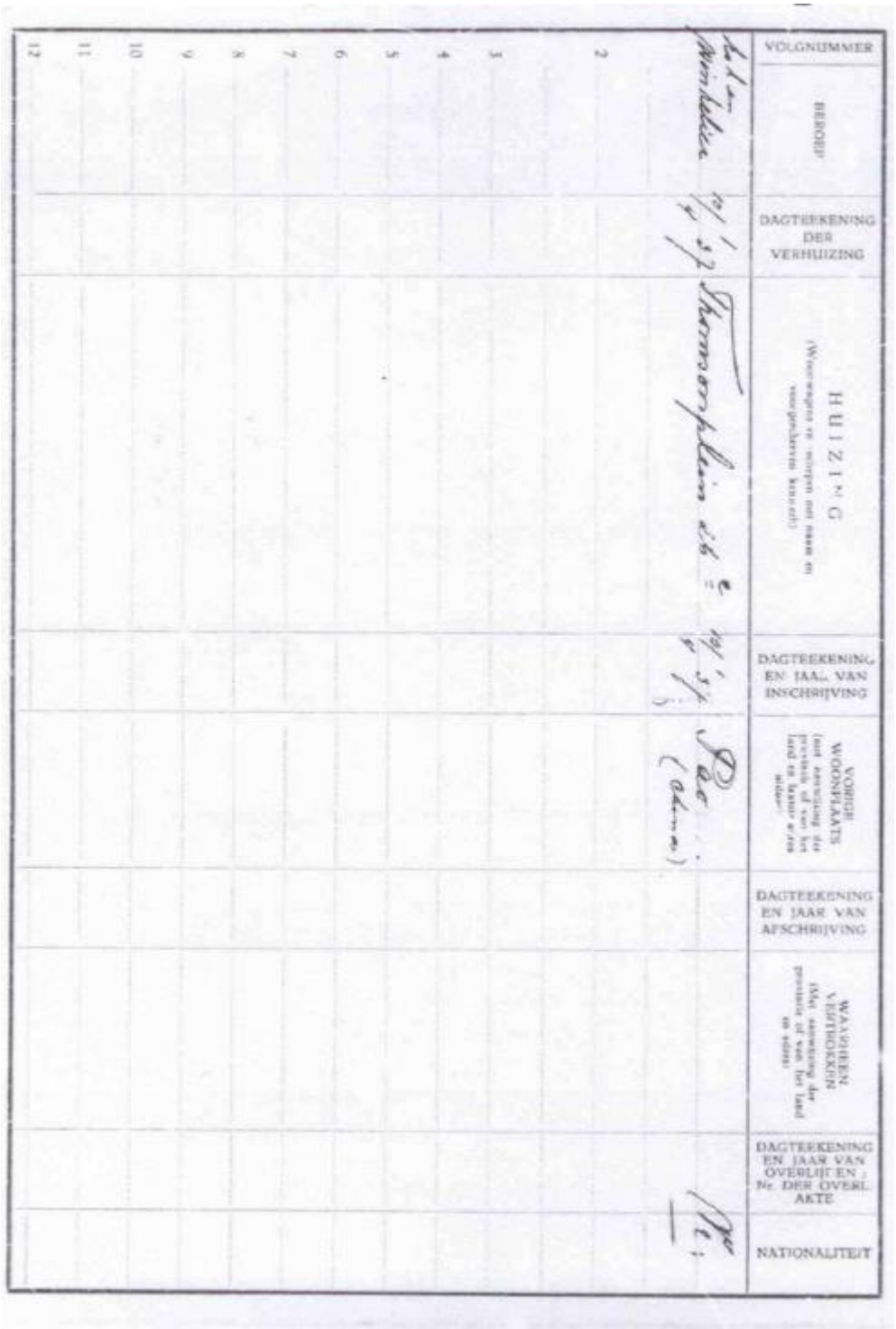
Source: Figures derived from IOC. Backgrounds of the Chinese in the Netherlands. Retrieved January 11, 1011, from IOC website: http://www.ioc-ch.nl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=431&Itemid=231.

Diagram 9. Personal information of Wen Chang registered in the population register in 1936.



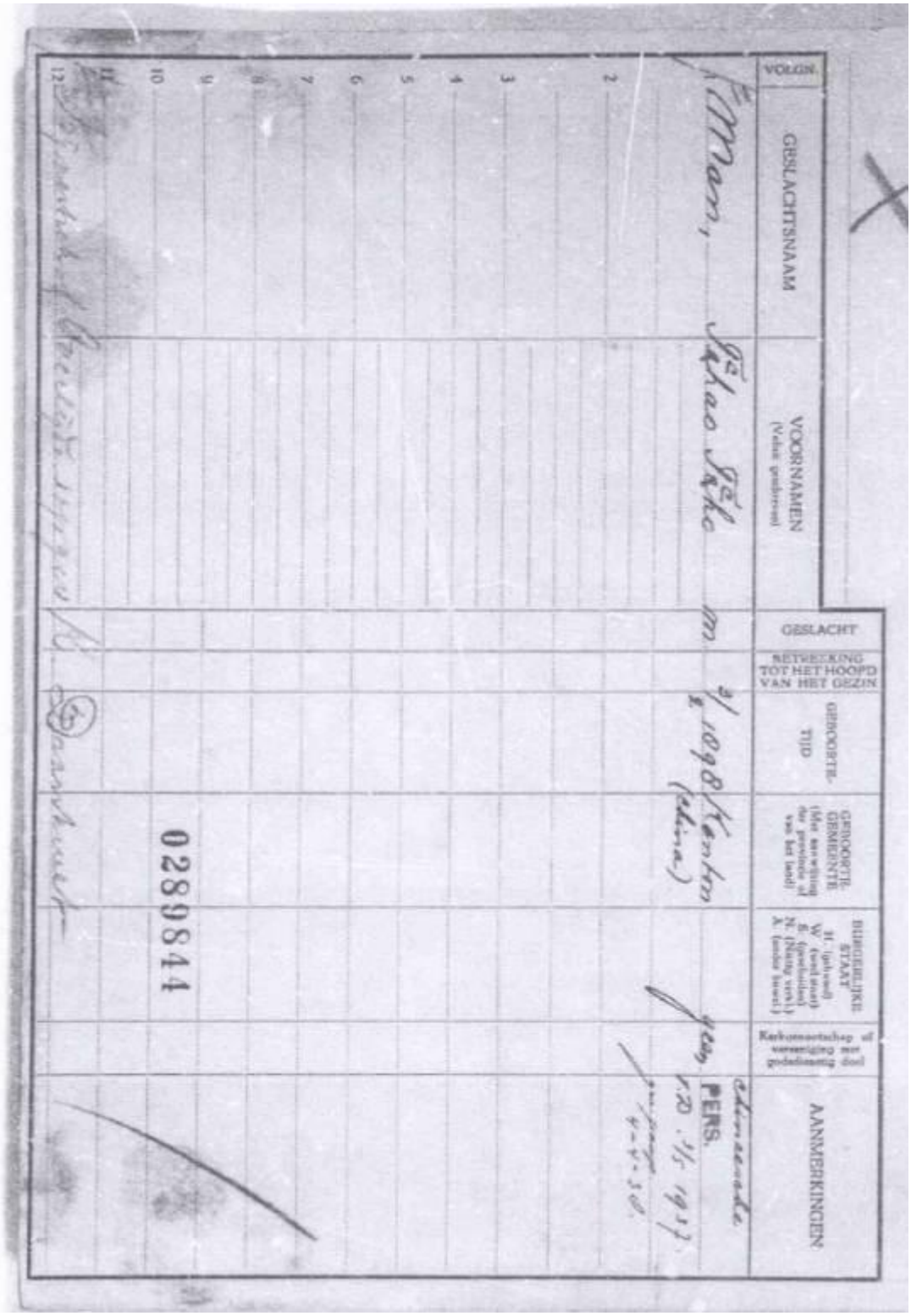
Source: Archive of population register of The Hague.

Diagram 10. Personal information of Wen Chang registered in the population register in 1936.



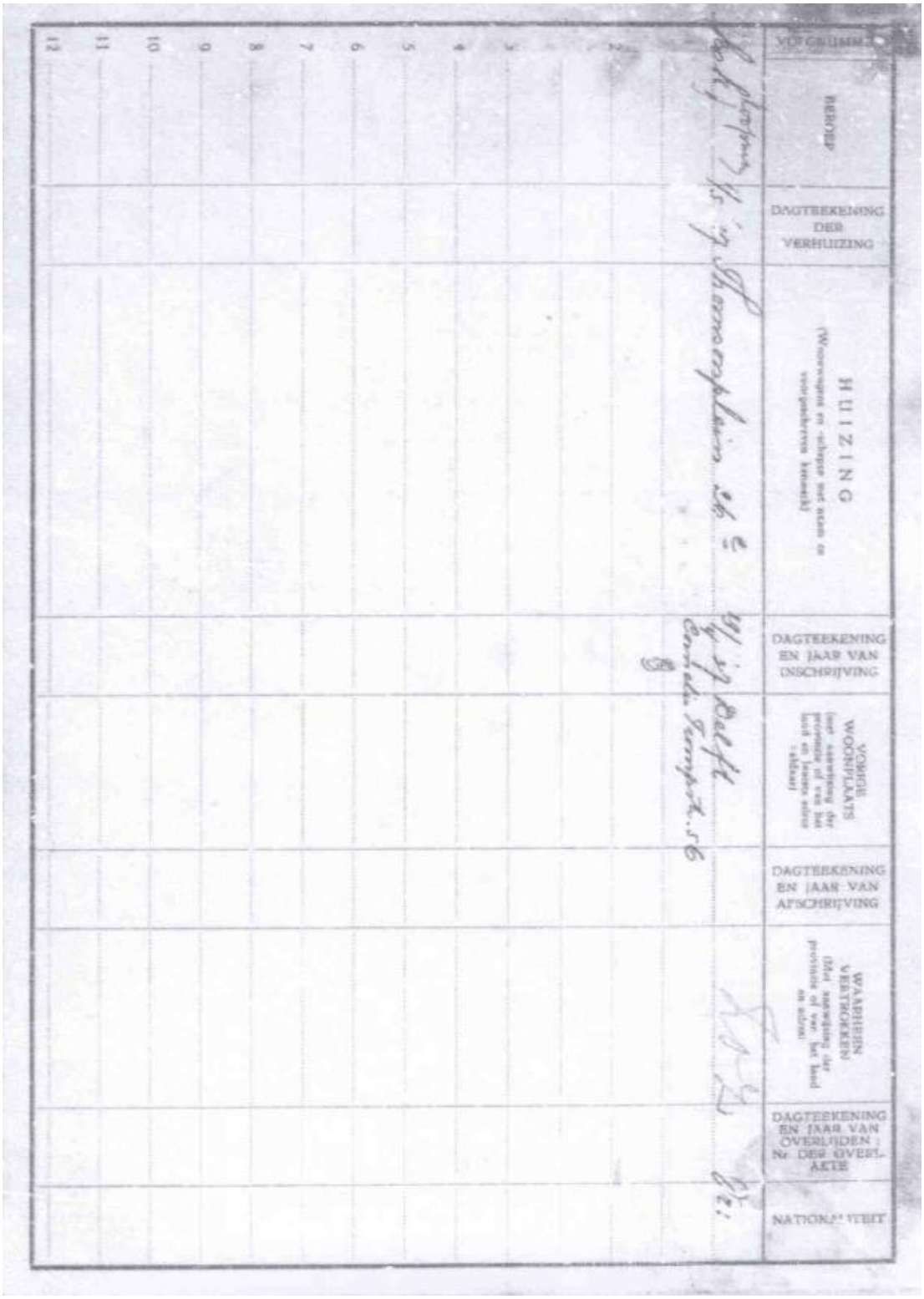
Source: Archive of population register of The Hague.

Diagram 11. Personal information of Man Tchao Tcho registered in the population register in 1936.



Source: Archive of population register of The Hague.

Diagram 12. Personal information of Man Tchao Tcho registered in the population register in 1936.



Source: Archive of population register of The Hague.

Diagram 13. The advertisement of Chinese restaurant owned by one of *Man* lineage members in Utrecht in the 1960s.

Source: dechinees.com. Advertisements in the 1960s. Retrieved November 6, 2010, from http://www.dechinees.com/vroeger/.

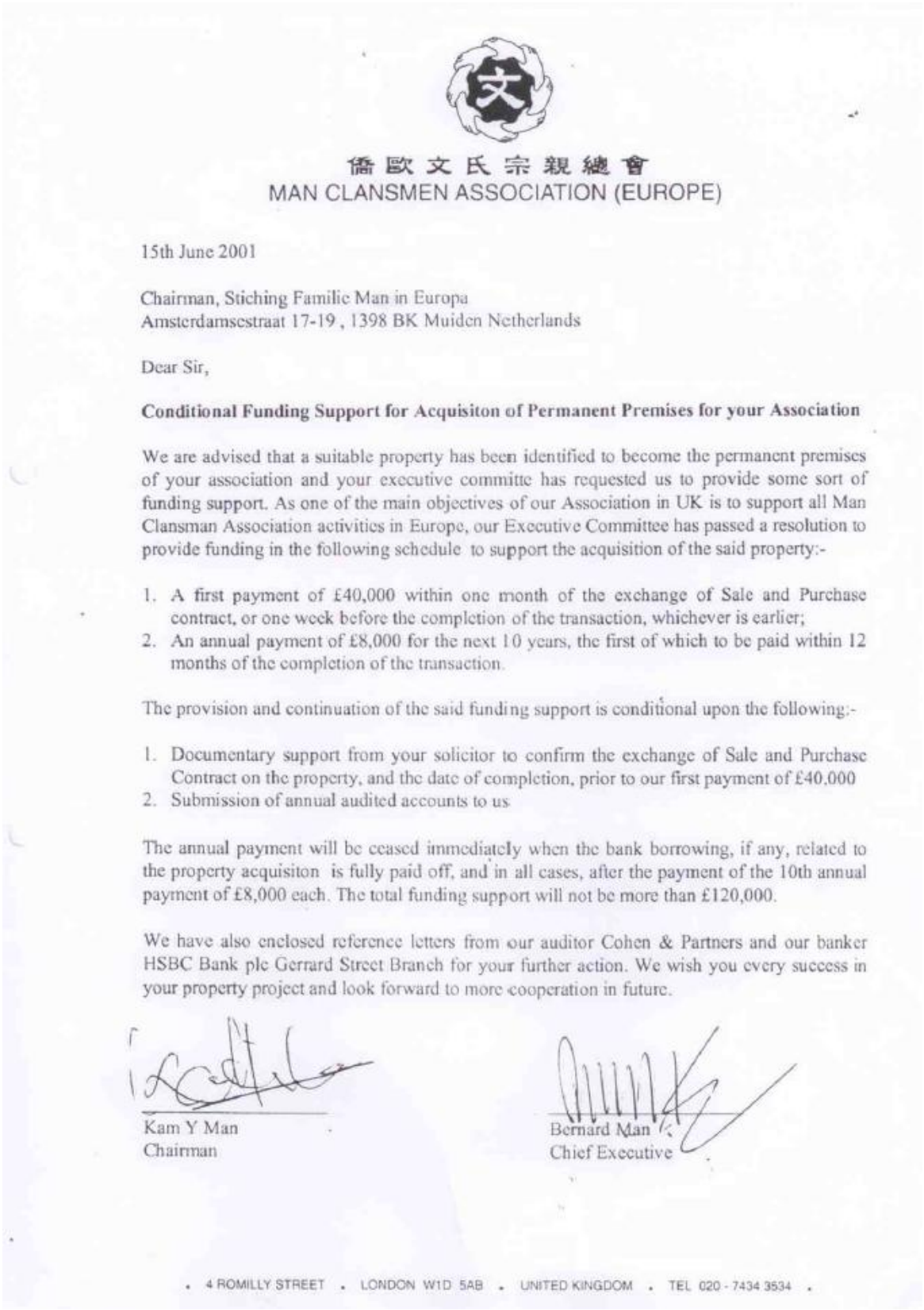
Diagram 14. Chinese restaurant New Garden in Utrecht owned by one of the *Man* lineage members in the 1970s.

Source: Het Utrechts Archief. The end of the Jan van Scorelstraat in Utrecht. Retrieved December, 1, 2010 from http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl/collectie/beeldmateriaal/fotografische_documenten/1980-1990/70052.

.

.

Diagram 15. A letter of financial support from the Man Clansmen Association (Europe) in London.



僑歐文氏宗親總會
MAN CLANSMEN ASSOCIATION (EUROPE)

15th June 2001

Chairman, Stiching Familie Man in Europa
Amsterdamsestraat 17-19 , 1398 BK Muiden Netherlands

Dear Sir,

Conditional Funding Support for Acquisiton of Permanent Premises for your Association

We are advised that a suitable property has been identified to become the permanent premises of your association and your executive committe has requested us to provide some sort of funding support. As one of the main objectives of our Association in UK is to support all Man Clansman Association activities in Europe, our Executive Committee has passed a resolution to provide funding in the following schedule to support the acquisition of the said property:-

1. A first payment of £40,000 within one month of the exchange of Sale and Purchase contract, or one week before the completion of the transaction, whichever is earlier;
2. An annual payment of £8,000 for the next 10 years, the first of which to be paid within 12 months of the completion of the transaction.

The provision and continuation of the said funding support is conditional upon the following:-

1. Documentary support from your solicitor to confirm the exchange of Sale and Purchase Contract on the property, and the date of completion, prior to our first payment of £40,000
2. Submission of annual audited accounts to us

The annual payment will be ceased immediately when the bank borrowing, if any, related to the property acquisiton is fully paid off, and in all cases, after the payment of the 10th annual payment of £8,000 each. The total funding support will not be more than £120,000.

We have also enclosed reference letters from our auditor Cohen & Partners and our banker HSBC Bank plc Gerrard Street Branch for your further action. We wish you every success in your property project and look forward to more cooperation in future.

Kam Y Man
Chairman

Bernard Man
Chief Executive

. 4 ROMILLY STREET . LONDON W1D 5AB . UNITED KINGDOM . TEL 020 - 7434 3534 .

Source: Stichting Familie Man in Europa.

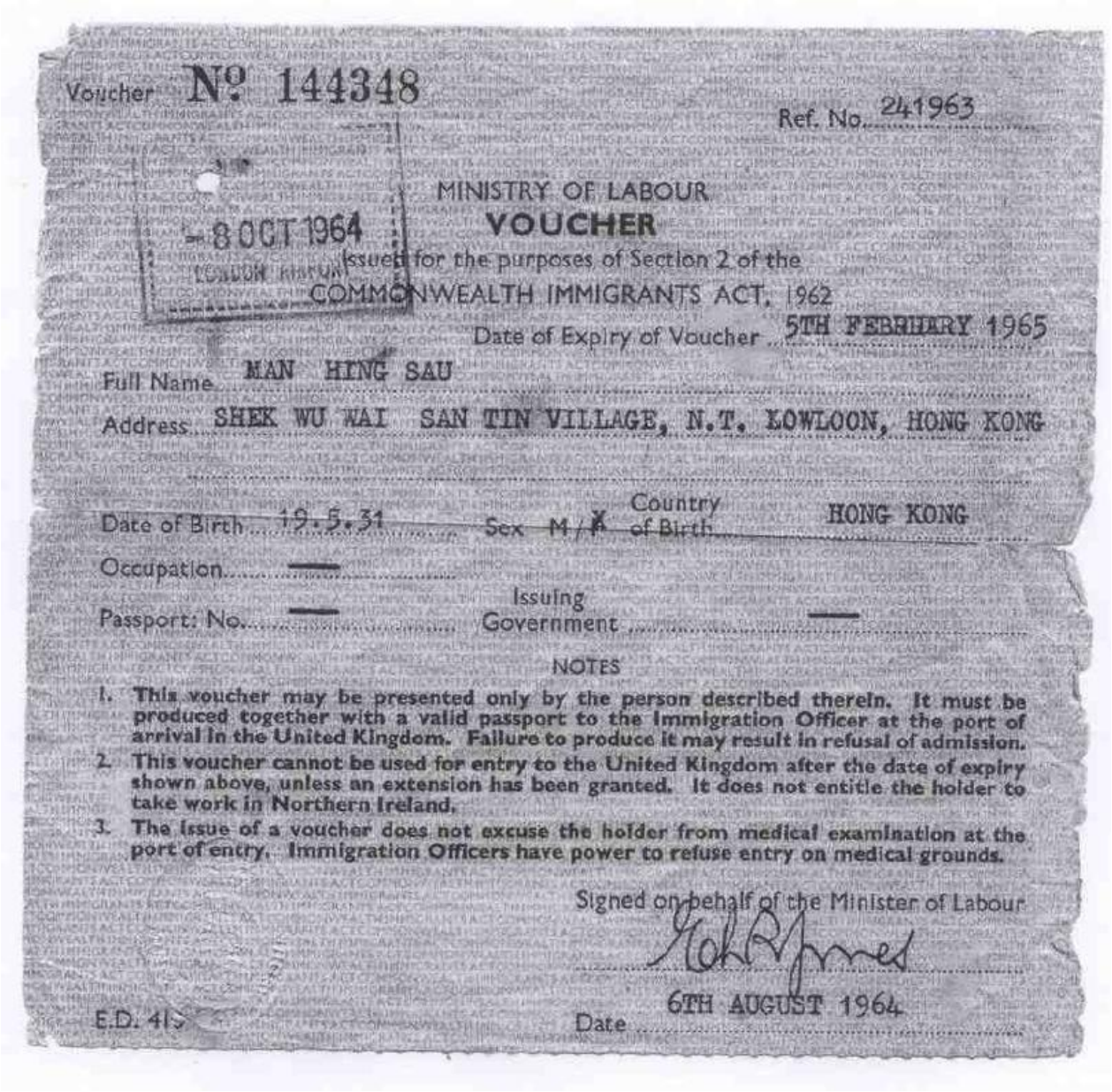
Diagram 16. A group of 50 Dutch lineage members of *Man* paid a visit to their fellow lineage members in Britain in July, 2009. They were received by fellow British lineage members in a restaurant in London.

Source: Stichting Familie Man in Europa. Retrieved March 14, 2011from http://www.familieman.nl/.

Diagram 17. British leaders of the Man Clansmen Association (Europe) standing in front of the Foundation premises for Dutch Man lineage members (Stichting Familie Man in Europe) following a visit.

Source: Man Clansmen Association (Europe). Retrieved March 14, 2011 from http://www.familieman.nl/.

Diagram 18. The Labour Voucher of a member of the *Man* lineage from San Tin.



Voucher No. 144348

Ref. No. 241963

- 8 OCT 1964
LONDON AIRPORT

MINISTRY OF LABOUR
VOUCHER
Issued for the purposes of Section 2 of the
COMMONWEALTH IMMIGRANTS ACT, 1962

Date of Expiry of Voucher 5TH FEBRUARY 1965

Full Name MAN HING SAU

Address SHEK WU WAI SAN TIN VILLAGE, N.T. KOWLOON, HONG KONG

Date of Birth 19.5.31 Sex M / ~~F~~ Country of Birth HONG KONG

Occupation —

Passport: No. — Issuing Government —

NOTES

1. This voucher may be presented only by the person described therein. It must be produced together with a valid passport to the Immigration Officer at the port of arrival in the United Kingdom. Failure to produce it may result in refusal of admission.
2. This voucher cannot be used for entry to the United Kingdom after the date of expiry shown above, unless an extension has been granted. It does not entitle the holder to take work in Northern Ireland.
3. The issue of a voucher does not excuse the holder from medical examination at the port of entry. Immigration Officers have power to refuse entry on medical grounds.

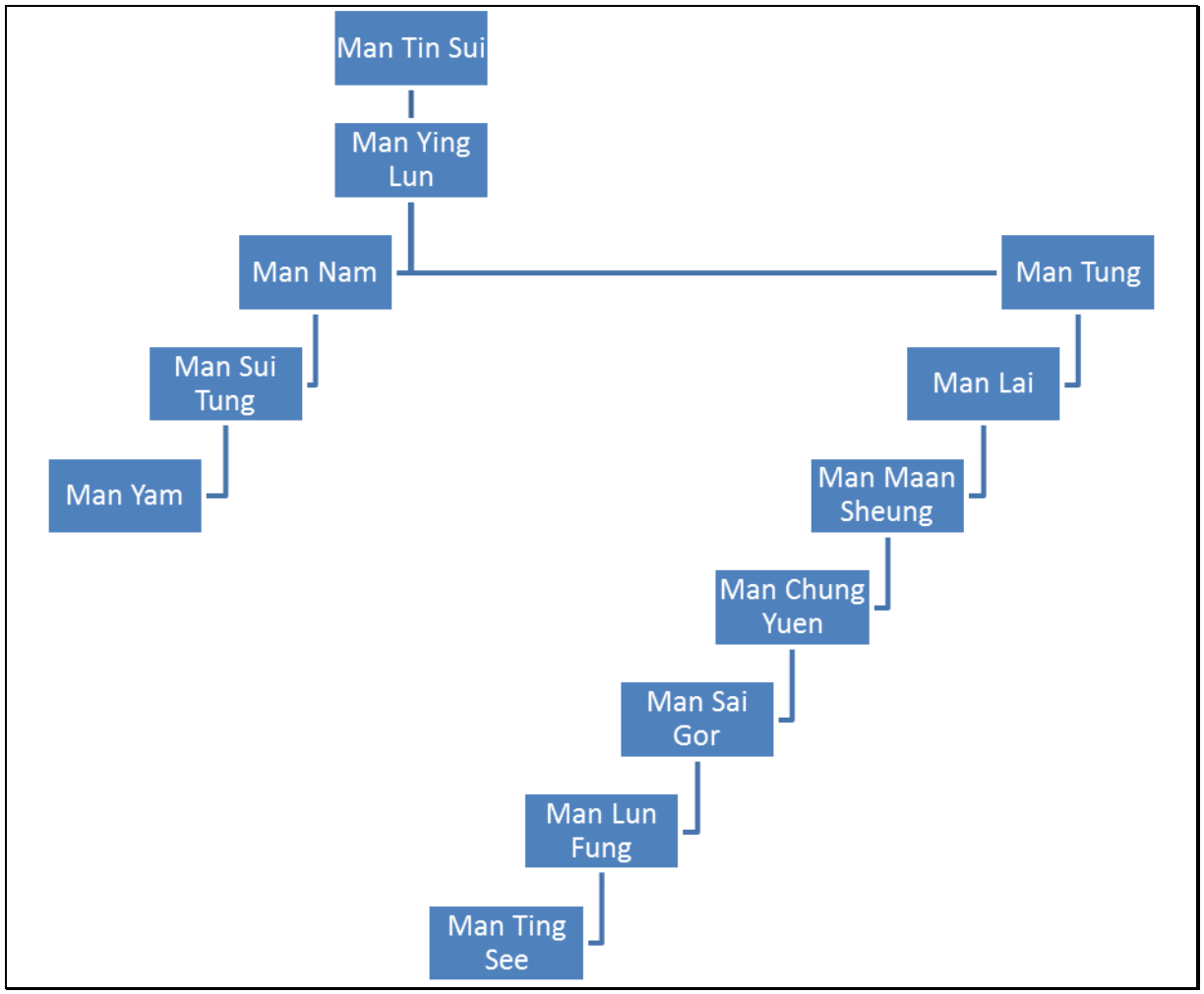
Signed on behalf of the Minister of Labour

6TH AUGUST 1964

E.D. 41 Date

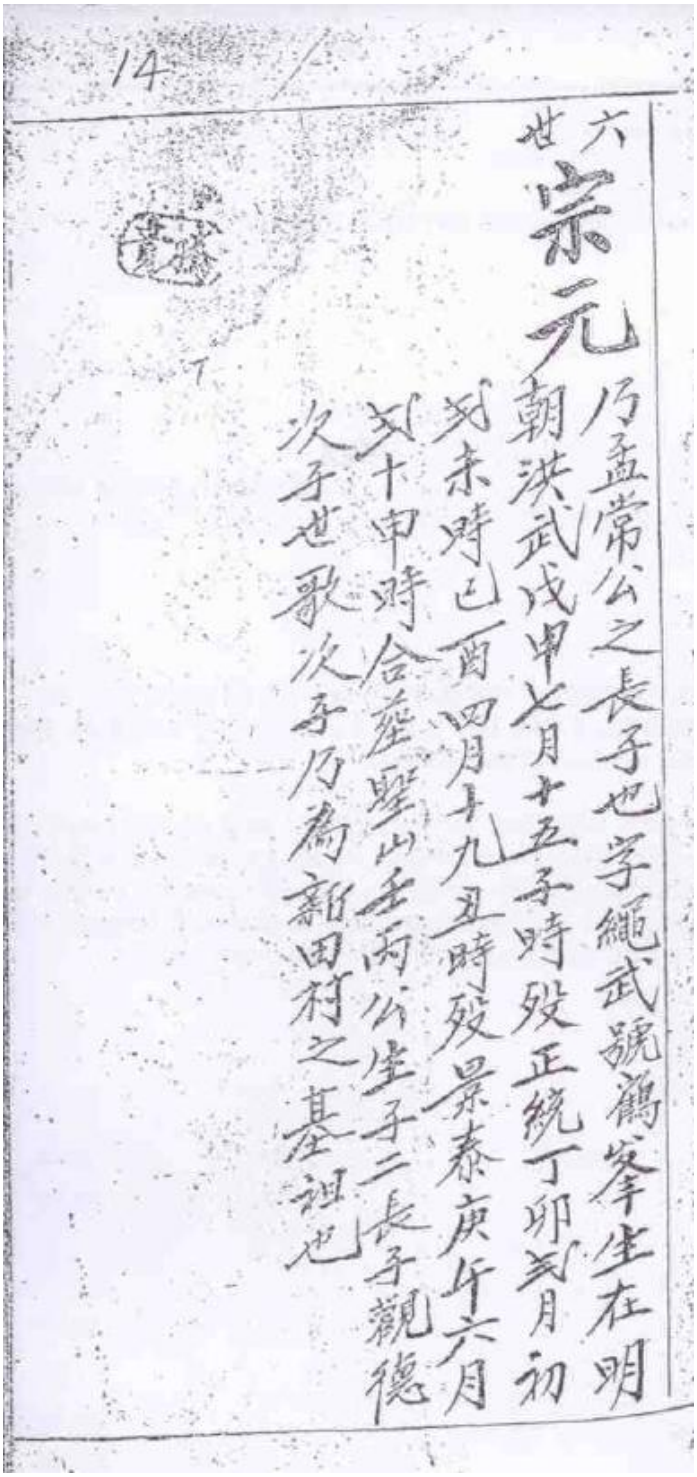
Source: Man H. S.

Diagram 19. Part of the genealogy of *Man* lineage in Guangdong province.



Source: Genealogy of San Tin village.

Diagram 20. This is one of the pages inside the Genealogy of San Tin in which the relationship between Man Chung Yuen (of the 6th generation) and Man Sai Gor is indicated. He is the eldest son of Man Maan Sheung, while Man Sai Gor is his youngest son and thereby laid down as the founding ancestor of San Tin village.

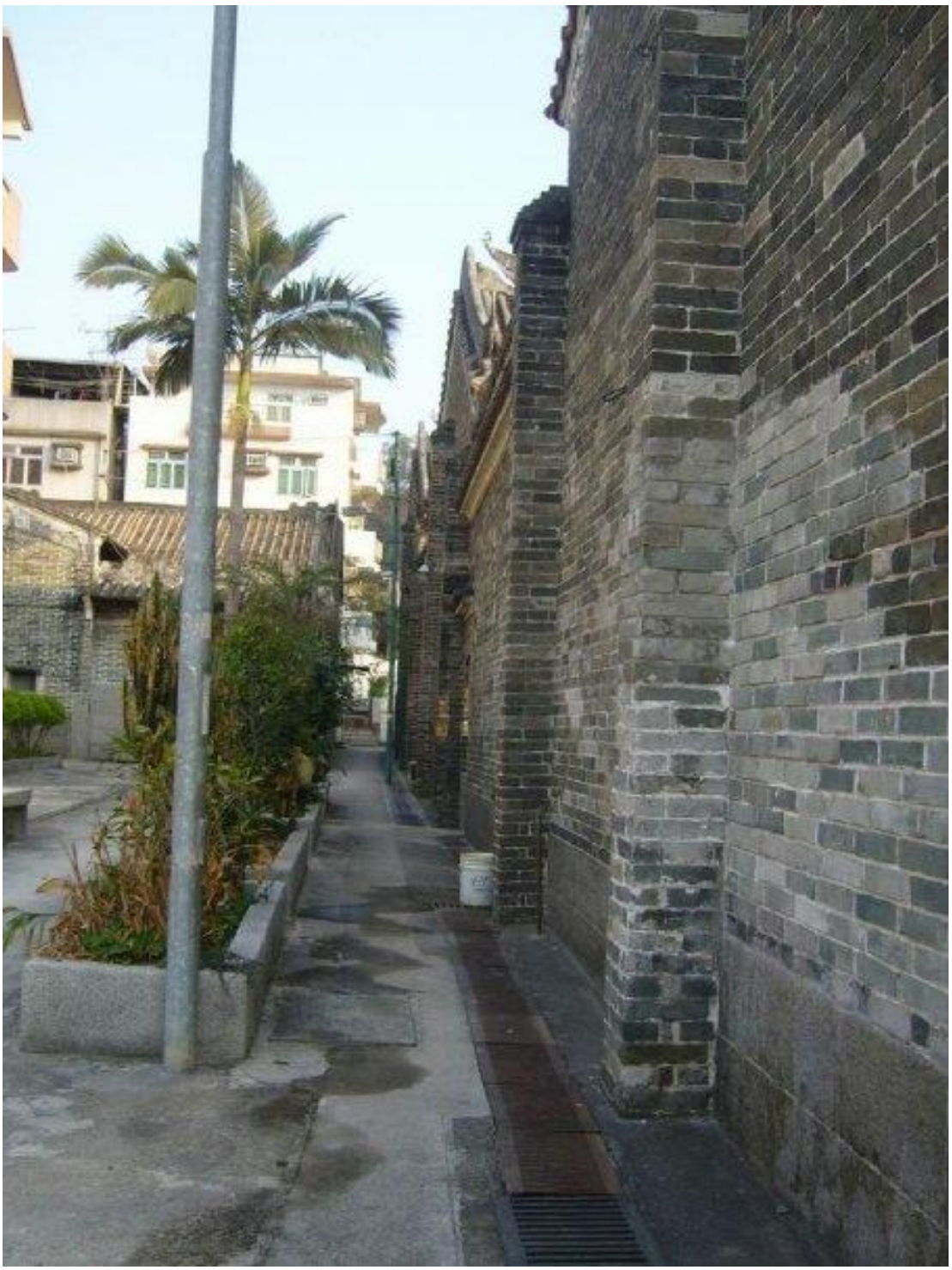


Source: Genealogy of San Tin village.

Diagram 21. Map of Hong Kong. San Tin is located in the frontier area overlooking Shenzhen, which is located on the fringe of South China.

Source: Travel China Guide. Retrievd March 16, 2011 from http://www.travelchinaguide.com/images/map/hongkong/hongkong-map.gif.

Diagram 22. An alley within San Tin village, which can be demarcated as a boundary between different sub-villages.



Source: Man C. Retrieved April 28, 2011, from Facebook http://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=11649287842&set=o.3354240636&type=1&theater.

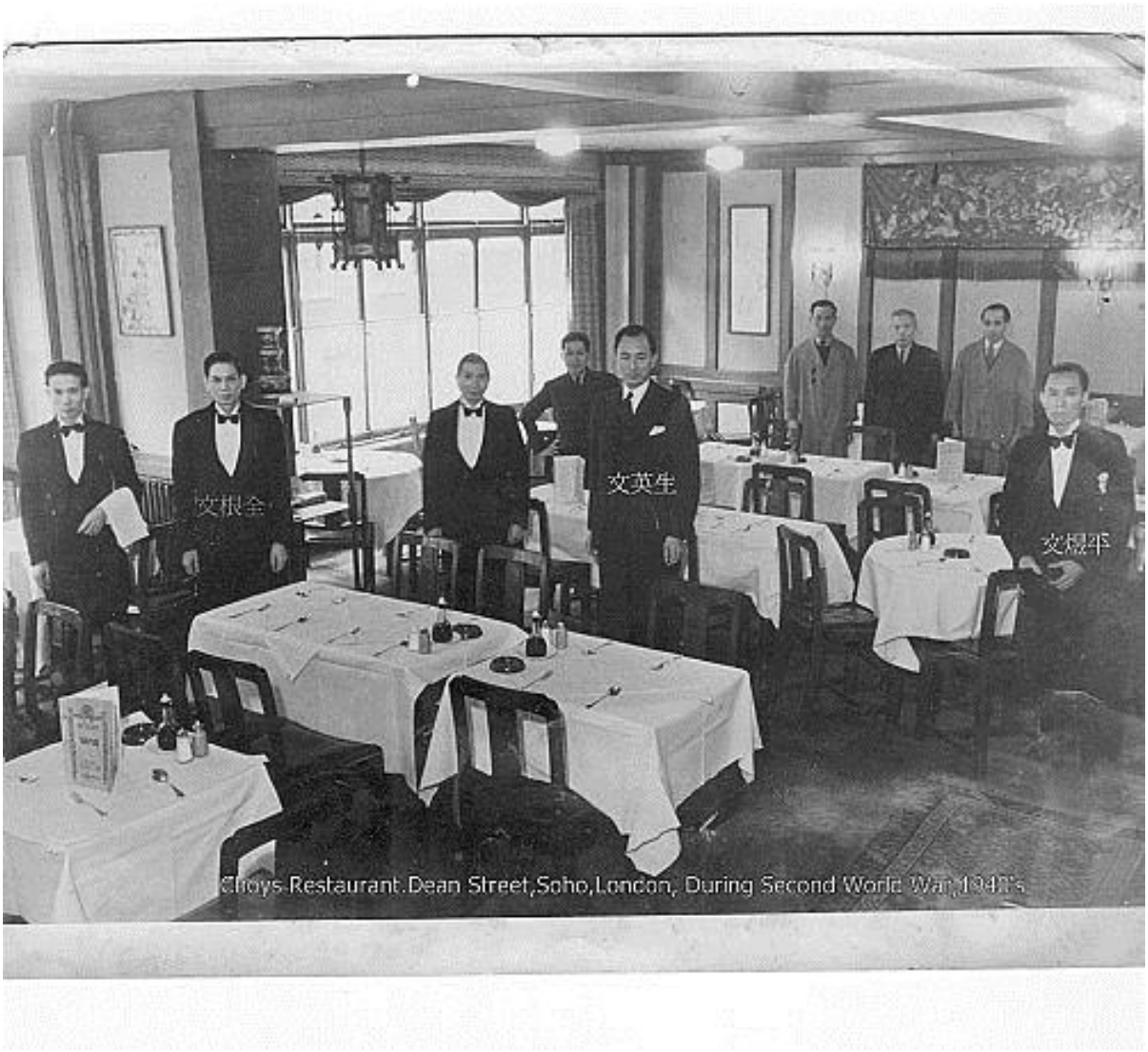
Diagram 23. Ancestral tablets displaying the names of the ancestors and their wives are placed inside the Ancestral Hall Tun Yu Tong, which is the most representative ancestral hall in San Tin.

Source: Man E. on his blog. Retrieved March 18, 2011 from http://hk.myblog.yahoo.com/Casa-Santino.

Diagram 24. A voluntary member of a lineage militia that was deployed at the Ancestral Hall Man Lun Fung in San Tin.

Source: Newsletter of Heung Yee Kuk of the New Territories (NT Council of Rural Affairs), 2007.

Diagram 25. Man Ying Sang (in the middle) and his restaurant in London. Two waiters (with their names on the picture) were lineage members of *Man*.



Source: Man E. Retrieved March 18, 2011 from http://hk.myblog.yahoo.com/Casa-Santino

Diagram 26. Man T. W. (with luggage in front of him) and his family members grouping at the Kai Tak Airport before departure to Europe (1957).

Source: Man T. W.

Diagram 27. A group of young members of the *Man* lineage visiting the premises of Lineage Man Foundation in Europe based in Amsterdam on August 29, 2010.

Source: Stichting Familie Man in Europa. Retrieved May 12, 2011 from http://familieman.nl/.

Diagram 28. A piece of article in the Dutch daily *De Echo*, in which the first pharmacist of the *Man* lineage is reported. This is a telling example of education-driven mobility. Man Pang-Wai (27) is in the middle with his parents. He completed his MA study in Pharmacy and has been awarded his degree with distinction (*cum laude*). The headlines say: 'The founders of the egg-roll; Man Pang-Wai became a pharmacist in Amsterdam.' He is a credit to the whole family *Man*, as expressed in the first line of the report (1987).

De grondleggers van de loempia

Mokumse Pang-Wai Man werd apotheker

Van onze verslaggever

Blijdschap en gerechtvaardigde trots strijden om de eerste plaats bij de Chinese familie Man. Zoon Pang-Wai (27) is na cum laude geslaagd te zijn voor het doctoraal, nu afgestudeerd in de farmacie, dus apotheker. Een resultaat waarvoor de hele familie, pa, ma, nog drie broers en een zuster, keihard hebben gewerkt.

In hun specialiteitenrestaurant Hong Kong Garden in de P.C. Hooftstraat was het maandagavond één groot feest, want iedereen, van klant tot studiegenoot gunt het deze familie meer dan van harte.

Apotheker Pang-Wai Man tussen zijn trotse ouders, even voor het geweldige feest begon. **Foto: Will Dekkers.**

Een der eersten

Lan-Kwai (70), een stil water met diepe gronden en een ingebouwde beschavingsknobbel, is een der eerste Chinezen die in ons land kwam werken en wonen. Zijn broer Kam-Chong was reeds van vóór de Eerste Wereldoorlog hier. Die had restaurant (uw strelen uw tong, dan eten bij) Hong Kong op het Damrak en de allereerste Chinese Toko in de Damstraat.

Lang-Kwai kwam in 1946 naar Nederland en begon bij zijn broer op het Damrak. De grondleggers van de loempia werden zij weleens schertsend genoemd, een grap die er overigens niet ver naast zat. Na vier jaar had Lan-Kwai zo hard gewerkt en zo oppassend gespaard dat hij zijn jonge bruid uit Hong Kong liet overkomen en tevens zelfstandig werd.

In 1959 openden zij restaurant Insulinde in de Oude Doelenstraat, dat ze in 1963 verruilde voor het prachtige, sfeervolle, royale en pas weer verbouwde specialiteitenhuis in de P.C. Hooftstraat 37. Naast het bereiden van voortreffelijke maaltijden hadden ze nauwelijks tijd en gelegenheid voor een privébestaan. Desalniettemin kregen ze vijf kinderen.

Vlast op opvolgingsprobleem

Eerst Wei-Dak (33), die directeur is van Hong Kong Garden. Toen dochter Meeling (31) die nu werkzaam is in Amerika. Het trio werd vol gemaakt door Hang-Fook (29) die thans economie studeert en met de komst van Pang-Wai (27) hadden ze een kwartet kinderen. Drie jaar later diende Kong-Vei (24) zich als laatste aan, die thans op een bank werkt. Het hele span kinderen is dus in Amsterdam geboren. Mokummertjes die thuis geen Jordaans, Kattenburgs of hoog Haarlemmerdijks spraken maar puur Chinees.

Aangezien vader en moeder nog steeds een Chinees paspoort hebben, waren de kinderen ondanks hun geboorte alhier toch wettelijke Chinezen. Voor Pang-Wai toch een taai ongerief want als buitenlander is hij vier keer uitgeloot toen hij medicijnen wilde studeren. Dat bleek onmogelijk, de jaren gingen tenslotte tellen en daarom studeerde hij ruim zeven jaar om gediplomeerd apotheker te worden.

Toen ik moeder Man feliciteerde zag ik achter haar brilglazen tranen wellen, die ze met een ferme glimlach trachtte te verbergen. Haar zoon Pang-wai is afgestudeerd en heeft een titel, wie had dat ooit verwacht toen ze zo arm als een kerkmuis voor zichzelf begonnen met de nasi en de bami ?

Om de Chinese taal perfect te leren heeft Pang ook nog een jaar in Hong Kong gestudeerd en daar de allerliefste Lai-Fong leren kennen met wie hij in februari vorig jaar trouwde en in Diemen ging wonen. In vlekkeloos en accentloos Nederlands vertelt Pang dat het moeilijk zal zijn om als apotheker aan de slag te komen. In de Randstad kun je niet zomaar een apotheek overnemen, dus vlast hij op een apotheker die op jaren raakt en met opvolgingsproblemen zit. Met de werklust en de vanzelfsprekende discretie zijn Chinese voorvaderen eigen, heeft Pang de uitstraling die de Europese apothekers missen en dat lijkt mij een pluspunt.

Source: *De Echo*. Received by e-mail from Man W.T. on November 8, 2010.

Diagram 29. The composition of the *Man* lineage which can still be imagined as a cohesive, transnational community.

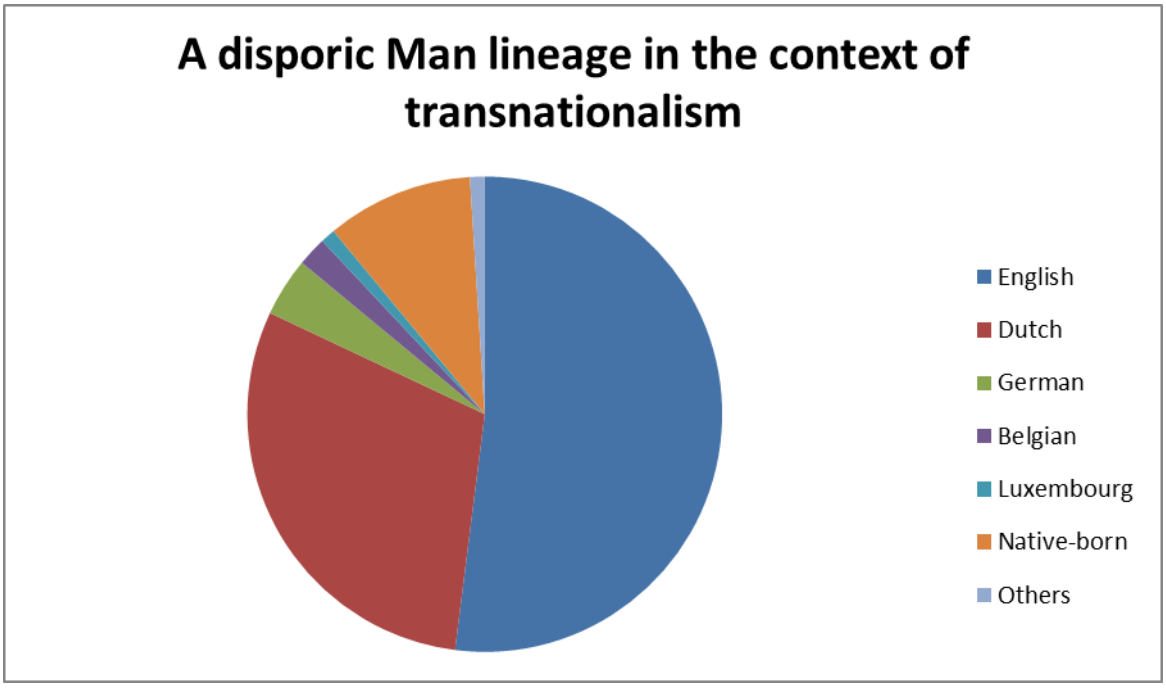


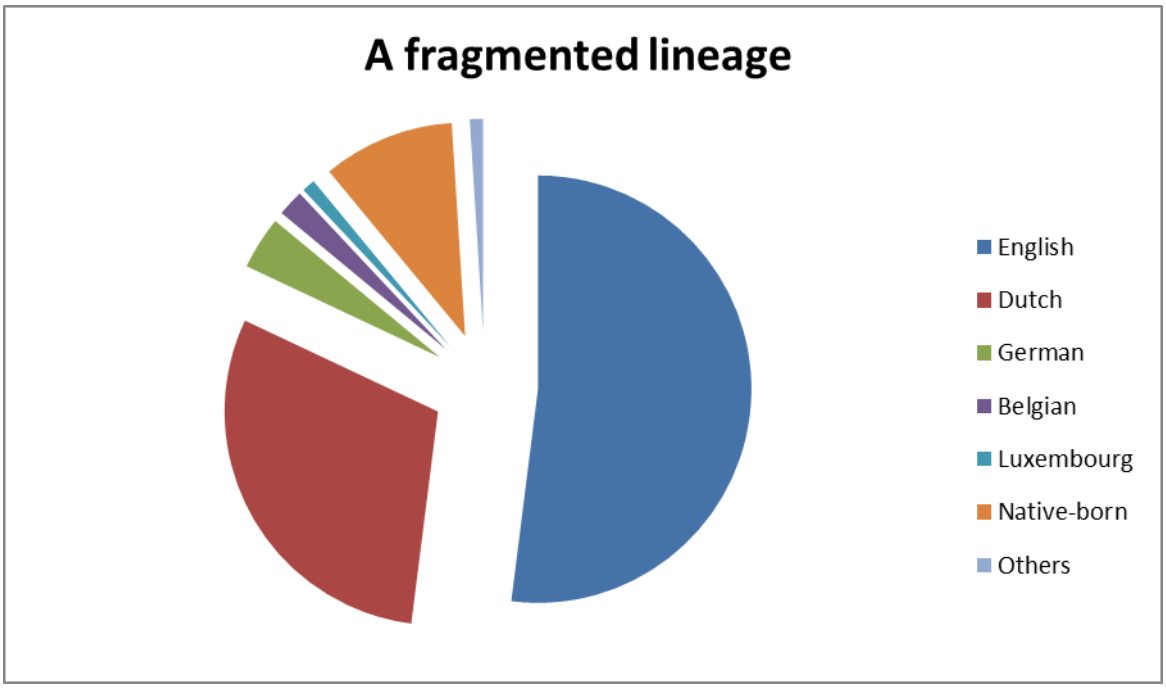
Diagram 30. The scene of a sub-village in San Tin in December 2002.

Source: Man A. under Hyves. Retrieved May 20, 2011 from http://www.familieman.nl/.

Diagram 31. The portal of Chau Tau village at the entrance.

Source: Man T. K. under Hyves. Retrieved May 20, 2011 from http://www.familieman.nl/.

Diagram 32. This is a possible scenario of *Man* lineage in the future.



List of interviewees

Name	Spouse/partner	Date interviewed	Place of interview
Man Y. K.	Pang P. H.	July 7, 2010	Rotterdam
Man S. K.	Cheung N. O.	July 10, 2010	The Netherlands
Man W. C.	Chan Y. M.	July 10, 2010	The Netherlands
Man C.	Chan T. H.	September 6, 2010	Amsterdam
Man M. F.	Kan C. Y.	September 20, 2010	Amsterdam
Man Y. W.		September 20, 2010	Amsterdam
Man T. W.		September 26, 2010	Rotterdam
Man H. K.		October 5, 2010	San Tin Village, NT, Hong Kong
Man Y. K.		October 5, 2010	San Tin Village, NT, Hong Kong
Man C. Y.		October 5, 2010	San Tin Village, NT, Hong Kong
Man C. L.		October 5, 2010	San Tin Village, NT, Hong Kong
Man P. K.		October 5, 2010	San Tin Village, NT, Hong Kong
Man W. K.		October 5, 2010	San Tin Village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. K.		October 6, 2010	San Tin Village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. L.		October 6, 2010	San Tin Village, NT, Hong Kong
Man C. O.		October 6, 2010	San Tin Village, NT, Hong Kong
Man Y. S.		October 6, 2010	San Tin Village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. O.		October 6, 2010	San Tin Village, NT, Hong Kong
Man E.		October 7, 2010	San Tin Village, NT, Hong Kong
Man P. N.		October 7, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man P. H.	Lam K. H.	October 8, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man P. W.		October 8, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man T. C.	Yeung P. F.	October 8, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man S. T.		October 9, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. C.		October 9, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. M.		October 9, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man H. L.		October 9, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. W.		October 9, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man H. W.		October 9, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man C. H.		October 10, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. K.		October 10, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man C. S.	Yau C. L.	October 11, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. K.		October 11, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man T.	Tang K. H.	October 11, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man S. K.		October 12, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. L.	Mak M. K.	October 13, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man W. K.		October 13, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man C. S.		October 13, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. L.		October 14, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man P. H.		October 14, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man W. J.		October 14, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man Y. K.		October 14, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man H. T.		October 15, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man Y. C.		October 15, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man T. C.		October 16, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong

Name	Spouse/partner	Date interviewed	Place of interview
Man S. Y.		October 16, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man C. C.		October 16, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man S. T.		October 16, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man H. S.		October 16, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man H.	Mok N. S.	October 17, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. C.		October 17, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. N.		October 17, 2010	Chau Tau village, NT, Hong Kong
Man S. C.		October 17, 2010	Chau Tau village, NT, Hong Kong
Wen T. T.	Liu T. H.	October 17, 2010	Chau Tau village, NT, Hong Kong
Wen T. C.	Chiu W. L.	October 17, 2010	Chau Tau village, NT, Hong Kong
Man P. L.		October 18, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man Y. K.		October 18, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man L. F.		October 18, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man T. S.		October 18, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man H. T.		October 18, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man S. Y.		October 18, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man Y. L.		October 18, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man P. W.		October 18, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K.		October 18, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. Y.		October 18, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man C. S.		October 18, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man H. T.		October 19, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man L.	Chung K. P.	October 19, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man P.		October 19, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man J.		October 20, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man S.		October 20, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man L. S.		October 20, 2010	By phone in Hong Kong
Man S.		October 20, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man T. K.		October 21, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. H.		October 22, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K.		October 23, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. S.		October 23, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man Y. C.		October 23, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man H. C.		October 23, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man F. N.		October 24, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. S.		Ocotber 24, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. T.		October 24, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man F. W.		October 24, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K.C.		October 24, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man S. F.		October 24, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man S. T.		October 24, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man W. T.		October 24, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man S. L.		October 24, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man M. F.		October 25, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man C. C.		October 25, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man Y. T.		October 25, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. F.		October 25, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong

Name	Spouse/partner	Date interviewed	Place of interview
Man C. T.		October 25, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man Y. M.		October 25, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man Y. T.		October 25, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man C. L.		Ocotber 25, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man W. K.		Ocotber 25, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. N.		Ocotber 25, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. K.		Ocotber 25, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man S. S.		Ocotber 26, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man Y. K.		Ocotber 26, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man W. C.		October 26, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man W. W.		October 26, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man T. H.		October 26, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man Y. W.		October 26, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man K. L.		October 26, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man C. W.		October 26, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man Y. S.		October 26, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man Y. K.		October 26, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man C. W.		October 26, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man T. O.		October 26, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man W. C.		October 27, 2010	San Tin village, NT, Hong Kong
Man L. H.		March 12, 2011	Amsterdam
Man H. L.		March 20, 2011	Amsterdam
Man K. H.		March 22, 2010	Amsterdam
Man K. M.		April 1, 2010	By phone
Rijkschroeff B.		April 4, 2011	By phone
Man M. W.		April 20, 2011	Amsterdam
Man C. F.		April 20, 2011	Amsterdam

References

Alba, R. & Nee, V. (1997). Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration. *International Migration Review*, 31(4), 826 – 874. Retrieved August 26, 2010, from JSTOR.

Alba, R. & Nee, V. (2005). *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration.* Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso.

Bach, L., Schiller, G. & Blanc, C. S. (1994). *Nations unbound: Transnationalized Projects and the Deterritorialized Nation-State.* New York: Gordon and Breach.

Bauböck, R (1994). *The Integration of Immigrations.* Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

Benton, G. (1987). San Tin: Lineage en Emigratie in Hong Kong. In G. Benton and H. Vermeulen (Eds.), *De Chinezen* (pp. 27 – 33). Muidenberg: Dick Coutinho.

Benton, G. & Gomez, E. T. (2008). *The Chinese in Britain, 1800 – Present Economy, Transnationalism, Identity.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Benton, G. & Pieke, F. N. (1998). *The Chinese in Europe.* Hamsphire: Macmillan Press Limited.

Blanc-Chaléard, M-C. (2006). Old and New Migrants in France: Italians and Algerians. In L. Lucassen, D. Feldman & J. Oltmer (Eds.), *Paths of Integration: Migration in Western Europe (1880 – 2004)* (46 – 62). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Boyd, M. (1989). Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Development and New Agendas. *International Migration Review,* 23(3), 638 – 670. Retrieved August 30, 2010, from JSTOR database.

Broady, M. (1955). The social adjustment of Chinese immigrants in Liverpool. *The Sociological Review* 3, 65 – 75.

Brown, L. (2006). Afro-Caribbean Migrants in France and the United Kingdom. In L. Lucassen, D. Feldman & J. Oltmer (Eds.), *Paths of Integration: Migration in Western Europe (1880 – 2004)* (177 – 197). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Bruneau, M. (2010). Diasporas, transnational spaces and communities. In R. Bauböck & T. Faist (Eds.), *Diaspora and Transnationalism* (pp. 35 – 49). Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam and IMISCOE.

Buck, J. L. (1937). *Land Utilization in China*. Nanking.

Butter, E. *&* Chung C. P. (1990) *Chinezen in Nederland: situatieschets, knelpunten, aanbevelingen.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam Centrum Buitenlanders.

Castles, S. & Davidson A. (2000). *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging*. New York: Palgrave.

Chan, S. C. (2001). Selling the Ancestors' Land: A Hong Kong Lineage Adapts. *Modern China*, 27(2), 262 – 684. Retrieved January 16, 2011, from JSTOR database.

Chen, W. H. (1940). *Chinese under Both Exclusion and Immigration Laws*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Chicago.

Chen, T. (1940). *Emigrant Communities in South China: A Study of Overseas Migration and Its Influence on Standards of Living and Social Change.*

Cheung, Y. & Lam P. (2006). *Vallende bladeren op nieuwe wortels: Een impressie van 10 jaar Welzijnsbehartiging Chinezen in Rotterdam Wah Fook Wui*.

Chong, Y. (2005). *De Chinezen van de Binnen Bantammerstraat: Een geschiedenis van drie generaties.* Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

Christiansen, F. (1998). Chinese Identity in Europe. In G. Benton & F. N. Pieke (Eds.), *The Chinese in Europe* (42 – 63). London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Christiansen, F. (2003). *China Town,* An *exploration of overseas Chinese identity in the 1990s.* London: Routledge.

Cohen, M. (1970). Development Process in the Chinese Domestic Group. In M. Freedman (Ed.), *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society* (21 – 36). Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social Capital and the Creation of Human Capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 95 – 121.

Cohen, M. L. (1990). Lineage Organization in North China. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 49(3), 509 – 534. Retrieved Augustus 29, 2009, from JSTOR database.

Cohen, M. (2005). *Kinship, Contract, Community and State: Anthropological Perspectives on China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Cultural China. Retrieved November 8, 2011, from http://history.cultural-china.com/en/47History2319.html.

Custers, M. (1983). *Personen van Chinese Landaard: Een nieuwe markt in de minderheden-industrie*. Ministerie Binnenlandse Zaken Directie Coördinatie Minderhedenbeleid.

De Chinees.com. Advertisements in the 1960s. Retrieved November 6, 2010, from http://www.dechinees.com/vroeger/.

De Echo (1987). De grondlegger van de loempia Mokumse Pang-Wai Man werd apotheker. January 14.

Dietz, B. (2006). *Aussiedler* in Germany: From Smooth Adaptation to Tough Integration. In L. Lucassen, D. Feldman & J. OLtmer (Eds.), *Paths of Integration: Migrants I Western Europe (1880 – 2004)* (116 – 136). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Ebrey, P. B. (1978). *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China: A Case Study of the Po-Ling Ts'ui Family.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ebrey, P. B. (1986). Economic and Social History in the Later Han. In M. Loewe & D. Twitchett (Eds.), *Cambridge History of China, vol. 1.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ebrey, P. B. (1986a). The Basic Repertoire of Extra-household Agnatic Kinship. In P. B. Ebrey and J. L. Watson (Eds.), *Kinship Organization in Later Imperial China* (pp. 16 – 61). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ebrey, P. B. & Watson, J. L. (1986). Introduction, In P. B. Ebrey and J. L. Watson (Eds.), *Kinship Organization in Later Imperial China* (pp. 1 – 15). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Faure, D. (2007). *Emperor and Ancestor.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Freedman, M. (1957). *Chinese family and marriage in Singapore.* London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Freedman, M. (1958). *Lineage Organization in Southern China*. London: The Athlone Press.

Freedman, M. (1966). *Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwantung*. London: The Athlone Press.

Gans, H. J. (1992). Second-Generation Decline: Scenario for the Economic and Ethnic Futures of the Post-1965 American Immigrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 15(2), 173 – 192.

Gabaccia, D. (2005). The "Yellow Peril" and the "Chinese of Europe": Global Perspectives on Race and Labor, 1815 – 1930. In J. Lucassen & L. Lucassen (Eds.), *Migration, Migration History, History* (pp. 177 – 196). Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History.

Gates, H. (2005). 'Girls' work in China and north-western Europe: of guniang and meisjes, in T. Engelen & A. P. Wolf (Eds.), *Marriage and the family in Eurasia. Perspectives on the Hanjnal hypothesis* (pp. 319 – 341). Amsterdam: Aksant.

Geense, P. H. A. M. (1994). Opvoeding in Chinese gezinnen. In T. Pels. (Red.), *Opvoeding in Chinese, Marokkaanse en Surinaams-Creoolse gezinnen* (33 – 80). Rotterdam: Instituut voor Sociologisch-Economisch Onderzoek (ISEO).

Geense P. & Pels, T. (1998). *Opvoeding in Chinese gezinnen in Nederland*. Assen: Van Corcum & Comp, B.V.

Gibson, M. (1988). *Accommodation without assimilation: Skih Immigrants in an American High School.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Gordon, M. (1964). *Assimilation in American Life.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Haagsche Courant (1977). Bond van Chinese restauranthouders. Hondevlees in de bami? Fabeltjes. March 5.

Hage, G. (1997). At home in the entrails of the West. In H. Grace, G. Hage, L. Johnson *et al.* (Eds.), *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West* (pp. 99 – 153). Sydney: Pluto.

Hamberger, A. (2009). Thematic Articles – Identity, Integration and Citizenship. *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies* 3(2), 2 – 21. Retrieved from Website of Research Centre on Identity and Migration Issues, University of Oradea, Romania: http://e-migration.ro/jims/Vol3_no2_2009/HAMBERGER_JIMS_Vol3_No2_2009.pdf.

Hardwick, S. W. (2008). Place, Space, and Pattern: Geographical Theories in International Migration. In B. Brettell & F. Hollifield (Eds.), *Migration Theory: Talking across Discipline* (pp. 161 - 182). New York: Routledge.

Herman, E. (2006). Migration as a Family Business: The Role of Personal Networks in the Mobility Phase of Migration. *International Migration*, 44(4), 192 – 230. Retrieved August 11, 2010, from Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Heisler, B. S. (2007). The Sociology of Immigration: From Assimilation to Segmented Assimilation, from the American Experience to the Global Areana. In C. B. Brettell & J. F. Hollifield (Eds.), *Migration Theory: Talking across Discipline* (pp. 83 – 111). London: Routledge.

Het Utrecht Archief. The end of the Jan van Scorelstraat. Retrieved December, 1, 2010 from http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl/collectie/beeldmateriaal/fotografische_documenten/1980-1990/70052.

Heung Yee Kuk of the New Territories (NT Council of Rural Affairs). Newsletter, May, 2007.

Hoerder, D. (2002). *Culture in Contact: World Migration in the second Millennium.* London: Duke University Press.

Hong Kong Government. Antiquities and Monuments Office. Retrieved March 21, 2011, from http://amo.gov.hk/en/monuments_19.php.

Inspraakorgaan Chinezen (IOC). Achtergrond van de Chinezen in Nederland. Retrieved January 11, 1011, from IOC website: http://www.ioc-ch.nl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=431&Itemid=231.

International Institute of Social History. The Chinese of Amsterdam. Retrieved March 1, 2011, from IISG website: http://www.iisg.nl/collections/chinezen-zeedijk/chinezen.php

Jenkins, R. (2008). *Social Identity.* Routledge: Oxon.

Johnson, D. G. (1977). *The Medical Chinese Oligarchy.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Jordan (2011). Traditional Chinese Family & Lineage. Retrieved January 16, 2011, from website: http://weber.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan/chin/hbfamilism-u.html

King, R. (2007). *Atlas of Human Migration*. New York: Firefly Books Ltd..

King R. & Christou, A. (2010). Diaspora, migration and transnationalism: insights from the second-generation 'returnees'. In R. Bauböcl & T. Faist (Eds.), Diaspora and Transnationalism (pp. 167 – 183). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Kok, J. (2010). The Family Factor in Migration Decisions. In J. Lucassen, L. Lucassen & P. Manning (Eds.), *Migration History in World History* (pp. 215 – 250). Leiden: Brill.

Koopmans, R., Statham, P., Giugni, M. & Passy, F. (2005). *Contested Citizenship: Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe.* Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis.

Kuhn, P. A. (2008). *Chinese Among Others: Emigration in Modern Times.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc..

Lee, J. (1978). Migration and Expansion in Chinese History. In W. H. McNeill & R. Adams (Eds.), *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies* (pp. 20 – 47). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Leung, A. (1989). *Onderzoek naar de werkgelegenheid en het Ondernemingsbeleid in de Chinees-Indische Horecasector*, Afstudeerscriptie, Scriptie HEAO.

Leung, M. W. H. (2004). *Chinese Migration in Germany: Making Home in Transnational Space.* Frankfurt am Main: IKO- Verlag für Interculturele Komminkation.

Levitt, P. (2001). *The Transnational Villagers*. California: University of California Press.

Lin, G. C. S. (2002). Hong Kong and the Globalization of Chinese diaspora: a geographical perspective. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 43(1). Retrieved December 12, 2010, from JSTOR database.

Lin, G. C. S. (2003). Identity, Mobility and the Making of the Chinese Diasporic Landscape in Hong Kong. In L. J. C. Ma & C. Cartier (Eds.), *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility and Identity* (141 – 161). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Li, M. H. (1999). *'We Need Two Worlds': Chinese Immigrants Associations in a Western Society.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Lucassen, L. (2005). *The Immigration Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Lucassen, L. (2007). Migration and World History: Reaching a New Frontier. *International Review of Social History,* 52(1), 97 – 104. Retrieved August 31, 2009, from Cambridge University Press Journal.

Lucassen, L. & Lucassen, J. (2011). *Winnaars en Verliezers: Een nuchtere balans van vijfhonderd jaar immigratie.* Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker.

Man A. under Hyves. Retrieved May 20, 2011 from http://www.familieman.nl/.

Man T. K. under Hyves. Retrieved May 20, 2011 from http://www.familieman.nl/.

Ma, L. J. C. & Cartier, G. (2003). Space, Place, and Transnationalism in the Chinese Diaspora. In L. J. C. Ma & C. Cartier (Eds.), *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility and Identity* (pp. 1 - 49). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Man Clansman Association (Europe). Retrieved on different dates from its website: http://www.manclansmen.co.uk/.

Manning, P. (2005). *Migration in World History.* New York: Routledge.

Map of Southeastern China. Retrieved March 7, 2011, from http://www.johomaps.com/as/china/chinasouth.html.

Massey, D. S. (1988). Economic development and international migration in comparative perspective. *Population and Development Review*, 14.

Massey, D. S. (1990). Social Structure, household strategies and the cumulative causation of migration. *Population Index*, 56, 2 – 26.

Man C. Retrieved April 28, 2011, from Facebook: http://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=11649287842&set=o.3354240636&type=1&theater.

Man E. Weblog. Retrived on different dated from http://hk.myblog.yahoo.com/Casa-Santino.

Man, S. Y., San Tin Mans. Retrieved November 12, 2010, from website youtube: http://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=San+Tin+Mans&aq=f.

Man, E., Tun Yu Dong Ancestral Hall. Retrieved March 26, 2011, from his blog: http://hk.myblog.yahoo.com/Casa-Santino/photo?pid=25&fid=9

Matthews, K. C. (2002). Boundaries of diaspora identity: the case of Central and East African – Asians in Canada. In P. Kennedy & V. Roudometof (Eds.), *Communities across Borders: New immigrants and transnational cultures* (pp. 68 – 82). London: Routledge.

Mckenzie, D. J. (2006). Beyond Remittances: The Effects Of Migration On Mexican Households. In C. Özden & M. Schiff (Eds.), *International Migration, Remittances & the Brain Drain* (pp. 123 – 147). Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank.

McKeown, A. (1999). Conceptualizing Chinese Diasporas, 1842 – 1949. *The Journal of Asian Studies,* 58(2), 306 – 337. Retrieved August 30, 2009, from JSTOR database.

Mckeown, A. (2001). *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, Hawaii, 1900 – 1936*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Mckeown, A. (2004). Global Migration, 1846 – 1940. *Journal of World History*, 15(2), 155 – 189. Retrieved August 30, 2009, from EBSCO database.

Mckeown, A. M. (2008). *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration & the Globalization of Borders.* New York: Columbia Press.

Meyer, E. (2004). *International Immigration Policy: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis.* New York: Palgrave.

Miles, S. B. (2006). Expanding the Cantonese Diaspora: Sojourners and Settlers in the West River Basin. *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 2(2), 220 – 246. Retrieved June 16, 2010, from Ingentaconnect Publications.

Moch, L. P. (1992). *Moving Europeans. Migration in Western Europe since 1650.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Moch, L. P. (2007). Connecting Migration and World History: Demographic Patterns, Family Systems and Gender. *International Review of Social History*, 52(1), 97 – 104. Retrieved March 4, 2011, from Cambridge University Press Journal.

Nederlandse verkiezingen Uitslagen 1918 – nu. Retrieved April 15, 2011 from http://www.nlverkiezingen.com/.

Ng, K. C. (1968). *The Chinese in London.* Monograph of the Institute of Race Relations. London: Oxford University Press.

Ng, C. K. (1983). *Trade and society: The Amoy network on the China coast, 1683 – 1735.* Singapore: Singapore University Press.

Pieke, F. N. (1988). The Social Position of the Dutch Chinese: An Outline. *China Information,* 3(12), 12 – 23. Retrieved November 12, 2010, from Sage.

Pieke, F. N. (1991). Chinese Educational Achievement and "Folk Theories of Successes". *Anthropological & Educational Quarterly*, 22(2), 162 – 179.

Poston, D. L. Jr. & Yu, M.Y. (1990). The Distribution of the Overseas Chinese in the Contemporary World. *International Migration Review*, 24(3), 480 – 508. Retrieved November 1, 2010, from JSTOR database.

Potter, J. M. (1970). Land and Lineage in Traditional China. In M. Freedman (Ed.), *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society* (pp. 121 – 138). Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Rijkschroeff, R. R. (1998). *Etnisch Ondernemerschap*. *De Chinese horecasector in Nederland en in de Verenigde Staten van Amerika.* Capelle a/d IJssel: Labyrint Publication.

Roberts, K. D. & Morris, M. D. S. (2003). Fortune, Risk, and Remittance: An Application of Option Theory in Village-Based Migration Networks. *International Migration Review*, 37(4), 1252 – 1281.

Romeijn, T. (1987). De Restaurants. In G. Benton and H. Vermeulen (Eds.), *De Chinezen* (pp. 67 – 83). Muidenberg: Dick Coutinho.

Rouse, R. (1992). Making sense of Settlement: Class Transformation, Cultural Struggle, and Transnationalism among Mexican Migrants in the United States. *Annals of the New York Academy of Science*s, 645, 25 – 52.

Salt, J. & Stein, J. (1997). Migration as a business: the case of trafficking. *International Migration Review*, 35(4), 467 – 491.

Schoorl, J. J. (1982). *Allochtone delpopulatie in Nederland. Een inventariserende studie van bronnen van statische gegevens en demografisch onderzoek*. Voorburg: Nipo-onderzoeksrapport.

Schrover, M., Van der Leun, J., Lucassen, L. & Quispel, C. (2008). *Illegal Migration and Gender in a Global and Historical Perspective.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Siu, S. L. K. Ancestral Hall in Tai Po. Retrieved March 14, 2011, from website: http://www.districtcouncils.gov.hk/tp_d/pdf/TaiPo%20Book%20(Eng%20Ver)/TaiPo%20Book%20(Eng%20Ver)%2008%20Chap%2005.pdf

Skinner, G. W. (1957). *Chinese society in Thailand: An analytical history.* New York: Cornell University Press.

Skinner, G. W. (1958). *Leadership and power in the Chinese community of Thailand.* New York: Cornell University Press.

Song, M. (1995). Between "the front" and "the back": Chinese Women's Work in Family Business. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 18(3), 285 – 298. Retrieved, June 5, 2010, from EBSCO database.

Stalk, P. (2001). *The No-Nonsense Guide to International Migration*. Oxford: New International Publication Ltd..

Stichting Familie Man in Europa. Retrieved on different dates from its website:

http://www.familieman.nl/.

Szonyi, M. (2002). *Practicing Kinship.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Travel China Guide. Retrievd March 16, 2011 from http://www.travelchinaguide.com/images/map/hongkong/hongkong-map.gif.

Therborn, G. (2004). *Between Seks and Power: Family in the world, 1900 – 2000*. London / New York: Routledge.

Thunø, M. & Pieke, F. N. (2005). Institutionalizing Recent Rural Emigration from China to Europe: New Transnational Villages in Fujian. *International Migration Review*, 39(2), 485 – 514. Retrieved March 5, 2011, from EBSCO database.

Tilly, C. (1978). Migration in modern European history. In W. H. McNeill & A. Adams (Eds.), *Human migration. Patterns and Policies* (pp. 48 – 72). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Van der Harst, G. & Lucassen, L. (1998). *Nieuw plaats en betekenis van vreemdelingen in Leiden in een Hollandse stad (1948 – 1955).* Leiden: Primavera Pers.

Van Heek, F. (1936). *Chineesche Immigranten in Nederland.* Amsterdam: N.V. Emmering's Uitgevers Mij.

Van Rossum, M. (2009). *Hand aan Hand (Blank en Bruin): Solidariteit en de werking van globalisering, etniciteit en klasse onder zeelieden op de Nederlandsche koopvaardij, 1900 – 1945*. Amsterdam: Aksant.

Verlaan, A. (1992). *Oud and Thuis: Onderzoek naar de Leefwijze van oudere Peranakan Chinezen in Nederland*. Capelle a/d IJssel: Labyrint Publication.

Vertovec, S. (2003). Migration and Other Modes of Transnationalism: Towards Conceptual Cross-Fertilization. *International Migration Review*, 37(3), 641 – 665. Retrieved June 10, 2010, from JSTOR database.

Vijfeeuwenmigratie.nl. Vreemdelingenbeleid. Retrieved January 2, 2011, from http://www.vijfeeuwenmigratie.nl/term/Vreemdelingenbeleid#723-def.

Vogels, R., Geese, P., & Martens, E. (1999). *De maatschappelijke positie van Chinezen in Nederland.* Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. B.V.

Watson, L. W. (1975). *Emigration and the Chinese Lineage: The Mans in Hong Kong and London.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Watson, J. L. (1977). Introduction. In J. L. Watson (Ed.), *Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain* (pp. 1 – 20). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Watson, J. L. (1977). The Chinese: Hong Kong Villagers in the British Catering Trade. In J. L. Watson (Ed.), *Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain* (pp. 181 – 213). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Watson, J. L. (1982). Chinese Kinship reconsidered: Anthropological Perspective on Historical Research. *The China Quarterly*, 92, 589 – 622. Retrieved July 15, 2010, from JSTOR database.

Watson, J. L. (1986). Anthropological Overview: The Development of Chinese Descent Groups. In P. B. Ebrey & J. L. Watson (Eds.), *Kinship Organization in Later Imperial China* (pp. 274 – 292). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Watson, J. L. (2004a). Agnates and Outsider: Adoption in a Chinese Lineage. *Journal of Guangxi University for Nationalities*, 26(1), 100 – 107. Retrieved July 15, 2010, from http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~anthro/social_faculty_pages/social_pages_watson_w.html.

Watson, J. L. (2004). Presidential Address: Virtual Kinship, Real Estate, and Diaspora Formation – The Man Lineage Revisited. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 63(4), 893 – 910. Retrieved July 3, 2010, from Cambridge Journals.

Watson, R. S. (1986). The Named and the Nameless and Persons in Chinese Society. *American Ethnologist,* 13(4), 619 – 631. Retrieved June 1, 2010, from JSTOR database.

Watson, R. S. (2004). The Creation of a Chinese Lineage: The Teng of Ha Tsuen, 1669 – 1751. In J. L. Watson & R. S. Watson, *Village Life in Hong Kong: Politics, Gender, and Ritual in the New Territories* (pp. 19 – 52). Sha Tin: The Chinese University Press.

Wessendorf, S. (2007). "Roots-migrants": Transnationalism and return among second-generations Italians in Switzerland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(7), 1083 – 1102.

Willems, W., Cottaar, A. & Or, K.Y. (2010). *Een Draak met vele Gezichten China Town Den Haag 1920 – 2010.* Den Haag: www.dennieuwehaagsche.nl.

Wong, M. L. (1989). *Chinese Liveroudlians: A History of the Chinese Community in Liverpool*. Merseyside: Liver Press.

Wong, C. Y. (year unknown). *The 1967 Leftist Riots and Regime Legitimacy in Hong Kong.* Retrieved February 2, 2011, from Hong Kong University website: http://www.hku.hk/hkcsp/ccex/ehkcss01/issue3_ar_lawrence_wong.htm.

Woodward, K. (2000). Question of Identity. In Woodward (Ed.), *Questioning identity: gender, class, nation* (pp. 5 – 41). London: Routledge in association with the Open University.

Wubben, W. J. J. (1986). *Lotgevallen van Chinese immigranten in Nederland, 1911 – 1940*. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.

Yuan, B. L. (2000). *Chinese democracies: A study of the kongsis of West Borneo (1776 – 1884)*. Leiden: University of Leiden.

Zelinsky, W. (2001). *The Enigma of Ethnicity*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

Zhou, M. & Bankston III, C. L. (1994). Social capita and the adaptation of the Second Generation: The Case of Vietnamese Youth in New Orleans. *International Migration Review,* 28(4), 821 – 845. Retrieved January 3, 2010, from JSTOR database.

Zhou, Z. (1997). Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation. *International Migration Review*, 31(4), 975 – 1008. Retrieved January 3, 2010, from JSTOR database.

Zhou, M. (1992). *China Town: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press