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The American University in Cairo

School of Global Affairs and Public Policy

**CONCEPTUALIZING ‘CHINESE DIASPORA’:
A STUDY OF CHINESE MIGRANTS IN CAIRO**

A Thesis Submitted to

Center for Migration and Refugee Studies

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

by Shannon McDonald

BA, Macalester College, 2005

under the supervision of Dr. Ray Jureidini

April, 2010

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
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ABSTRACT

While China's recent increased presence and authority in Africa has been noted by national and international media, governments and academic sources, the issue of Chinese migrants living in the African continent and specifically Egypt has largely been left unnoticed. Despite the variance in population statistics, it is clear that Egypt does contain a population of Chinese migrants and that this population will undoubtedly grow as China's relationship with Egypt continues to flourish.

Who are these migrants, and how do they relate to other populations of Chinese migrants residing across the world? Several terms have been used to describe this population of migrants. However, the lack of consistency in the usage of these terms presents a problem of promoting a perhaps false notion of who makes up this population. Unless a common rhetoric is established, comparative studies involving Chinese migration patterns may not be accurate.

By learning how Chinese migrants currently residing in Cairo view themselves and their connection to other Chinese migrants and to China, this thesis provides an insight into the complexity of the term 'Chinese Diaspora' and the need for more appropriate terms to explain this phenomenon.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

“One might even say that the relations of China with other countries in the world cannot be understood without taking the diaspora into account.” (Mung, 2008, p.106)

“The Chinese were able to play a significant part in delivering several African territories from European rule. But they possessed nothing like the strength required to detach the continent from the political and economic orbit of the West... Today, in the late 1980’s, it is difficult to remember that the alarm was once so great.” (Snow, 1998, p. xiv-xv)

While Philip Snow’s observation at the introduction of his 1988-released book, *The Star Raft; China’s Encounter with Africa*, that the fear China would take over from the West as Africa’s main political and economic partner was a false alarm at the time, that alarm has once again been raised by media and researchers alike commenting on China’s increasing influence and power in the African continent (Rotberg, 2008; Alden, 2007; Michel & Beuret, 2009; Mohan and Power, 2009, Lafraniere & Grobler, 2009). Chinese dignitaries, including current President Hu Jintao, have visited the continent on numerous occasions, contributing to a 681 percent increase in trade between China and Africa between 2001 and 2007 (Rotberg, 2008, p. 53). Also increasing between China and the African continent is the exchange of oil. As China continuously expands its economy its need for oil will undoubtedly rise from the 2007 amount of 7.8 million barrels per day to an estimated need for 16 million barrels per day in twenty years (op. cit., p. 53). Finally, China is also hoping to use several African countries, including Egypt, as a hub for other needs including manufacturing for regional export in areas referred to as Special Economic Zones (SEZ), or geographic zones that promote trade

through more liberal policies and laws in these specific areas. These zones are promising to both China and countries such as Egypt who expect to receive 100 Chinese investment firms providing \$100 million in investment capital (op. cit., p. 149). Egypt in particular has had a long-standing relationship with China, having set up diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in 1955, and is celebrated as the first country in Africa to do so. This relationship has continued to flourish with trade, both military and commercial, leading to the prediction that China will eventually replace the United States as Egypt's largest trading partner (op. cit., p. 150). It is apparent that Snow's prediction, while premature, may in fact be right on target in describing China's current power and influence not only in Africa, but globally as well (Kong & Yeoh, 2003).

While China's recent increased presence and authority in Africa has been noted by national and international media, governments and academic sources, the issue of Chinese migrants living in the African continent and specifically Egypt has largely been left unnoticed. The total population of Chinese persons living in Egypt is debatable, with sources stating 10,000 Chinese workers in the country (Alden, 2007, p. 83), several thousand Chinese and African workers working with Chinese corporations in Egypt (Beurut, 2009, p. 263), between 10,000 – 60,000 total Chinese migrants according to preliminary interviews conducted by the researcher, and over 200,000 according to a recent publication of Al Masry Al Youm newspaper, a widely-read Arabic-language newspaper published in Cairo, Egypt (Moonan, 2010). Despite the variance in population statistics, it is clear that Egypt does contain a population of Chinese migrants

and that this population will undoubtedly grow as China's relationship with Egypt continues to flourish.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Who are these migrants, and how do they relate to other populations of Chinese migrants residing across the world? According to Xiang Biao, "Over recent years, China's overseas Chinese policy has gradually brought two new groups under its wing: 'Chinese overseas' (*huaren*, 华人) including Chinese descendants (*huayi*, 华裔), and 'new migrants' (those who left China after the 1980s). Besides the rapid increase in the size of the new migrants, the emphasis on 'new migrants' (*xinyimin* 新移民) is inherently related to China's overall development strategy" (Xiang, 2003, p. 27). With the emergence of *xinyimin* so has the debate risen regarding how best to describe and encapsulate the diverse backgrounds of Chinese migrants into one common rhetoric. Several descriptors are currently used, such as Chinese diaspora, transnationalism and simply, 'the Chinese Overseas'. However, the lack of consistency in the usage of these terms presents a problem of promoting a perhaps false notion of who makes up this population.

Unless a common rhetoric is established, comparative studies involving Chinese migration patterns may not be accurate. For example, the following statement by Chinese migration expert Emmanuel Ma Mung cannot be verified unless a common vocabulary is

set: “The different types of contemporary Chinese migration to Africa therefore do not basically differ from those of historical migrations – temporary contractual, entrepreneurial and proletarian. They can thus be seen as a repeat of historical migration patterns in the age of globalization” (Mung, 2008, p. 101). It is apparent that as the population of Chinese persons migrating to all corners of the world continues to grow and as the interest in reporting and discussing these migration patterns continues to increase, the need for a common and correct vocabulary becomes increasingly important.

According to the introductory chapter of Carolyn Cartier and Laurence Ma’s work, *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility and Identity*, “The nature of Chinese global migration since the 1960s raises important theoretical questions, since existing migration theories do not encompass the diverse experiences of the Chinese migrants abroad and are unable to account for the causes and consequences of their global movements” (Ma, 2003, p. 2-3). Academics have referred to this mass movement as the ‘Chinese Diaspora’ as a means to holistically capture all persons of Chinese background living outside of China as connected under one umbrella of mass migration. As Adam McKeown rightly asks in his article, “Conceptualizing Chinese Diaspora, 1842 to 1949”, “Attaching an adjective such as “Chinese” in front of diaspora is to implicitly ask how so many different peoples can actually be grouped together, and what are the consequences of doing so?” (McKeown, 1999, p. 309) Have academics and the media oversimplified the phenomenon of Chinese migration overseas by using the umbrella term, ‘Chinese Diaspora’? The researcher seeks to address how this term is correctly (or

incorrectly) used, and to understand if this term is the most appropriate term to discuss this phenomenon.

Returning to Egypt, the question arises as to who makes up this group of Chinese living in Egypt? The researcher asks the same question put forward by Robert Kent in his article, “A Diaspora of Chinese Settlement in Latin America,” when addressing the Chinese population in Egypt: “Does one count all ‘overseas Chinese’, a vague, poorly defined term which refers to Chinese originally from China, Taiwan, or other areas of Chinese settlement in Southeast Asia who may be native-born Chinese, naturalized Chinese, as well as the descendants of Chinese parents living abroad?” (Kent, 2003, p. 120) As attention to the issue of China’s role in Africa continues to grow and as the number of Chinese migrants living in Egypt increases, the analysis in this thesis seeks to ensure that the conceptualization of identities used to discuss this migration pattern (or, alternatively, these migration patterns) has been properly assessed and evaluated.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the connections between the Chinese terms referring to Chinese migrants living overseas, *huaqiao*, *huaren*, *huayi* and *xinyimin*, to better understand if these populations can appropriately be grouped under the term ‘Chinese Diaspora’ by interviewing and surveying various Chinese migrants currently living in Cairo, Egypt. By learning how these Chinese migrants identify themselves within a connection other migrants and to China, this thesis provides an insight into the

complexity of the term Chinese Diaspora and the need for more appropriate terms to explain the identity issues prevalent among Chinese migrants living in Egypt.

1.3 Research Questions and Methodology

The researcher's main question related to the way Chinese migrants view themselves in the context of the Chinese Diaspora. Therefore, the researcher seeks to understand under which group, the *huayi*, *huaqiao*, *huaren* or *xinyimin*, do these groups of migrants classify themselves? Do the *huaren*, *huayi* and/or *xinyimin* feel a stronger connection to their country of origin, China, their country of residence, Egypt, or to no nation at all but rather to an international community with a Chinese heritage and cultural connection? These questions form the foundation of this study and will provide insight into the identity issues faced by Chinese migrants in Egypt.

In order to answer these questions, qualitative and quantitative approaches were used to gather information about Chinese migrants residing in Cairo, Egypt. A survey was developed to gather this data, and two semi-structured interviews were used to gather a more detailed description of the migration histories of two participants. Participant observation was used to analyze interactions between members of this community in areas promoting Chinese culture.

1.4 Significance to the Field

As many academics have noted, more research is needed to address the phenomenon of Chinese global migration (Liu, 2005; Xiang, 2003; Liang & Morooka, 2004; Mung, 2008). The dearth of currently available data does not address the increased number of Chinese migrant communities that have developed in the Middle East over the past thirty years. China has become a global power economically, politically and practically with the sheer number of migrants moving to all corners of the world. Much attention has been given to China’s foreign policy agenda. However, the international media and research organizations have not paid enough attention to the complexity of China’s migration patterns. As researchers seek to understand how and why China is such a superpower we must take a much more detailed look at how China’s historic and current migration patterns affect its foreign policy agenda.

1.5 Definitions

Definitions are very important to this study because the terms mentioned below are currently not being used in a consistent fashion.

Table 1: Definitions

Term	Chinese Character	Definition
Ethnic Chinese		A person with Chinese ancestry who may or may not hold Chinese citizenship.
<i>Huaren</i>	华人	An overall term to refer to any person of Chinese descent, including those in China and abroad.
<i>Huaqiao</i>	华侨	Refers to Chinese citizens residing in countries other than China (“Overseas

		Chinese,” n.d.).
<i>Huayi</i>	华裔	Refers to ethnic Chinese residing outside of China (“Overseas Chinese,” n.d.).
Mainland Chinese		A person with Chinese nationality. This definition excludes persons from Hong Kong and Taiwan.
<i>Shetuan</i>	社团	Voluntary Associations (usually connoting a government-sponsored organization).
<i>Xinyimin</i>	新移民	The population of Chinese citizens who left China after the economic reforms of the late 1970s.

1.6 Ethical Considerations

The researcher provided a thorough explanation of her research goals and emphasized that the research for this thesis was scholarly in nature. The researcher did not ask any participants any questions regarding their immigration status, and reiterated to participants that this academic research project would not discuss the specific immigration statuses of research participants. The consent form is included in Appendix B of this thesis. In addition, the researcher received approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the American University in Cairo.

CHAPTER TWO

Historical Trends and Policies

2.1 Historical Trends

In order to understand the complexity of the current situation of Chinese migration, it is necessary to summarize the history of Chinese migration overseas. Several timelines are used by academics to define the different phases of Chinese migration. However, for the purposes of this study, three basic time periods will be used: the 15th century (Ming Dynasty) to the founding of the Peoples Republic of China in 1949, the mid-twentieth century to the end of the Cultural Revolution and the opening of China's economy to the world in 1979, and the last thirty years of migration to the present day. Each period includes differing governmental policies towards migration and different perceptions of those who chose to migrate by the government, those who remained in China and the migrants themselves.

While some academic sources cite Chinese trade beginning as early as the Han Dynasty (202 BC – 220 AD), exploration and travel began extensively with fleets searching the seas in the 15th century (Snow, 1988, p. 2). Zheng He, China's Christopher Columbus, and referred to by Chinese historians as the Grand Eunuch of the Three Treasures commanded the fleets throughout the Indian Ocean and eventually to Africa. While exploration was initially encouraged by the Ming Dynasty's Emperor Yong'le, upon the Emperor's death in 1424 his successor shut China's doors to the outside world,

effectively ending all fleet activity. It wasn't until the arrival of European colonialism that views regarding migration changed. Philip Snow's book, *The Star Raft*, aptly named after Zheng He's fleet, described the extent to which the Chinese had a presence in the African continent and were viewed positively by European colonialists:

Deep in the swampland of the southern Sudan, which a British explorer had annexed on behalf of Egypt in 1871, the governor of the new Egyptian province of Equatoria, Eduard Schnitzer, alias Emin Pasha... explained to a correspondent what needed to be done: I cannot get over the conviction that if it is possible for Central Africa to be opened up, *it can only be accomplished by means of the Chinese*, and that our beautiful country, with all its rich resources, and with the possibility which is offered of *establishing good communications between each settlement by means of such workmen*, would repay a thousand fold such an undertaking. The idea has been one of my dearest projects for four years... Will you convince the Belgians that a few hundred Chinese established in any suitable place – under the direction of practical Europeans, would form a better nucleus for the colonialization of Africa than any number of Indian elephants and ironclad steamers? (op. cit., p. 44-45)

Sudan was not the only country where European nations found the Chinese to be an asset for their colonial agenda. According to Philip Kuhn in his article, "Why Chinese Historians Should Study the Chinese Diaspora and Vice-Versa",

China's "modern emigration began with the arrival of Europeans in Southwest Asia in the early 1500's. Those Europeans invariably found small colonies of Chinese merchants wherever they established their fortified trading headquarters: Portuguese in Malacca (1511), Spanish in Manila (1570), Dutch in Batavia (now Jakarta, 1619) and British in Penang and Singapore (1786-1819). Under European patronage, Chinese merchants became the dominant middleman group in the colonies. (Kuhn, 2004, p. 164)

This migration for labor purposes coincided with the government's gradual legalization of emigration that led to mass migration across the world referred to as the "coolie trade" (ibid).

One tangible outcome of both European colonialism and Chinese connections with these activities was the establishment of Singapore as a British trading post in 1819. Described as T.N. Harper as, “a child of diaspora,” Singapore had a population of only 10,000 in 1824, but grew to a population of 100,000 by approximately 1871 and passed 200,000 by 1901 (Kong & Yeoh, 2003). While the population continued to grow, the population of Chinese migrants was by far the largest community, making up 77.3 percent of the population in 1996 (ibid). While the clear majority of the population remains ethnically Chinese, the Singapore Citizenship Ordinance of 1957 led to the majority of the Chinese population choosing to take on Singaporean citizenship.

While migration increased due to the coolie trade and many migrated to countries such as Singapore, the second phase of Chinese migration (1949 – 1979) began to see a change in migration patterns due to the creation of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), founded on Communist doctrine. Two main factors changed both migration patterns from China and the way in which Chinese migrants living outside of China viewed their connection to their country of origin. First, migration virtually stopped following the creation of the PRC. As Xiang Biao notes, “After the foundation of the PRC in 1949, the national border was highly politicized. The border was not only a symbol of sovereignty, but was also perceived as a fault line between the ‘socialist’ and ‘capitalist’ worlds” (Xiang, 2003, p. 23). Therefore, those within China did not leave, and those outside of China suddenly had a country of origin whose view of people choosing to leave communism and live in a capitalist society was not a positive one. Therefore, Chinese migrants living overseas, previously falling under the *huaqiao* (Chinese overseas)

definition gradually became *huayi*, or ethnic Chinese who changed allegiances and citizenships to their current country of residence, such as to Singapore (Liu, 2005; McKeown, 1999). As McKeown notes,

It was only after the Second World War, when further migration had been cut off and it was clear that most Chinese migrants around the world were there to stay, that ethnic identities appropriate to pluralist polities began to be negotiated, usually in some sort of hybrid formulation such as Chinese American, Filipino of Chinese descent, or *lookjin* (Sino-Thai). Such identities were predicated on the idea that it is possible to be Chinese and still be a part of the national community. (McKeown, 1999, p. 327)

One final consequence of this creation of the People's Republic of China was the creation of Taiwan. As McKeown points out, "The division of the government between Beijing and Taiwan also created great confusion and uncertainty among proponents of diasporic nationalism" (McKeown, 1999, p. 329). The fall-out between the PRC and Taiwan has continued since the PRC's creation, and its tension is still felt in Africa as China continues with its, "determination to eliminate completely any bilateral ties between Taiwan and a dwindling number of Africa capitals..." (Rotberg, 2008, p. 300).

The definition of Chinese territory fundamentally changed again after the Cultural Revolution ended in the late 1970's and China formally opened itself to economic reform that included interaction with the capitalist world it had for forty years ignored and opposed. One example of this change occurred with the creation of the four Special Economic Zones in 1979, two of which are located near the previously politically sensitive areas of Hong Kong and Taiwan (Xiang, 2003, p. 24). Choosing zones so close to these former (and in Taiwan's case, current) political enemies was one of many moves

made by the Chinese government to open itself to the world's economy. Another shift in policy included its migration policy; "it was estimated that during the first six years (1979-1985) of the open-door policy, some 350,000 Chinese citizens went overseas" (Liu, 2005, p. 296).

Since the opening of China's economy to the world, Wang Xiaoying has noted that, "China has seen the gradual but unmistakable emergence of a host of phenomena that mark a capitalist society: the commodification of labor, privatization of the means of production, the rise of an entrepreneurial class, and so on" (Wang, 2002, p. 1). This phenomenon includes a new generation of Chinese migrants, referred to as *xinyimin* that adds to the, "estimated ... around 30-35 million ethnic Chinese (who) live outside of Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Macao" (Liu, 2005, p. 293).

Changes in migration policy connected to the unmistakable incorporation of migration into China's foreign policy goals is a sign that, "the Chinese diaspora have been transformed from a liability to an asset" (Liu, 1998, p. 595). One clear example of this connection is the change in how the government refers to the service migrants can offer their country of origin through living overseas: "...the change from *huiguo fuwu* ('returning to serve the country', 回国服务) to *weiguo fuwu* ('serving the country', 为国服务) represents a major shift in the policy toward new migrants. By separating the nation-state from the fixed territory, this new orientation greatly expands the horizons and spaces of the new immigrants" (op. cit., p. 303). This level of comfort with living a

portable international life has led many academics to refer to this new population of *xinyimin* as transnational migrants: “It is interesting to note that the Chinese Government encourages both permanent and temporary return and, as a result, a group of typical ‘transnational migrants’ may well emerge. The government has advocated a so-called ‘dumb bell model’, which means that the migrants have professional or/and business affiliations in both China and overseas and move back and forth regularly” (Xiang, 2003, p. 31).

With this government policy also came the establishment of *shetuans* (社团), or voluntary associations. According to Hong Liu, “the Chinese diaspora associations were established for the purposes of mutual assistance, dispensing public charities, preserving Chinese culture and fostering group identity” (Liu, 1998, 588). and that “together with Chinese schools and newspapers, voluntary associations (*shetuan* 社团) have long been regarded as one of the “three pillars” of Overseas Chinese societies, playing an important role in the evolution of Chinese diaspora communities” (op. cit., p. 582). *Shetuan* are also encouraged by the Chinese government, with the office of Overseas Chinese Affairs making many visits to Chinese communities across the world.

While the Chinese government now supports Chinese migration and has developed *shetuans* to support Chinese communities overseas, the two populations at hand, the new migrants who left China post-1978 and those who left before the creation of the People’s Republic of China in 1949 are different in several key areas, a major difference being the connection to China as their homeland. As Hong Liu notes, “ Despite

the significant differences in their educational backgrounds and socio-economic status, various groups of new migrants share an important similarity, namely they were all born and grew up in China, with Chinese as the mother tongue; in addition, they still maintain close family and social connections with the homeland” (Liu, 2005, p. 305). This is quite different from the *huayi* populations who, in many cases, have spent several generations outside of China and have a stronger connection to their current country of residence and usually have obtained this country’s citizenship.

The lack of connections to a common Chinese experience is reason to question the validity of placing both populations under the common term diaspora. As Hong Liu points out, “Unlike their predecessors who lived in the age of the nation-state, the new migrants, especially those possessing ‘portable skills’ and international experiences, live in the age of globalization when transnational mobility is gradually becoming the norm” (op. cit., p. 313). These two different experiences of Chinese overseas has led many to question the validity of assuming ‘a global Chineseness’ which may in fact have, “no necessary links to China, as increasingly mobile Chinese are circulating in all directions around the world, where they encounter other Chinese with whom they have no prior connections through networks or national citizenship” (McKeown, 1999, p. 330). In this case, several terminologies have been suggested, one that addresses only the population as transnational Chinese, and the other that changes the definition of the term diaspora.

Hong Liu describes the first definition as follows:

Ironically, one important characteristic of overseas Chinese nationalists today is their transnationality and multi-faceted identities. In the past, the pattern of overseas Chinese identity was quite clear-cut, one either returned to fulfill the

dreams of *luoye guigen* (fallen leaves return to their roots) (as most did or hoped for before 1945) or settled down to become *luodi shenggen* (falling to the ground and striking root), which was the predominant pattern after 1945 for the offspring of the Chinese overseas. The new migrants... have been vacillating in between and are in the state of developing a mobile identity. Their identities are characterized by neither *luoye guigen* nor *luodi shenggen* and they constitute what I called 'Transnational Chinese'. (Liu, 2005, p. 312-313)

On the other hand, Adam McKeown suggests that academics simply revisit the definition of the word diaspora:

I would suggest that the greatest change in the past thirty years is not so much in the ways that people, goods, and information circulate and are appropriated through contact, but in the rising self-consciousness and status of diaspora as a way of life. This contemporary prestige of diaspora, and our own interest in the celebration of diversity, hybridity, and movement should not be projected as a description of diaspora per se. Just because migrants have, in the past, been more often classified as immigrants than as members of diasporas, it does not necessarily follow that their activities were categorically different... Thus, the idea of diaspora is anchored by vastly divergent ideals, that of diaspora-as-exile and diaspora-as-diversity. (McKeown, 1999, p. 311)

The divergent vocabularies used and the consequential variety in conclusions regarding why and how and with what consequences these migration patterns are taking place form the foundation of the need for this study to take place.

2.2 Literature Review

As attention given towards China's influence around the world rises, so too has literature regarding the issue of global Chinese migration. Due to the dearth of data regarding Chinese migration to Egypt, the researcher has chosen to focus on a review of literature that addresses Chinese migration in a global context. Specifically, the review

covers current discussions on the use of the term diaspora within the context of Chinese global migration patterns. This review is based on the following set of questions asked by Adam McKeown (1999):

Attaching an adjective such as “Chinese” in front of diaspora is to implicitly ask how so many different peoples can actually be grouped together, and what are the consequences of doing so? For example, a Chinese diaspora could potentially include people as diverse as participants in the California Gold Rush, Sino-Vietnamese boat people, cosmopolitan Chinese businessmen constantly moving around the world with multiple passports, Filipino patriot Jose Rizal; and peranakans who are the descendants of intermarriages between Chinese and Malay women that began centuries ago, speak Malay dialects, and yet are often known for their stubborn maintenance of Chinese traditions. (McKeown, 1999, p. 309)

How these various people can fall under the umbrella of the Chinese diaspora parallels the researcher’s goal to address the different types of Chinese migrants currently residing in Cairo and their connection to each other as migrants of a supposed common diaspora.

To provide a thorough analysis of current academic thought on this matter, the literature review addresses two areas related to the terminology used to describe the current situation of Chinese migrants overseas. The first section addresses research related to the use of the term diaspora regarding Chinese migration patterns. The second section focuses on research studies addressing ethnic, Mainland, and *xinyimin* Chinese populations living and their connections with China.

2.2.1 Diaspora

A thorough discussion is needed of the term diaspora in the context of Chinese migration in order to fully understand how academics have used the term in the past. Adam McKeown does just this in his article, “Conceptualizing Chinese Diaspora, 1842-1949”. McKeown discusses and dissects the term diaspora, its past use by scholars, and current trends with its use in the Chinese context. After quoting several scholars who discuss the phenomenon of Chinese migration without using the term diaspora, McKeown notes that, “When taken together, these works do not produce a coherent panorama of the networks and processes of Chinese migration, but fragment and obscure them within the cracks between competing nation-based claims over the histories of Chinese migrants” (op. cit., p. 307). With this statement as an issue for McKeown, he goes on to say that the new terms used by scholars, such as “transnationalism, globalization, and the deterritorialization of the state” changes the discourse on Chinese migration (ibid). McKeown asserts that these new frames of reference, “attempt to center mobility and dispersion as a basis from which to begin analysis, rather than as streams of people merely feeding into or flowing along the margins of national and civilizational histories” (ibid). McKeown seeks to understand how these new frames of reference, “outline the shape and significance of narratives of Chinese migration that start from a transnational or global perspective” (ibid). McKeown’s hypothesis is the following, “I will take the position that understanding diaspora as a category that can be used to define and describe social groups is not so desirable as the development of a diasporic

perspective that can direct the analysis of geographically dispersed institutions, identities, links and flows” (ibid). Therefore, McKeown’s takes on a “diaspora as diversity” model based on the assertion that “... migration and diasporic identities are not characteristic qualities that define a group, but are strongly linked to particular social perspectives at particular times...” (op. cit, p. 308).

McKeown’s study is an historical analysis of Chinese migration between 1842 and 1949 based on how scholars have used the term diaspora. His study is divided into different categories: diasporic labor, diasporic networks, diasporic nationalism, ethnic Chinese and diasporic culture. For the purposes of this thesis the researcher primarily focused on the author’s initial discussion of the term diaspora and the ethnic Chinese section.

McKeown begins with a brief description on the history of the term diaspora and its past use describing the exile of the Jewish people and the more recent usage to describe the African diaspora due to the slave trade. McKeown then moves on to the more current use of the term diaspora as, “diaspora-as-heterogeneity (which) still entails a morality constructed in opposition to oppression, only now it focuses more on resistance against continuing oppression than on an originating act of oppression” (op. cit., p. 309). While the idea of exile has been crucial to the term diaspora in the past, McKeown asserts that it “can be replaced by other bonds and processes which help to shape scattered people together as a group” (ibid). McKeown continues to question the definition of diaspora by also asserting that, “Just because migrants have, in the past,

been more often classified as immigrants than as members of diasporas, it does not necessarily follow that their activities were categorically different” (op. cit., p. 311).

McKeown’s article thoroughly dissects the term diaspora, which the author admits is, “still laden with contentious and contradictory meanings” (op. cit., p. 312). Following the dismantling of the terms general usage, the author goes on discuss its ramifications within the Chinese migration context. McKeown states that, “To talk about the “diasporic Chinese” is no less essentializing than to talk about the “Chinese diaspora”: both make claims over a group of people as a holistic entity. Rather, it entails an acknowledgement that a diasporic perspective can provide a needed supplement to nation-based histories, while simultaneously agreeing that the historical production of diasporas needs to be interrogated” (op. cit., p. 312).

McKeown’s article also addresses the inclusion of Ethnic Chinese in the diaspora discussion. As the researcher focused on a comparison between mainland and Ethnic Chinese views of themselves within the Chinese diaspora context, this issue was of primary interest for the literature review. McKeown asserts that, “The emergence of ethnic Chinese is a topic best approached from national rather than diasporic perspectives. It is an area in which the identity and meaning of being Chinese is most strongly formed by local social relations, where Chineseness becomes a heritage, a political status, or merely a color of skin” (op. cit., p. 327). McKeown’s pointing to locality as being an important fact in the development of Chineseness is interesting, as it brings into question whether ethnic Chinese can develop different diasporic identities

depending on their location. McKeown goes on to say that, “If we accept postmodernist visions of diaspora as a site of multiplicity and diversity, then ethnic Chinese could be conceived of as a diaspora, with the label of Chinese signifying something slightly different in each local context. The application of such an overarching category, however, would obscure more than it would illuminate an interrogation of Chineseness” (op. cit., p. 329). Again, the word local is very important to the discussion of ethnic Chinese in the diaspora framework. How ethnic Chinese view themselves will be further discussed in the results section of this thesis.

A limitation of McKeown’s article is the lack of comparison of different scholars’ descriptions of Chinese migration using a diasporic context. While McKeown’s discussion is extensive, it is primarily centered on his thoughts on the term and its usage and does not include substantial input from other academics. All in all, McKeown articulates well his keen insights regarding this term and using it as a framework supplementing rather than defining the discussion of Chinese migration.

While McKeown focuses on re-interpreting the term diaspora in order to apply it to the Chinese diaspora, Ronald Skeldon questions using the term at all. In the opening paragraphs of Ronald Skeldon’s article, “The Chinese Diaspora or the Migration of Chinese Peoples?” the author states that, “To apply diaspora to a dynamic, entrepreneurial people such as the Chinese does not at first appear intuitively obvious” (Skeldon, 2003, p. 51). Skeldon points out that while the word’s past use as a descriptor of populations forced into exile, such as the Jewish peoples, Armenians and Palestinians

may not be related to the choice many Chinese people make to migrate, it has nonetheless been used to describe Chinese migration patterns. While the motivation for migrating may not be the same, Skeldon asserts that, “implicit in the concept of communities-in-exile is the assumption that peoples are not assimilated into the societies of the destination: they retain their distinct identities ready for the day when they can return home” (op. cit., p. 52).

Skeldon asks several critical questions, including the following:

“Whether this is truly a Chinese diaspora or whether there are a series of separate diasporas based on specific place of origin of the groups concerned; second whether any juxtaposing of the various Chinese groups with non-Chinese peoples in overseas destinations has forged a new composite sense of Chineseness, and third, whether the diaspora experience of the Chinese has forged new identities and, if so, whether these have expression in the structure and function of the diaspora communities.” (op. cit., p. 54)

Skeldon’s article examining how Chinese migration patterns fit into the Chinese diaspora is based on an extensive literature review synthesizing various theories on the legitimacy of the term diaspora in this context. Skeldon overviews the current population migration theories to discuss what assumptions are enforced on Chinese migrants by defining this group as a diaspora. One such notion implicit in the term diaspora is the homogeneity of the group of migrants. In addition, the structure of the nation-state as the context of migration groups those from perhaps a variety of migration patterns into on diaspora. As such, Skeldon notes that, “... particular issues arise when the Chinese are considered as one group within a nation; the “Chinese diaspora” may imply a unity of migration patterns and conditions that is more apparent than real” (op. cit., p. 53).

Skeldon deconstructs several statements assumed in the term diaspora to address if the term is relevant for Chinese migration patterns, including the assumption that those in a diaspora are sojourners. Skeldon uses the example of European settler populations moving to the United States to point out that, “The contrast between a Chinese sojourner system and a European settler system is thus oversimplified as there were European sojourners and Chinese settlers. Transnational circulation, as implied in the concept of diaspora, is an integral part of all international migration systems” (op. cit., p. 55). Therefore both populations can have either identity of settler or sojourner depending on their migration history and can still be included in the population’s diaspora.

Skeldon also brings up the regional issue of Chinese migration because the vast majority of Chinese migrants come from three provinces in China’s south: Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang. In addition to the importance of these three areas, Skeldon also notes the importance of Hong Kong and Taiwan as centers for Chinese migration as well. Adding to this heterogeneity is the newest population of Chinese migrants leaving China after the reforms of 1978. However, while countries of destination have a migrant group containing multiple reasons for migration and areas of origin, the impression to populations in the countries of destination may promote a commonality of Chineseness where there is none. Skeldon posits that, “To the outsider the migrants, irrespective of background, are “all Chinese”; to the insider, a common Chinese front is in the best interests of self-protection. Thus, the commonality of “Chineseness as a racial category, promoted by both outsiders and insiders for very different reasons, can obscure real and significant differences within the Chinese communities” (op. cit., p. 62).

Skeldon concludes his article with the following statement:

That there has been a Chinese diaspora in the sense of a spreading of Chinese people around the world is beyond doubt. The impact that this spreading has had, however, is various. Diaspora appears to imply some form of uniformity, of a single great wave of oriental peoples that may threaten other societies. That wave is made up of many separate and distinct parts. To include them all as if they were part of single migration is extremely deceptive... There has perhaps been a Chinese diaspora, but, more meaningfully, there has been a varied and complex migration of Chinese peoples.” (op. cit., p. 63)

With this statement, Skeldon asserts an alternative framework to the discussion of the ‘Chinese diaspora’. While Skeldon seems to offer a completely different reference point for this discussion, it can also be seen as quite similar to McKeown’s framework provided of ‘Diaspora as diversity’ that allows for the complexity of this phenomenon due to the term diaspora being used as a supplement to the discussion, rather than an holistic solution to discussing Chinese migration.

The researcher felt that Skeldon’s only weakness in his study was the limited geographical scope of his discussion, namely focusing the study on Chinese migration to North America, Australia, and the Pacific Rim. While the researcher would have liked a focus on the Middle East region, the complexities of motivations and means that Chinese migrate to this region does align with Skeldon’s assertion that the “wave” of Chinese migrants is indeed made of “separate and distinct parts” (op. cit., p. 63).

Like the two other authors of this section Maggi Leung also discusses the term diaspora, however she focuses her discussion on its usage in the context of Chinese

migration to Germany. Leung offers a different voice to this discussion by focusing on “the idea of diaspora (as) embody(ing) an image of leaving ‘home’ going on a long-term journey and putting ‘roots someplace else, (and) establishing a ‘home away from home’” (Leung, 2003, p. 237). Leung takes the view that “home” is a central part of the concept of diaspora, and therefore explores the different perceptions Chinese migrants in Germany have of ‘home’. Leung notes that, “If we remind ourselves that, in talking about the Chinese diaspora, we are referring to tens of millions of individuals scattered on every continent of the globe, then we realize how illogical it is to generalize about them in such crude ways... When we discuss diasporas as distinct historical experiences, we ought to pay significant attention to the particularities of the many journeys that join, intersect, (and) overlap to form the collage” (op. cit., p. 240). By focusing on how Chinese migrants in Germany view “home,” Leung seeks to find these intersections and discuss how they relate to the concept of diaspora.

Leung’s study focused on interviews with forty participants with a variety of backgrounds but sharing common ground regarding their ethnic Chinese heritage. Many had lived in Germany for extended periods of time, and all were second-generation migrants who had obtained German citizenship. The ages of her interviewees ranged from those in their twenties to those in their eighties, and included, “business migrants... refugees... first-to-third generation migrants... bankers... government officials, religious workers” and others (op. cit., p. 238). Interviews took approximately 2 hours per participant and were conducted in either German, Mandarin Chinese, Cantonese Chinese or English.

In order to provide an appropriate context for the discussion of how migrants feel towards their own perceptions of 'home', Leung reminds the reader that the notion of 'home', "is in fact a problematic concept," and that the Chinese word for 'home' (*jia* 家) is connected with other words such as *guojia* (国家) for country, *jiexiang* (家乡) for one's home village, and *laojia* (老家) to connote a person's original home (op. cit., p. 240-241). Leung's interviews produced different perceptions of home among her interviewees. A man who had lived in Germany for 12 years remarked, "I don't ask myself anymore where my home will be. Then I feel relieved. I can shed the burden" (op. cit., p. 247). Another woman who had lived in Germany for approximately 20 years noted, "I think our home... we say *genru youxiang* (根如油箱), there is a home when roots are inserted, for me, my root is not in China, not in Germany, but in my family" (ibid).

Leung's article also discusses that there may be different perceptions of home depending on the length of time one is away from one's country of origin. Leung concludes that, "'home', especially for diasporic subjects, is not a place taken for granted, bounded and fixed in a certain geographical territory. Rather, 'homes' are more often placed at different geographical scales and multiple locations. 'Homes' can thus be appropriately understood as social constructions, intersections of social relationships at different spatial scales" (op. cit., p. 253). Leung's study was helpful on two fronts, it

provided preparation for the various notions Chinese migrants in Cairo may have towards home and asserted that the notion that home for all migrants may in fact not be China. It is important to note that the notion of home provided in the excerpt from Leung's work came from two migrants who had lived in Germany for extended periods of time. In both cases home was not seen as China, but had rather become an intangible concept that was more connection with family interaction than a geographical location. The researcher is interested to see if the same applies to Chinese migrants living in the Cairo, and if the notion of home fades at the length of time spent away from one's country of origin (or *laojia*) grows.

To sum up, all three authors bring up valid and important discussion points to consider when studying Chinese migration patterns. It is clear that there is still some debate regarding the use of the term diaspora, and therefore the next two sections will discuss which groups of people make up this outflow of Chinese persons living abroad.

2.2.2 Ethnic, Mainland, and *Xinyimin* Chinese Populations

Chinese migration includes the movement of both people from the People's Republic of China and those with Chinese heritage and ancestry that may or may not have Chinese citizenship. Therefore, it is important to discuss both populations as they are both present in Egypt.

In Lok Siu's article, "Queen of the Chinese Colony: Gender, Nation and Belonging in Diaspora," the issue of tension between different groups of Chinese migrants residing in the Central American region is addressed. This article is of high interest to the researcher as it discusses issues surrounding groups of Chinese migrants who have lived in the region for a long period of time and have assimilated more than the new migrant populations. Siu's study examines the identity issues of Chinese migrants living in Central America and Panama by researching a beauty contest held by The Convention of Chinese Associations of Central America and Panama. Siu seeks to, "illustrate how the Chinese in this region negotiate and struggle to define diasporic citizenship within and through the beauty contest" (Siu, 2005, p. 514). Siu describes this identity of diasporic citizenships as a struggle that is mediated through criteria subjectively determined at events such as beauty contests.

As Siu states, "What is at stake in the beauty contest involves not only who gets to represent the Chinese diaspora, but also what qualities are deemed to be idealized characteristics of that diaspora" (op. cit., p. 530). This study therefore is a question of priority; who is the most 'Chinese' in this diaspora population, and what tensions arise between differing opinions on this issue? To answer this question, Siu performed a larger study that took place over 13 months in Panama City, Panama, and used interviews and life narratives, archival research and participant observation as measurement instruments. This article focused on following a group of 84 Panamanian Chinese to Costa Rica to participate in the annual convention of the Chinese Associations of Central America and Panama that included a beauty contest. Choosing a 'Queen of the Chinese Colony' during

the beauty contest thus represents a forum for Chinese living in Central America and Panama to define what attributes they believe best represents “Chineseness”. Skills such as Chinese language ability become a proof of Chineseness are therefore valued in this type of contest. Siu elaborates on this point, stating that, “What becomes evident in the beauty contest ... is that there is tremendous difference and power asymmetry among the Chinese of this region. For instance, Panamanian and Costa Rican Chinese yield more influence and have higher status than the others because of their nation’s relative wealth, their population size, and their ability to speak Chinese” (op. cit., p. 516).

Siu followed the details of the contest in order to, “call attention to women’s agency in constructing diasporic identifications” (op. cit., p. 517). The program included four categories, the first of which included beauty contestants walking on stage wearing the national dresses of their countries with the country’s national anthem playing in the background. The ‘reigning Queen,’ on the other hand, marched to the Chinese anthem and wore a traditional Chinese gown. Siu notes that, “the symbolism of her Chinese dress, in contrast to the national dresses worn by the contestants, encapsulates the process by which the winner of the beauty contest shifts from representing the nation to representing the Chinese diaspora (and it’s connection to the Chinese homeland)” (op. cit., p. 524-525). Other segments included contestants performing the national dances from their respective countries, “self-introductions” where contestants introduced themselves in a language of their choice, with contestants choosing from Spanish, Cantonese or Mandarin. Contestants could also speak in multiple languages, as was the case of Miss Costa Rica who answered in all three. Other contestants did not have a firm

grip on one of the languages, such as Miss Honduras who spoke Spanish fluently but had to read notes for her Chinese introduction. Siu notes that, “Miss Honduras’ performance brought into relief a longstanding divide between immigrant Chinese speakers and Latin American-born Spanish speakers. It enabled Latin American-born Spanish speakers to express openly their collective rejection of marginalization based on linguistic ability” (op. cit., p. 527).

Finally Siu notes that while the association’s goal is to provide a platform to celebrate a common Chinese connection, the countries making up the association have different Chinese migration experiences: “The leadership of the Chinese Associations of Honduras and Nicaragua is now composed mostly of Spanish-speaking, Central American-born Chinese. In contrast, Chinese immigration to Panama and Costa Rica has increased tremendously in recent decades. While the influx of Chinese immigrants to Costa Rica has largely been from Taiwan, most of Panama’s immigrants are from the Southern region of Mainland China” (op. cit., p. 531). Not only do the migration patterns in the association’s countries not align, the new influx of Chinese migrants has shifted internal politics of these countries in recent years:

A recent wave of Chinese immigrants to Panama in the 1980s has dramatically changed the demography of the Chinese population there, such that the recent immigrants now comprise about half of the total Chinese population in Panama. The two groups are characterized as complete opposites. While the old “Chinese Colony” (which includes the well-established Chinese immigrants and their descendants) is characterized as respectable, educated, and law-abiding citizens of Panama, the recent immigrants are portrayed as poor, uneducated, dirty, untrustworthy, and sometimes even criminal.” (op. cit., p. 533)

Siu's article is of interest because it shared insights regarding associations created to maintain and promote Chineseness for Chinese migrants and it describes the tension between migrants living in this region for different lengths of time. As Siu notes, "Indeed, at the center of the beauty contest controversy lies the struggle to determine what and who gets to represent diasporic Chineseness in Central America and Panama, at a time when the region itself is undergoing rapid transformation" (op. cit., p. 536). It is important to note that different populations of Chinese migrants may not only have different migration reasons or histories, but may also have internal struggles regarding who or what is a best representation of Chineseness in the Chinese diaspora.

Embedded in this discussion regarding the issues between ethnic Mainland Chinese is the place of Chinese migrants originating from Hong Kong. In the article, "Identity, Mobility, and the Making of the Chinese Diasporic Landscape in Hong Kong," author George Lin discusses the Chinese diaspora within the context of place-based identity concerning migrants from Hong Kong. Lin begins his study by reminding readers of two migration theories used to discuss the Chinese diaspora; one of place-based identities being an asset to creating networks for migrants overseas, and the other centering about the idea of, "deterritorialization, dislocation and displacement" (Lin, 2003, p. 142). While the latter argument suggests that common boundaries such as those of a nation-state do not facilitate creating diasporic connections among migrants from a common community, the initial argument puts forward that, "identity is not an identifiable symbol shared among members of bounded communities. Identity formation is understood as ongoing processes of construction, negotiation and transformation"

(ibid). With this in mind, Lin addresses the question of place-based identity through studying migrants from the area of Hong Kong using an ethno-linguistic framework.

For the purposes of Lin's study, the author defined Chinese Diaspora as, "the historical migration out of mainland China," and the term Chinese overseas as including, "ethnic Chinese living outside the People's Republic of China and Taiwan" (op. cit., 2003, p. 143). Finally, Lin provides a framework for "shared social identities," as, "based on the same surname, occupation, political faction, language/dialect, or place of origin," and focuses his study on the native-place identity component (op. cit., p. 144).

For his study Lin used pre-existing studies on the subject and census data collected in 1961 and 1996. The 1961 data provides the information on the mass migration of Chinese persons to Hong Kong following the change of Chinese leadership to the Communist Party in 1949, while the 1996 census data is used for comparison purposes. Lin uses this data to discuss Hong Kong as, "a place of origin and destination for the Chinese diaspora" (op. cit., p. 145). Lin also addresses, "the changing spatial distribution of the Hong Kong population according to their different ethno-linguistic backgrounds" (op. cit., p. 145). By choosing to use census data, Lin is able to compare where groups of certain common ethno-linguistic backgrounds chose to live in Hong Kong. However, Lin is also aware of the limitations of using this type of measurement instrument. He notes that, "In the Hong Kong census reports, native place is indicated by place of birth, place of origin, and/or the usual language spoken at home. These three different indices should be take with caution although they are closely interrelated and

have sometimes been used interchangeably. For instance, the place of origin, known as *jiguan* (籍贯) in Chinese, refers to the ancestral home of a Chinese migrant and may not be the same as the place of birth” (op. cit., p. 144). Lin takes these issues into consideration and discusses how caution must be taken not to create incorrect place-based identities due to inaccurate census questions.

While the population of Hong Kong in 1841 (following Britain’s occupation of the area) was a few thousand, the population has dramatically grown to 4.98 million by 1981. Throughout the population’s growth, the vast majority of immigrants arriving in Hong Kong have arrived from Guangdong Province in China. Not only are the vast majority of people in Hong Kong from this province, but only 3% of the population identified themselves as from Hong Kong, according to 1981 census data. Census data also show that since Hong Kong’s inception it has been a center not only from immigrants but a center for out-migration as well. A large increase of out-migration took place in the years leading to the 1997 handover of Hong Kong from Britain back to China. Interestingly, Lin points out that, “Out-migration from Hong Kong bears significant resemblance to the movement of people who fled their homeland before the Communists took over China in 1949” (op. cit., p. 146).

Due to the constant immigration and out-migration from this city, Lin asserts that, “The Hong Kong people, past and present, have demonstrated a spatial mobility significantly greater than their counterparts on the mainland and in Taiwan” (op. cit., p. 147). Census data from 1961 and 1996 prove that while the vast majority of the

population speaks Cantonese, several other dialects are spoken signifying a diversity of identities among this population. Languages such as Hoklo, Hakka, Shanghainese and Mandarin are also spoken. Lin uses standard deviation to analyze the different languages used in the Hong Kong area and found that Cantonese, “is the only one that demonstrated a relatively even distribution across the territory” (op. cit., p. 150). Comparing the data from 1961 and 1996, Lin concludes that a “clear trend of homogenization” took place that involved an increase in the popularity of using the Cantonese language which is now the dominant language spoken in nearly all districts of Hong Kong (op. cit., p. 153).

It is apparent from Lin’s study that Hong Kong is an area of Cantonese-speaking immigrants coming mainly from the Guangdong province and that this population has a higher mobility than their Chinese counterparts. The article is important in that it points to the clear distinction between Chinese migrants and those migrating from Hong Kong. While many immigrants came to Hong Kong following the inception of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, a mass exodus occurred in anticipation of the rejoining of Hong Kong to Mainland China. These mass movements, added with the concept of Hong Kong as a center for migration, points to a disparity in the experience of migrants from Hong Kong as opposed to Mainland Chinese in the Chinese diaspora. The researcher seeks to understand if the Chinese migrants living in Egypt who come from Hong Kong consider themselves part of the Chinese diaspora.

It is clear that the population of peoples migrating from China is anything but homogeneous. Added to this equation is the population of new migrants. New migrants

are those having left China post the economic reforms of the late 1970's. This population includes migrants from the People's Republic of China, and at times may include peoples from Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Heidi Østbø and Jørgen Carling's study, "On the edge of Chinese diaspora: the surge of *baihuo* business in an African city," explores the migration patterns of Chinese merchants to the city of Sao Vicente in the Cape Verde area. The authors explored the evolution of the migration patterns of these entrepreneurial migrants, beginning with the first Chinese-owned store opening in the area in 1995 to the eventual oversaturation of the market of Chinese goods and services. The study's focus was to understand the process of the Cape Verde's gradual market saturation of Chinese-owned stores, referred to by Chinese as *baihuo* stores to describe their general merchandise, and referred to by Cape Verdeans as *loja chines*, or Chinese shops.

The location of Østbø and Carling's study, Sao Vicente, has a population of approximately 200-300 Chinese people (usually in their late teens to early twenties) in a city of 70,000 people. While the first *baihuo* store did not open until 1995, the high growth of these stores led to, "*baihuo* shops in ever urban centre in the country; on certain streets in the centers of the country's two cities, virtually every second establishment is a *baihuo* shop" (Østbø & Carling, 2005, p. 640). These stores are owned and operated by migrants primarily arriving from Zhejiang province in southern China, one of the provinces with a high migrant population. All *baihuo* shops were homogenous in their products, usually selling, "clothes, shoes, travel accessories,

kitchenware,” etc. (op. cit., p. 647). The quality of the goods is not high, and the majority of products are purchased when the owners visit a wholesale market in Yiwu, China on at least an annual basis (ibid).

ØstbØ and Carling’s study involved gathering information from recorded interviews and participant observation. Part of the study discussed the reasoning and reaction behind the five-fold increase in *baihuo* stores from 1995 to 2003 with the total number of stores eventually growing to approximately one hundred (op. cit., p. 651). While the primary focus of the article focused on the process of market saturation, the authors included discussion on the migrants as being, “on the edge of the Chinese diaspora” (op. cit., p. 646). Referencing Adam McKeown’s hypothesis, ØstbØ and Carling posit that,

They (McKeown included) discuss how the category of Chineseness imposes a closure on the identity of people of Chinese ancestry. Those resist the closure define one type of periphery of the Chinese diaspora. The fringes of the Chinese diaspora are identified in another sense by the way in which the Chinese in Sao Vicente position themselves and their businesses in a spatial and temporal perspective. These Chinese traders present a worldview in which good business is found on the edge of an ever-expanding diaspora, in a zone of pristine markets in which Chinese business niches have yet to be saturated. (op. cit., p. 646)

Indeed, ØstbØ and Carling’s study articulated well the fact these entrepreneurs were very focused on finding the new market that had not yet been penetrated by Chinese migrants. One interviewee is quoted as saying, “If you can find us a country which is rich and has no Chinese, we can cooperate to open a shop and earn a lot of money!” (op. cit., p. 647). As one Chinese shop owner explains, “In every place where Chinese arrive and a few years go by, the problem is the same... Three- four years, then conditions get bad,

because once some Chinese arrive in a place, they become too many! Once the Chinese arrive in a country, business deteriorates” (op. cit., p. 655). The plight to find areas and markets not already saturated with Chinese *baihuo* stores has been termed by the authors as a geographical expansion response by Chinese migrants that has ultimately led to the *baihuo* stores populating all of the Cape Verde’s nine populated islands and various locations in the two city centers of Praia and Sao Vicente. This response, the article found, has been more popular than a sectoral expansion or innovation option to change how the businesses themselves are run without changing locations.

While Østbø and Carling’s study did provide a general explanation for the oversaturation of the *baihuo* market in Cape Verde, it did not adequately address Chinese migration to Cape Verde in the context of global Chinese migration patterns and its part in the overall Chinese diaspora. While Østbø and Carling’s study briefly addressed the fact that migrants in Cape Verde viewed themselves as on the edge of the Chinese diaspora, it did not provide sufficient discussion on diaspora situation itself and how these migrants fit into this larger context. In addition, Østbø and Carling’s use of the term entrepreneurial migration may have been misleading as it included not only those entrepreneurial migrants setting up stores in the Cape Verde area, but also, “workers who are not entrepreneurs themselves but who work for relatives and often aspire to become self-employed in the same line of business” (op. cit., p. 642). While the article’s footnote regarding the term entrepreneurial migration does mention that a more common term used for migrants leaving China post-1978 is “new migrant” (*xinyimin*), the term, coupled

with its inclusion of migrants not arriving in Cape Verde to specifically set up a store makes the term entrepreneurial migrant somewhat misleading.

While areas such as Cape Verde are limiting due to it including only one type of Chinese migrant (in this case, the new migrants), other areas have Chinese migrants coming from different migration backgrounds. Three types of Chinese migrants living in Zanzibar are studied in Elizabeth Hsu's article, "Zanzibar and its Chinese Communities." The purpose of Hsu's study is to discuss the backgrounds of three Chinese communities: The *huaqiao* community who arrived in Zanzibar in the 1930s, government-sent teams sent from the People's Republic of China beginning in 1964, and the new migrants, referred to by Hsu as business people or individual migrants, who arrived in the late 1990's. Hsu looks to discuss the reasons for their migration to Zanzibar and, "their social relations, as expressed through kinship ties, businesses, medical services, food exchanges and other means of interaction" (Hsu, 2007, p. 113).

The group referred to by Hsu as *huaqiao* arrived to Zanzibar in the 1930s and began business based on the country's availability of sea cucumbers and shark fins. Hsu reports that the current community is less than 50 persons that derive from four family names: Ho, Shum, Chan and Law. While the initial reasons for trading have declined, the community has found new business with the production of noodles that have now become a main dish used during Ramadan. The next group of Chinese migrants arriving in Zanzibar included government-sponsored medical experts that took up residence in the country for one to two years. These medical teams were not the only industry to arrive in

this region; the PRC had sent many teams of Chinese laborers to build the railway between Dar Es Salaam and Lusaka in the 1970s. These new government-sponsored teams from China provide acupuncture among other medical treatments, and view their work, “to help the ‘Africa’ people deal with their diseases” (op. cit., p. 115). Due to regulations applied to the experts, there is little mixing with the local population outside of the medical-services provided.

Hsu mentions that the local population in Zanzibar, “differentiated clearly between government-sent teams and the new influx of Chinese business people who, as a local characterized them, ‘come and go’” (op. cit., p. 117). Hsu reports that hundreds of these new migrants currently reside in Zanzibar and that, “Chinese business people in East Africa are very mobile, as they spread themselves across the globe in star-like and web-like fashions” (ibid). Chinese business people in the area work in a variety of industries including the medical, restaurant and textile trade industries, to name a few.

It is assumed from Hsu’s article that interviews with members from each group were the researcher’s primary tool for gathering information. Hsu reports that the three groups have little interaction with each other, due in part to stricter regulations enforced on the government-sent teams. Hsu uses the noodle-production by *huaqiao* members as a way to measure the groups’ levels of interaction. According to Hsu’s findings, “... (Government) team members had occasionally eaten *huaqiao* noodles, but rarely, and some said outright they had done so reluctantly” (op. cit., p. 121). Similar to this sentiment, the majority of businesspeople, “said that the noodles... were ‘not good’,

(and) ‘unhygienic’, not only the noodles but also the people who made them: they ‘had become African’” (ibid). Hsu also noted that while *huaqiao* members referred to their group with ‘we’-based language, “‘We are altogether’ or ‘We are all related’,” the businesspeople were extremely individualistic and mobile with stronger ties to the People’s Republic of China (op. cit., p.122).

Hsu’s article provides a basic introduction to the situation of Chinese migrants in Zanzibar. Quantitative data to supplement the researcher’s interview may have been useful, however in general it provides an adequate starting point to discussing all groups of Chinese migrants living in the country. Like other articles, Hsu’s vocabulary regarding different Chinese communities is not consistent with other articles on this subject. While *huaqiao* is primarily used to refer to all Chinese living overseas (regardless of citizenship), *huayi* may have a more appropriate term to describe the population arriving in Zanzibar in the 1930’s. Hsu takes the opportunity to assert that integrating her findings into the larger context of Chinese migration to Africa would be useful, as well as relating it to the global migration patterns currently taking place. Integration would be valuable next step for Hsu’s research, however a common vocabulary will need to be used to find connections between these three communities and Chinese communities across the African continent.

While the previous articles of this section focused on new migrants arriving to the African continent, the researcher now turns back to Germany to discuss new migration to Europe and the importance of statistics in monitoring such migration. Karsten Giese’s

article, “New Chinese Migration to Germany: Historical consistencies and New Patters of Diversification within a Globalized Migration Regime,” begins with the statement that, “...no systematic research on the history of Chinese migration or continuous analysis of more recent migration trends and related political issues has been carried out so far” (Giese, 2003, p. 156). With this in mind, Giese seeks to offer a comprehensive synopsis of new Chinese migrants arriving in Germany starting in the 1970s to 1999. Giese’s article is based on official statistics and focuses on policy-related issues stemming from this new group of migrants.

Until 1983 the population of migrants living in Germany from Taiwan superseded those from Mainland China. Following China’s economic reforms in the late 1970s, the population of Chinese migrants continued to grow throughout the following decades, however Giese points out that, “While in 1996 the Chinese population grew at a moderate 4.4 percent over the previous year, from 2000-2001 the Chinese community in Germany grew by a remarkable 24 percent” (op. cit., p. 157). While the population of Germany doubled between 1978 and 2001, the population of Chinese persons living in Germany increased 64 times (ibid). Giese separates these migrants into four groups: “Students, working migrants, tourists and irregular migrants, including asylum seekers” (op. cit., p. 164). Of those working in Germany, statistics show that ethnic catering trade is the employer of the majority of male and female migrants. However, while the employment in the catering industry is to be expected, the author found it puzzling that, according to official statistics, “approximately 30 percent of the adult Chinese population in Germany do not participate in any economic activities” (op. cit., p. 170). While informal

employment among family members in the catering trade may account for this low number, Giese asserts that further research is needed to understand how such a large portion of migrants are creating a livelihood in Germany.

While the detailed statistics offered by Giese may not appear to be relevant to this study, it is the importance of statistics that should be noted. As mentioned by Giese, the lack of systematic research is detrimental to a completely accurate discussion regarding global Chinese migration. With the use of extensive statistics, Giese concludes that, “new Chinese migration to Germany is anything but a homogeneous process. The Chinese-German system is characterized by distinct groups of migrants who are only loosely connected, if at all” (op. cit., p. 178). This type of statistical research based on reliable and valid population data is not currently available within the Cairo context, however this article is evidence that increased statistical information would be beneficial to understanding the situation of Chinese migrants in Egypt and around the world.

This literature review addressed the issues of diaspora, ethnic Chinese versus Mainland Chinese issues and new migrants from China in an effort to give comprehensive background information about the topic of Chinese migration. While it is unfortunate that more research has not addressed Chinese migration to the Middle East, and specifically to Egypt, the research thus far illustrates the complexity surrounding the different populations of Chinese migrants living overseas. With this information in mind, Chapter Three discusses how this information was applied to the methodology of the fieldwork of this thesis.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

As discussed in the previous chapter, Chinese global migration is complex and involves various populations of ethnic Chinese migrants, Mainland Chinese migrants, and new migrants that may or may not have connections with each other. Therefore, the researcher sought to answer the following questions in order to determine whether Chinese migrants in Egypt represent an example of the Chinese diaspora or if these groups are disconnected to the point of representing different and disconnected migration patterns:

1. How do Chinese migrants in Cairo define themselves within the language used to describe the Chinese diaspora (*huayi*, *huaren*, *huaqiao*) and how does this relate to any identity issues Chinese migrants may face living in Cairo?
2. What languages do the various groups of Chinese migrants speak?
3. How do the various groups of Chinese migrants interact?
4. How strong a connection do Chinese migrants in Cairo, Egypt have to China, and is this connection different depending on their migration history.

Qualitative and quantitative approaches were used to gather information about Chinese migrants residing in Cairo, Egypt. A survey, interviews and participant observation were used to analyze interactions between members of this community in areas promoting Chinese culture. Due to the lack of availability of *xinyimin* to participate

in this study, the researcher also depended on interviews with a journalist and documentarian to gather information about this population. Details on the setting and participants chosen for this study are described in the following sections. Nearly all names have been changed due to the request of the research participants, and the participants themselves sometimes chose alternative names.

3.1 Setting, Participants and Measurement Instruments

Preliminary face-to-face interviews took place at several coffee shops and Chinese restaurants in the Maadi area, as well at the offices of several interviewees. Participant observation also took place at the homes of two participants, the Chinese Cultural Center in Giza, as well as at an office building during a Chinese New Year celebration.

The researcher chose to pursue a convenience sample of the participants for this study. Due to a lack of official statistics and the consequential limited knowledge of the actual population demographics of Chinese migrants it was impossible to pursue a random sample, however the researcher attempted to involve participants from the various types of migrants living in Cairo, Egypt based on their availability. The participants were chosen due to their diversity of nationality, as the researcher sought to question both those from China and those whose connection with China was minimal in spite of a previous association with the country. The researcher developed a survey containing 30 questions that was distributed to several contacts for data collection from

29 participants. The majority of survey respondents handwrote their answers, and several emailed a soft-copy of the survey to the researcher.

The survey's questions were changed at several points due to feedback from participants. For example, initially question 8 of the survey asked the following:
Place of Residence (General area or Province in China): 故乡 (你来自中国的哪一个省 / 城市). A contact administering the exam emailed the researcher with the following comment: " She (a survey participant) has completed your survey form but she was a little irked by Question 8, i.e. the one that asked for 'a Place of Residence in China'. She felt that this is a very sensitive question especially when she does not come from China (politically Taiwan and China has an issue as you know) but so will some of the others (ethnic Chinese, i.e. like those from Hong Kong)." Due to this feedback the question was changed to the following: Place of Residence (General area or Province in China): 故乡 (你或是你的主崇是来自中国的哪一个省 / 城市)/ I don't know where my ancestors' place of residence was/不知道, to reflect the researcher's intent to gather data regarding the participant's ancestral residence in China if the participant's family had migrated from China.

While the survey served as the main source of information for data analysis, the researcher also sought to administer two in-depth interviews in order to provide qualitative data to support and enhance the survey's findings. The researcher conducted

two in-depth, semi-structured face-to-face interviews at a Chinese restaurant and café in the Maadi area in order to gather detailed information from ethnic Chinese who do not have a direct connection with Mainland China. Abiir, a leader of the Chinese community in Egypt, is a middle-aged female business entrepreneur from Hong Kong. Cartier is a middle-aged Singaporean female living in Cairo due to her spouse's job. Both women moved to Egypt in the 1980s. Abiir has lived in Egypt continuously for over twenty years, whereas Cartier left Egypt and returned approximately six months ago.

Both women were chosen for in-depth interviews due to their knowledge of living in Egypt as Chinese migrants over two decades, and are extremely involved in several activities and groups that cultivate a sense of community among Chinese migrants in Egypt. While Cartier does not hold Chinese citizenship, she is originally from China and has been to China approximately 15 times. Abiir's family originates from both China and Malaysia, however Abiir was born in Hong Kong due to her great-great-grandfather moving there. Abiir then moved to Canada for some time, then returned to Hong Kong before moving to Egypt. Research regarding the Chinese diaspora does include discussions on populations of migrants with Chinese heritage who do not hold Chinese citizenship. Therefore the researcher chose both participants to represent ethnic Chinese persons who may be a part of the Chinese overseas community even though they themselves have identity issues as they do not have Chinese citizenship.

Finally, the researcher used limited participant observation during her fieldwork. The researcher conducted interviews at several Chinese restaurants in the Maadi area,

visited the apartments of both Mainland Chinese and ethnic Chinese survey participants, and well participated in a Chinese Spring Festival gathering of employees of a Chinese telecommunications firm.

3.2 Data Collection and Procedures

Preliminary interviews were conducted with five persons connected with the Chinese community in Cairo from different backgrounds. Participants included an employee of the Chinese Embassy, an employee of the Chinese Cultural Center, an employee of a Chinese news organization and a Chinese community leader (who later participated in the semi-structured interview as well).

Through preliminary interviews it became apparent to the researcher that distribution of the survey would be most successful if distributed by an ethnic Chinese person with contacts in the ethnic Chinese community and a Mainland Chinese person connected to the Mainland Chinese community. The researcher initially made contact with the Chinese Embassy's educational department and the Chinese Cultural Center and from these preliminary interviews received contact information for several key members of the Chinese community in Egypt. The researcher then cultivated relationships with these key contacts and asked these contacts to administer the surveys in order to ensure that participants trusted that the survey would be used for academic purposes. The researcher had two Chinese contacts distribute the survey in-person to her contacts in the Maadi area, and asked an employee of a Chinese news organization to distribute the

survey to his colleagues. In all cases the researcher mentioned that the research was academic in nature and voluntary. In several cases the researcher gathered further information from these participants via email following the initial interview. While it was unfortunate that the researcher was not able to administer the surveys directly, she used preliminary interviews with each survey administrator to ensure that the quality and reliability of these surveys would remain intact.

Interviews of non-Chinese persons connected with the Chinese community took place in-person and over email. The researcher met a journalist at a café to discuss her article regarding *xinyimin* merchants selling clothes door-to-door in the area and interviewed Doa Aly, creator of the documentary, “Chinese Sweet, Chinese Pretty” via email.

3.3 Data Analysis

Regarding the survey, the researcher compiled all survey feedback to give descriptive statistical feedback. While inferential statistics would have been preferred, the unfeasibility of gathering a random sample due to a lack of reliable data of information concerning the population of Chinese migrants in Cairo made this not possible.

As the interviews were semi-structured, the researcher combined answers to similar questions in order to understand similarities or differences in viewpoints regarding several issues related to the research. Data from the survey, while not as

detailed as the interviews, was compared by the researcher as well.

CHAPTER FOUR

Results and Analysis

Of the 29 participants that completed the survey, 20 listed China as their nationality, 2 listed Taiwan, 4 listed the United States, 2 listed Singapore and 1 listed Britain. An example of the complexity surfaced as the researcher decided how best to divide the two groups of Chinese migrants participating in this study. While 20 of the participants had Chinese nationality, 9 did not, as they had taken another country's nationality during their migration history. Therefore, the researcher decided to address those with Chinese nationality as Mainland Chinese. This category did *not* include respondents from either Taiwan or Hong Kong, as participants from both areas expressed a disconnection with China and preferred to not be referred to as Chinese. The group of participants sharing a Chinese ancestry, including Taiwan and Hong Kong, was categorized as Ethnic Chinese.

Demographic information is as follows:

Table 2: Demographic Data

Age	15-20	21-35	36-50	Above 50	No Answer
	1	13	7	5	2
Gender	Male	Female	No Answer		
	7	19	3		
Place of Birth	PRC	HK/ Taiwan	Other	No Answer	
	20	5	3	1	
Nationality	PRC	Taiwan	Other	No Answer	
	20	2	7	0	

Place of Residence	Maadi	Heliopolis	Zamalek	Other	
	24	1	1	3	
Marital Status	Never Married	Married	Divorced	Widowed	
	12	14	3	0	
Highest level of Education	Secondary	University	Post Graduate		
	2	20	7		
Occupation in Egypt	Business	Government	Media	Entrepreneurial	Telecommunications
	2	1	12	2	2
Occupation, Continued	Oil Export	Education	Travel	Spouses' Job	Other
	1	2	1	4	4

Several themes arose from the gathered survey and interview fieldwork that directly related to the research questions mentioned in the methodology chapter. Therefore, this chapter will report and analyze the results of the study's fieldwork addressing the following four themes:

1. Identity Issues and the Relation to *Huayi*, *Huaqiao*, and *Huaren*
2. Language
3. Interaction Opportunities
4. Views of Mainland Chinese

4.1 Identity Issues and the Relation to the terms *Huaqiao*, *Huayi*, and *Huaren*

To understand how Chinese migrants living in Egypt categorize themselves within the context of the Chinese diaspora in Egypt, the researcher asked the following question in her survey:

Do you think you belong to the *huayi*, *huaren*, *huaqiao* description? (你认为你自己是)

Table 3: Relation to *Huayi*, *Huaren* and *Huaqiao*

Category	<i>Huayi</i>	<i>Huaren</i>	<i>Huaqiao</i>	Other
Mainland Chinese	0	13	1	3
Ethnic Chinese	3	1	2	2

Of the 22 participants that answered this question, no Mainland Chinese respondents referred to themselves as *huayi*. Only one referred to themselves as *huaqiao*, and one wrote 中国人 to signify that they referred to themselves as Chinese (the term literally is translated as China and Person). One respondent also described herself as here on a temporary stay and 13 respondents chose *huaren* as their descriptor. Ethnic Chinese participants' answers were more varied; 3 chose the *huayi* category, two chose the *huaqiao* category, and 1 chose the *huaren* category. In addition, an ethnic Chinese participant also wrote 'Chinese' under the question, and one specified herself as Chinese-American.

During the researcher's interviews with Abiir, the interviewee asserted that the majority of the Chinese community could not refer to themselves as *huaqiao* because they had not spent enough time living in Egypt. As the length of time that one stays in a

country can help determine if migrants fall into the *huaqiao* category, the researcher also asked the participants about the length of time they planned to stay here. Of the 19 Mainland Chinese that did answer this question, only 2 did not answer when they were leaving, with one citing it was dependant on how long she/he was needed for work. Of those that did answer, all expected to stay in Egypt for 23-36 months, except for one who expected to stay 48 months. Of the nine ethnic Chinese that answered the question, six out of the nine did not know when they were leaving Egypt. As the majority of Mainland Chinese participants worked at a Chinese news agency it can be deduced that they signed a 2-year contract to live in Egypt before leaving the country. Abiir supports this information with her statement that the population of Chinese living in Egypt began to change approximately 5-6 years ago, with the majority staying for 2-4 years, less staying for 7-10, with only 50 staying more than 10 years. Abiir was firm in her belief that the definition for *huaqiao* must include a person's assimilation into the host country's culture, a practice she believes not many migrants here for temporary stays do. As no Mainland Chinese did pick this category, both survey and interview data support the assertion that the Mainland Chinese group do not consider themselves to be *huaqiao*. It is clear that the Mainland Chinese participants view themselves as living abroad temporarily due to work and do not see themselves as having truly immigrated to Egypt. The ethnic Chinese, on the other hand, have more diverse perceptions of their identity as migrants living in Egypt. This distinction of identity between these two groups is significant and may connect to other distinctions arising from the fieldwork gathered.

When asked to expand on their migration histories, the Mainland Chinese participants provided the following comments:

- 1) “My company sent me to Egypt to work in its Middle East Bureau for two years.”
- 2) “I don't have a migration story or experience.”
- 3) “Right after I graduated from college I was offered a job here to teach Chinese. I signed a two-year contract and I'll be back to China in August.”

Ethnic Chinese provided the following comments:

- 1) “I am here temporarily. I still count Hong Kong as my home.”
- 2) “[In] 1980 [I] left from Taiwan [to] study in Spain. [In] 1984 [I] married [an] Egyptian in Taiwan, then followed husband's job to live in more than 10 countries.”
- 3) “[I] want to know about the people and their culture.”
- 4) “I am in Egypt on a temporary status due to my husband's job. My home is in USA and I'm no longer migrating to another country.”
- 5) “[My] maternal grandmother's family came from China to Malaysia/ Singapore. When the [Malaysian] federation separated I moved to Singapore Then I moved from Singapore to live overseas for 29 years before coming to Egypt in 2007.”

Abiir’s migration history was more complex. A self-described “visionary” and “entrepreneur”, Abiir explained that she did feel a part of Egyptian culture:

“In Egypt there was no Chinese community [in 1988] so you have to emerge with Egyptians so you have a sense of belonging, so it makes you more to understand. It’s a learning process; with culture you never learn it all. Then I found my niche here to work as a translator, using the language as a skills slowly to explore different opportunity for trade and cultural exchange.”

Abiir began her time in Egypt by living in Alexandria for almost 12 years. According to Abiir,

“In Alexandria is the time of development... it’s a good place to train yourself, and the years in Cairo is to reap for harvest. Alexandria has a small Chinese community, [then you] come here [and have] different opportunities [because] you are ready to expose [yourself] to Egyptian [and] Chinese communities. It’s a process, something you have to go through. Some people they come [to Egypt] and they forget that there is a process. Step by step. And I could see that when you have to develop at a season of life, I reached this level, what’s next?”

Through the course of the interviews with Abiir, it was mentioned that the Chinese Embassy had chosen her to represent the Chinese community living in Egypt at the Fifth World Congress of Overseas Chinese organization. The conference, which will be held this May in China, is a gathering of representatives from Chinese communities around the world and, according to Abiir, “everyone has their unique position in the country they represent.” The embassy choosing Abiir is evidence of Abiir’s high standing in the Chinese community. Indeed, throughout the researcher’s preliminary interviews, Abiir’s name was constantly mentioned as the person who knew all Chinese people living in Egypt and was heavily involved in creating a sense Chinese community. It is interesting that the embassy chose this community leader, while she herself claims to be from Hong Kong, saying that, “Geographically [and] politically yes [I am from China], a

lot of value system, no, mentality, no. I am from Hong Kong ... It's too generalizing to say I am Chinese."

While Abiir faces identity issues as a person from Hong Kong acting as the leader of the Chinese community in Cairo, Cartier's identity issues as a Singaporean with Chinese heritage very involved in the Chinese community were also interesting. Cartier explains, "I did not have Chinese tea when I first came here [to Egypt], and they [the Chinese community] were amazed with me being Chinese not having Chinese tea and were totally surprised that I being Chinese, I don't drink Chinese tea. I only drink Chinese tea when I go to the Chinese restaurant. So in the end Abiir gave me some, so now I have lots of Chinese tea at home that I still do not drink." Cartier mentioned that she keeps the tea to serve to Chinese persons during visits, but she herself enjoys drinking soda instead. Cartier also described the additional 'Chineseness' created by being the 'other' in Egypt:

"Yeah, they [Egyptians] think I'm from China [Cartier is from Singapore]. Rose [Cartier's Chinese-American friend] was totally un-Chinese when she first came [to Egypt], and then because she mixes around with the Chinese group and they pressure her... now she is eating Chinese food and she is starting to cook Chinese food. When she first started she knew nothing. Same as me and Alison. We are Singaporeans, we don't drink tea and cook Chinese food. We are kind of pressured to do these things here. My husband tells me that we eat more Chinese food here than in LA!"

Throughout the interviews Cartier referred to herself both as Chinese and as Singaporean. These experiences of creating 'Chineseness' raises questions regarding whether Cartier pursued this Chinese identity to be a part of the Chinese community or to connect to her Chinese heritage, or both. This creation of Chineseness, as mentioned by academics can be a very integral part of one's identity, even if the person does not feel an

intimate connection to the country of China itself. As mentioned in Adam McKeown's article, "from the perspective of participants who made up these networks and communities (of the Chinese diaspora), being Chinese could be everything. Participation depended upon and produced Chineseness" (McKeown, 1999, p. 331). The extent to which ethnic Chinese migrants who may not have a strong connection to China choose to create a sense of Chineseness when abroad is a topic for further exploration, especially in the Cairo context because of the Chinese-Speaking Women's Association creating opportunities for those not necessarily from China to network and participate in Chinese cultural events.

In conclusion, it is clear that identity issues and the discrepancy regarding how Chinese migrants define themselves in terms of *huayi*, *huaren* and *huaqiao* raise questions regarding the lack of commonalities between the Mainland and Ethnic Chinese migrants residing in Cairo. While it was predictable that no Mainland Chinese migrants chose the *huayi* category due to their Chinese citizenship, the lack of both Mainland and Ethnic Chinese migrants referring to themselves as *huaqiao* deserves further investigation. Also of interest are the other terms mentioned by several respondents in the survey, including Chinese person (中国人), Chinese, and Chinese-American denoting a choice to not associate with the terms offered that insinuate that the person is a migrant. It seems that these respondents would prefer to identify themselves in accordance with a nationality and not with a connection to migration. How these two groups identify themselves linguistically and interactively will be discussed in the following sections.

4.2 Language

The researcher sought to investigate what languages the Chinese migrants in Egypt speak, specifically to see if Mainland Chinese migrants spoke Cantonese. The researcher asked the following question to acquire this information:

What languages do you speak? (你会说什么语言)? With the following options:

1. Chinese (中文/普通话)
2. Cantonese (广东话)
3. Others (其他)
4. English (英文)
5. Arabic (阿拉伯语)

Table 4: Languages

Language	Chinese	Cantonese	English	Arabic	Other
Mainland Chinese	20	0	19	4	1
Ethnic Chinese	7	3	9	3	3

27 of the respondents reported to speak Mandarin Chinese, 3 reported to speak Cantonese, 28 reported to speak English and 7 reported to speak Arabic. Under the “Other” category four languages were mentioned: Malay, French, Spanish and Hakka Taiwanese.

All those reporting to speak Cantonese were ethnic Chinese migrants. Cartier and Abiir also speak Cantonese. Cartier reported that her first language was English, and that she also speaks Cantonese, Mandarin and Arabic. She speaks English at home, work and in social situations, and speaks English, Mandarin or Cantonese with the Chinese community depending on the audience. Cartier said that speaking Cantonese and Mandarin does help you connect your “Chineseness” with the Chinese population in Cairo, “because you speak Chinese they don’t mind talking you, socializing with you.” In addition, at times these languages are necessary for creating social connections with the Chinese community; “You must speak Cantonese [with the Hong Kong group]... In the beginning, the first meeting I had to prove myself, but then they accepted me.” In addition, a group of women who play mahjong speak Cantonese and English, and a group that meets for Bible study speaks Mandarin and English. Abiir, the founder of the group, explained that both Mandarin and Cantonese were spoken at the Chinese-Speaking Women’s Association. However, as mentioned above, several activities surrounding the association are language specific, such as Cantonese for the Hong Kong group, Cantonese and English for the Mahjong group, and Mandarin and English for the Bible-study group.

As expected by the researcher, no Mainland Chinese respondents chose Cantonese, but did choose Mandarin Chinese and English and their spoken languages. Both Abiir and Cartier are fluent in both Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese, and during the researcher's various meetings with them, both participants received phone calls that had them switching between the two languages multiple times. Whether or not language is a barrier between the two groups of migrants is a topic for further exploration. During a meeting with the researcher, Cartier and another survey participant, both women spoke English, and when the researcher asked Cartier and the survey participant (also from Singapore) if they would speak another language if the researcher had not been there, they answered that they usually speak English to one another. As nearly all survey participants chose English as one of their languages, it seems that this language could be used as a common communication tool as opposed to Mandarin. The affect of creating a Chinese community not based on the country's official language is a topic that should be further researched, especially in regards to how Chinese communities across the world choose to communicate.

In addition to language issues within the Chinese community, the use of Arabic versus English with Egyptians was also discussed. During the semi-structured interview with Cartier, she explained that while she can speak Arabic, she chooses not to speak Arabic with Egyptians. When asked for her reasons, Cartier said that due to the infiltration of new Chinese migrants working as door-to-door merchants, Egyptians now perceive any Chinese person speaking Chinese as belonging to this group of migrants. Cartier relayed the following story about a friend to illustrate her point: "She [Cartier's

friend] went to visit her husband's relative in Egypt, in a poor place. They were climbing up the stairs and she managed to get to the top first... [and] when she pressed on the door someone [she had not met] answered the door... [the woman who answered the door] slammed the door. She [Cartier's friend] was taken aback [and stood] for a moment. [The woman who answered the door later said] I thought you were one of these Chinese door-to-door vendors." Experiences like this have led Cartier to no longer speak Arabic to Egyptians in the fear that they will view her as part of the population of Chinese merchants selling clothes door-to-door in Cairo.

It is apparent from the survey and interviews that language provides a platform for interaction among Chinese migrants, and that therefore it can also serve as a means of defining the various groups of migrants living in Cairo, specifically those who are Mandarin-speakers (Mainland Chinese), and those who are also Cantonese-speakers (Ethnic Chinese).

4.3 Interaction Opportunities

While the researcher sought to focus on the ways Chinese migrants interacted with each other, their interactions with Egyptians should also be noted. To gather this information, the researcher asked the following question:

How do you interact with Egyptians (你平常和埃及人怎么交往?) and included the following options:

1. Work - I work with Egyptians (工作 – 我和埃及人工作)
2. Socially - I interact with my Egyptian friends on social occasions (社交 – 我与埃及朋友来往。)
3. Logistically - I interact with Egyptians when necessary for living logistics (my boab, taxi drivers, etc.) (日常生活中 – 我在日常生活中和埃及人打交道 (比如 : 出租司机 , 服务员 , 等)
4. Never - I never interact with Egyptians (不 – 我很少与埃及人来往。)

Table 5: Interaction Opportunities with Egyptians

	Work	Socially	Logistically	Never
Mainland Chinese	15	2	14	
Ethnic Chinese	1	4	5	1

Of those who responded to this question, 16 responded that they worked with Egyptians, 6 responded that they interacted socially with Egyptians, and the majority, 19, responded that they interacted with Egyptians regarding logistical issues. Only 1 responded that she never interacted with Egyptians. Regarding this question distinctions between Mainland Chinese and ethnic Chinese migrants again appears prevalent in almost all categories. Regarding work interactions, only 1 respondent was ethnically Chinese, while the other 15 were Mainland Chinese. Only regarding the logistics category did the respondents appear to be evenly Mainland Chinese and ethnic Chinese:

14 (70%) Mainland Chinese persons agreed to this statement, and five out of the nine (55%) ethnic Chinese participants answers affirmatively. From these responses it appears that Mainland Chinese have a higher rate of working with Egyptians, however 44% of ethnic Chinese responded that they interacted socially with Egyptians, whereas only 10% of Mainland Chinese answered affirmatively to that category. How these two groups interact with Egyptians deserves further investigation, and should also address how Egyptians perceive the various groups of Chinese migrants residing in Cairo.

Interaction between the different groups of Chinese migrants was of primary concern to the researcher. Therefore, the following questions were included on the survey:

1. Are you a member of any Chinese social groups / organizations in Egypt? (你有参加在埃及的中国社会组织吗? (请说明))
2. What opportunities are there to make Chinese friends? (在埃及有什么机会交华人朋友?)

Regarding the first question, 23 of those who responded answered that they were not members of any Chinese social groups or organization in Egypt. Three respondents (two who are ethnically Chinese) answered that they belonged to the Chinese Speaking Women's Association. 1 Mainland Chinese respondent answered that they belonged to the Communist Party. Regarding the second question, of the 18 that answered, 4 said there were no opportunities to make Chinese friends, and the other respondents suggested

the following tactics: sports club, receptions, clubs, festival celebrations, work, internet, friend's friends, embassy parties, outdoor sport, joining social Chinese groups, introductions through colleagues or friends. While these examples prove that some migrants may interact with each other, these answers did not specify whether these activities were meant for Mainland Chinese migrants to meet other Mainland Chinese migrants or ethnic Chinese migrants, or vice-versa. Respondents of the survey who live in Giza and work at the Chinese Cultural Center mentioned that they rarely go to Maadi to see other Chinese people, even though the vast majority of respondents (24), both Mainland Chinese and ethnic Chinese live in the Maadi area.

Cartier brought up several activities not mentioned by those who took the survey: Mahjong groups, bible study, Hong Kong group. However, these groups have their own dynamics, as Cartier describes: "The mahjong interacts with the bible study group since they have common members. The Hong Kong group does not interact with the bible study and mahjong groups. The common member is Abiir. Otherwise they don't go to one another. The out groups you see them once a year and say hi."

In addition to these means of social interaction, participant observation and interviews supported the notion that many Chinese migrants living in Egypt interact with each other at Chinese restaurants. A preliminary interview with Abiir took place at a Chinese restaurant in Maadi where the vast majority, if not all, customers were Chinese. A preliminary interview with Krissy, a middle-aged female from Singapore, supplemented this observation with her comment that she found it interesting when she

went to a Chinese restaurant that half of the restaurant was full of the “educated” people (from a Chinese telecommunication firm) and then the other half were the, “loud... marble company people that smoke, drink, and gamble.”

As mentioned with the responses of the survey, several respondents mentioned membership to the Chinese Speaking Women’s Association. Abiir started the association in 2003 in order to, “have a network to make a platform to get the people to get to know one another, to exchange experience, business, ideas... We are on and off, with migration, turnover is very big, every year is a group of new people.” Abiir was clear that this association is not meant solely for Mainland Chinese migrants, but that, “You are black or white or yellow, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, China, Hong Kong, Vietnam, you can join the network and get to know people.” The association serves as a networking tool inform members of events, such as the Spring and Mid-Autumn festivals. The group has approximately 25-30 members. When asked if the association was a *shetuan*, Abiir’s answer was unequivocally no, responding, “I don’t operate this association like the Mainland Chinese! [It is] mainly a networking system [and] not political at all!”

In addition to the aforementioned activities, the association has organized tai-qi groups in the past, as well as developed a magazine. The magazine is titled *ZhongAi - Youyi* (中埃 - 友谊, Sino-Egypt Friendship) and publishes on a bi-monthly schedule with 3,000 copies. It is funded by advertisements and the copies are free of charge.

Abiir also has plans for this type of endeavor to expand in the future;

“In the future maybe we will have club like the British Services Association (BSA), Community Services Association (CSA), [or] Ace Club [Clubs for foreigners located in the Maadi area]. Chinese don’t feel at home [at these clubs]. [It will] help Chinese [to] have a Chinese club, or Asian club, [with] membership, a place for them to come, play mahjong, ping-pong. [The] Ace Club [and], CSA [clubs] are all catering for foreigners, [and we] don’t have an Asian club.”

While it is clear that efforts are being made to create a Chinese community, Abiir’s efforts compared with the 23 survey respondents stating they were not part of any Chinese organization or social groups in Egypt and the mixed responses to listing ways to meet other Chinese migrant residing in Cairo raises the question as to whether all migrants have access to, and want to be part of, the same social gatherings. This discrepancy regarding how the two groups view each other is further discussed in the section addressing views of Mainland Chinese.

4.4 Views of Mainland Chinese

Due to the semi-structured nature of the interviews with Abiir and Cartier, an additional theme arose regarding views that ethnic Chinese migrants have of Mainland Chinese migrants. The researcher had not expected this issue to be raised, however found it extremely important for this study. This began with Cartier’s description of Mainland Chinese as, “a homogeneous group and the minorities are mainly suppressed... [the Mainland Chinese have the mindset that] we are the majority you are the minority and we don’t deal with you because you are idiots.”

Abiir's views support to Cartier's statements,

“When we have a function together [and] we interact, our association [the Chinese-Speaking Women's Association] has more interaction with people. The majority [of members] are not Mainland Chinese... Mainland Chinese stick to one another. The problem is they ... China is an economic giant but a lot of things they cannot catch up on, social skills, international communication, this is very weak, but they jump too fast on the international platform, they really jump too fast but they have a big gap! But they didn't realize catching up takes some time. They don't learn the culture [or] language they just jump to do the business.”

Abiir goes on to say,

“Because of education, political background, [and] the value system they [the Mainland Chinese] have this philosophy from Deng Xiaoping: No matter if you are white cat [or] black cat, it doesn't matter, you just need to catch the mouse. So by all means achieve you goals... The philosophy is affecting them... its very practical, very aggressive. It doesn't matter if you are black or white; the good cat catches the mouse. [Being] more aggressive could be dangerous, but I believe my association lets mainland Chinese expose themselves to a different worlds, the mainland Chinese lack trust, but they come to our group, there is something different. We have a different exposure, [different] ideas.”

Abiir's assertion that Mainland Chinese migrants are only interested in achieving their business goals parallels recent media reports that China's foreign policy in Africa disregards key issues important to African countries and the international community, such as human rights issues in several African countries (Alden, 2007; Rotberg, 2008). As stated by a BBC article from 2007, “China appears to follow a simple rule: If you are an African country and you have a raw material that China wants, then China will do business with you, no matter what the West thinks of your government or your human rights record” (Reynolds, 2007). Abiir's description of Mainland Chinese migrants coming to Egypt to only succeed in business without regard to integration into Egypt along with Cartier's assertion that, “Chinese want to take over the whole world,” has a

clear connection to the increased concern that China's foreign policies with other countries are disregarding the best interests of the country and the international community.

Cartier supplements Abiir's assertion by pointing to examples proving that this type of disconnect between Mainland Chinese and ethnic Chinese is not only present in Egypt,

“[When I was in Singapore] a Chinese cashier told me [at the market]... she spoke to me in Mandarin, I couldn't switch [to speaking Mandarin] 'cause I just came from LA [so] I was taken aback. She looked at me and noticed I had difficulty speaking Mandarin and she said, 'You are Chinese. You better learn how to speak Chinese, because we are going to take over this country and this is going to be the language here.' They [the Mainland-Chinese] believe they will take over. I think the Chinese want to take over the whole world. All over Singapore they are talking about that.

Even in Canada we have a problem. Just in Vancouver by the water they have a central park, miles and miles of green land and the funny thing is constantly every weekend [there are] demonstrations at the park with two parties, 'Canadian-Chinese' and 'Chinese-Chinese' [new migrants] because the 'Chinese-Chinese' want to convert the park to a shopping mall and high-rises to be sold as real estate. And 'Canadian-Chinese' were protesting because we are protecting the environment. Perpetually fighting, the two of them, every weekend. The funny thing is that the two groups are actually Chinese!”

In order to validate these remarks the researcher asked a Mainland-Chinese migrant the following questions to gather feedback on this issue: Do you think there is a difference between the group of Mainland-Chinese people here and Ethnic-Chinese people living in Egypt? Do they interact? And who do you consider to be Chinese? Mainland Chinese or other groups as well? If so, what groups of people? The participant responded, “There is no differences between us, they have a similar culture even have a

little different, but never affect our communicat[ion]. Hong Kong, Tai Wan are all Chinese. For Mainland Chinese and Singapore Chinese, they have the same forefather with us, no big difference.”

This sentiment regarding a difference in the level of connection with China felt by Mainland Chinese versus Ethnic Chinese was supported by responses in the survey. The following question was asked to survey participants:

How strong is your connection to China? (你跟中国有什么样的关系?) And included the following options:

1. Very strong (很感染力得)
2. A little strong (小感染力得)
3. No connection (没有感染力得)

Table 6: Connections to China

	Very strong	Strong	Minimal	None	Other
Mainland Chinese	10	1			2
Ethnic Chinese			2	5	

Of the 13 Mainland-Chinese respondents that answered the question, 10 reported a very strong connection with China, 1 reported a strong connection, and 2 wrote that they felt a “mother country culture” with China. One respondent answered, “Very [strong]. I only work here for two years. Eventually I would go back to China. My whole life is

there.” Of the ethnic Chinese that responded, 5 responded no connection, and 2 responded a minimal or small connection.

No Mainland Chinese respondents chose the minimal or no connection options to this question regarding their connection to China, while no ethnic Chinese chose the answer most chosen by Mainland Chinese: very strong and strong. The responses to this question showed the greatest difference between these two populations. While Mainland Chinese respondents, the vast majority of which see themselves as only here temporarily for two years, have a very strong, strong, or “mother country culture” connection to China, the ethnic Chinese respondent had quite the opposite reaction. While 44% of ethnic Chinese respondents mentioned an original connection to China through their parents, great or great-great grandparents, and mentioned locations in China as their ancestral home, their connections to China have clearly decreased over time.

It is clear from the feedback gathered through the survey, interviews, and participant observations that distinctions can be drawn between the Mainland and ethnic Chinese groups living in Cairo. In addition to the difference in connections felt towards China, the views both groups have of themselves as migrants, in addition to the lack of social interaction between groups supports the assertion that these two groups are quite distinct from one another and therefore perhaps should not be considered under the umbrella of the Chinese Diaspora.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

As attention has grown towards China's increasing influence in the African continent, and specifically Egypt, sufficient attention has not been paid to the increasing number of Chinese migrants arriving in Egypt. In order to accurately discuss if these migrants are indeed following the trend of Chinese migration patterns across the globe and if they should be categorized as one group of migrants, a consensus on the correct terms to describe such a phenomenon needs to be discussed. Therefore the purpose of this quantitative and qualitative study was meant to be a starting point for such a discussion. As previous research has mentioned and this study's fieldwork has shown, Chinese migration globally and to Egypt is an extremely intricate and complex subject.

5.1 Limitations and Challenges

The researcher encountered many obstacles during the course of her fieldwork studies. Initially, the researcher planned to focus much of her efforts on the *xinyimin* population of Chinese migrants selling clothes door-to-door in the Cairo area and their use of networks to migrate to Egypt. This relatively new population of migrants has created a new market for selling cheap apparel at the client's household rather than the accustomed marketplaces outside of the home. Reasons for migration to Egypt and the means by which migrants arrive and stay here illegally are of high interest to not only the researcher but also journalists who have increasingly reported on the issue in Egyptian

and international media sources. However, multiple attempts to connect with this group of merchants were not successful. The researcher asked several contacts within the Chinese community to ask permission to meet with this group, specifically through their Church located in Nasr City. However, the researcher was told this would not be possible.

Fear of uncovering the illegal status of these migrants is assumed to be the main reason that their participation in this study failed, based on feedback from multiple sources connected to this community. As mentioned by Doa Aly, filmmaker of the documentary, “Chinese Sweet, Chinese Pretty,” her documentary crew attempted to find and interview these merchants for three months in Nasr City with no luck:

“We took a camera and squatted for three months in one street of the 10th district of Nasr city, a street where many of the Chinese vendors in Egypt live. We have tried to talk to many of them, offered money, services etc. But they were too paranoid about being filmed because of their situation in Egypt as illegal workers. They are all here on tourist visas and have no right to work. They also thought that I would use these recordings to sell them and expose them to the authorities (here and in China).”

Due to the negative feedback the researcher received regarding interviewing this group of migrants, the researcher decided to alter the focus of the study to involve non-merchant Chinese migrants living here with the assumption that they would be more open for participation in this research study.

Several other challenges limited the exposure the researcher had to various group activities participated in by the Chinese community. While the researcher was able to

attend a Chinese New Year celebration with a group of Mainland Chinese migrants, certain groups such as the Mahjong group and Hong Kong group were closed to the researcher due to her lack of Mandarin and Cantonese speaking skills.

Finally, the lack of statistical data was a limitation to the study. As mentioned in the literature review, the importance of reliable population statistics cannot be overstated. A lack of statistics regarding the number of Chinese migrants living in Egypt made a random sample of participants impossible to pursue. While this was an impediment, the researcher was able to gain an understanding of the basic demographics of the population through conversations with members of the Chinese community in Cairo.

5.2 Recommendations for Future Research

The researcher has a number of recommendations for future research in this area of study. The researcher has two primary recommendations: First, while it will be difficult gaining access to the population of Chinese migrants selling merchandise door-to-door in Cairo, this population will provide substantial insight into Chinese migration to Egypt. This type of migration has been studied in different areas of the world, as mentioned in the articles regarding new migrants in Cape Verde and Zanzibar, and comparison studies with the population of Chinese merchants would be a significant asset to this field of study.

Secondly, the researcher recommends using Chinese restaurants as a means to gather both observational data and to make contacts for further information about this industry's presence in Cairo. The number of Chinese restaurants in Egypt run by Chinese migrants is growing. Including the food industry would increase the number of entrepreneur participants and may add insight into what networks are used to start-up and maintain a Chinese restaurant's operations in Egypt. Additionally, the researcher suggests including students in fieldwork to gather additional perspectives on reasons for migrating to Egypt.

Finally, while the researcher was able to gather data regarding how Chinese persons living in Cairo think of themselves in regards to the Chinese diaspora, it would be of interest to focus only on the population of Chinese migrants who have lived in Egypt for more than 10 years. As mentioned by Abiir, this population may be quite small, possibly no more than 50, however their insight into their assimilation into Egyptian society would be provide additional discussion regarding the *huaqiao* population residing in this country.

5.3 Conclusions

This study produced three major conclusions. The first conclusion is that there is diversity in the way Chinese migrants in Egypt view themselves in the context of the Chinese diaspora. While the term *huaqiao* best reflects the acts of migrating and taking up residency in another country, the majority of Mainland Chinese participants chose

huaren as reflecting their status as temporarily living in Egypt for work purposes. Many maintained very strong connections to China and very few chose to interact with Egyptians on a social level. In addition, while several participants listed ways to meet other members of the Chinese community, nearly all respondents said they were not a part of Chinese social group or organization. The different ways Chinese people view themselves as Chinese migrants living in Egypt, especially taking into consideration the short period of time most Chinese migrants live in Egypt supports the conclusion that Chinese migrants living in Egypt are part of a complex migration phenomenon, however they do not share enough uniformity in their identities as migrants to accurately fall under the auspices of the Chinese diaspora.

The second conclusion is that while various platforms for this community to connect with each other have been established, they do not necessarily address all sectors of this community. While many respondents listed the way in which they are able to meet others in the Chinese community, it is not apparent that these platforms for networking involve both Mainland Chinese and ethnic Chinese migrant groups. Abiir's creation of the Chinese-Speaking Women's Association bears some resemblance to the creation of the Chinese Associations of Central America and Panama mentioned in Lok Siu's article, "Queen of the Chinese Colony: Gender, Nation and Belonging in Diaspora." While the goals of both associations are to celebrate a common Chinese connection, both also expose tensions within the Chinese community regarding how best to celebrate one's 'Chineseness'. The fact that the Chinese-Speaking Women's Association does not have many Mainland Chinese members and is made up of woman from Taiwan, Singapore,

Malaysia, Hong Kong, and Vietnam raises questions regarding whether this organization is perceived as ‘truly’ Chinese by others in the Chinese community. Finally, the selection of Abiir by the Chinese Embassy to represent the Chinese community at the ‘5th Conference for Friendship of Overseas Chinese Association’ convention is another example of mixed identity issues within the Chinese community in Egypt; while the embassy feels comfortable sending Abiir, she herself has articulated that she would rather say she is from Hong Kong than from China. While Abiir is the most well known Chinese community leader in Cairo, identity issues such as her connection to Hong Kong cannot be ignored.

Finally, the third conclusion is that the differing viewpoints that Mainland Chinese and Ethnic Chinese migrants have of each other is significant and requires further investigation. The researcher believes their insights into the tension between ethnic and Mainland Chinese may be a defining disparity between these two groups that so often are clumped under the term Chinese diaspora. The comments of a Mainland Chinese respondent in regards to any differences between people from these locations is also quite telling, “There is no differences between us, they have a similar culture even if a little different, but never affect our communicat[ion]. Hong Kong, Tai Wan are all Chinese. For Mainland Chinese and Singapore Chinese, they have the same forefather with us, no big difference.” As Mainland China has made it clear that it seeks to unify itself eventually with Taiwan, this respondent’s perspective is aligned with the Chinese government’s thought that Taiwan and Hong Kong are in fact part of China. How migrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong feel about this situation politically and how it

affects their participation in the Chinese migrant community and the creation of Chineseness is an important topic for further discussion.

In conclusion, as has been noted, more research is needed in this field of study. Global Chinese migration has been discussed for some time, however its growth by both numbers and diversity of locations has made this area of study more important than ever. How the members of the Chinese community here will continue to interact with one another will be of interest as the discussion regarding the best terminology to use regarding this phenomenon continues.

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APPENDIX A: RESEARCH SURVEY

#	Question	Options
1	Age: 年龄	
2	Gender: 性别	
3	Place of Birth: 出生地点	
4	Nationality: 国籍	
	If more than one:	
5	When did you arrive in Egypt (Month/ Year)? 你是什么时候来埃及的？	
6	When do you plan to leave Egypt (Month/ Year)? 你打算什么时候离开埃及？	
7	Place of Residence (General area in Egypt): 当前家庭地址 (你现在住在埃及的哪一个城市/ 区)	Maadi
		Nasr City
		Heliopolis
		Dokki
		Mohandeseen
		Zamalek
		6th of October
		Downtown
Other		
8	Place of Residence (General area or Province in China): 故乡 (你或是你的主崇是来自中国的哪一个省 / 城市) /I don't know where my ancestors' place of residence was/不知道	
9	Marital Status: 婚姻状况	Never married 未婚
		Married 已婚
		Divorced 离婚
		Widowed 寡妇/ 鳏夫
10	What is the highest level of education? 你最高的教育水平是:	Primary 小学/中学
		Secondary 高中

		University 大学
		Post graduate 硕士 / 博士
11	Occupation in China: 你在中国的职业	
12	Occupation in Egypt: 你在埃及的职业	
13	Reason for living in Egypt (Please check all that apply): 你住在埃及的原因是 (请选择所有合适的回答)	Business - 商务
		Government 政府
		Media 媒体
		Entrepreneurial (Please specify) 企业家 (请详述)
		Telecommunications 电信
		Textile Imports 纺织品进口
		Oil Export 石油出口
		Imports, Other (Please specify) 其他出口 (请详述)
		Street vendor 街头摊贩
		Door to door sales 上门推销
		Education 教育
		Undergraduate study abroad 本科生留学
		Graduate study abroad 研究生留学
		Government - sponsored study abroad program 中国政府资助的留学项目
		Privately-funded study abroad program 私人组织资助的项目
	Short-term training program 短期培训项目	
	Travel 旅游	
	Spouses' Job 配偶的工作	

		Other: 其他
17	Do you have family with you in Egypt? 你现 在在埃及有家人吗 ?	
18	If so, what is their relation to you? 如果你有 家人在埃及 , 他们和你是什么关系的 ?	
19	How do interact with Egyptians (Please check all that apply): 你平常和埃及人怎么交往 ? (请选择所有合适的回答)	Work - I work with Egyptians 工作 – 我和 埃及人工作。
		Socially - I interact with my Egyptian friends on social occasions 社交 – 我与埃 及朋友来往。
		Logistically - I interact with Egyptians when necessary for living logistics (my boob, taxi drivers, etc.) 日常生活中 – 我在日常生 活中和埃及人打交道 (比如 : 出租司机 , 服务员 , 等)
		Never - I never interact with Egyptians 不 – 我很少与埃及人来往。
20	What languages do you speak? 你会说什么 语言 ?	Chinese 中文/普通话
		Cantonese 广东话
		Others 其他
		English 英文
		Arabic 阿拉伯语
21	How often do you return to China? 你一般每 年回去中国几次 ?	Once every two years 每两年一次
		Once a year 每年一次
		Twice a year 每年两次
		More than twice a year 每年多次
		Other 其他 : (请说明)

22	Why? (Please check all that apply) 你为什么回中国? (请选择所有合适的回答)	To visit family 探亲
		To visit friends 看朋友
		For business 商务
		Other 其他 (请说明)
23	Are you a member of any Chinese social groups / organizations in Egypt? 你有参加在埃及的中国社会组织吗? (请说明)	
24	What opportunities are there to make Chinese friends? 在埃及有什么机会交华人朋友?	
25	If your nationality is not Chinese, what generation of your family came from China? 如果你不是中国大陆公民, 你是离开中国的那几代?	
26	Where is your home? 现在你的家在那里?	
27	Where is your original home? 你的老家在那里?	
28	How strong is your connection to China? 你跟中国有什么样的关系?	很感染力得, 小感染力得, 没有感染力得
29	Do you think you belong to hua yi, hua ren, hua qiao description?* 你认为你自己是。。。	华裔 Refers to a person of Chinese descent living in a foreign country, who does not hold a citizenship from People's Republic of China or the Republic of China

		华桥 refers to a Chinese national or citizen living in a foreign country, who still holds Chinese citizenship.
		华人 An overall term to refer to any person of Chinese descent, including those in China and abroad.
		或是其他 (or others)
		新移民 (New Migrant)
		不知道这个字 (I do not know these words)
30	Please write a brief description about your migration story from China to Egypt, and your connection with China	请你描述你的移居历史和经历。

* Definitions retrieved from (“Overseas Chinese”, n.d.)

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM

Study Name: Chinese Migrants in Egypt – Following the Trend?

调查名字： 华侨在埃及 – 随不随着倾向

Researcher: Shannon McDonald, MA Candidate

调查员： 马珊聆， 硕士研究生

Institution: Center for Migration and Refugee Studies,
American University in Cairo

调研机构： 美国大学开罗分校， 移居与难民调研中心，

Purpose of the Research: 调查目标

The goal of this academic study is to prove that the migration network theory is the most appropriate theory to understand Chinese migration globally and in Egypt in particular, and that it is connected to the Chinese social networking practices (known as *guanxi*). The outcome of this research will be used for the researcher's MA thesis, and will possibly be published in an academic journal.

这次调查的主要目标是证明移居网络理论是解释华人在全世界移民现象的最合适理论，尤其针对在埃及的中国移民。这次调查还要探究移民现象和中国人社会网络的联系。（统称为“关系”）。这次调查的结果会被用来写调查员的硕士论文，并且有可能在学术期刊上发表。

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research: 调查活动

Please fill out a brief anonymous survey that should take no longer than one hour. You may also be asked to also voluntarily participate in an oral interview that should last 1-2 hours.

请填写该表。填写该表绝对不会超过一个小时。你可能需要参加一次面谈，但该面谈绝对不会超过一至二个小时。

Voluntary Participation: 自愿参与

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary, and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Likewise, you may choose not to answer particular questions in the survey.

你的参与是完全自愿的，而且你可以选择在任何时候退出调查。你也可以选择不回答调查中的某一些问题。

Confidentiality: 保密性

All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence. Your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Likewise, the survey administrator is also bound to keep any/all information s/he learns during the survey process confidential.

我们会保存你提供的所有信息。你的名字不会出现在任何报道中。调查人员也不会泄漏你所提供的全部个人信息。

Questions About the Research? 关于调查的问题

If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact Shannon McDonald either by telephone at 010 318 7240 or by e-mail at shannonemcd@yahoo.com.

如果你有任何关于调查过程的问题，请随时联系调查员 Shannon McDonald。

联系电话：010 318 7240

电子邮件地址：shannonemcd@yahoo.com

Signatures: 签名

I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

我了解这次调查目标，并想参与调查。我的签名并不意味着我放弃了我的法律权利。以下签名代表我自愿参加调查活动。

Signature: 签名： _____

Date: 日期 _____