Negotiating Malaysian Chinese Ethnic and National Identity Across Borders

A thesis presented to

the faculty of

the College of Arts and Sciences of Ohio University

In partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts

Hock Shen Ling

November 2008

This thesis titled

Negotiating Malaysian Chinese Ethnic and National Identity Across Borders

by

HOCK SHEN LING

has been approved for

the Department of Geography

and the College of Arts and Sciences by

_____

Yeong-Hyun Kim

Associate Professor of Geography

_____

Benjamin M. Ogles

Dean, College of Arts and Sciences

ABSTRACT

LING, HOCK SHEN, M.A., November 2008, Geography

<u>Negotiating Malaysian Chinese Ethnic and National Identity Across Borders</u> (119 pp.)

Director of Thesis: Yeong-Hyun Kim

The transnational nature of Overseas Chinese who have migrated to Southeast Asia and experienced different levels of acculturation and/or assimilation has greatly convoluted their self-identification. With continued marginalization in the region, groups such as the Malaysian Chinese are (re) migrating to other countries as part of a "second wave diaspora," which further complicates notions of their ethnic and national identities. This research investigates how place shapes and transforms the sense of ethnic and national identities among Malaysian Chinese by providing a comparison of how they identify themselves across borders in Malaysia and the US. A combination of surveys, personal interviews and archival research are employed to allow for a greater understanding of the factors that influence the way people identify themselves. Findings indicate that place plays a key role in shaping identity through sociopolitical conditions of "home" and their new host countries. The Malaysian Chinese were found to identify with their ethnicity more in Malaysia, but more with their nationality abroad.

Approved: _____

Yeong-Hyun Kim

Associate Professor of Geography

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

I hate the way things are there, but no matter what, it is where I was born and grew up. I always felt like a second class citizen and was always treated like I was more Chinese than Malaysian. My parents brought me up in a multiracial society and I was taught to not see people for the color of their skin, but gradually it seemed like a wall was built up between me and my Malay friends. In primary school, the naughty kids called me "budak Cina" ("Chinese kid") and told me to "balik Cina" ("go back home to China"). I was always referred to by my race even by my teachers and friends, and even though I never really thought much about it, I began to realize that I wasn't quite as "Malaysian" as I thought I was. The older I got and the more I knew, I felt more and more Chinese as I was treated differently and had fewer opportunities than the Malays. I began to resent things and when I could not get into the university program I applied to despite my high grades, I decided to study abroad. In America, somehow I felt less "racialized," like I was free to determine my own identity…I did not have to be Chinese first and foremost anymore, and was free to embrace my "Malaysianness." I remain very pessimistic about conditions in Malaysia and hope that I can continue to live in America, but I still feel extremely patriotic and will always be proud to be Malaysian. Hopefully things will change one day when we can all just live together simply as Malaysians.

GY, July 2008

(Author's translation)

This story reflects the experiences and thought of many Malaysian Chinese who have grappled with issues of their identity due to their ethnicity and the racial polarization in Malaysia. The objective of this study is to explore Malaysian Chinese changing sense

of ethnic or national belonging when they cross national borders. Identity negotiation is common among second-generation immigrants, but this research compares the identity of Malaysian Chinese in Malaysia to that of those who have migrated to the United States (US). The research employs archival research, surveys and statistical analysis to examine how place affects the identity of individual Malaysian Chinese in both locations.

Over the past few decades, globalization has led to considerable increases in global migration, with technological advances facilitating greater and more efficient communication and transportation across international space. From 1965 to 2000, the total number of migrant stock around the world grew from 75 to 120 million, involving more countries and ethnic groups than ever before (Castles and Miller 2003, 4). The dramatic increases in international migration resulted in vast alterations to existing social organizations and structures, especially with the advent of transnationalism. Migration was no longer necessarily permanent, unidirectional and onetime (Ma 2003, 1). Much scholarship has become devoted to examining the identity negotiation of transmigrants who travel and maintain connections across borders, effectively reconstructing and reconstituting their simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton 1999, 73; Ong 1999).

One group of transmigrants that have been particularly highlighted in academia and popular media has been the Overseas Chinese. Although the Chinese have a long history of international migration, the past 40 years has seen profound changes in their migration patterns. Instead of a single outflow of ethnic Chinese from China to other countries, there are now large movements of ethnic Chinese of various nationalities re-migrating to other parts of the world. These "second wave diasporas" come mainly from

Southeast Asia and emigrate to Western countries such as the US, Canada and Australia (Cartier 2003, 73). Malaysia and Indonesia in particular have experienced a considerable exodus of their ethnic Chinese population due to the political environment that discriminates against them.

Malaysian policies in education and employment, for example, have led to a dichotomization of "indigenous" Malays versus non-indigenous groups such as the ethnic Chinese and Indians. As the Malaysian Chinese population have become increasingly marginalized in Malaysia, many have decided to migrate abroad to seek better opportunities. These "second wave" transmigrants are often students and skilled workers who maintain their connections in Malaysia whilst simultaneously building new ones in their host countries. With such mobility on the rise, many of these individuals are often caught between multifarious forms of belongings that have introduced new questions into issues of nationality and ethnicity among Overseas Chinese.

The transnational nature of Overseas Chinese who have re-emigrated, coupled with their individual ethnic and national histories, greatly convolutes their self-identification. Within Malaysia, the local ethnic Chinese population is generally assimilated into the local culture and tends to stress their nationality over their ethnicity (Ong 2003, 91). However, their status as a minority group, subject to discriminatory government policies, has had an opposite effect, emphasizing their "Chineseness," instead of their "Malaysianness." The ethnic and national identification of Malaysian Chinese is even more complex when taking into account those who have re-migrated abroad. Does being overseas reinforce their "Malaysianness" as experienced by GY above? Or do they identify themselves more with the *haiwai huaren* (Chinese abroad)?

In order to answer these questions, a study of Malaysian Chinese university students and recent graduates in Malaysia and the US was conducted.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to examine the role that place plays in shaping and reshaping the sense of ethnic and national identities among Malaysian Chinese by providing a comparison of how Malaysian Chinese in Malaysia and in the US identify themselves. Using a combination of surveys and personal interviews, this study seeks to establish to what degree, if any, place and a corresponding sense of belonging affects the way they view and label themselves. This research hypothesizes that Malaysian Chinese in Malaysia ascribe more towards their ethnicity due to national policies, while those in the US define themselves in terms of their nationality because of social relations and childhood nostalgia in Malaysia. This research draws on a qualitative study consisting of 45 surveys and six interviews on students and recent graduates in both places. The responses from the study would then allow for a greater understanding of how place changes the way people see themselves, especially in terms of ethnic and national identity, notions that are traditionally thought of as inflexible. The objectives of this research include the following:

- To examine the large-scale emigration of Overseas Chinese, the "second wave diaspora," and the sociopolitical background of the Malaysian Chinese in the past few decades;

- To determine how Malaysian Chinese self-identify themselves in Malaysia and in the US in terms of their ethnicity and/or nationality;

- To examine the overarching factors that influence the way Malaysian Chinese in both locations define their identity or identities, and the role that place plays in these (trans) formations.

Significance of the Study

While much research exists on the political and cultural membership of Overseas Chinese in their host societies, little is known about the identity crisis of Malaysian Chinese residing abroad. The identity issue of these "second wave diasporas" is particularly complicated due to the many intricate geopolitical and socioeconomic factors involved, as well as the increasingly "fragmented" nature of the global ethnic Chinese population. People are often classified according to their ethnic or national identity regardless of how they actually identify themselves, but the case of the Overseas Chinese who have migrated multiple times, may present an alternative understanding of how their self-identity changes with movement. A place-based notion of "self" would diminish racialized concepts of identity and help present such transmigrants in a different light that would make them more acceptable in their adopted communities.

The existing literature on these issues tends to be over-generalized, often assuming only a single flow of ethnic Chinese from China, Hong Kong or Taiwan to other countries, while neglecting the mobility of Chinese populations elsewhere. This leads to further generalizations about a global ethnic Chinese population that is oriented towards China, as well as a shared identity of the Chinese ethno-cultural nation, although many of the second wave diaspora ethnic Chinese have never been to China. It is upon this very basis that many ethnic Chinese around the world have been discriminated

against in their host countries in the past half-century. With the large numbers of ethnic

Chinese from Southeast Asia who have migrated or will continue to migrate to other

countries reflecting an evolution in traditional Chinese migratory paths, there is a need

for more scholarly work to be carried out on this subject. This research will fill that gap

by providing a better understanding of how ethnic and national identity evolves for these

transmigrants.

Key Terms

This thesis discusses numerous indistinct and sensitive issues, especially to those who consider themselves members of the referred group or groups. While many people who belong to these groups may not by choice refer to themselves using these terms, they would be identified as such in this thesis to conform more easily to standard terms established by scholars who have worked on these issues previously. This section would explain some of the amorphous terms used in the thesis, in addition to some other important terms that are derived from local languages.

Chinese

The Malaysian Chinese are commonly referred to in Malaysia as "Chinese" or "orang Cina" in the Malay language. Although these terms can be thought of as referring to Chinese nationals, they are still widely used and accepted as referring to Malaysian Chinese in Malaysian society. In this thesis, the term "Chinese" is used to refer to any person who is of Chinese ethnicity, and also used in conjunction with a nationality to refer to a person of Chinese ethnicity who is from that country.

Chinese Nationals or Mainland Chinese

This distinction of "Chinese nationals" and "Mainland Chinese" from "Chinese" is made to differentiate citizens of China from Chinese people elsewhere. This separation has only become more important recently as labor migration from China to Southeast Asia has increased. Compared to the recently arrived Chinese nationals, the Malaysian Chinese population has become more assimilated and even less connected to China.

Overseas Chinese

This term is used to refer to people of Chinese ethnicity who have settled and attained citizenship outside of China, and maintain a semblance of their Chinese culture. Although this term is poorly defined, it is used in this thesis to refer to the Overseas Chinese community regardless of location.

Huaqiao

This term is popularly used to refer to the Overseas Chinese, and is commonly used to describe the Chinese of the sojourner pattern. The term is highly controversial with various definitions, and ideological and political connotations, but for this thesis, it is used in a similar vein to "Overseas Chinese."

Huayi

This term is used to refer to foreign nationals of Chinese descent, usually used in the context of ethnic Chinese citizens of a foreign country migrating (or re-migrating) to another foreign country. Examples of this include the thousands of Indonesian Chinese who re-migrated to Australia and New Zealand after the racial conflicts in the late 1990s in Indonesia, and the increasing number of Malaysian Chinese moving to North America and Australia in the face of growing insecurities in Malaysia.

Malaysian Chinese

This term is used to refer to Malaysian citizens of Chinese descent, and is often used interchangeably with "Chinese Malaysian" with no difference in implied meaning. However, this term does not imply that the individual being referred to is located in Malaysia as the term refers to an ethno-national identity, not a

physical location. "Malaysian Chinese" is used in conjunction with a country or place to specify a Malaysian Chinese who is located in particular location. In this thesis, "Malaysian Chinese" is used instead of "Chinese Malaysian" to maintain uniformity with the literature used as well as to keep with standard convention.

Second-Wave Diaspora

This term refers to the Overseas Chinese who have migrated from their adopted countries of nationality to a new country. In this thesis, the term is explicitly used to refer to those groups who have moved from a country where they experience significant discrimination (especially Southeast Asia) to a country where they are afforded more civil liberties (mostly countries in the global North).

Bumiputera

This term literally translates as "sons of the soil" and refers to the Malays in Malaysia as the rightful and original inhabitants of the land. Similar to the Bahasa Indonesia word "pribumi" it is an often controversial concept as it posits the local Malays as superior and forms the basis for many acts of discrimination. However, this thesis uses this term simply to refer to the Malays and other peoples who are afforded affirmative action.

Peranakan / Baba

These two terms refer to the Malaysian Chinese who have been in Malaysia for many generations, are local-born or mixed-blood, and have achieved a much higher level of cultural assimilation than other Malaysian Chinese. This thesis will utilize these two terms interchangeably to refer to this group.

Malaya

This term is used to refer to pre-independent peninsular Malaysia, which was a British colony until 1957.

Cina

This is a Malay word meaning "Chinese," that has been in the past and is still frequently used in a derogatory manner to belittle Malaysian Chinese as outsiders and non-Malaysian. It is also sometimes used by Malaysian Chinese themselves as an adjective to describe other Malaysian Chinese who are less acculturated into the local culture and deemed to be more traditionally "Chinese."

Manglish

A term carrying the meaning of mangled English or Malaysian English, Manglish is the colloquial version of the English language that is commonly spoken in Malaysia. It is essentially British English that has incorporated vocabulary and pronunciations from other local languages such as various dialects of Chinese, Malay and Tamil. Although its usage is discouraged by the government, it is commonly used by all levels of the population, the media, and is hailed by some as an integral component of Malaysia's culture.

CHAPTER 2

The Overseas Chinese and their (Re) Migration

The Overseas Chinese

As of 2004, the ethnic Chinese population outside of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan number nearly 35 million people (Shao Overseas Chinese Documentation and Research 2008). Of this total, a majority of them reside in Southeast Asia, especially in Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand (see Appendix A). These people represent a group of migrants who have settled abroad, and are collectively referred to as the Chinese diaspora, Chinese sojourners, or most commonly, Overseas Chinese.

For many centuries the ethnic Chinese residing abroad, even those who were born in Southeast Asia, were considered subjects of the Chinese government. Regardless of their intent, this group of people was considered officially "huaqiao" or Overseas Chinese. Encouraged by Western writers and academics as well, this term became popularized despite its oft-false assumption that the Overseas Chinese really considered themselves to be Chinese subjects. Therefore, after World War II when the Southeast Asian countries gained independence and China became communist, many Chinese immigrants and their descendents decided to adopt citizenship in their adopted countries and established new terms to refer to themselves in an attempt to express their political loyalty (Suryadinata 2006, 89). Many in Malaya/Malaysia and Singapore began referring to themselves with labels devoid of national connotations such as "huaren" (ethnic Chinese) or "huayi" (Chinese descent). However, the term Overseas Chinese is still popularly used in media and academics both by Western writers who have a more

homogenous view of ethnic Chinese people, as well as Chinese writers who have either accepted its inaccurate use or are of the opinion that "once a Chinese, will always be a Chinese" (Suryadinata 2006, 89). However the Overseas Chinese view themselves, they will always be seen by others in the context of their ethnicity (or their ancestral homeland) and never by their nationality or region.

Four main patterns have been suggested to describe the history of Chinese migration abroad – the trader pattern, the coolie pattern, the sojourner pattern and the re-migrant pattern (Wang 1991, 5). Traditionally, Chinese people have migrated to work as traders, were recruited to work as coolie laborers, or to work abroad temporarily as loyal subjects to China with the intention to return to their homeland (sojourner pattern). These patterns particularly explain the emergence of Chinese populations in Southeast Asia and to a lesser extent, North America. The re-migrant pattern refers to the "second wave diaspora" which will be discussed in more detail later, is a more recent phenomenon involving the re-migration of ethnic Chinese citizens of foreign countries. This is especially applicable to the outflow of ethnic Chinese from Southeast Asia to Western Europe, North America and Australia over the past few decades due to discrimination. While the overall emigration of Chinese from China has declined since the 1950s, the flow of ethnic Chinese from Southeast Asia to the West have greatly increased over the same period (Wang 1991, 11).

Considering the size and long history of Overseas Chinese, much has been studied and written about the group. An emerging trend reflecting changing migratory practices is the growing literature on ethnic Chinese transmigration, transnationalism, and rise of a diaspora consciousness (see Mung 1998, 35; Ma 2003, 1; Louie 2006; Ong 1999; Liu

2005). Given the spatial mobility and flexible identities of the Overseas Chinese, the themes of transnationalism, place and identity are central to these discussions. These issues are especially complicated because there is no single definition of what being Chinese constitutes since ethnic Chinese people differ from one another through place and time. What is "Chineseness" is different among ethnic Chinese in Kuala Lumpur and Hong Kong, underlining the role of place in shaping cultural identities (Ma 2003, 32). However, it has also been noted that the spatial mobility afforded to this group can create linkages to multiple places, reducing their attachment to a particular place (Ma 2003, 32). This gives rise to multiple identities that change according to circumstance and place. Therefore, knowledge of the historical framework of the Overseas Chinese in general and Malaysian Chinese, in conjunction with an understanding of the concepts discussed above is vital for the study of this issue.

The Second-Wave Diaspora

The Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas defines the Overseas Chinese as "people who are Chinese by descent but whose non-Chinese citizenship and political allegiance collapse ancestral loyalties" (Pan 1998, 15). While this definition may encapsulate a large ethnic population, it must be stressed that the long history, wide diffusion and varying drivers of Chinese migration means that this is not a homogeneous group. The Chinese have records of steady migration dating back to the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) when they were actively engaged in trade throughout the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean, but most of the movement occurred over the last two centuries (Wang 2000, 21). More recently, a more concerted effort has been made by numerous

academics to discern the various types of Overseas Chinese around the world, with the "second wave diaspora" emerging as a popular but little understood topic of discussion.

Wang Gungwu's conceptualization of Chinese migration abroad presented earlier, though very general, provides a rather effective description of the historical flow of Chinese migrants to Malaysia and Southeast Asia as a whole. The historical background of Chinese migration to Malaysia is explained in greater detail later in this thesis, but this section would discuss the shift towards the re-migrant pattern that led towards the "second-wave diaspora." The earliest Chinese migration to the region consisted almost completely of the trader pattern but not many of this group became permanent settlers. The subsequent coolie and sojourner patterns provided for much of the migration to the region, especially during the colonial period when Chinese labor and other professionals were in demand. While the coolie pattern was considered highly transitional, heavily depending on market forces (colonialism in Southeast Asia) and labor demand (the gold rush in North America), the sojourner pattern proved to be very similar in that it was transitional according to political and social circumstances (Wang 6, 1991). Most sojourners in Southeast Asia retained a strong sense of their Chinese identity and returned to China after some time abroad. Nevertheless, these three patterns still inadvertently resulted in large numbers of Chinese migrants remaining, gaining citizenship, and assimilating into their adopted countries. It is this remnant group of Chinese immigrants who make up the "huayi" of the re-migrant pattern.

The Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia were transformed from temporary sojourners to permanent settlers (Suryadinata 2007, 60), but many have resorted to becoming sojourners again. The complicated sociopolitical situations in many of their

adopted homelands have prompted subsequent generations of Southeast Asian Chinese to "re-migrate," with several key events causing major exoduses. The bulk of this second-wave diaspora can be characterized as results of a number of anti-Chinese events that has taken place in Southeast Asia. Even though anti-Chinese sentiments and violent conflicts has been occurring in the region since sixteenth century, the immigrants back then simply returned home to China whenever situations became unbearable. It is mostly in the past several decades that the Chinese in Southeast Asia have moved on to countries other than China when faced with insecurity. For example, the 1965 coup by Suharto in Indonesia and the 1969 race riots in Malaysia are two events that impelled many Chinese Indonesians and Malaysian Chinese respectively, to seek more accepting communities elsewhere (Suryadinata 2007, 6). Recent and in-depth population statistics for this form of migration is lacking due to data collection and classification issues. However, the 1986 Australian census managed to reveal that 37 percent of its 185,000 Chinese citizens were born in Malaysia, Vietnam, Singapore or Indonesia (Suryadinata 2007, 61). In addition, the 2000 US Census showed that nearly 50,000 Malaysians reside in the US, and this thesis (see Chapter 6) makes an argument that a large majority of that number consists of Malaysian Chinese.

The largest source of "second wave diaspora" migrants, Indonesia, has the distinction of having the most pronounced exoduses of its ethnic Chinese population given its troubled history. Shortly after achieving independence, Indonesia's government implemented regulations that banned its ethnic Chinese citizens from operating businesses as they were still deemed "aliens" in the country. When some Chinese resisted the implementation of this law, the military was called in to take action and many

Chinese were killed, leading to the first large-scale exodus numbering around 100,000

people (Suryadinata 2007, 83). Many of them migrated back to China, only to ironically

find that they were not accepted in their "homeland" either, as they were considered by

the locals to be not "pure Chinese," regardless of their efforts to maintain their culture.

This realization prompted many of them to move to other places such as Singapore,

Malaysia, Australia and the Netherlands. This event greatly affected the Indonesian

economy, which was heavily reliant on its ethnic Chinese population, and the anti-

Chinese movement subsided for awhile. However, the most dramatic movement out of

the country took place more recently, in 1998 shortly before the fall of Suharto. The May

1998 riots led to the looting and burning of Chinese properties, as well as the deaths and

rapes of many Chinese women. In addition, it was later discovered that the Indonesian

police force and military did not perform their duties accordingly and were complicit in

many actions. This tragic event led to mass migrations to the traditional destinations such

as Singapore, Malaysia and Australia, as well as newer ones such as the US, New

Zealand and Canada.

While there is a wealth of literature on issues of ethnic Chinese transmigrant

identity in many communities worldwide (see Ceccagno 2007, 115; Guillon 1998, 185;

Parker 1998, 91), there has been very little research conducted on similar groups who

have emigrated specifically from Malaysia. These "second wave diasporas" have not

been widely explored because it is a fairly recent phenomenon, especially in the case of

Malaysia. However, there are several studies (see Li 1998, 167; Wang and Wong 2007,

182) on ethnic Chinese who have migrated to other countries from Indonesia, a country

with a similar ethnic Chinese profile as Malaysia. Li Minghuan's (1998, 167) article on

the Chinese Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands asserts that the Chinese-Indonesian

Dutch adapted to both the Indonesian and Dutch cultures, in addition to retaining their

Chinese culture, and have thus developed multiple identities. His study provides a vital

comparison of these Chinese Indonesians in the Netherlands with other ethnic Chinese

groups in the country that highlight how various aspects of their Chinese culture (and

thus identity) is different because of their prior acculturation to Indonesian society. Their

convoluted identities result in a difficulty in identifying with a nationality (Dutch or

Indonesian), ethnicity (Chinese) or even a combination of the two (Dutch Chinese or

Indonesian Chinese). Therefore it is expected that other "second wave diaspora"

populations would undergo similar experiences with regards to their ethnic/national

identities. The Malaysian Chinese are faced with a similar situation as well, regardless of

where migrate to, because of their "Malaysianized" identity that they have developed

growing up in Malaysia. Therefore, place and identity are clearly more closely linked

than commonly presumed, and this connection is discussed further below.

Historical Background of Chinese in Malaysia

As a proportion of its local population, Malaysia has the largest ethnic Chinese

minority community in the world, forming approximately 25% of its total population in

2006. Despite a long history in the country, the Malaysian Chinese are unique among

many Overseas Chinese communities in that it still maintains a distinct communal

Chinese identity and have rarely intermarried with the native population. In this thesis'

discussion of Malaysian Chinese and their self-identification, a rough knowledge of their

history in the country is important for an understanding of how and why they identify

themselves in different ways. This section will discuss the emergence of this community in Malaysia dating back from the time of the Malacca Sultanate to recent times.

Interaction between Chinese immigrants and Southeast Asia has been occurring even before recorded history in the region. There are records of Chinese movement and relations with the region as far back as the thirteenth century during the time of the Mongol empire (Reid 1996, 17). The earliest confirmed Chinese community in Malaya however was established in Malacca in the fifteenth century by Hokkien traders who were engaged in the lucrative maritime trade with the Malacca sultanate (Pan 1998, 172). Though small, this community played an important role in the foreign trade of Malacca and its leaders were even given limited administrative duties as port officials. It was this period that saw the birth of the Baba or Peranakan communities in Malacca (and later on Penang). However, the Chinese community at this time consisted generally of sojourners who did not remain long in one place, and their presence remained relatively insignificant until the nineteenth century when Penang and Singapore were founded (Yen 2000, 2).

British free trade policy led to the creation of many new economic opportunities that required a large labor force, and this attracted large and steady flows of immigrants from China (as well as India), that soon saw the amalgamation of the Chinese community into the Straits Settlements and eventually the Malay states. In addition to these pull factors, Chinese immigration was also largely a result of push factors such as famines caused by overpopulation, natural calamities, landlord exploitation and poverty (Yen 2000, 2). Up until 1893, Chinese immigration was not sanctioned by their government and was in fact widely seen as an act of treason. Sojourners were considered to be unpatriotic and unfaithful to their homeland. Nevertheless they fulfilled a vital role not

only as a medium for trade between China and the West, but also as middlemen between the European elites and the local populations. The Chinese excelled at the role of compradors due to their linguistic ability together with their exposure to Western culture, and this saw the rise of the community as economic powerhouses in the society and inadvertently the dissatisfaction among local Malays that led to the creation of the NEP later on. The Chinese also played a crucial role in developing the booming tin mining industry in Malaya throughout the nineteenth century. Malaya became the top tin producer in the world between 1874 and 1895, largely due to the Chinese supply of capital from the Straits Settlements, an unlimited supply of labor from China, an effective labor force, superior mining methods and entrepreneurship skills (Yen 2000, 11). The emergence and contributions of the Chinese community in Malaysia played an undeniable role in the rapid economic development of British Malaya, and eventually modern Malaysia.

Despite their long history abroad, it was only after 1893 that the Chinese home government relaxed its stance on Chinese immigration and abandoned its ineffective ban on emigration. This change also occurred with the public acknowledgement of these sojourners as "huaqiao," a more elegant name denoting their important role in China's development that is still used today. Most of the Chinese immigrants were poorly educated peasants and coolies from Guangdong and Fujian who made the journey through the credit-ticket system or through the various clan and kin associations already set up in Malaya. The credit-ticket system was used mainly by impoverished immigrants who did not have the support of kinsmen already in Malaya, and received passage from labor brokers, ship captains or labor agencies (Yen 2000, 2). These immigrants, popularly

known as coolies, are sent off the mines and plantations to work as laborers for employers who paid their wages directly to their labor brokers until their debts are fully repaid. It often took these coolies several years to fulfill their obligations and be released to choose their own employment, but this was the primary route that a majority of the immigrants took to arrive in Malaya. The other pattern that many people used was the kinship-based immigration. Many immigrants relied on their relatives, clans and hometown associations to assist them in obtaining passage to Malaya and gaining employment. Once they established themselves locally, they in turn recruited and assisted their fellow kinsmen from China to emigrate for business purposes.

The early Chinese immigrants maintained strong kinship ties in China and were very socially oriented towards their homeland. Thus, they established many social organizations based on their regional and linguistic backgrounds to see to their mutual needs. The most common associations were those founded upon the immigrants' respective dialect groups, especially among the Hokkiens (Yen 2000, 3). At this time, the Chinese minority in Malaya was hardly homogeneous, as most of them saw themselves in terms of their lineages and were thus Hokkiens, Hakkas, Cantonese, etc, instead of just Chinese. These early immigrants had little interest in local politics and were more concerned with the preservation of their cultural identity and the political future of China.

Upon the change in the Chinese government's attitude towards the Overseas Chinese, they along with many Chinese cultural nationalists enacted various movements to foster a shared Chinese national consciousness, culture and values (Yen 2000, 13). Efforts were made to promote loyalty and service towards China among the Overseas Chinese throughout Southeast Asia to engage them economically and politically. The

increased involvement of the European imperialist powers in the East saw the weakening

of the Chinese central government, and the rise of the role of the "huaqiao." China's

defeat to Japan in 1895 as well as the many encroachments on Chinese sovereignty over

the subsequent decades greatly enhanced the Overseas Chinese devotion to China. There

was a call for a renewed Chinese patriotism throughout the region to help their enfeebled

homeland to defend itself against the West through large remittances (Wang 1993, 936).

This presented a challenge towards the development of a national Malayan consciousness

and this increased Chinese nationalism alarmed the British colonial government. The

colonial government relaxed its immigration policies even more and allowed whole

families of immigrants to migrate and settle down in an attempt to counter China's

control over its foreign subjects. One striking result of this change is the drastic

improvement of the female to male ratio among the local Chinese communities. The

more balanced sex ratio effectively helped transform the Chinese communities from a

sojourner society into a settler society, and a permanent Chinese society with a distinctive

national-cultural identity was born. The resulting emergence of colonial nationalist

Chinese in Malaya led to tensions between this new group and the China-oriented

Chinese.

Nevertheless, Chinese nationalism in Malaya reached its peak during World War

II, especially after the atrocities incurred upon their homeland by the invading Japanese

(Wang 1993, 73). Despite their patriotism, the Chinese sojourners did not return to China

because they knew they had better lives abroad and also realized that they would be able

to contribute to its development just as much, if not more from abroad. Many sojourners

sent their children to be educated in China and ensured the study of traditional values and

Chinese history to maintain their cultural roots in preparation for one day returning back to their country. But most sojourners also realized that China was changing, along with the sociopolitical conditions of Malaya, and many were torn between various kinds of loyalties. This period saw the rise of a new generation of local-born Chinese who did not harbor any desire to return to China. Many were acculturated into the local Malay and/or British cultures, did not speak or read Chinese, and were essentially a complex, constantly evolving amalgamation of their Chinese, Malayan and British identifications.

The Japanese occupation of Malaya in 1941 to 1945 however, had the effect of resinicizing many of the local-born Chinese communities by emphasizing the commonalities they shared with their compatriots in China (Wang 1993, 85). It no longer mattered whether they were born in Malaya, spoke Chinese, or identified with China – they were all Chinese and were treated as such. The Japanese made no distinction between local-born Chinese and the Chinese they fought in Manchuria, and they treated those they encountered in Malaya with equal fervor. The Chinese in Malaya also began to be viewed and treated by the local Malay nationalists as Chinese subjects who had no allegiance to Malaya even though they remained in the country and were the group that played the biggest role in resisting the Japanese occupation. Wang (1993, 85) points out interestingly that it was the Japanese who met the most success in the resinicization of the local-born Chinese despite the prior efforts of the Chinese government.

With China emerging as one of the victors and attaining the status of one of the world's great powers after the war, patriotism reached its climax among the Chinese worldwide. However, Wang (1993, 82) sees this as a double-edged sword when China became communist and former colonies such as Malaya became nation-states. In Malaya,

every Chinese regardless of political allegiance, was viewed as a communist or communist sympathizer who was a threat to national sovereignty. Even so, despite China's renewed appeals to its "huaqiao" abroad to help build socialism, a majority of the Chinese community in Malaya did not share a similar outlook and chose to stay behind and weather the storm. The communist issues, along with emerging nationalist sentiments espoused by local political and community leaders, made the local Chinese community realize that they had to "assimilate, integrate, and acculturate" into the local society (Wang 1993, 83). Local Chinese leaders cooperated with the new Malay administrators who replaced the colonialist government to gain political and social acceptance as compatriots. It was this moment when they ceased to be traditional sojourners and became citizens of the new Malaysian nation.

The forging of a new Malaysian Chinese identity however, did not necessarily translate to their universal acceptance as Malaysian subjects by the indigenous Malay administrators, especially considering the large size of the Chinese population. J.S. Furnivall described pre-World War II Malayan society as a plural society – one with "different sections of the community living side by side, but separately, within the same political unit" (Goh 1978, 6). Under the British, the Malayan economy was racially stratified with the Malays, Chinese and Indians each having their own designated and separate functions. The indigenous Malays, while becoming politically united only after World War II, characterized their identity as one closely tied to the concept of the "tanah Melayu" or "Malay land" of which they regarded as inherently theirs (Tan 2000, 448). In addition, Malay nationalism and identity were intricately shaped by the presence of the Chinese immigrants. In fact, it can be argued that the consolidation and strengthening of a

united Malay identity occurred partially as a counter-effect of non-Malay (especially the Chinese) presence and dominance in Malaya. Malay nationalism arose out of a fear of Chinese dominance in a new independent state, as well as the threat to the Malay language and Islam. The concept of Malays as the "bumiputra" ("sons of the soil"), which was to become a key element in Malaysian racial politics, was thus promoted as a means in the articulation of Malay ethnicity and special rights. While the Malays were fearful of Chinese economic dominance, the Chinese were wary of Malay political dominance that would threaten their position in Malaya as well as their cultural heritage. This tension remains even today, but reached its height in the race riots of 1969 that resulted in the creation of the New Economic Plan (discussed in greater detail later in this thesis).

By its twentieth year of independence in 1977, Malaysia's Chinese population was already 100% local born, as compared to only roughly 60% local born in 1947 (Goh 1978, 21). This came mostly as a result of the abrupt end to immigration from China in 1942 due to the war, and underlined the gradual disentangling of the Malayan/Malaysian Chinese population from the politics and society of China and their reorientation towards the new nation state. Despite the Communist insurgency from 1967 to 1989 and the race riots in 1969, a common sense of nationhood had been successfully forged in the decades after Malaysia's independence (Goh 1978, 23).

Summary

This chapter provided a detailed social and historical background of the Overseas Chinese and the "second wave diaspora." The heterogeneity of people categorized as part of the Overseas Chinese community was emphasized, especially with different groups around the world having undergone varying levels of assimilation and acculturation. The "second wave diaspora" for example have often experienced numerous processes of assimilation and acculturation because of their migration to Southeast Asia and subsequently their new adopted countries. This group thus faces a dilemma of living across national and ethnic boundaries, not being able to really identify with any one group – not being considered "pure Chinese," socially and politically excluded by their original countries of citizenship, yet often considered outsiders in their new adopted countries because of their physical characteristics. Therefore, many such transmigrants have developed multiple identities which are situational, fluid and able to coexist simultaneously. This chapter proceeded to explain the evolution of the Chinese position and identity in Malaysia over the past century. In particular, this historical background detailed the political circumstances (especially the Malay bumiputera ideology) that have led to dissatisfaction amongst the Malaysian Chinese today.

CHAPTER 3

Place and Identity

Conceptual Framework of Place

Much has been written about the different ways to conceptualize place (and space) by social scientists that makes it highly relevant to any issues of identity. Place as a "meaningful location" can be described as having three fundamental aspects: Location, which is a simple notion of "where;" Locale, which is the material setting for social relations; and Sense of Place, which is the subjective and emotional attachment people have to place (Agnew 1987, 7). For this thesis, all three aspects are necessary points of study to examine the link between a sense of place and ethnic/national identity. However, this thesis makes use of "place" mostly as "location" and will not delve more critically into the more complex theoretical debates regarding the geographical concept of place and space. This section provides a brief outline of "place" as utilized in this thesis research.

Tuan (1974, 6) regards place as a product of "pause," as "stopping, resting and becoming involved" as opposed to space which is the open arena of action and movement. In this vein, migrants travel through space but interact in place. Relph described place as dwelling while Heidegger viewed that the only properly authentic existence is one rooted in place, one where people can feel a sense of attachment and belonging – a place that one can identify him or herself by (qtd. in Cresswell 2004, 21). Place as our "social, natural and cultural worlds" are geographically constructed and play a crucial role in shaping how an individual constructs meaning and society - "the

experiential facts of our existence" (Cresswell 2004, 32). Therefore, place in these regards is a source of meaning and identity for human existence.

There is debate however, among academics as to whether this notion of place is being rendered irrelevant with the advent of globalization. The idea that the human experience is intricately tied to place and that the global flows of people, meanings and things are leading to an erosion of "place," which some see as a seeming homogenization of the world (see Cresswell 2004, 43). This mobility is argued to be reducing people's authentic relations to place and causing their "placelessness." The close link between place and the way one views his or her world (and thus self) can also convolute his or her sense of identity. David Harvey (1996, 296) discusses at length the significance of place under the conditions of flexible accumulation, post-modernity and time-space compression, and how place is increasingly undermined by the restructuring of spatial relations at a global level. He asserts that the flexibility and mobility produces a place investment and disinvestment that contributes to the unstable process of uneven development around the world. The economic processes here can very much be likened to how place and displacement can affect identity in the same way, leading to constant fluctuations, insecurity and duality in the way one views oneself.

However, there is the counterargument that this insecurity referenced above and the perceived threat to one's sense of place has in fact had the effect of heightening the role of place and making us more aware of its significance. Harvey (1996, 298) presents the case that the increased ease of transport has made "objective location" less relevant and this has increased the importance of the qualitative aspects of place. For example, in the competition with other places for capital, people emphasize qualitative differences

between their place and others' to be able to attract more capital investment. Doreen

Massey takes an alternate approach to this argument and asserts that the assumption that

time-space compression will produce insecurity is based on the idea that places have

singular identities that are a product of the drawing of boundaries and broad

generalizations (qtd. in Cresswell 2004, 72). Place may have its own identities, but it is

not one which is coherent and does not provide a single sense of place that everyone

shares. A sense of place varies greatly according to routes that people take through them

and the connections they make. Thus, places are not homogeneous and can have multiple

identities in the same way that people can have flexible or multiple ones.

Identity

Identity in the broadest sense, refers to an individual's comprehension of him or

herself as a separate entity, and is composed of what he or she is or wants to become, as

well as how others perceive him or her. To a large extent, these perceptions are socially

constructed, and are increasingly conceptualized as being flexible, multiple, fluid,

imaginary, and socially negotiated, constructed and reconstructed (see Said 1978,

Jackson and Penrose 1994, Ong 1999, Anderson 1983). That said, identity formation is a

process where social boundaries and membership are defined internally by individuals

and externally by others, and this is heavily rooted in sociopolitical structures and power

hierarchies (Leung 2004, 69). In the context of the Malaysian Chinese, this means that

their identity formation has been shaped largely by their environment which has

predefined them as socially "Chinese." Similarly, the Malaysian Chinese in the US

undergo an identity transformation shaped by their new environment which allows them to redefine themselves as primarily Malaysian.

Many factors contribute to how one's identity is defined and negotiated. Most commonly, people are identified both internally and externally via their ethnicity. The idea of ethnicity itself is complex in that it is seen differently by different disciplines and academics, but it primarily consists of cultural, linguistic, religious and biological traits that results in the creation of a grouping (real or presumed) that identifies itself and is identified by others as constituting a category different from other categories of the same type (Cohen 1978, 386). The ideas of ethnicity and identity are both difficult and controversial concepts and this thesis does not examine all the attempts to define them, but instead, discusses them in relation to Chinese identities.

Prior to World War II, Wang explains that Chinese people saw themselves as Chinese because they shared a historical identity; they were conscious of their family system, ancestral ties, place of origin in China (which determined their language/sub-ethnic/dialect group), their ties with other Chinese, and a strong connection with the "Great Tradition" of Chinese civilization and symbols of their glorious past (Wang 1991, 199). The events that transpired during and after the war resulted in many Chinese, specifically in Southeast Asia developing a nationalist identity that saw many of these huaqiao reorient themselves towards nationalism in China (Wang 1991, 200). For example, Japanese transgression in China and their similar treatment of the Chinese in Malaysia led many Chinese in Malaysia to identify more strongly with China and made them see themselves more as a Chinese subjects abroad. Subsequently, Overseas Chinese began to adopt national and cultural identities (Wang 1991, 200). The former refers to

those who supported the formation of their new nation-states and wanted to identify

politically and socially with their new homes, and were willing to assimilate to the point

of losing their Chinese culture. The latter refers to those who were more flexible and

forward-looking (in comparison to the past-based historical identity) Chinese who saw

the benefits of an amalgamation of non-Chinese and Chinese cultures. In a sense, this

concept implied that a nation-state could exist with many cultures developing within one

national framework, and this allowed the Chinese to sustain their Chinese identity while

integrating into the local society.

Finally and most significantly, the Chinese defined their identities ethnically.

Unlike cultural identity, which emphasized a "separateness" between groups which could

be eventually eliminated by cultural change, ethnic identity emphasized the notion of

race, underlining differences which could only be reduced through interracial marriage

and actual biological change in subsequent generations (Wang 1991, 204). Ethnic identity

contained a strong political dimension in that "ethnic identity" in this context referred to

the identity of minority groups seeking for their legal and political rights in a country

where they are the peripheral people excluded from positions of dominance (Wang 1991,

204). Thus, this form of identification is largely one that is externally shaped by an

individuals environment, in that social and political exclusion leads to individuals

"belonging" to certain racial groups to band together to form a form of communal

identity on their own.

Today, a majority of the Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia ascribe themselves

towards the national identity paradigm as most of them, especially in countries where

they are a small minority such as Burma, Cambodia and the Philippines. This also applies

to a certain extent to the Indonesian Chinese and Thai Chinese, but much less so to the

Malaysian Chinese. This is largely because of their large size in proportion to Malaysia's

total population, and they are still excluded politically with distinct boundaries

maintained between those who are Malaysian Chinese and Malays. This has led to the

inadvertent strengthening of their "Chinese" ethnic identity despite many aspiring to

ascribe themselves towards their national identity.

A Place-Based Approach to Identity

In an era of "portable nationality" (Anderson 1996, 9), the notions of citizenship,

national identity and belonging are increasingly becoming separate entities. Their

identities are in constant flux, changing according to circumstance, historical experience,

and location. Among the "second wave diaspora" for example, the Southeast Asian

Chinese who re-migrate to the US might identify themselves more closely with their

nationality out of patriotism, or they might identify themselves more with their ethnicity

because of their ability to express their Chineseness more openly. Identity is not static,

not singular and transforms with changing events and places, and thus a more effective

paradigm of identification to the ones described above needs to be proposed. The

concepts of ethnicity, culture and nationality are now increasingly difficult to define and

identify with, especially with the mobility afforded to migrant and diaspora populations.

Therefore, this section presents place as an alternative way to conceptualize identity.

Place is seen as a crucial factor in the determination of the formation of these

migrants' identities as they are influenced by the shifting field of modern geopolitics.

From the perspective of phenomenology, place is "a locality of experience, meanings and

feelings, constituted historically from social actions" and "a repository of meaning" (Ma 2003, 10). Within this discourse, the concepts of "topophilia" and "topophobia" may influence identification through an emotional attachment or detachment with a place (Tuan 1974, 4; Relph 1996, 912). However, the role of place in the formation of migrant identity may need to be reevaluated in the face of rising transnationalism and the ability of migrants to participate actively in multiple publics, at home and abroad.

An individual's identity is strongly tied to his or her surroundings (whether in the past of present) because a sense of belonging to a particular place greatly affects his or her level of assimilation. Place in this sense refers simply to a location along with the social, political and cultural components that exist in that location. Reflecting these notions, Lam and Yeoh's (2004) study on the transnational identities of Malaysian Chinese residing in Singapore demonstrates the role of social and nostalgic relations to a place in their national identity. The study found that most of the respondents defined "home" according to social relations or the nostalgia of the "place-memory" of where they grew up (Lam and Yeoh 2004, 144). In addition, although most respondents identified Malaysia as their "home," only a small number preferred to live there, suggesting that an individual's sense of belonging to a particular place and where he or she chooses to live does not necessarily correspond. This is attributed by many people to identifying themselves as Malaysian but being forced to live elsewhere for practical considerations due to governmental discriminatory policies. This study exemplifies how the "identity paradoxes" that define transnationals have led to their increased "placelessness," and suggests that this inability to fully belong to a place may strengthen an individual's ethnic identification (Lam and Yeoh 2004, 158).

An alternate approach to the role of place in defining identity is how it is also able to "impose" or evoke a form of identity on people, as illustrated in Li's study (1998). The wider society of a place of residence plays a crucial role in evoking the ethnicity of migrants, whether in the form of assimilation policies, political bilateral relations, or a change in the international standing of their ancestral homeland. Therefore the Chinese-Indonesian Dutch in Li's case are often faced with an identity dilemma as they are usually forced to adapt to the identity imposed on them by society. Many of these individuals no longer identify themselves as Indonesians not as a preferred choice, but as a result of the lack of acceptance by the Indonesian society. In the Netherlands on the other hand, they are widely accepted into the local community. However, even for those who have been completely assimilated into Dutch society, they are seen in racial rather than cultural terms due to their distinct Chinese physical features. Many of them desire to be identified by their nationality, but their socially-imposed ethnic identity tends to override their self-identity, resulting in different levels of national, cultural and ethnic identities coexisting within one single migrant group (Li 1998, 181). This case can be very much applied to the Chinese in Malaysia or the Malaysian Chinese in the US.

While no previous studies have been found on the identities of Malaysian Chinese residing abroad, the studies discussed above are related to this research and contribute to further understanding of the topic. The existing literature effectively demonstrates how complicated the identity issue of "second wave diasporas" are, let alone the Overseas Chinese, due to the many intricate geopolitical and socioeconomic factors involved, as well as the increasingly "fragmented" nature of the global ethnic Chinese population. Moreover, a wider review of the literature has shown a common tendency for research to

be over-generalized, often assuming only a single flow of ethnic Chinese from China,

Hong Kong or Taiwan to other countries, but neglecting the mobility of Chinese

populations elsewhere. This leads to further generalizations about a global ethnic Chinese

population that is oriented towards China, as well as a shared cultural identity. It is upon

this very basis that many ethnic Chinese around the world have been discriminated

against in the past half-century. With the large numbers of ethnic Chinese from Southeast

Asia who have migrated or will migrate to other countries reflecting an evolution in

traditional Chinese migratory paths, there is a need for more scholarly work to be carried

out on this subject. This research thus fills this gap by providing a better understanding of

how ethnic and national identity evolves for these transmigrants.

Summary

This chapter discussed the idea of conceptualizing identity using the notion of

place. The theoretical framework and interconnection of place (and placelessness) and

identity was discussed in detail, emphasizing the flexibility of both concepts with regards

to the Overseas Chinese. More specifically, the various ways that people of Chinese

descent have seen themselves – their historical, nationalist, national, cultural and ethnic

identities – was described, outlining a need to shift from such essentially fixed and

problematic notions to a place-based approach to conceiving of identity. An individual

may identify with a place out of an attachment to the place or identify with a foreign

place as a reaction to exclusion in his or her "home," or simply identify with a

"placelessness" that often results in the creation or strengthening of a racialized ethnic

identity. In addition, there are cases where identity is imposed upon individuals by

society either because of their perceived differences or peripheral status (such as the

Chinese in Malaysia), or actual different physical traits (such as the Indonesian Chinese

in Holland).

CHAPTER 4

Research Methods

This study attempted to establish to what degree, if any, place and a corresponding sense of belonging affects the way Malaysian Chinese view and label themselves, by using a combination of surveys and interviews. In addition, another portion of this research attempted to gauge the magnitude and trend of Malaysian Chinese movement to the US via an in-depth analysis of US Census data, as well as the changing classifications of ethnicity in Malaysia using historical census data. Thus, this thesis' research methods are threefold:

1. **Survey Questionnaires**
2. **Interviews**
3. **Census Analyses**

Research Outline

Recruiting of Participants

Originally, research participant contacts were supposed to be obtained from the Malaysian Student Department (MSD) office in Chicago. However, it was learned that in order to utilize that information, I would have to present my research proposal to the official in charge in order to request permission to conduct the study. Considering the sensitive nature of the research topic, I decided to pursue an alternate course of action. I made use of Facebook and Friendster, two immensely popular social networking websites, to contact potential participants. Employing a snowballing method, I first contacted first-degree friends who fulfilled the research criteria and sought their help to

contact their friends who may be of help to my study. A total of 30 emails were sent out to potential participants in Malaysia and the US respectively. Utilizing these social networking sites proved to be an effective decision as the given personal information makes it easier to identify individuals who satisfy the criteria as well as facilitates the identification of more potential participants. Identifying participants using social networking thus not only allows the identification of suitable candidates, but it also helps with the identification of candidates who are more inclined to partake in online-based surveys, especially when invited by someone within their "network."

Survey Questionnaires

The survey questionnaires (see Appendix B) were in the form of short, general questions designed to gauge the respondents' opinion on the issues at hand. Surveys were created and distributed via email to Malaysian Chinese between the ages of 20 to 35 residing in Malaysia and the US. The selection criteria for both groups were kept as similar as possible, with various geographic variables (see below). A total of 22 responses were received from the sample in Malaysia while 23 were received from the US sample (see Appendix E). The respondents from the former were mostly located in urban areas, especially around the Klang Valley in Selangor, while the latter were scattered evenly in university campuses across the country.

Sample Criteria

General

- Age: 20 to 35

- Chinese ethnicity

- Born and spent formative years (at least first 17 years) in Malaysia

- Completed or currently pursuing undergraduate degree

Malaysia Sample

- Received education completely in local Malaysian institutions

- Have not lived abroad for more than three months

US Sample

- Received or receiving undergraduate/graduate education in the US

- Have lived in the US for at least one year, but not more than five years

Malaysia Sample

The following preliminary questions are posited to respondents before they begin

answering survey questions:

- Are you officially classified as Chinese by ethnicity? *according to your Malaysian identification card
- Were you born on or between the years of 1973 and 1988?
- Were you born in Malaysia?
- Did you grow up in Malaysia? *spent at least your first 17 years in the country
- Have you completed or are currently pursuing an undergraduate degree or diploma course?
- Did you receive your primary, secondary and tertiary education in Malaysia?
- Have you continued to live in Malaysia after finishing secondary school (without leaving the country for more than three consecutive months)?

These sample criteria were designed to capture respondents who have received their

primary, secondary and tertiary education in local Malaysian institutions, as well as those

who have not had significant experience in another country. For the purpose of this study,

diplomas were also considered as undergraduate degrees because many Malaysians complete their diplomas before starting on their bachelor's degrees. Diplomas in Malaysia are similar to associate degrees in the US, and usually count towards the completion of a bachelor's degree.

United States Sample

The following preliminary questions are posited to respondents before they begin answering survey questions:

- Are you officially classified as Chinese by ethnicity? [*according to your Malaysian identification card]
- Were you born on or between the years of 1973 and 1988?
- Were you born in Malaysia?
- Did you grow up in Malaysia? [*spent at least your first 17 years in the country]
- Have you completed or are currently pursuing an undergraduate degree or diploma course?
- Have you received or are currently receiving your undergraduate or graduate education in the United States?
- Have you lived in the United States for at least one year?

These sample criteria were designed to capture respondents who have received or are currently either university students or recent graduates who have been in the US for a period that is short enough for their experiences in Malaysia to remain fresh in their minds, but long enough for them to have been at least partially adjusted to life here.

Interviews

Only eight respondents from the Malaysia-based sample and 10 from the US sample expressed a willingness to participate in the interview segment and provided adequate contact information. Of these individuals, three respondents from each group

with answers representative of the overall spectrum of responses were selected and

interviewed in a semi-structured format, with my ethnicity and background as a

Malaysian Chinese clearly made known to them to enable them to be more comfortable

discussing such controversial issues. Of note, one crucial factor to this selection was the

type of education that the respondents received. Considering the difference in types of

responses from participants who went through different schooling systems, I ensured that

my selection would contain at least one individual from the Chinese school system and

the Malay government school system.

A key component to this qualitative research, interviews were used to gather

descriptive data in the respondents' own words so that I could develop insights on how

they interpret their own identities and viewpoints on issues. The semi-structured

interviews were tailored differently to each interviewee and did not contain specifically-

worded questions. Instead, the interviews were prepared with specific themes and points

of discussion in mind, according to how the individuals responded to the survey

questionnaires. Two of the interviews with the US-based participants were conducted in

person and recorded on an audio recorder, and the interviews were subsequently

transcribed and translated. One more interview was conducted over the telephone, and I

took written notes throughout the interview as I could not find a way to record the

conversation. All three interviews with the Malaysia-based participants on the other hand,

were wholly conducted over the telephone. Although the original preferred method was

to use an online chat or messaging service, it was discovered that many participants did

not have regular access to the internet and that it would be inconvenient for them to

schedule an online interview, especially with the time differences between the US and Malaysia.

My interview protocol was composed of three parts, based on the responses provided in the questionnaire segment: personal background, method of self-identification, and sociopolitical factors involved in formation of identity. First, the interviewee's personal background is discussed in order to explore further the role of education and language in his or her ascription towards his or her ethnicity or nationality. The interviewee's usage and proficiency in Malay, English and Chinese dialect especially is discussed in relation to how he or she sees him or herself. Next, how the interviewee identifies him or herself in terms of his or her nationality and/or ethnicity is discussed. In particular, two issues are explored: the individual's connection with China and a corresponding "Chineseness," and the individual's nationalism. Also, how the interviewee is referred to and how he or she prefers to be referred to as is explored as well. Finally, the defining factors of the interviewee's identification are analyzed with reference to his or her responses in the questionnaire. In particular, the local sociopolitical atmosphere of Malaysia is discussed, in addition to the themes presented in the questionnaire: citizenship, language, culture, social relations/family, and memories/nostalgia.

The entire survey and interview process was kept strictly anonymous and confidential, and were designed to allow the respondents to answer subjectively without being influenced by the interviewers own perspectives. This study was conceived as a means to explore the processes and factors involved in how Malaysian Chinese choose to identify themselves, and is not meant to be a comprehensive and representative study of

the entire Malaysian Chinese community. While the general responses gained from this research contained a similar tone and attitude towards their individual racial dilemmas, the reasons behind them varied greatly. This study thus establishes that the Chinese Malaysians do in fact view themselves differently abroad and that place (in a geographic and conventional sense) does play an active role in this, but does not ascertain the role of other related factors such as the size and demography of the locales on this identification. Therefore, many more aspects related to location should be explored in future studies to further understand the construction and evolution of transmigrant identity.

Interview Profiles

Malaysia Sample

BC, Male, 25 years old, Chinese educated

BC is a recent graduate from a university in Malaysia, and is from the suburb of Petaling Jaya, a satellite city of Kuala Lumpur. He is one of the few respondents who attended Chinese schools for both primary and secondary schooling and is most comfortable speaking in Chinese. He grew up in a working-class, predominantly Chinese neighborhood and mixed mostly with Chinese and a few Indians. BC is Hokkien and Cantonese, and is fluent in both dialects, in addition to Mandarin, Malay and English. He rates himself as a native speaker of all three Chinese dialects but admits that his English and spoken Malay is not as competent. He feels that he identifies rather strongly with his dialect group, and cites his grandparents who live with him and his family as a major factor for this. He is proud to be identified as Chinese in Malaysia but still refers to himself as Malaysian when in another country as he prefers to distinguish himself from

mainland Chinese whom he regards as "real China Chinese." Nevertheless, he considers his Malaysian nationality to be equally as important as his Chinese ethnicity, and claims that he would never exchange his Malaysian citizenship for one in China. However, he still desires to protect his Chinese identity and completely opposes the idea of consolidating Chinese schools into national Malay-language schools, at the cost of the creation of a single Malaysian identity. Lastly, BC rated Culture and Social Relations/Family as the most defining factors of being Malaysian and Language as the least defining.

HC, Female, 25 years old, Chinese/Malay educated

HC is a professional graduate from a university in Malaysia, and is from Kuala Lumpur. She attended a Chinese primary school and a national Malay secondary school, and grew up in a very racially-mixed neighborhood. She is equally comfortable speaking in Chinese and English, and frequently mixes with Malays and Indians in and out of school. HC is Hokkien and Cantonese, and can speak both dialects, in addition to Mandarin, Malay and English. She rates herself as proficient in Mandarin and Malay, and less proficient in Hokkien, Cantonese and English. She feels that she does not identify much with her dialect groups because she does not use Hokkien and Cantonese as much as her other languages, and does not think that they are important. She claims that she would prefer to be called Chinese in Malaysia even though she feels that her nationality is important, because as a distinct ethnic group, she feels a need to differentiate herself from other groups. Overseas however, she would prefer to be referred to as Malaysian as she feels that is what matters the most for identification purposes. HC considers her

Chinese ethnicity to be equally as important as her Malaysian nationality, but asserts that she would never want to give up her Malaysian citizenship for Chinese citizenship as she feels little connection to that country. When presented with the idea of consolidating Chinese schools into a single national Malay school system, HC responded that she would consider it as it is an issue that she is somewhat interested in but is not entirely sure of its effectiveness. Finally, HC rates Citizenship, Language and Culture as the most defining factors of being Malaysian.

WL, Male, 24 years old, Malay educated

WL is a recent graduate from a private college in Malaysia, and is originally from Petaling Jaya too. He attended national Malay schools throughout his education, was consistently a top scorer in examinations, but opted to pursue his tertiary studies in a private college in Malaysia instead of a national university. He grew up in a mixed neighborhood with people of various ethnic backgrounds and incomes, and thus feels very "muhibbah" (multi-cultured). WL accepts that most of his close friends are Chinese and Indians, although he has many Malay friends. He explains that this is mostly because of language, as he is more comfortable speaking English and Cantonese. WL is competent in English, Malay and spoken Cantonese, although he admits that he is less comfortable speaking Malay simply because he does not use it as much as the others languages. WL is Cantonese and asserts that his only connection to this dialect group is the Cantonese soap operas that he watches on the television, and feels "just like any other Chinese." He is proud to be Malaysian and would prefer to be referred to as a Chinese Malaysian because he feels that his Chinese roots are still an important part of his

identity. Outside of Malaysia however, he would prefer to be called Malaysian because he is a Malaysian citizen and no matter how he is treated in Malaysia, nothing can change the fact that he was born and grew up there. WL presents a unique take on the issue of whether his Malaysian nationality or Chinese ethnicity is more important by picking his ethnicity simply based on the fact that it is the most decisive factor in everything he has done and could not do throughout his life. He explains that he is patriotic, but his ethnicity externally overrides his nationalism, and therefore, he has tried to attach himself to his Chineseness just so he can "belong." Unsurprisingly, WL would not even consider the notion of adopting Chinese citizenship and relinquishing his Malaysian citizenship. Regarding the issue of consolidating Chinese schools into a single national Malay school system, WL supports the idea as he thinks that it would make being Chinese less of an issue in such a racialized society, even though it means losing some parts of this Chinese identity. Finally, WL rated Citizenship, Language and Memories/Nostalgia as the most defining factors of being Malaysian.

US Sample

JN, Female, 26 years old, Malay educated

JN recently graduated with her masters degree from a university in the US after two years, and is originally from Malacca in Malaysia. She was educated in national Malay schools at the primary and secondary level, and completed her undergraduate degree at a local university. She grew up in a predominantly Chinese town and many of her schoolmates were also Chinese. Although most of her schoolmates primarily spoke English, there was a significant number in high school who was Chinese-educated and

spoke mostly in Chinese. JN explains that she mixed with the Chinese-speaking students a lot in high school because she chose to go into the "Arts" stream, which is usually popular among the Chinese-educated students. In addition, her grandmother lived at home with her family and conversed with solely in Hokkien. Therefore, JN grew up attending Malay-medium schools but regularly spoke Chinese. JN is Hokkien and Teochew, but only speaks Hokkien, in addition to being fluent in English and Malay. She is most comfortable speaking English, but had to speak Malay as a student in Malaysia, and does not speak Teochew because she did not use it growing up. As a result, she does not consider her dialect groups to be very important and feels that she no longer has much of a connection with them. JN claims to be very nationalistic and yearns for the day when she can finally go back home to Malaysia and help contribute to her country's growth. She acknowledges that in Malaysia, she will always be Chinese first and Malaysian second, but she looks forward to the day when she is referred to simply as Malaysian, just as she is in the US, where she embraces her freedom to be identified as such. Without a doubt, JN would not even consider exchanging her Malaysian citizenship for a Chinese one as she considers her life in Malaysia to be superior to one that she might have had there. She considers her nationality to be much more important than her ethnicity mainly because of her experiences growing up and becoming acculturated into a Malaysian culture. With regards to the issue of consolidating Chinese schools into a national Malay school system, JN feels that people should have the freedom to choose what kind of education to give their children, but is a strong proponent of consolidating schools simply because it would allow for greater racial integration among the future generation. Finally,

JN rated Culture, Social Relations/Family and Memories/Nostalgia as the most defining factors of being Malaysian, and Citizenship as the least important.

EM, Female, 25 years old, Chinese/Malay educated

EM is a graduate student pursuing her doctorate at a university in the US, and is originally from Sarawak in Malaysia. She attended a Chinese school at the primary level, but then went on to a Malay national secondary school. She proceeded on to do her bachelors and masters in the US, and has been in the country for the past six years. She grew up in Kuching, a rapidly growing city with a very balanced racial distribution, and thus, has had friendships with Malaysians of all ethnicities. She claims that even though she went to a Chinese primary school, she still mixed with many Indians, Malays, and other indigenous peoples outside of school, and in secondary school, she began speaking more Malay and English as a result of studying in a national Malay school. EM is Hokkien and Hakka, and is fluent in spoken Hokkien, spoken Mandarin, Malay and English. She rates herself as moderately proficient in Hokkien, Mandarin and Malay, but less proficient in English, although her English sounded very proficient judging from the interview we had. She only identifies with her dialect group moderately, explaining that she does not speak any Hakka or know anything about Hakka culture, and only feels a connection with the Hokkien dialect group because of her ability to speak the dialect. She would like to be referred to as Malaysian Chinese or Chinese Malaysian as she sees that her nationality is just as important as her ethnicity, and prefers to be referred to the same way in the US. EM considers her Malaysian nationality to be slightly more important than her Chinese ethnicity as she explains that growing up in Malaysia has shaped her life

more than being born Chinese. Even though she herself attended a Chinese school at one point, EM supports the idea of consolidating Chinese schools into a single national Malay school system as she feels that Malaysia would be a lot less segregated and national unity would be achieved easier. Lastly, EM rated Language, Culture, Social Relations/Family and Memories/Nostalgia as defining factors of being Malaysian.

GY, Female, 28 years old, Malay educated

GY is a professional currently working in San Francisco, having earned a Masters degree from a university in the US and an undergraduate degree in Singapore. She attended primary and secondary school entirely in Malay national school system and was consistently a top scorer in national examinations. Upon graduation from secondary school however, she was unable to obtain a placement into the program of study and university of her choice in Malaysia and thus opted to take up a scholarship offered by the Singaporean government that is used to attract talent from around the region. GY is originally from Seremban, a mid-sized town in Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia, and grew up with many Chinese and Malay friends. She explained that most of her friends in school were Chinese because most of her Malay friends had transferred to Malay-only residency schools in secondary school, but she maintained many friendships with non-Chinese outside of school through social activities. GY is Hokkien, but is only fluent in English and Malay. She grew up speaking English at home and using Malay in school, giving her little opportunity or reason to speak Hokkien. She admits that she does not identify with her dialect group and goes as far as to say that she does not even think about her Chineseness much, as she feels very "ingrained into Malaysian culture." GY asserts that

she essentially speaks three languages – English, Malay, and a fusion of the two – "Manglish" (a kind of Malaysianized English). Furthermore, she stresses that speaking Manglish is something she connects closer with, and is a part of her identity that she considers to be central to her identity. GY prefers to be referred to in Malaysia first and foremost as Malaysian or even Malaysian Chinese but is skeptical of this happening anytime soon. In the US, GY prefers to be called Malaysian, and not Chinese because she feels that that belittles her nationality which to her, is the more important part of her identity, and she is glad that she is "free to be as Malaysian as [she] wants to be" here. Unsurprisingly, GY would not even entertain the idea of switching citizenship from Malaysia to China, and admits that even if she adopts US citizenship, she would think of herself as Malaysian first, American second, and then finally Chinese. GY is a strong supporter of consolidating Chinese schools into the national Malay school system as she feels strongly about equal opportunity for all students in the country and this would be the best way to ensure that students are brought up in a multiracial society, and the Chinese are given equal access to government education resources. Finally, GY rated Language, Culture and Memories/Nostalgia as the defining factors of her Malaysian identity while Social Relations/Family was not.

Census Analysis

Historical Malaysian census data ranging from 1871 to 1980 was obtained from a previous study by Hirschman (1987), and the changing methods of ethnic classification was evaluated. Particular attention was given to the differences and commonalities of the Malay and Chinese classifications before and after 1957, when Malaysia achieved its

independence. This analysis was done to establish if there was a change in ethnic classification over time that might have influenced or been influenced by the solidification of the Chinese identity within Malaysia, as well as the racialization of the Malaysian population. This is discussed further in Chapter 5 and select census classifications are included in Appendix C.

US Census data from 2000 was obtained and analyzed to provide an approximate idea of the size of the Malaysian Chinese population in the US. Using the Census 2000 website, demographic, social and economic profiles for foreign-born populations were found in the Special Tabulations section. The Census provided detailed information that allowed for proper analysis, and helped shed further light on this research. Chapter 6 discusses the findings in greater detail and the complete Census datasheet is attached in Appendix E below.

Limitations

It should be noted that the findings of this research would be limited by several methodological factors. The samples selected are neither random, nor completely representative, as there are too many variables to be taken into account for a study with more controlled variables to be implemented. The biggest limitation in this study is the lack of fixed definitions of various terms used. The findings of this study would be influenced greatly by the researcher's and respondents' own definitions of such terms, even though great effort was made to ensure they are explained as thoroughly as possible beforehand. In the survey portion of this study for example, key themes are investigated using multiple questions in order to reinforce the accuracy of the data analysis.

Nevertheless, this study will contribute to the general understanding of how Malaysian

Chinese view their ethnic and national identities in different spatial contexts.

CHAPTER 5

Chinese in Malaysia and their National and Ethnic Identity

Ethnic Chinese in Malaysia

Malaysia has a total population of 25 million people, with Malaysian Chinese making up 6 million of that figure (CIA 2007). Chinese settlements emerged in Malaysia as early as the 15th century, but their migration to Malaysia only began to become more pronounced in the 19th and 20th centuries when they were attracted by the British to work in mines and plantations. Malaysian Chinese have always occupied an uneasy position in the country, as is commonplace for ethnic Chinese citizens of many Southeast Asian countries.

Since the early 1900s, the Chinese in Malaysia have undergone several transformations. Firstly, they shifted their political and social orientation from China to Malaysia as they assimilated into Malaysian society. Secondly, in the process of adopting a "Malaysian" identity, the Chinese emphasis on their distinct regional or dialect subgroups have declined considerably (Tan 2000, 452). For example, although Malaysian Chinese are often still aware of their dialect groups (Hokkien, Cantonese, etc), they now identify themselves as one overarching ethnic group in relation to other ethnic groups, such as the Indians and Malays. This case is exemplified by the 25 out of the 45 people surveyed who admitted to their dialect group being unimportant or most unimportant. In addition, HC, WL, JN and GY responded that they had little or no connection to their dialect group, and identified simply with being Chinese and/or Malaysian. Finally, the change in identity from being Chinese to being Malaysian Chinese also solidified their

distinctiveness as a different people from the Chinese in other countries such as those in Indonesia, Thailand and China. Nevertheless, Malaysian Chinese still generally maintain their distinctive "core" Chinese accents, diets, mannerisms and lifestyles, in addition to speaking their respective Chinese dialects (Lam and Yeoh 2004, 146).

Although many Malaysian Chinese identify themselves through their Malaysian nationality as well as their Chinese ethnicity, most of them feel like "second-rate" citizens in the country due to the discriminatory policies of the New Economic Policy (NEP) (Lam and Yeoh 2004, 146). After Malaysia gained its independence from Britain in 1957, the local Malays feared that the Chinese would dominate the country's economy, and gradually threaten their interests. As in other Southeast Asian countries, the Chinese population in Malaysia had grown to be relatively prosperous compared to the other ethnic groups, and this led to even more tension between them and the Malays that continues today.

In 1969, a major racial riot occurred between these two groups that resulted in the Malay-dominated government implementing the NEP. This policy had the objective of ensuring the Malays are given special privileges under the "bumiputera" ideology, which officially recognizes them as indigenous to the land. By actively pushing affirmative action for the Malays, the government sought to increase the Malay share in all fields at the cost of the Chinese. While it has been claimed that the NEP has successfully balanced the Malay share in the economy, and created a Malay middle-class, it has also been argued that the policy has only benefited the elite and well-connected Malays, allowing only the rich to become richer. At the same time, the non-Malay population has been faced with an uncertain future as "outsiders" in the only country they have known as

home. The many obstacles imposed on the Malaysian Chinese in fields such as education and business have led to many of them seeking fairer opportunities elsewhere, especially in the last three decades. Most of them have migrated to Singapore, Britain, and increasingly, the US, Australia and New Zealand where government policies are more accepting of such groups.

Identity Negotiations Among Malaysian Chinese

Identity formation among the Chinese diaspora is strongly affected by historical, social and political factors in their host country as well as their country of origin. In the case of Malaysia, the role of government policies towards ethnicity and ethnic relations has played a pivotal role in shaping the way the local Chinese communities negotiate their ethnic and national identities (Cartier 2003, 69; Tan 2000). It has been argued that the Malaysian Chinese identity is a product of racial politics that have led to the intertwining of ethnicity and nationality (Tan 2000, 451). Tan's study emphasized that this group is Chinese with a Malaysian identity that has emerged out of immersion in a "national culture." Thus, an understanding of Overseas Chinese cannot be universally equated with a similar understanding of Malaysian Chinese. In a similar vein, the large literature base that exists on ethnic Chinese migrants who have migrated to the US from China cannot be applied towards an understanding of Malaysian Chinese migrants in the US.

Acculturation and assimilation are both processes of socio-cultural adaptation which leads to cultural change in the former, and a change in the ethnic identification of individuals in the latter (Tan 1979, 253). Acculturation also usually results in the

maintenance of separate and distinct cultural groups, while assimilation usually results in various groups adopting or integrating into one dominant culture. The Chinese in Southeast Asia have undergone varying levels of acculturation and assimilation. For example, those in Thailand, the Philippines, and Indonesia have largely been assimilated into the local communities and now regard themselves wholly as national subjects, and have lost most of their Chinese identity. The Chinese communities in these countries are relatively small compared to the indigenous populations and have thus been easily absorbed into the national culture. In these countries for example, the ethnic Chinese have mostly already "indigenized" their names, speak the national language and practice the local cultures.

Indonesia presents one of the more extreme cases of an assimilationist policy by virtually eliminating any remaining symbols of Chinese society and identity such as Chinese schools, mass media, and associations (Suryadinata 2006, 96). In addition, Chinese names and select traditional customs were banned during the reign of Suharto, in effect forcing an Indonesian national identity upon them. Despite relatively little political pressures to assimilate in Thailand and the Philippines, the ethnic Chinese in these countries are claimed to have some of the highest rates of assimilation in the world (Suryadinata 2006, 96). Suryadinata argues that this is due to two reasons. First, both countries are defined more in cultural than racial terms as a result of an "amalgamation" of various cultures (including many Chinese elements). Second, these two countries are predominantly Buddhist and Christian, which are more easily accepted by the Chinese, while Islam in Malaysia, Brunei and Indonesia may sometimes emerge as an obstacle to Chinese assimilation in the local communities (Suryadinata 2006, 96). A certain degree

of Chinese-ness in Thai culture for example, is not an issue as it is in Indonesia because there are many elements of Thai culture that are similar to Chinese culture. As a result, the Thai Chinese often hold dual identities, retaining segments of their "Chineseness" while displaying their "Thainess" to emphasize their stronger Thai national identity (Suryadinata 2006, 97). It is a similar case in the Philippines where the large Chinese mestizo population has simultaneously been fully assimilated into the national Filipino culture as well as embraced their Chinese descent.

The Chinese populations in Malaysia and Brunei however, have not reached such a level of assimilation and are still somewhat undergoing acculturation. Suryadinata (2006, 97) explains that they have adopted an accommodationist policy whereby "the groups develop working arrangements while maintaining their distinct identities." The Chinese community in Malaysia for example, remains a separate, highly distinct ethnic group that has acculturated to the national culture to the point that a new ethno-national identity has been constructed. This process is driven by the social and political exclusion that the Malaysian Chinese continue to be faced with that that has strengthened their ethnic identification whilst being nationally acculturated nevertheless.

The situation in Malaysia as discussed above is more complicated, and there are countering forces influencing their ethnic and national identification. In some cases, Malaysian Chinese stress their Malaysian identity because they have lost their ties with their ethnic identification. In others, they may commit themselves to their "Chineseness" as a subconscious act of defiance towards the discriminatory practices in the country or simply out of a desire to belong to a community. Tan argues that it is possible for acculturation to lead to individuals having more than one form of identity. This

phenomenon, called "situational ethnicity" enables individuals to stress different elements of their identities according to the needs of the situations they are in (Tan 1979, 253). For example, Malaysian Chinese may stress their "Chineseness" because it is more situationally advantageous when making a business deal with mainland Chinese nationals. Alternatively, they may stress their "Malaysianness" when in a foreign country so as to more easily connect with other Malaysians and distance themselves from Chinese nationals. This is especially evident among the participants interviewed for this study who identify more with their nationality abroad, and also admit to specifically referring to themselves as Malaysian to distinguish themselves from Chinese nationals. JN illustrates this point by explaining:

> My nationality comes first. My country may have many problems, but I'm still proud to be Malaysian. Being called Chinese would be my last choice because I don't want to be mistaken to be from mainland China. I don't want to sound condescending but we are distinctively different from them in terms of upbringing, social life, languages learned and life experience.

In her discussion on "Being Chinese," Ien Ang (2004, 181) argues that the notion of being part of a global diaspora can be liberating for those who are "locked into an unenviable, paralyzingly disempowered position vis-à-vis the dominant national culture and the state undergirding it." By imagining oneself as part of a global transnational Chinese diasporic community, a Malaysian Chinese could feel a sense of belonging at another level, rising above the national environment from which he or she feels excluded from. Ang (2004, 181) contends that the key factor in the current popularity of the idea of a "Chinese diaspora" around the world is this exact emotive desire to belong to an imagined community "that instills pride in one's identity precisely because it is so much

larger and more encompassing, in geographical terms at least, than any territorially

bounded nation." In this way, the idea of this diaspora deterritorializes the Malaysian

Chinese identity and allows him or her some form of independence from the boundaries

of the nation-state. This type of transnationalism is also one of the reasons why the

concept of the unitary global Chinese community has become so popularized in recent

years, especially with the prominent economic roles that many Overseas Chinese play

around the world.

The Changing Classifications of Ethnicity in Malaysia

The concept of ethnicity by itself is often ambiguous and complex, let alone in the

context of a plural society such as Malaysia. Today, the Malay ethnic group for example,

includes aboriginal races such as the Jakun and Semai, as well as the Indonesian races

such as the Javanese and Bugis. The Chinese, as explained earlier in this thesis, also

consists of many widely varying groups usually identified as "dialect groups" such as the

Hokkien, Cantonese and Teochew, as well as the Peranakan Chinese which is an entirely

new ethno-cultural group by itself. Nevertheless, an effective way to explore the

changing definitions of ethnicity and ethnic groups in a country is by looking at

population censuses. These may be vague or entirely arbitrary, but they provide a

valuable resource for the study of the meaning of ethnicity and its classifications. For

example, Malaysian Chinese are classified as Chinese in the Malaysian census, but are

free to classify themselves as Malaysian or Malaysian Chinese in the US census,

reflecting local political attitudes towards racial identities. This section thus utilizes

Malaysian census data to demonstrate the racial stratification in the country as well as how ethnic classification is used to reinforce racial concepts.

In his study on the changing measurement of ethnicity in Malaysia's census classification, Hirschman (1987) found that the terms, classes and questions used in the censuses were motivated by political objectives and also greatly influenced how people viewed themselves. Hirschman outlines shifts in the terms used to refer to ethnic classifications, the ethnic groups listed in the censuses, and the placement of smaller sub-ethnic groups under certain larger classifications. There was a change from the usage of the term "nationalities" in 1881 and 1891 to "race" until 1947, "communities" from 1947 until 1971, and then "ethnic group, community or dialect group" from 1980 onwards (Hirschman 1987, 562). The term "community" was implemented by the author of the 1947 census report to connote group members "all of which are bound together by a community of interest, that is to say by common ties of language, religion, custom, allegiance" (Hirschman 1987, 562). These changes represented a circular movement from the place-based notion of "nationality" to the pseudo-biological concept of race, and back to the place-based notion of "community." Hirschman (1987, 562) asserts that these shifts were attempts towards greater "neutrality, sensitivity, and awareness" in the identification of such diverse ethnic groups, but this thesis argues that there is a political dimension involved as well.

The censuses conducted before Malaysia achieved its independence (before 1957) included non-Malay Indonesian and aboriginal groups alongside "Malay" under the larger category of "Malaysian" while other races such as the Chinese and Indians were given their own categories (see Appendix C). However, after 1957, these sub-groups

were included under the category of "Malay," while the Chinese category essentially

remained the same as before. This seems to be a politically motivated move to allow the

"Malay" group to be more inclusive of peoples who may not even consider themselves

Malay, as well as to form a self-conscious Malay community that would be able to more

effectively control the postcolonial political system. It should be noted as well that

throughout most of the censuses conducted in Malaysia, the category of "Chinese" did

not undergo any significant change, as opposed to the "Malay" group that changed every

census. All these censuses coincided with periods in which Malays were fearful of

Chinese political competition, and such official ethnic classifications were used as tools

to solidify the "Malay" ethnic group against the Chinese. Thus, just as the ethnic

categories emphasized the inclusiveness and cohesion of the Malay ethnic group, they did

so in opposition to the Chinese and Indians, resulting in their sociopolitical exclusion,

polarization, and solidification of the separate Chinese and Indian ethnic identities. Given

the limitations of such historical records, these census classifications demonstrates the

development of racism and other forms of racist thinking that have prevented the

formation of a more united Malaysian national identity.

Summary

This chapter provided a historical background of the Malaysian Chinese,

especially with regards to the sociopolitical factors that has influenced their identity

formations. More specifically, the concept of "situational ethnicity" which enables the

Malaysian Chinese to stress their "Chineseness" when excluded from the national culture,

or when advantageous to do so in a business deal in China, was introduced. The Chinese

diaspora is thus conceptualized as a means for Malaysian Chinese to deterritorialize their

identities, freeing them from the boundaries of the nation-state, and allow them a sense of

belonging to some form of global placeless community.

CHAPTER 6

Malaysian Chinese Identity Transformation Across Borders

This section will present the findings of this research by first attempting to provide an estimate of the Malaysian Chinese population in the US, along with the factors for their migration. This section will then proceed to discuss the various identity dimensions, aspirations and transformations of the Malaysian Chinese in Malaysia and the US using the survey and interview findings, along with an analysis of the factors involved with their decisions.

Census Analysis

Despite the attention that the "second wave diaspora" has been receiving within academia lately, little attempt has been made to quantify or roughly estimate the flow and/or size of Chinese migration from Southeast Asia to other regions outside of Asia. The most obvious reason for this is the lack of statistics as such data may be simply not tracked due to difficulty in ascertaining an intent in settling abroad, unavailability of data broken down by ethnicity (eg. Malaysian Chinese, Malaysian Indian, Malay, etc) or ineffectual gathering of migration and population statistics. In addition, governments may also be averse to collection and/or releasing such data as any demographic statistics of ethnic groups are deemed sensitive information, which may disturb social harmony. Malaysia for example, still collects statistics based on ethnicity, but generally does not release data sets pertaining to sociopolitical themes. Therefore, this portion of my research relied on an analysis of US Census 2000 data, which provides a rather informative profile of the Malaysian-born population in the country.

Findings

       The US Census recorded a total of 49,460 Malaysian-born individuals residing in

the country in 2000. As shown below, the number of those entering the country since

before 1980 has increased drastically, despite a clear tightening of naturalization and

citizenship regulations, reflected in the decreased number of naturalized US citizens born

in Malaysia who arrived in later years.

Subject	Number	Percent
Total population...............................	49 460	100.0
U.S. CITIZENSHIP AND PERIOD OF U.S. ENTRY		
Naturalized U.S. citizen................................	13 480	27.3
Entered 1990 to 2000............................	1 950	3.9
Entered 1980 to 1989............................	6 470	13.1
Entered before 1980............................	5 060	10.2
Not a U.S. citizen................................	35 980	72.7
Entered 1990 to 2000............................	23 655	47.8
Entered 1980 to 1989............................	10 740	21.7
Entered before 1980............................	1 585	3.2

Table 1: Malaysian-born US Residents Overview (United States Census 2000)

The age breakdown of the Malaysian-born population in the US reveals that a large

majority of them are adults above 21 years old, with about 75% of the total number being

above the age of 25 (see below). This age structure may be indicative of a large portion of

this group coming to the US as post-graduate students or as working professionals, with

the latter being a stronger likelihood given the 42% who are between the established

working ages of 35 to 54. The median age of 34.8 years hints that the group is not

composed mostly of students pursuing their studies here, but rather individuals who have

stayed and attained residency or arrived on working visas. Considering the large number

of Malaysian undergraduate students here, the median age would have been a much

smaller number if a much larger number of working professionals was not present as

well. Also, the large number of Malaysia-born children in the country suggests that many

in the group brought their children over intending to settle down or ended up choosing to

settle down after the completion of their studies.

Under 5 years.	345	0.7
5 to 9 years.	920	1.9
10 to 14 years.	1 205	2.4
15 to 19 years.	2 105	4.3
20 to 24 years.	7 890	16.0
25 to 34 years.	12 590	25.5
35 to 44 years.	14 380	29.1
45 to 54 years.	6 285	12.7
55 to 59 years.	1 495	3.0
60 to 64 years.	970	2.0
65 to 74 years.	875	1.8
75 to 84 years.	350	0.7
85 years and over.	50	0.1
Median age (years).	34.8	(X)
18 years and over.	46 130	93.3
Male.	22 060	44.6
Female.	24 070	48.7
21 years and over.	43 425	87.8
62 years and over.	1 825	3.7
65 years and over.	1 275	2.6
Male.	555	1.1
Female.	720	1.5

Table 2: Age Breakdown (United States Census 2000)

The education profile of the group shows that only a quarter of the 49,460 Malaysian-

born individuals in the US are currently university students, while a further 20,805 of the

population above 25 years old already have university degrees.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT		
Population 3 years and over enrolled in school..	15 630	100.0
Nursery school, preschool...	150	1.0
Kindergarten..	195	1.2
Elementary school (grades 1-8).................................	1 705	10.9
High school (grades 9-12)...	1 550	9.9
College or graduate school	12 025	76.9
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT		
Population 25 years and over.............................	36 995	100.0
Less than 9th grade...	3 220	8.7
9th to 12th grade, no diploma....................................	3 280	8.9
High school graduate (includes equivalency)................	5 800	15.7
Some college, no degree...	3 890	10.5
Associate degree...	2 100	5.7
Bachelor's degree..	10 690	28.9
Graduate or professional degree................................	8 015	21.7
Percent high school graduate or higher.......................	(X)	82.4
Percent bachelor's degree or higher...........................	(X)	50.6

Table 3: Education Profile (United States Census 2000)

The best indicator of this group consisting of working professionals who have decided to migrate to the US is the employment profile recorded by the census. 30,780 out of the total 49,460 individuals are employed, with over half of that number working in management and professional positions. This profile is indicative of a typical mobile, migrant population that is characterized by a high level of educational attainment and employment.

Employed civilian population 16 years and over...............................	30 780	100.0
OCCUPATION		
Management, professional, and related occupations........	16 560	53.8
Service occupations................................	5 130	16.7
Sales and office occupations............................	5 990	19.5
Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations..................	20	0.1
Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations..............................	890	2.9
Production, transportation, and material moving occupations..............................	2 190	7.1

Table 4: Occupation Profile (United States Census 2000)

This census analysis thus provides that there is a significant Malaysian-born population in the US which consists largely of highly educated working professionals, and not just university students who are temporarily in the country. This group may be in the country as they have already obtained a legal right to do so, are currently in the country on student visas, on temporary visas, or working visas, with the latter being the most probable factor given the employment profile of the group. This data however, represents people born in Malaysia of all ethnicities, not just of Malaysian Chinese. The US census does not collect information on foreign-born peoples aggregated by ethnicity, and sending countries either does not have data on their citizens migrating abroad, does not release it, or does not have such data aggregated by ethnicity either. Nevertheless, it can be deduced that this group consists mostly of ethnic Chinese and to a lesser extent Indian Malaysians, as opposed to Malays for the following reasons:

Push Factors from Malaysia

Many Malaysian Chinese desire to migrate abroad because of the discrimination and sociopolitical uncertainty in the country, while the Malays have little reason to leave considering their political dominance and special rights afforded to them.

For example, Malaysian Chinese may face obstacles in obtaining high level government jobs because of preferential treatment. In addition, various events that have taken place recently and further in the past have served to impel capable Malaysian Chinese to leave, such as the implementation of the NEP, and the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997.

Education

Many Malaysian Chinese are forced to seek their tertiary education abroad as their opportunities within the country are greatly limited due to quotas, while Malays are less likely to study abroad as they are almost guaranteed spots in local universities. Nevertheless, there are still significant numbers of Malay students studying in the US, as the government (along with government enterprises such as the national oil company "Petronas" and the telecommunications company "Telekom") sponsors a large number of exclusively Malay scholars to study in prestigious schools throughout the country. However, this group is likely to make up on the portion of the Malaysian-born individuals in the US who are currently full-time students, as they are all strictly bonded by their sponsors to return home to Malaysia upon completion of their studies, while the Malaysian Chinese who are self-sponsored can and often opt to remain in the country upon graduation.

Cultural/Social Mobility

Due to their uncertain position in Malaysia, many Malaysian Chinese have a sense of "placelessness" and a form of transnational identity that has allowed them to be more socially and culturally adaptable. Malaysian Chinese have fewer reservations about migrating to another country because even within Malaysia

they feel somewhat sidelined, while Malays have a more fixed identity that makes it more difficult for them to uproot themselves and assimilate into a foreign culture and society. The Chinese also have a long history of "sojourning" that makes it more acceptable to migrate for practical purposes as it is deemed to be beneficial for the family, while Malays may be prohibited from migrating abroad by family members. Language and religion may also play a role in this, as Malaysian Chinese often have a better command of English than Malays, and Malays by default are Muslims (while Chinese are usually either Buddhist, Taoist or Christian). Many Malaysian Chinese in the US for example, have an easier time adjusting as they are already confident in conversing in English, while the Malays usually have had little practice in Malaysia, owing to many Malay scholars attending exclusively-Malay elite, residential schools, where English is hardly spoken. Religion may be a factor as Muslims would require a greater level of adjustment than Buddhists or Christians for example, especially given the difficulty in obtaining "halal" food, locating prayer facilities, and participating in Islamic studies. In addition, post 9/11 has seen greater difficulties for Muslims in obtaining visas to come to the US (though this has impacted non-Muslim Malaysians as well), along with high levels of discrimination and prejudice against them.

Pull Factors to the US

Despite tighter visa and citizenship regulations, the US still makes it relatively easy for educated foreigners to seek employment here as there is still a strong demand for skilled workers. Many Malaysian Chinese are able to obtain jobs in

higher positions in the US than they can in Malaysia as the work culture here practices meritocracy as opposed to Malaysia's race based system of employment and promotion. The US is also a very conducive, accepting, multiracial society with a strong legal system that guarantees equal rights for everyone, and its mixed ethnic composition makes it easier for foreigners to acculturate/assimilate into the local society. This is especially true for the Malaysian Chinese who have shared pseudo-ethnic traits with the perceived Chinese diaspora, especially with the presence of the many "Chinatowns" across the country. Finally, many Malaysian Chinese also choose to stay on if given the opportunity, as the US is one of the few countries that enable them to eventually become full-fledged citizens – arguably with more rights than afforded to them in Malaysia.

Research Analysis

This research involved individuals with a wide range of backgrounds even though only 45 people participated in the survey questionnaires and only six people were interviewed. The surveys and interviews conducted demonstrate that there is indeed a significant difference between the ways the sample groups in both places identified themselves, along with the factors that influenced them. In addition, other characteristics such as language proficiencies, education type, racial composition of schools and neighborhoods, and association with dialect groups, revealed pronounced variations in their self-identification. This section would discuss the findings of this research by focusing on how each group views themselves, along with the factors involved. A more detailed breakdown of the survey responses is attached in Appendix D.

Self-Identification in Malaysia

The most pronounced deviations between the US and Malaysia samples were the differences in the way they prefer to be identified as in Malaysia. Most of the US sample chose to be referred to as Malaysian with the least number choosing Chinese, whereas the opposite was true for the Malaysia sample. The Malaysia-based interviewees (with the exception of WL) preferred to be referred to in Malaysia as Chinese, and expressed pride in identifying themselves by their ethnicity. HC for example, was educated in both Malay and Chinese educational settings, and prefers to be called "Chinese" in Malaysia, explaining:

> Of course I want people to call me Chinese here because that's what I am.
> What else would people call me? In high school I was always called
> "Cina," (Chinese) especially since I went to a Chinese primary school. I

guess I never really thought much about it, but the distinction was always there – I was always Chinese before anything else. Remember for all our state exams, how we always had to fill in our race under our name?

When asked how she felt about it, HC responded:

I'm not angry or anything about it…maybe I've come to accept it and don't even think about it anymore, like it is part of my concrete identity that came with my skin color and Chinese name. Sometimes I wish I could just hide my Chineseness and be treated like the Malays, but I can't, so I just end up trying to fit in and become more Chinese.

Unlike the other Malaysia-based interviewees, WL, answered that he would prefer to be called Malaysian Chinese as he considers himself a patriotic and proud Malaysian, but at the same time, values his Chinese roots. WL was entirely educated in the Malay school setting as opposed to HC and BC, who studied in Chinese schools, and this may be a factor in how he prefers to be called Malaysian Chinese instead of Chinese. Regarding his decision on picking his ethnicity as more important than his nationality, despite his ardent patriotism, he explains:

Being "Cina" has been quite possibly the most important feature of my identity in everything I've done in my life and this will probably never change. I scored 10A's (out of ten subjects) in my SPM (the government examination taken in the final year of high school) but I was still a "Chinese" top-scorer whose entrance into university was decided by my race. I went to a private college where two-thirds of the students were Chinese and it is very clear that we are not seen as true Malaysians.

The US-based interviewees on the other hand, all prefer to be called Chinese Malaysian, Malaysian Chinese or simply Malaysian. The participants in this group are mostly Malay educated, with only EM having had her primary education in a Chinese school. JN, who has been in the US for only the past two years, rates herself as "quite Chinese," but expressed her elation with being able to be Malaysian here and be treated as such by other Malaysians. She had only just finished her undergraduate studies in Malaysia right before coming to the US, so her experiences of constantly being treated differently from the Malays is still fresh in her mind. JN accepts that she will probably always be a second-rate citizen in Malaysia, but awaits the day when she can be first and foremost a Malaysian in the country. She offers the following anecdote:

> At university in Malaysia, there was only a small (Malaysian) Chinese student population, and we were kind of ostracized by the Malays who maybe saw us as taking up spots that should be going to them, even though we are only given a tiny quota of the spots. But anyway, everything was so different once I came here. I met quite a few Malay students here and they all treated me so well…like a fellow and equal Malaysian. I connected with Malays and being Malaysian in a way that I have never experienced before – we spoke Malay, cooked and ate Malaysian food together, and the Malaysian embassy even gave us money to go to the embassy for Hari Raya (a major Malay festival) celebrations. I couldn't believe it! They actually helped me to afford my trip to DC! Being able to be "Malaysian" here has been really nice…I feel like I actually have my own identity here, but it makes me sad at the same time to think of how it would change once I go back home.

GY and EM share similar sentiments and would like to be referred to as Malaysian or Malaysian Chinese in Malaysia, as they both feel a strong connection to the national

culture as a result of their upbringing. Even though EM and JN are fluent in Chinese, they feel a disconnect with their Chinese identities as they see it more as something that has been somewhat imposed upon them, while they harbor desires to belong to the Malaysian culture instead.

Self-Identification Abroad

While both the US and Malaysia-based groups differ on the way they are identified in Malaysia, they both share the same views on how they would like to be identified abroad. The survey results overwhelmingly showed that the participants mostly wanted to be identified with their nationality whilst abroad, rather than their ethnicity. Interviewees from both groups explained that their strong preference to be referred to as Malaysian in other countries stemmed from their desire to be distinguished from mainland Chinese, whom they view as distinctively different from themselves, regardless of how detached they are from their Chinese identities. BC notes that he shares this view because he feels that the mainland Chinese look down on the Malaysian Chinese as "uncultured," "unpure," or no longer genuine Chinese who have lost touch with their roots, while the Malaysian Chinese look down on the mainland Chinese because they are often attached with derogatory stereotypical labels such as "backwards," "dirty," "unsophisticated" and "uneducated." Also, some of the interviewees such as EM, GY and HC, prefer to be referred to as Malaysian because they feel that their nationality is the more important component of their identity because of their upbringing and acculturation into the local culture.

Ethnic and National Identity

Besides the issues on how they prefer to be seen within and outside of Malaysia, both groups also differed on the question on whether they considered their Malaysian nationality or their Chinese ethnicity to be more important. The survey (see Figure 1 and Figure 2) revealed that the US-based sample generally rated their Chinese ethnicity to be less important than the Malaysia-based sample while both groups similarly rated their nationality to be very important.
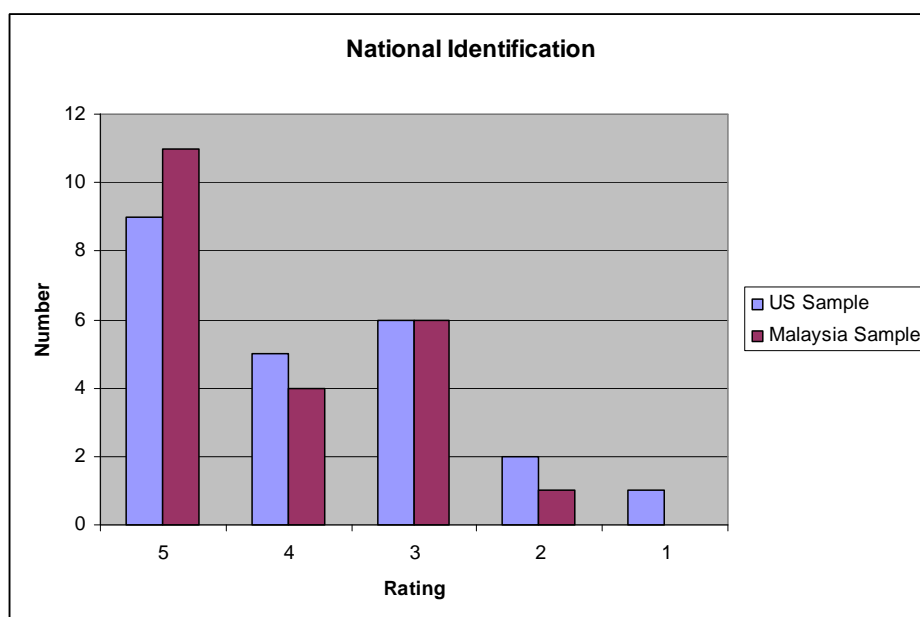
Figure 1. National Identification

Ethnic Identification
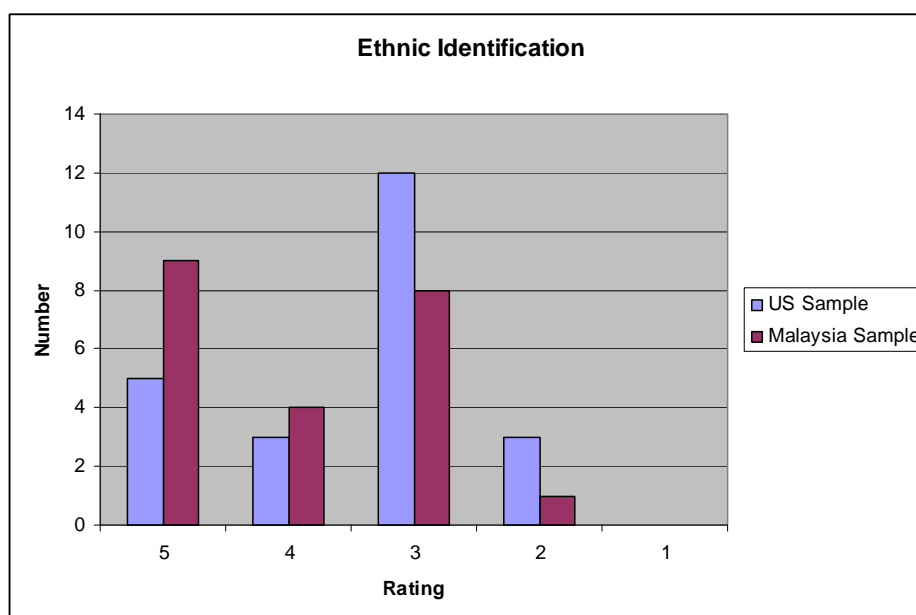
Figure 2. Ethnic Identification

This was originally thought to be a result of mixed personal backgrounds, considering the

differences in education experiences and language capabilities within both groups.

However, the interviews conducted revealed that the US-based individuals began to

identify themselves differently once abroad. GY admits that while she was in Malaysia,

she felt a stronger connection to her Chinese identity that would have caused her to

answer differently if asked two years before. Coming to the US changed her because she

was no longer forced to identify herself strictly as Chinese, and as a result did not feel the

need to fit in and belong with a Chinese identity. She explains:

> Honestly, I have never really been very Chinese. I don't speak any
>
> Chinese and resort to speaking with my grandparents in Malay – how
>
> embarrassing right? I mostly spoke Manglish or Malay, but had mostly
>
> Chinese friends because my Malay friends had all left to go to their
>
> residential schools. I was always called a banana – yellow on the outside
>
> and white on the inside – because of how "un-Chinese" people used to say

I was. But still, I had no choice but to try to adopt whatever "Chineseness" I could just to fit in. There was pressure from my Chinese friends to be more "Chinese" and at the same time, I was so frustrated with my inability to be fully "Malaysian." I did really well for my exams but they assigned me to study forestry in some "kampung" (rural) university [GY applied to study economics]! I was disillusioned with a lot of things, and all I had to fall back on…to feel like I actually belong to something, was my Chineseness. All that changed when I got the opportunity to come to the US. For one thing, I was further away from the crap that I had to put up with in Malaysia. But more importantly, I was free to be openly "Malaysian," without anyone questioning my identity, and without having any expectations put on myself to be more "Cina."

The US and Malaysia sample groups had similar responses to the hypothetical question about adopting citizenship in China. One person surveyed, belonging to the Malaysia sample group, expressed a desire to exchange a Malaysian citizenship for a Chinese one, and unsurprisingly no one else opted to for the similar option. All six people interviewed outright rejected the idea because they value their Malaysian citizenship, feel that they have a better life in Malaysia despite their unstable position there and China's growing economic dominance, and also because they are already too ingrained with their national culture. Quizzed about the 2008 Olympics in China, WL explains:

Of course I was proud that China was hosting the Olympics! But I was even more proud when Malaysia hosted the Commonwealth Games in 1997. I guess I was proud partially because I am Chinese, but I was even more proud because the Games were so successfully hosted by an Asian country – a developing one too! This doesn't mean that I would want to be a Chinese citizen. Sure, the country's economy is booming now, but the government there is even worse than in Malaysia and my grandparents

worked so hard to make it here…I'm not going to give up and run away so easily.

The Olympics badminton finals were between a Chinese and a Malaysian Chinese, and was a widely watched event in Malaysia, especially with the strong rivalry between both countries in the sport despite the Malaysian representatives almost always being of Chinese ethnicity. Nevertheless, the question of who to support in sports encounters between China and Malaysia is never an issue. BC for example, expressed his sadness over Malaysia's lost to China in the badminton finals:

Lee Chong Wei (Malaysia's representative) should have beaten the China guy! That was the closest we have ever come to winning a gold medal in the Olympics. It was so sad. I supported China in many events, simply because I didn't want America to win, but in those games that Malaysia actually stands a chance, of course I want Malaysia to win.

In the hypothetical question about the consolidation of Chinese schools into a single national Malay school system however, both groups differ slightly. The survey showed that the US-based respondents were more likely to agree to such a move, with a large proportion of the Malaysia-based respondents undecided on the issue. All three US-based interviewees were strong proponents of the notion as they view it as an effective method to reduce racial segregation, achieve national unity and help ensure that all races receive a more equal distribution of educational resources. JN for example believes that the move would be a good idea as education would be streamlined for all, but asserts that students should still be given the right and opportunity to learn their ethnic language to help preserve their culture. Out of the three Malaysia-based interviewees though, only

WL supports the idea as he thinks it would help "break down some walls" for Chinese

students in the national schools. BC and HC on the other hand oppose the notion as they

are not convinced as to whether it would be an effective move that would benefit Chinese

students, and see it as something that would be extremely detrimental to the preservation

of the Chinese identity.

Identification Factors

Finally, the survey results showed that both sample groups differed significantly

in the defining factors of their "Malaysian" identity. Each interviewee however, provided

a wide range of responses to the question on what they consider defines them as

Malaysians the most, regardless of location. There were no distinct patterns in the way

this question was answered, as it was designed to be subjective and the interviewees were

selected to be representative of the range of answers given in the survey. The interview

gave the participants an opportunity to explain their own definitions of what each factor

meant to them, and for me to clarify my own perception of what they mean.

Citizenship

Both survey samples differed only slightly for this factor, with the Malaysia

sample averaging a higher score than the US sample.

HC and WL chose Citizenship to be defining factor for them, while JN considered

it to be the least defining in her case. HC and WL explained their choice simply because

citizenship to them is what gave them their Malaysian identity, and at the same time

prevents them from being citizens elsewhere. JN on the other hand explained that

citizenship does not matter because being Malaysian "is way more than that passport,"

and that even if she loses her Malaysian citizenship and becomes American, she would still consider herself Malaysian.

Language

This is one of the two factors that had very similar responses with both samples considering Language to be moderately important.

Language was chosen as the defining factor for HC, WL, EM and GY. They seemed to choose this option as they see their ability to speak Malay and "Manglish" as crucial to their Malaysian identity. GY even goes as far as to assert that it is the one thing that truly holds Malaysians of all races together, without favoring or sidelining anyone. BC on the other hand, does not see Language as important because he thinks that language serves to divide the Malaysian population into its individual ethnic entities by favoring Malay as the official language and neglecting Chinese and Tamil.

Culture

This is the other factor that had very similar responses with both samples considering Culture to be very important.

Unsurprisingly, all the interviewees chose Culture as a defining factor simply because it is such a broad and general theme that most people can identify with. For example, GY explained that Culture to her encompassed Malaysian food, "Manglish," traditional festivals, humor, and pastimes that are unique to Malaysians.

Social Relations/Family

The survey samples differed considerably on this factor with most of the US sample choosing this as most important while the Malaysia sample mostly only chose this as moderately important.

BC, JN and EM chose Social Relations/Family as one of their defining factors, while GY chose it as one of her least defining factors. JN and EM chose this option simply because they have family members and significant others in Malaysian, and this causes them to actively maintain their connections there transnationally. They assert that as long as they have these connections to maintain, their sense of belonging to Malaysia and their "Malaysianness" would remain. GY on the other hand explains that this is not a factor for her as many of her family members and friends are already in the US or planning to come to the US.

Memories/Nostalgia

Lastly, this factor also proved to be one which both samples had differing opinions on. Similar to the previous factor, most of the US sample saw this as a decisive factor for their identification, while most of the Malaysia sample was undecided over the issue.

WL, JN, EM and GY chose Memories/Nostalgia as one of their defining factors. EM explains that her decision was based on the importance she has placed on the role her childhood in Malaysia has had on how she sees herself today. She goes on to elaborate that her memories of herself and her neighborhood friends playing together as children who had yet to develop their individual notions of race is what reminds her of what being Malaysian truly means, despite all the discrimination that goes on. GY explains that she chose this option because she feels that it is her experiences and memories of growing up in Malaysia that has set her apart from Chinese elsewhere, and has thus given her a stronger sense of a place-based identity.

Summary

This chapter discussed the findings of this research, first presenting an analysis of the census data on Malaysian Chinese in the US, and then an analysis of the survey and interview findings. In the attempt to estimate the number of Malaysian Chinese in the country in 2000, it was found that there are nearly 50,000 Malaysians residing in the country and it can be reasonably deduced that a large majority of that number are Malaysians of Chinese ethnicity. The chapter then proceeded to explain and analyze how the research participants negotiate their ethnic and national identities. It was found that place played a key role in the way the Malaysian Chinese in the US identified themselves with their ethnicity as a result of different places offering different settings for identity transformation.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

This thesis has described the Overseas Chinese and Malaysian Chinese communities, and discussed the role place has played in their ethnic and national identity formation. It was found that the Malaysian Chinese in Malaysia generally chose to identify with their ethnicity in Malaysia as a reactionary measure to their discrimination especially in their education experiences. Most are proud Malaysians who aspire to fully belong to their country (which they see as "home") but are instead forced to deterritorialize their attachments and identify more with their Chineseness. The Malaysian Chinese in the US on the other hand all primarily identify with their nationality in Malaysia because being abroad results in them being detached from the sociopolitical conditions that cause those who are in Malaysia to "turn away" from their national identity. In the US, they generally felt more Malaysian as being abroad leads their identity to consist first and foremost of their nationality. Their small numbers abroad, regardless of race, also causes Malaysians to identify themselves via a common community that strengthens their national culture as exemplified by JN's anecdote above. The way they are seen abroad also presents them with different questions and expectations with regards to their identity that allows them the freedom to negotiate their own identity. In Malaysia, they are often assumed to be Chinese first and Malaysian second, and their allegiance to their country is questioned. However, in the US, their Malaysianness is not questioned, and instead, their Chineseness is contested due to the large presence of Overseas Chinese from other countries, Chinese and Taiwanese nationals (especially in university settings).

The Malaysia and US-based samples both similarly identify with their nationality while abroad, with the key factor being that they do not see themselves or wish to be seen by others as Chinese nationals. Also, they share the view that their nationality is more important than their ethnicity because of the level of acculturation that they have undergone. The map below illustrates a general conception of how these groups see themselves and are seen by society in the US and Malaysia.

Social Identity

Regarded As:	Chinese	Chinese Malaysian	Malaysian	Chinese
By Whom:	Global Huaqiao	Chinese Malaysians, other "second wave diaspora"	Local community, law	Local government, society
Mode:		Choice: Flexible/Dual		Imposed

Self Identity

Self-Identify As:	Chinese Malaysian	Chinese	Chinese Malaysian
Who:	Both Samples	Malaysia Sample	United States Sample
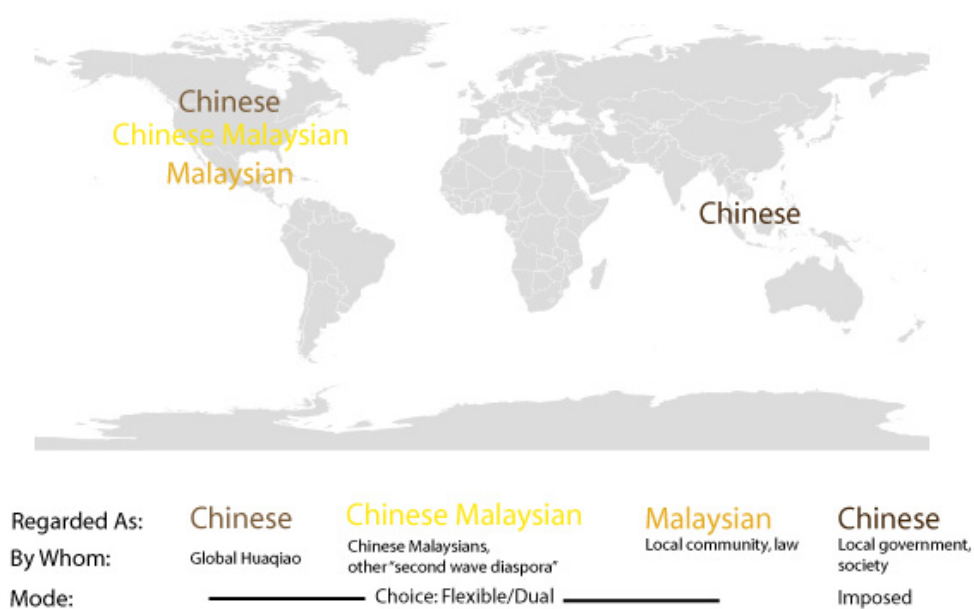
Figure 3. Malaysian Chinese Self and Social Identity

In general, the Malaysian Chinese in the US were found to perceive of their nationality as being more important than their ethnicity, while those in Malaysia considered both to be of equal importance. It was revealed that those in the US began to identify themselves less with their ethnicity once they moved abroad because they no longer had to belong to a deterritorialized identity and could now be "openly Malaysian." The question of obtaining citizenship in China proved to be a non-issue with all respondents rejecting the notion based on a strong bond and loyalty to Malaysia. As for the question of school system consolidation, the Malaysia-based sample opposed the move out of a fear that their ethnic identity and culture would be diminished. Such perceptions also reflect upon their attachment to their ethnicity (Chineseness), while the US-based sample considers their attachment to place (Malaysia) to be more important.

Finally, the factors that proved to be most decisive to the formation of the respondents' self-identification were revealed to be Social Relations/Family and Memories/Nostalgia, with the US-based sample considering these to be key factors as opposed to the Malaysia-based sample that were mostly ambivalent. These two factors are inherently place-based paradigms and indicate a belonging to a "home" that is defined by place (see Lam and Yeoh 2004). This demonstrates the increased attachment to Malaysia that the Malaysian Chinese experience once they move abroad, again due to their changing environment that allows for greater territorial identification.

This thesis attempted to ask the question of "what defines identity?" and proposed place as an alternative means to understand this issue. Several paradigms are often discussed – political belonging, citizenship, language, nationality, ethnicity and culture. However, place can involve multiple dimensions and encompass each of these as a result

of a territorial attachment (or detachment) which can lead to a reorientation of one's identity towards or away from any one of these notions. A place-based approach to self-understanding supports situational, multiple and flexible identities that are so often mentioned nowadays. Place comes with different sets of social relations, territorial attachments, expectations, and sociopolitical questions that defines, formulates and transforms people's identities. Though this thesis discussed place in its most basic sense – as geographic location, it is essentially more than that in relation to identity. Questions of scale are brought into play with identity in general changing at different levels and by different groups and places. In the US for example, Malaysian Chinese can be (falsely) categorized together with mainland Chinese, Indonesian Chinese or with the global Chinese diaspora, and this has the result of reorienting their identities towards Malaysia. Within Malaysia however, all Malaysian Chinese are first and foremost considered Chinese and this has the unfortunate effect of many reorienting themselves towards their ethnicity – towards a placeless conception of self. This brings up the question of whether the Malaysian Chinese are members of the global Chinese ethno-cultural diaspora? This thesis argued that this may indeed be the case in Malaysia where they are forced into the periphery of the nation-state, but elsewhere this is not the case at all. What then separates them from the Chinese diaspora? It is not just political membership that creates the distinction, but rather a memory of place and social relations that adds meaning to an attachment to place despite a lack of physical presence. As such, we can see different national, cultural and ethnic identities coexisting within a single migrant group which changes according to environment, reinforcing the notion of flexible identity. However, for these Malaysian Chinese transmigrants, naturalization, integration, acculturation and

eventual cultural assimilation may always be possible regardless of place, but physical and ethnic characteristics are unchangeable and would make complete sociopolitical assimilation and acceptance difficult to be achieved.

Recommendations for Further Studies

This study explored the ways in which Malaysian Chinese identified themselves in Malaysia and abroad, and the factors that are involved in their decisions. However, this study did not look at several other related issues and factors. Considering the heterogeneity of the identity and diversity of the Overseas Chinese, a comprehensive study covering all bases cannot be viably and accurately done given the available resources. This thesis briefly discussed factors that influence identity transformation such as education type and language background, but future research should focus more on them as this study has indicated that they may play a defining role in their self-identification. In addition, more research should be carried out to address other related issues such as the characteristics of the sending and receiving locations (rural/urban, racial composition, etc), the length research subjects have spent abroad, and how they would identify themselves if they adopt foreign citizenship. In addition, further studies should involve larger numbers of participants, employ quantitative methods, as well as examine the opinions of other ethnic groups (especially the Malays).

REFERENCES

Agnew, John. 1987. *Place and Politics*. Boston: Allen and Unwin.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Anderson, Benedict. 1996. Introduction. In *Mapping the nation*, ed. G. Balakrishnan. London: Verso.

Ang, Ien. 2004. Beyond Transnational Nationalism: Questioning the borders of the Chinese diaspora in the global city. In *State/Nation/Transnation: Perspectives on Transnationalism in the Asia-Pacific*, ed. Brenda Yeoh and Katie Willis, 179-197. London: Routledge.

Cartier, Carolyn. 2003. Diaspora and Social Restructuring in Postcolonial Malaysia. In *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility and Identity*, ed. Laurence J. C. Ma and Carolyn Cartier, 69-96. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Ceccagno, Antonella. 2007. The Chinese in Italy at a Crossroads: The Economic Crisis. In *Beyond Chinatown: New Chinese Migration and the Global Expansion of China*, ed. Mette Thuno, 115- 136.Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

CIA World Factbook 2007. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/my.html (accessed June 30,`` 2008).

Cohen, Ronald. 1978. Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology. In *Annual Review of Anthropology*, ed. Bernard Siegel, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Cresswell, Tim. 2004. *Place: A Short Introduction*. Malden: Blackwell Publication.

Glick Schiller, N. L. Basch, and C. Blanc-Szanton. 1999. From immigrant to transmigrant: theorizing transnational migration. In *Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*, ed. L. Pries, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Goh, Cheng Teik. 1978. *Integration in a Plural Society*. Kuala Lumpur: Straits Echo Press.

Guillon, Michelle 1998. The Chinese and Chinese Districts in Paris. In *The Last Half Century of Chinese Overseas*, ed. Elizabeth Sinn, 185-100. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Harvey, David. 1996. *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.

Hirschman, Charles. 1987. The Meaning and Measurement of Ethnicity in Malaysia: An Analysis of Census Classifications. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46 (3): 555-582.

Jackson, Peter and Jan Penrose. 1994. *Construction of Race, Place and Nation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Lam, Theodora and Brenda Yeoh. 2004. Negotiating 'home' and 'national identity': Chinese-Malaysian transmigrants in Singapore. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 45 (2): 141-164.

Leung, Maggi Wai-Han. 2004. *Chinese Migration in Germany: Making Home in Transnational Space*. Frankfurt: IKO.

Li, Minghuan. 1998. Living Among Three Walls? The Peranakan Chinese in the Netherlands. In *The Last Half Century of Chinese Overseas*, ed. Elizabeth Sinn, 167-184. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Liu, Hong. 2005. New Migrants and the Revival of Overseas Chinese Nationalism. *Journal of Contemporary China* 14 (43): 291-316.

Louie, Vivian. 2006. Growing up ethnic in transnational worlds: Identities among second-generation Chinese and Dominicans. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 13 (3): 363-394.

Ma, Laurence. 2003. Space, Place, and Transnationalism in the Chinese Diaspora. In *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility and Identity*, ed. Laurence J. C. Ma and Carolyn Cartier, 1-50. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Massey, Doreen. 1997. A Global Sense of Place. In *Reading Human Geography*, ed. Trevor Barnes and Derek Gregory, 315-323. London: Arnold.

Mung, Emmanuel. 1998. Groundlessness and Utopia: The Chinese Diaspora and Territory. In *The Last Half Century of Chinese Overseas*, ed. Elizabeth Sinn, 35-48. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Nyiri, Pal. 1999. *New Chinese Migrants in Europe: The Case of the Chinese in Hungary*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate.

Ong, Aihwa. 1999. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Ong, Aihwa. 2003. Cyberpublics and Diaspora Politics Among Transnational Chinese. *Interventions* 5 (1): 82-100.

Pan, Lynn. 1998. *The Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas*. Singapore: Archipelago Press.

Parker, David. 1998. Emerging British Chinese Identities: Issues and Problems. In *The Last Half Century of Chinese Overseas*, ed. Elizabeth Sinn, 91-114. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Reid, Anthony. 1996. Flows and Seepages in the Long-term Chinese Interaction with Southeast Asia. In *Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*, ed. Anthony Reid, 15-51. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Relph, Edward. 1976. *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion.

Said, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage.

Seagrave, Sterling. 1995. *Lords of the Rim*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.

Shao Overseas Chinese Documentation and Research Center 2004. *Distribution of the Overseas Chinese Population*. Ohio University Library, http://www.library.ohiou.edu/subjects/shao/ch_databases_popdis.html, (last accessed March 1, 2008).

Suryadinata, Leo. 2006. Ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia: Overseas Chinese, Chinese Overseas or Southeast Asians? In *The Overseas Chinese, Volume III: Communities Across the Globe*, ed. Hong Liu, 88-106. New York: Routledge.

Suryadinata, Leo. 2007. *Understanding the Ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing.

Tan, Chee Beng. 1979. Baba Chinese, Non-Baba Chinese and Malays: A Note on Ethnic. Interaction in Malacca. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science* 7(1): 20-29. Singapore: University Education Press.

Tan, Chee Beng. 2000. Ethnic Identities and National Identities: Some Examples from Malaysia. *Identities* 6 (4): 441-480.

Tan, Chee Beng. 2004. *Chinese Overseas: Comparative Cultural Issues*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. 1974. *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

United States Census. 2000. *United States Foreign-born Population*. http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/stp-159/STP-159-malaysia.pdf (accessed October 12, 2008).

Wang, Cangbai and Wong Siu-Lun. 2007. Home as a Circular Process: The Indonesian-Chinese in Hong Kong. In *Beyond Chinatown: New Chinese Migration and the Global Expansion of China*, ed. Mette Thuno, 182- 209.Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

Wang, Gungwu. 1991. *China and the Chinese Overseas*. Singapore: Times Academic Press.

Wang, Gungwu. 1993. Greated China and the Chinese Overseas. *The China Quarterly* 136: 929-948.

Wang, Gungwu. 2000. *The Chinese Overseas*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Yen, Ching-Hwang. 2000. Historical Background. In *The Chinese in Malaysia*, ed. Lee Kam Hing and Tan Chee-Beng, 1-30. New York: Oxford University Press.

Yow, Cheun Hoe. 2005. Weakening Ties with the Ancestral Homeland in China: The Case Studies of Contemporary Singapore and Malaysian Chinese. *Modern Asian Studies* 39 (3): 559-597.

APPENDIX A
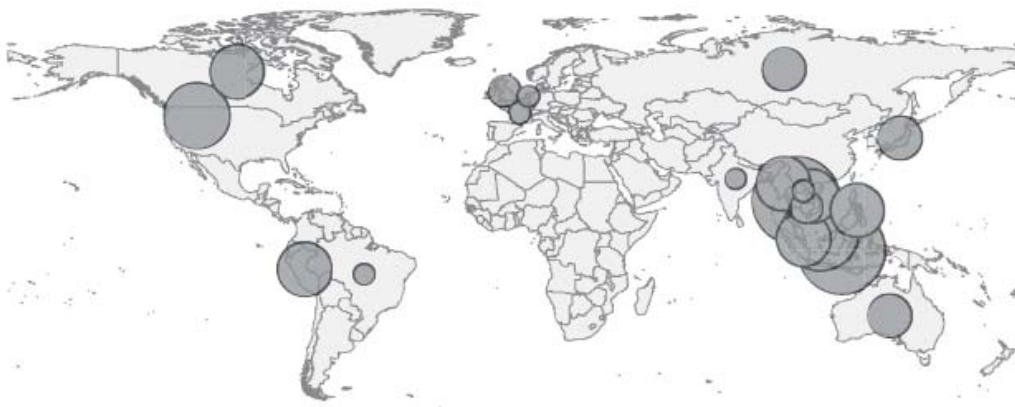
Worldwide Distribution of Overseas Chinese, 2005 (Top 20 Countries)

Population

Symbol	Range
○	144928 - 250000
○	250001 - 500000
○	500001 - 1000000
○	1000001 - 3000000
○	3000001 - 5000000
○	5000001 - 7000000
○	7000001 - 7566200
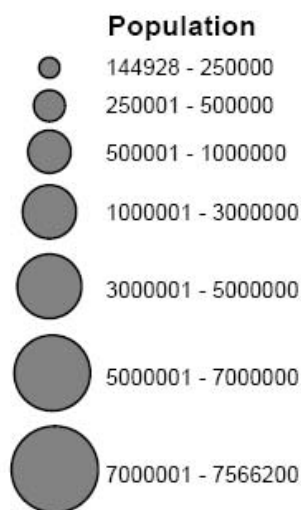
Country	Population
Indonesia	7,566,200
Thailand	7,053,240
Malaysia	6,187,400
United States	3,376,031
Singapore	2,684,900
Canada	1,612,173
Peru	1,300,000
Vietnam	1,263,570
Philippines	1,146,250
Myanmar (Burma)	1,101,314
Russia	998,000
Australia	614,694
Japan	519,561
Cambodia	343,855
United Kingdom	296,623
France	230,515
India	189,470
Laos	185,765
Brazil	151,649
Netherlands	144,928

Data Source: Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission, R.O.C. (Taiwan), ESRI
Projection: GCS WGS 1984
Cartographer: Kenny Ling

APPENDIX B

Ethnic/National Identity Survey A

This survey is part of a study to further our current understanding of how place and movement affects Chinese Malaysian identity. Your responses will be included in a statistical database which will provide a comparative study of how Chinese Malaysians identify themselves in the context of their nationality and ethnicity in different places.

Your participation is strictly voluntary with completion of this survey implying consent for the use of this data for research purposes. This survey would be conducted anonymously and your responses will be kept confidential. You must be 18 years of age or older to participate.

The survey is in the form of multiple choice questions and would require no more than five minutes to complete.

If you have any questions, comments or concerns, please email me at kennyling@gmail.com. If you are interested in the findings of my research, please email me and I would be happy to share them with you.

To ensure that this survey applies to you, please review the following questions. If your answer to *all* of them is "yes", please proceed to the next portion of the questionnaire. If your answer to *any* of the questions is "no", this survey may not be applicable to you and you do not have to proceed with the questionnaire. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

- Are you officially classified as Chinese by ethnicity? *according to your Malaysian identification card
- Were you born on or between the years of 1973 and 1988?
- Were you born in Malaysia?
- Did you grow up in Malaysia? *spent at least your first 17 years in the country
- Have you completed or are currently pursuing an undergraduate degree or diploma course?
- Did you receive your primary, secondary and tertiary education in Malaysia?
- Have you continued to live in Malaysia after finishing secondary school (without leaving the country for more than three consecutive months)?

Thank you for your help.

1) Which sex do you belong to?	
Male	
Female	

2) Which type of school did you attend?	
National schools (Sekolah Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan)	
Chinese vernacular schools (Sekolah Jenis Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah Jenis Kebangsaan)	
Both	
Other	

3) If you have children, which type of school would you prefer to send them to?	
National schools (Sekolah Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan)	
Chinese vernacular schools (Sekolah Jenis Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah Jenis Kebangsaan)	
4) In general, which language is more important to you?	
Chinese (any dialect)	
Malay	
5) Which language are you most comfortable speaking in?	
Chinese (any dialect)	
Malay	
English	
Other	
6) Which Chinese dialect group(s) do you belong to? *you may pick more than one category if applicable	
Hokkien	
Cantonese	
Teochew	
Hakka	
Hainanese	
Foochow	
Hokchiu	
Hinghwa	
Don't know	
Other (Please Specify):	
7) How would you rate your proficiency in speaking your dialect of Chinese? *eg. Hokkien, Cantonese, etc	
5 Native speaker	
4	

3	
2	
1 Do not speak at all	

8) How strongly would you say you identify with your dialect group? OR How important is your dialect group to you?	
5 Most Important	
4	
3	
2	
1 Not Important	

9) Of the following options, rank the way you would prefer to be referred to as in **Malaysia** (1 as most preferred and 4 as least preferred):	
Chinese	
Malaysian	
Chinese Malaysian	
Malaysian Chinese	

10) Of the following options, rank the way you would prefer to refer to yourself as when you are in **another country** (1 as most preferred and 4 as least preferred):	
Chinese	
Malaysian	
Chinese Malaysian	
Malaysian Chinese	

11) In general, how important do you consider your Malaysian nationality to be in contrast to your Chinese identity?

	5 Most Important	4	3	2	1 Not Important
Malaysian Nationality					
Chinese Ethnicity					

12) Given the option to adopt citizenship in China, would you relinquish your Malaysian citizenship?	
Yes	
No	

13) Given the option to assimilate into a single Malaysian identity (with equal opportunity regardless of race), would you be willing to give up aspects of your Chinese ethnic identity (for example, allow the consolidation of all Chinese schools into national Malay-language schools)?	
5 Definitely	
4	
3 Maybe	
2	
1 Not at all	

14) What do you consider defines you as being Malaysian? *5 is most important

	1	2	3	4	5
Citizenship					
Language					
Culture					
Social relations/family					
Memories/nostalgia					

15) *Optional:* Would you be willing to be contacted for any follow-up questions for this study? If yes, please fill in your contact details below:	
Name/Alias	
Email Address	
Telephone Number	

Ethnic/National Identity Survey B

This survey is part of a study to further our current understanding of how place and movement affects Chinese Malaysian identity. Your responses will be included in a statistical database which will provide a comparative study of how Chinese Malaysians identify themselves in the context of their nationality and ethnicity in different places.

Your participation is strictly voluntary with completion of this survey implying consent for the use of this data for research purposes. This survey would be conducted anonymously and your responses will be kept confidential. You must be 18 years of age or older to participate.

The survey is in the form of multiple choice questions and would require no more than five minutes to complete.

If you have any questions, comments or concerns, please email me at kennyling@gmail.com. If you are interested in the findings of my research, please email me and I would be happy to share them with you.

To ensure that this survey applies to you, please review the following questions. If your answer to *all* of them is "yes", please proceed to the next portion of the questionnaire. If your answer to *any* of the questions is "no", this survey may not be applicable to you and you do not have to proceed with the questionnaire. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

- Are you officially classified as Chinese by ethnicity? *according to your Malaysian identification card
- Were you born on or between the years of 1973 and 1988?
- Were you born in Malaysia?
- Did you grow up in Malaysia? *spent at least your first 17 years in the country
- Have you completed or are currently pursuing an undergraduate degree or diploma course?
- Have you received or are currently receiving your undergraduate or graduate education in the United States?
- Have you lived in the United States for at least one year?

Thank you for your help.

1) Which sex do you belong to?	
Male	
Female	

2) Which type of school did you attend in Malaysia?	
National schools (Sekolah Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan)	
Chinese vernacular schools (Sekolah Jenis Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah Jenis Kebangsaan)	
Both	
Other	

3) If you have children, which type of school would you prefer to send them to in Malaysia?	
National schools (Sekolah Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan)	

Chinese vernacular schools (Sekolah Jenis Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah Jenis Kebangsaan)	
4) In general, which language is more important to you?	
Chinese (any dialect)	
Malay	
5) Which language are you most comfortable speaking in?	
Chinese (any dialect)	
Malay	
English	
Other	
6) Which Chinese dialect group(s) do you belong to? *you may pick more than one category if applicable	
Hokkien	
Cantonese	
Teochew	
Hakka	
Hainanese	
Foochow	
Hokchiu	
Hinghwa	
Don't know	
Other (Please Specify):	
7) How would you rate your proficiency in speaking your dialect of Chinese? *eg. Hokkien, Cantonese, etc	
5 Native speaker	
4	
3	
2	

1 Do not speak at all	

8) How strongly would you say you identify with your dialect group? OR How important is your dialect group to you?	
5 Most Important	
4	
3	
2	
1 Not Important	

9) Of the following options, rank the way you would prefer to be referred to as in **Malaysia** (1 as most preferred and 4 as least preferred):	
Chinese	
Malaysian	
Chinese Malaysian	
Malaysian Chinese	

10) Of the following options, rank the way you would prefer to refer to yourself as in the **United States** (1 as most preferred and 4 as least preferred):	
Chinese	
Malaysian	
Chinese Malaysian	
Malaysian Chinese	

11) In general, how important do you consider your Malaysian nationality to be in contrast to your Chinese identity?

	5 Most Important	4	3	2	1 Not Important
Malaysian Nationality					
Chinese Ethnicity					

12) Given the option to adopt citizenship in China, would you relinquish your Malaysian citizenship?	
Yes	

No	

13) Given the option to assimilate into a single Malaysian identity (with equal opportunity regardless of race), would you be willing to give up aspects of your Chinese ethnic identity (for example, allow the consolidation of all Chinese schools into national Malay-language schools)?	
5 Definitely	
4	
3 Maybe	
2	
1 Not at all	

14) What do you consider defines you as being Malaysian? *5 is most important					
	1	2	3	4	5
Citizenship					
Language					
Culture					
Social relations/family					
Memories/nostalgia					

15) *Optional:* Would you be willing to be contacted for any follow-up questions for this study? If yes, please fill in your contact details below:	
Name/Alias	
Email Address	
Telephone Number	

APPENDIX C

1947	
Malaysians by Specific Community	Indians by Specific Community
Malays (Indigenous Malaysians)	Tamil
Malays Proper	Telugu
Aborigines	Malayali
Biduanda, Mantera, and other	Other unspecified or indeterminate
Jakun	South Indian peoples
Negrito	Sikh
Other and unidentifiable	Bengali
aboriginal stocks	Gujerati
Other Malaysians	Maharatti
Sundanese	Marwari
Javanese	Pathan
Boyanese	Punjabi
Achinese	Rajput
Menangkabau	Sindhi
Korinchi	Other unspecified or indeterminate
Jambi	Indian peoples
Palembangan	Europeans & Other "White"
Other unspecified or	Communities (17 subcategories)
indeterminate Sumatra peoples	Eurasians
Riau Lingga Malays	Other Communities
Banjarese	Ceylon Tamil
Dyak	Sinhalese
Other unspecified or	Other unspecified or indeterminate
indeterminate Borneo peoples	Ceylon peoples
Bugis	Arab
Other unspecified or	Siamese
indeterminate "Indonesians"	Burmese
peoples	Annamese
Chinese by Tribe	Armenian
Hokkien	Filipino
Tiechiu	Japanese
Kheh (Hakka)	Jew
Cantonese	Nepalese
Hainanese (Hailan)	Other or indeterminate communities
Hokchia	not elsewhere specified
Hokchiu	Not specified
Kwongsai	
Henghwa	
Other unspecified or indeterminate	
Chinese peoples	

Source: Hirschman 1987, 577

1957	1970	1980
Malaysians	Malay	Malay
Malays	Malay	Malay
Indonesian	Indonesian	Indonesian
All Aborigines	Negrito	Negrito
Negrito	Jakun	Jakun
Semai	Semai	Semai
Semelai	Semelai	Semelai
Temiar	Temiar	Temiar
Jakun	Other Orang Asli	Other Indigenous
Other Aborigines	Other Malay	Other Malay race
Chinese	Community	Chinese
Hokkien	Chinese	Hokkien
Tiechiu	Hokkien	Cantonese
Khek (Hakka)	Cantonese	Khek (Hakka)
Cantonese	Khek (Hakka)	Teochew
Hainanese	Teochew	Hainanese
Hokchia	Hainanese	Kwongsai
Hokchiu	Kwongsai	Hokchiu
Kwongsai	Hokchiu	Hokchia
Henghwa	Henghua	Henghwa
Other Chinese	Hokchia	Other Chinese
Indians	Other Chinese	Indian
Indian Tamil	Indian	Indian Tamil
Telegu	Indian Tamil	Malayali
Malayali	Telegu	Telegu
Other Indian	Malayali	Sikh
Others	Punjabi	Other Punjabi
Eurasian	Other Indian	Other Indian
Ceylon Tamil	Pakistani	Pakistani
Other Ceylonese	Ceylon Tamil	Bangladeshi
Pakistani	Other Ceylonese	Sri Lankan Tamil
Thai (Siamese)	Other	Other Sri Lankan
Other Asian	Thai	Other
British	Other Asian	Thai
Other European	European	Vietnamese
Others (not European	Eurasian	Other Asian
or Asian)	Other	Eurasian
		European
		Others

SOURCES: Nathan 1922:176, 179, 186, 190, 194; Vlieland 1932:122, 165–68, 180, 192, 200; Del Tufo 1949:174–75, 286–303; Fell 1960:56; Department of Statistics 1977, 1:292; 2:110–11; Department of Statistics 1983, 1.156.

Source: Hirschman 1987, 578

APPENDIX D

Questionnaire Results

Malaysia Sample

Results for: Ethnic/National Identity Survey A

1) Which sex do you belong to?

	Percentage	Responses
Male	50.0	11
Female	50.0	11
Total responses:		**22**

2) Which type of school did you attend?

	Percentage	Responses
National schools (Sekolah Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan)	63.6	14
Chinese vernacular schools (Sekolah Jenis Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah Jenis Kebangsaan)	9.1	2
Both	27.3	6
Other	0.0	0
Total responses:		**22**

3) If you have children, which type of school would you prefer to send them to?

	Percentage	Responses
National schools (Sekolah Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan)	50.0	11
Chinese vernacular schools (Sekolah Jenis Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah Jenis Kebangsaan)	50.0	11
Total responses:		**22**

4) In general, which language is more important to you?

	Percentage	Responses
Chinese (any dialect)	59.1	13
Malay	40.9	9
Total responses:		**22**

5) Which language are you most comfortable speaking in?

	Percentage	Responses
Chinese (any dialect)	36.4	8
Malay	0.0	0
English	63.6	14
Other	0.0	0
Total responses:		**22**

6) Which Chinese dialect group(s) do you belong to? *you may pick more than one category if applicable

	Percentage	Responses
Hokkien	41.7	15
Cantonese	19.4	7
Teochew	8.3	3
Hakka	13.9	5
Hainanese	5.6	2
Foochow	2.8	1
Hokchiu	0.0	0
Hinghwa	2.8	1
Don't know	5.6	2
Other	0.0	0

7) How would you rate your proficiency in speaking your dialect of Chinese? *eg. Hokkien, Cantonese, etc

	Percentage	Responses
5 Native speaker	18.2	4
4	18.2	4
3	27.3	6
2	22.7	5

1 Do not speak at all		13.6	3
	Total responses:		**22**

8) How strongly would you say you identify with your dialect group?
    OR
    How important is your dialect group to you?

	Percentage	Responses
5 Most Important	9.1	2
4	13.6	3
3	31.8	7
2	9.1	2
1 Not Important	36.4	8
Total responses:		**22**

9) Of the following options, rank the way you would prefer to be referred to as in **Malaysia** (1 as most preferred and 4 as least preferred):

	Average Score	Responses
Chinese	2.36 / 4	22
Malaysian	2.68 / 4	22
Chinese Malaysian	2.50 / 4	22
Malaysian Chinese	2.45 / 4	22
	2.45 / 4	

10) Of the following options, rank the way you would prefer to refer to yourself as when you are in **another country** (1 as most preferred and 4 as least preferred):

	Average Score	Responses
Chinese	3.27 / 4	22
Malaysian	1.86 / 4	22
Chinese Malaysian	2.41 / 4	22
Malaysian Chinese	2.45 / 4	22
	2.45 / 4	

11) In general, how important do you consider your Malaysian nationality to be in contrast to your Chinese identity?

5 Most	4	3	2	1 Not	Responses	Average

	Important				Important		Score
Malaysian Nationality	**11 (50.00%)**	4 (18.18%)	6 (27.27%)	1 (4.55%)	0 (0.00%)	22	1.86 / 5 (37.20%)
Chinese Ethnicity	**9 (40.91%)**	4 (18.18%)	8 (36.36%)	1 (4.55%)	0 (0.00%)	22	2.05 / 5 (41.00%)
							1.96 / 5 (39.10%)

12) Given the option to adopt citizenship in China, would you relinquish your Malaysian citizenship?

	Percentage	Responses
Yes	4.5	1
No	95.5	21
Total responses:		**22**

13) Given the option to assimilate into a single Malaysian identity (with equal opportunity regardless of race), would you be willing to give up aspects of your Chinese ethnic identity (for example, allow the consolidation of all Chinese schools into national Malay-language schools)?

		Percentage	Responses
5 Definitely		9.1	2
4		18.2	4
3 Maybe		31.8	7
2		18.2	4
1 Not at all		22.7	5
	Total responses:		**22**

14) What do you consider defines you as being Malaysian? [*5 is most important]

	1	2	3	4	5	Responses	Average Score
Citizenship	0 (0.00%)	2 (9.09%)	3 (13.64%)	5 (22.73%)	**12 (54.55%)**	22	4.23 / 5 (84.60%)
Language	0 (0.00%)	2 (9.09%)	2 (9.09%)	**11 (50.00%)**	7 (31.82%)	22	4.05 / 5 (81.00%)
Culture	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	2 (9.09%)	7 (31.82%)	**13 (59.09%)**	22	4.50 / 5 (90.00%)
Social	0 (0.00%)	1 (4.55%)	5	**9**	7	22	4.00 / 5

relations/ family		(22.73%)	**(40.91%)**	(31.82%)		(80.00%)
Memories/ nostalgia	1 (4.55%)	3 (13.64%)	**8** **(36.36%)**	6 (27.27%)	4 (18.18%)	22	3.41 / 5 (68.20%)
							4.04 / 5 **(80.76%)**

United States Sample

Results for: Ethnic/National Identity Survey B

---

1) Which sex do you belong to?

		Percentage	Responses
Male		47.8	11
Female		52.2	12
	Total responses:		**23**

---

2) Which type of school did you attend in Malaysia?

		Percentage	Responses
National schools (Sekolah Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan)		65.2	15
Chinese vernacular schools (Sekolah Jenis Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah Jenis Kebangsaan)		0.0	0
Both		21.7	5
Other		13.0	3
	Total responses:		**23**

---

3) If you have children, which type of school would you prefer to send them to in Malaysia?

		Percentage	Responses
National schools (Sekolah Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan)		73.9	17
Chinese vernacular schools (Sekolah Jenis Kebangsaan/Sekolah Menengah		26.1	6

Jenis Kebangsaan)

		Total responses:	23

4) In general, which language is more important to you?

		Percentage	Responses
Chinese (any dialect)		60.9	14
Malay		39.1	9
	Total responses:		23

5) Which language are you most comfortable speaking in?

		Percentage	Responses
Chinese (any dialect)		13.0	3
Malay		0.0	0
English		87.0	20
Other		0.0	0
	Total responses:		23

6) Which Chinese dialect group(s) do you belong to? *you may pick more than one category if applicable

		Percentage	Responses
Hokkien		36.8	14
Cantonese		15.8	6
Teochew		15.8	6
Hakka		13.2	5
Hainanese		0.0	0
Foochow		0.0	0
Hokchiu		0.0	0
Hinghwa		2.6	1
Don't know		10.5	4
Other		5.3	2

7) How would you rate your proficiency in speaking your dialect of Chinese? *eg. Hokkien, Cantonese, etc

		Percentage	Responses
5 Native speaker		4.3	1

		Percentage	Responses
4	¦	8.7	2
3	¦	30.4	7
2	¦	34.8	8
1 Do not speak at all	¦	21.7	5
		Total responses:	**23**

8) How strongly would you say you identify with your dialect group?
OR
How important is your dialect group to you?

		Percentage	Responses
5 Most Important	¦	0.0	0
4	¦	17.4	4
3	¦	17.4	4
2	¦	34.8	8
1 Not Important	¦	30.4	7
		Total responses:	**23**

9) Of the following options, rank the way you would prefer to be referred to as in **Malaysia** (1 as most preferred and 4 as least preferred):

		Average Score	Responses
Chinese	¦	2.87 / 4	23
Malaysian	¦	1.87 / 4	23
Chinese Malaysian	¦	2.39 / 4	23
Malaysian Chinese	¦	2.87 / 4	23
		2.87 / 4	

10) Of the following options, rank the way you would prefer to refer to yourself as in the **United States** (1 as most preferred and 4 as least preferred):

		Average Score	Responses
Chinese	¦	3.26 / 4	23
Malaysian	¦	1.52 / 4	23
Chinese Malaysian	¦	2.52 / 4	23
Malaysian Chinese	¦	2.70 / 4	23
		2.70 / 4	

11) In general, how important do you consider your Malaysian nationality to be in contrast to your Chinese identity?

	5 Most Important	4	3	2	1 Not Important	Responses	Average Score
Malaysian Nationality	**9** **(39.13%)**	5 (21.74%)	6 (26.09%)	2 (8.70%)	1 (4.35%)	23	2.17 / 5 (43.40%)
Chinese Ethnicity	5 (21.74%)	3 (13.04%)	**12** **(52.17%)**	3 (13.04%)	0 (0.00%)	23	2.57 / 5 (51.40%)
							2.37 / 5 **(47.40%)**

12) Given the option to adopt citizenship in China, would you relinquish your Malaysian citizenship?

		Percentage	Responses
Yes		0.0	0
No		100.0	23
	Total responses:		**23**

13) Given the option to assimilate into a single Malaysian identity (with equal opportunity regardless of race), would you be willing to give up aspects of your Chinese ethnic identity (for example, allow the consolidation of all Chinese schools into national Malay-language schools)?

		Percentage	Responses
5 Definitely		8.7	2
4		43.5	10
3 Maybe		13.0	3
2		17.4	4
1 Not at all		17.4	4
	Total responses:		**23**

14) What do you consider defines you as being Malaysian? [*5 is most important]

	1	2	3	4	5	Responses	Average Score
Citizenship	1 (4.35%)	2 (8.70%)	8 (34.78%)	2 (8.70%)	**10** **(43.48%)**	23	3.78 / 5 (75.60%)
Language	3 (13.04%)	0 (0.00%)	4 (17.39%)	**12** **(52.17%)**	4 (17.39%)	23	3.61 / 5 (72.20%)
Culture	1 (4.35%)	3 (13.04%)	5 (21.74%)	4 (17.39%)	**10** **(43.48%)**	23	3.83 / 5 (76.60%)

Social relations/ family	0 (0.00%)	2 (8.70%)	3 (13.04%)	6 (26.09%)	**12 (52.17%)**	23	4.22 / 5 (84.40%)
Memories/ nostalgia	2 (8.70%)	1 (4.35%)	2 (8.70%)	3 (13.04%)	**15 (65.22%)**	23	4.22 / 5 (84.40%)
							3.87 / 5 (77.40%)

APPENDIX E

Table FBP-1. Profile of Selected Demographic and Social Characteristics: 2000
Population Universe: People Born in Malaysia
Geographic Area: UNITED STATES

[For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/sf3.pdf]

Subject	Number	Percent
Total population..	49 460	100.0
U.S. CITIZENSHIP AND PERIOD OF U.S. ENTRY		
Naturalized U.S. citizen..................................	13 480	27.3
Entered 1990 to 2000................................	1 950	3.9
Entered 1980 to 1989................................	6 470	13.1
Entered before 1980..................................	5 060	10.2
Not a U.S. citizen...	35 980	72.7
Entered 1990 to 2000................................	23 655	47.8
Entered 1980 to 1989................................	10 740	21.7
Entered before 1980..................................	1 585	3.2
RACE		
One race..	47 405	95.8
White..	1 125	2.3
Black or African American........................	45	0.1
American Indian and Alaska Native............	30	0.1
Asian..	45 885	92.8
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander..............	85	0.2
Some other race.......................................	240	0.5
Two or more races...	2 050	4.1
HISPANIC OR LATINO ORIGIN		
Hispanic or Latino (of any race).....................	160	0.3
Not Hispanic or Latino..................................	49 300	99.7
White alone..	1 090	2.2
LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME		
Population 5 years and over......................	49 115	100.0
English only...	7 760	15.8
Language other than English.........................	41 355	84.2
Speak English less than "very well"............	19 355	39.4
Spanish..	100	0.2
Speak English less than "very well"........	40	0.1
Other Indo-European languages................	1 330	2.7
Speak English less than "very well"........	350	0.7
Asian and Pacific Island languages...........	39 735	80.9
Speak English less than "very well"........	18 890	38.5
RELATIONSHIP		
Total population..	49 460	100.0
In households...	48 300	97.7
Householder...	19 300	39.0
Spouse..	13 390	27.1
Child..	5 350	10.8
Own child under 18 years......................	3 030	6.1
Other relatives...	3 630	7.3
Under 18 years.....................................	180	0.4
Nonrelatives...	6 630	13.4
Unmarried partner.................................	980	2.0
In group quarters..	1 160	2.3
Institutionalized population........................	40	0.1
Noninstitutionalized population..................	1 110	2.2
HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE		
Total households[2]..................................	19 300	100.0
Family households (families)..........................	11 435	59.2
With own children under 18 years..............	6 665	34.5
Married-couple family................................	9 840	51.0
With own children under 18 years..........	6 020	31.2
Female householder, no husband present	1 095	5.7
With own children under 18 years..........	525	2.7
Nonfamily households....................................	7 865	40.8
Householder living alone...........................	4 915	25.5
Householder 65 years and over...............	185	1.0
RESIDENCE IN 1995		
Population 5 years and over......................	49 115	100.0
Same house in 1995......................................	15 705	32.0
Different house in the U.S. in 1995.................	18 860	38.4
Same county...	9 825	20.0
Different county..	9 035	18.4
Same state..	4 130	8.4
Different state..	4 905	10.0
Elsewhere in 1995...	14 550	29.6

Subject	Number	Percent
SEX AND AGE		
Total population..	49 460	100.0
Male..	23 655	47.8
Female...	25 805	52.2
Under 5 years...	345	0.7
5 to 9 years..	920	1.9
10 to 14 years...	1 205	2.4
15 to 19 years...	2 105	4.3
20 to 24 years...	7 890	16.0
25 to 34 years...	12 590	25.5
35 to 44 years...	14 380	29.1
45 to 54 years...	6 285	12.7
55 to 59 years...	1 495	3.0
60 to 64 years...	970	2.0
65 to 74 years...	875	1.8
75 to 84 years...	350	0.7
85 years and over...	50	0.1
Median age (years)..	34.8	(X)
18 years and over..	46 130	93.3
Male..	22 060	44.6
Female...	24 070	48.7
21 years and over..	43 425	87.8
62 years and over..	1 825	3.7
65 years and over..	1 275	2.6
Male..	555	1.1
Female...	720	1.5
MARITAL STATUS		
Population 15 years and over.....................	46 990	100.0
Never married..	17 460	37.2
Now married, excluding separated..................	26 525	56.4
Separated..	560	1.2
Widowed..	635	1.4
Female...	530	1.1
Divorced..	1 810	3.9
Female...	1 095	2.3
GRANDPARENTS AS CAREGIVERS		
Grandparent living in household with one or more own grandchildren under 18 years........	655	100.0
Grandparent responsible for grandchildren..................	120	18.3
SCHOOL ENROLLMENT		
Population 3 years and over enrolled in school...............................	15 630	100.0
Nursery school, preschool..............................	150	1.0
Kindergarten..	195	1.2
Elementary school (grades 1-8)......................	1 705	10.9
High school (grades 9-12)..............................	1 550	9.9
College or graduate school	12 025	76.9
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT		
Population 25 years and over.....................	36 995	100.0
Less than 9th grade.......................................	3 220	8.7
9th to 12th grade, no diploma........................	3 280	8.9
High school graduate (includes equivalency).................	5 800	15.7
Some college, no degree................................	3 890	10.5
Associate degree...	2 100	5.7
Bachelor's degree..	10 690	28.9
Graduate or professional degree....................	8 015	21.7
Percent high school graduate or higher..........	(X)	82.4
Percent bachelor's degree or higher...............	(X)	50.6
VETERAN STATUS		
Civilian population 18 years and over...............	46 065	100.0
Civilian veterans...	410	0.9

Source: United States Census 2000

Table FBP-2. Profile of Selected Economic Characteristics: 2000

Population Universe: People Born in Malaysia [1]
Geographic Area: UNITED STATES

[For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/sf3.pdf]

Subject	Number	Percent	Subject	Number	Percent
EMPLOYMENT STATUS			**COMMUTING TO WORK**		
Population 16 years and over...............	46 785	100.0	Workers 16 years and over.......................	30 240	100.0
In labor force....................................	32 430	69.3	Car, truck, or van - - drove alone............	17 920	59.3
Civilian labor force........................	32 370	69.2	Car, truck, or van - - carpooled.............	4 325	14.3
Employed..................................	30 780	65.8	Public transportation (including taxicab)........	4 245	14.0
Unemployed..............................	1 585	3.4	Walked...	2 615	8.6
Percent of civilian labor force.............	(X)	4.9	Other means...................................	410	1.4
Armed Forces...............................	65	0.1	Worked at home...............................	730	2.4
Not in labor force..............................	14 350	30.7	Mean travel time to work (minutes)............	27.1	(X)
Females 16 years and over.......................	24 445	100.0	**INCOME IN 1999**		
In labor force....................................	15 030	61.5	Households [2].................................	19 300	100.0
Civilian labor force........................	15 025	61.5	Less than $10,000............................	2 910	15.1
Employed..................................	14 245	58.3	$10,000 to $14,999..........................	860	4.5
			$15,000 to $24,999..........................	1 785	9.2
Own children under 6 years...................	485	100.0	$25,000 to $34,999..........................	2 050	10.6
All parents in family in labor force............	90	18.6	$35,000 to $49,999..........................	2 440	12.6
			$50,000 to $74,999..........................	3 355	17.4
Employed civilian population			$75,000 to $99,999..........................	2 120	11.0
16 years and over...............................	30 780	100.0	$100,000 to $149,999........................	2 160	11.2
OCCUPATION			$150,000 to $199,999........................	850	4.4
Management, professional, and related occupations........	16 560	53.8	$200,000 or more............................	775	4.0
Service occupations.............................	5 130	16.7	Median household income (dollars)............	47 247	(X)
Sales and office occupations....................	5 990	19.5			
Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations....................	20	0.1	With earnings.................................	17 485	90.6
Construction, extraction, and maintenance			Mean earnings (dollars).....................	66 766	(X)
occupations..................................	890	2.9	With Social Security income..................	830	4.3
Production, transportation, and material moving			Mean Social Security income (dollars).........	9 414	(X)
occupations..................................	2 190	7.1	With Supplemental Security Income...........	295	1.5
			Mean Supplemental Security Income (dollars)..........	6 416	(X)
INDUSTRY			With public assistance income................	230	1.2
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, and mining.......	95	0.3	Mean public assistance income (dollars)........	4 365	(X)
Construction....................................	720	2.3	With retirement income.......................	535	2.8
Manufacturing..................................	4 255	13.8	Mean retirement income (dollars)............	19 322	(X)
Wholesale trade...............................	1 085	3.5			
Retail trade....................................	2 490	8.1	Families [2]...................................	11 435	100.0
Transportation and warehousing, and utilities...............	890	2.9	Less than $10,000............................	775	6.8
Information....................................	1 480	4.8	$10,000 to $14,999..........................	400	3.5
Finance, insurance, real estate, and rental and			$15,000 to $24,999..........................	1 115	9.8
leasing......................................	2 105	6.8	$25,000 to $34,999..........................	1 250	10.9
Professional, scientific, management, administrative,			$35,000 to $49,999..........................	1 280	11.2
and waste management services..................	3 905	12.7	$50,000 to $74,999..........................	2 110	18.5
Educational, health and social services...........	6 560	21.3	$75,000 to $99,999..........................	1 430	12.5
Arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodation and			$100,000 to $149,999........................	1 750	15.3
food services.................................	5 000	16.2	$150,000 to $199,999........................	685	6.0
Other services (except public administration)................	1 530	5.0	$200,000 or more............................	640	5.6
Public administration...........................	670	2.2	Median family income (dollars)...............	58 906	(X)
CLASS OF WORKER			Per capita income (dollars)...................	27 009	(X)
Private wage and salary workers.................	25 795	83.8	*Median earnings (dollars):*		
Government workers............................	3 610	11.7	Male full-time, year-round workers............	45 532	(X)
Self-employed workers in own not incorporated			Female full-time, year-round workers............	32 277	(X)

Subject	Number	Percent	Subject	Number below poverty level	Percent below poverty level
business......................................	1 255	4.1			
Unpaid family workers.............................	120	0.4			
			POVERTY STATUS IN 1999		
DISABILITY STATUS OF THE CIVILIAN			Families [2]..................................	1 200	10.5
NONINSTITUTIONALIZED POPULATION			With related children under 18 years..........	730	10.8
Population 5 to 20 years...................	5 670	100.0	With related children under 5 years..........	305	9.3
With a disability................................	445	7.8	Families with female householder, no		
Population 21 to 64 years................	42 070	100.0	husband present [2]........................	260	23.7
With a disability................................	6 060	14.4	With related children under 18 years..........	150	28.3
Percent employed...........................	(X)	71.9	With related children under 5 years..........	45	32.1
No disability....................................	36 005	85.6	Individuals...................................	9 690	20.0
Percent employed...........................	(X)	69.3	18 years and over............................	8 795	19.5
Population 65 years and over............	1 270	100.0	65 years and over............................	200	15.7
With a disability................................	440	34.6	Related children under 18 years.............	860	26.8
			Related children 5 to 17 years.............	800	27.9
			Unrelated individuals 15 years and over...........	6 080	41.8

- Represents zero or rounds to zero.
(X) Not applicable.
See http://factfinder.census.gov/metadoc/birthplace.pdf for Place of Birth Code List.

Source: United States Census 2000