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All in the Family: A Comparative Study of Identity and Place-making in the Chinese and Jewish Diasporas

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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

Signature:

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Table of Contents

Table of Tables

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Abstract

This thesis explores the major influence of the family as a primary site of identity development and place-making in diaspora populations, comparing the Chinese and Jewish diasporas. At first glance, the Chinese diaspora and the Jewish diaspora appear very different demographically and culturally. However, a closer examination identifies similarities in historical experience and cultural perspectives, including status, dispersion, traditions and rituals, which raises the question as to whether these similarities extend to perspectives on identity and a sense of place. The research draws from both primary data gathered from interviews with members of these two diasporas and the extensive historical, political and socio-cultural literature examining the Chinese and Jewish diasporas.

The family as the site of identity development and place-making is examined broadly, encompassing both the idea of close kin as family and the idea of the imagined community as fictive kin. The analysis explores three aspects of the role of family in identity development and place-making and each aspect is explored using a comparison of a geographical sub-section of the Jewish diaspora and the Chinese diaspora as an illustrative case study. Each comparative case study was selected due to parallels in the history and status of each population. Firstly, place-making, identity performance and communication in the family is explored using the Chinese diaspora in Australia and the Jewish diaspora in Australia as the case study. Then the role of language in the family influencing identity development and place-making is explored using the Chinese diaspora in Indonesia and the Jewish diaspora in Germany as the case study. Finally, the nature and practice of culture in identity and place-making in the family is explored using the Chinese diaspora in Malaysia and the Jewish diaspora in South Africa as the case study. The thesis concludes that, in spite of the diversity in culture and practice and individual choice, members of both diasporas develop their identity and sense of place primarily through perspectives cultivated within the family.

Part 1:

Chapter 1: Introduction

How I Began with this Topic

The subject of this research has had a long genesis. The seed of comparing the Chinese and Jewish diasporas was sown during my Bachelor's degree in Asian Studies over fifteen years ago when I first encountered the infamous phrase describing Southeast Asian Chinese as 'the Jews of Asia' (see Reid, 2009, p. 199). It had never occurred to me that there might be similarities between these two seemingly disparate people groups. I quickly came to understand the political and economic underpinnings of the phrase, although remaining steadfastly against its negative connotations. Later, I joined a majority ethnic-Chinese church and my brother married into a South African Jewish family. In spending time with both groups, I found that, despite their differences, there were many social and cultural similarities between Jewish and Chinese peoples. I became intrigued with the idea of looking more closely into this.

This brought to mind another experience that occurred during my bachelor's degree. In my third year, I spent a semester studying in China with a small group of fellow students from my university. Most of the group were ethnic Chinese originally from Malaysia or Singapore. I assumed they would be more comfortable than I because of an affinity with the Chinese people. Instead they felt just as, if not more, out of their comfort zones in this new environment. Indeed, in some respects my interactions with Chinese residents were more positive. For example, the local Chinese would often lavishly praise my limited attempts to speak Mandarin but were highly critical of my Chinese friends' language skills. A common comment directed at them was "you're Chinese, why can't you speak Chinese?" followed by confusion when my friends replied, "because I'm from Australia/Malaysia/Singapore." That experience raised many questions around the disjuncture between diaspora Chinese and homeland Chinese and whether this disjuncture can be observed in other diasporas. Given the history of the Jewish people and the State of Israel, I wondered if a similar situation could be observed between the Jewish diaspora and the Israelis. Additionally, in witnessing how my Chinese friends did not feel 'at home' in China but still strongly identified as Chinese, it became very clear that notions of Chinese identity encompass significant diversity and that this can be extrapolated to other cultural groups.

As I embarked on the PhD program, I began drawing together these experiences and ponderings into a research question. I wanted to explore what individuals see as making up their cultural identities. As Ang (2001, p. 11) states, "there can never be a perfect fit between fixed identity label and hybrid personal experience." I was interested in exploring how and to what extent contested ideas of 'diaspora,' 'homeland' or even the very existence of a unified 'Jewish people' or 'Chinese people' are experienced by individuals and how they negotiate institutional, governmental and other actors who assign specific identity labels to them. For example, if an individual practices Judaism or who has forbears who identified as Jewish then that individual would be deemed to be Jewish. Or a person with 'Chinese' printed on their ID card would be deemed to be Chinese regardless of their personal identity preferences. Thus, this imposed identity will have an impact on an individual to some extent regardless of how the individual chooses to engage with it.

The selection of the Jewish and Chinese diasporas for the comparative study came about as a result of initial background research as well as from observations of certain similarities between the two groups. My personal background and connections to the Chinese and Jewish groups also played a part in that decision in terms of access to data collection. As well as Asian Studies, my academic background is in International Relations. This influenced the initial design of the research, with a heavy focus on the homeland states and interactions between the political and socio-cultural. At the start of this research I had two main questions I wanted to answer. Firstly, do homeland states with large reach, publicity and perceived influence have a significant impact on the development of identity within members of their diasporas who were not born within those states? The second question stems from my own scholarly and personal observations of the Chinese and Jewish diasporas. Are there similarities in responses between the members of the two groups and can these similarities be attributed to parallels in the history, status or social conditions of the two groups? Further, I wondered if similarities could be drawn between geographical sub-sections of these two groups who lived in states with similarities in policies and history.

It became clear quite early in the data collection that the answer to the first question was that homeland states had minimal impact on the development of identity for my participants. Whenever they refer to the impact of Israel or China, they are speaking about elements other than the state apparatus or policies, and usually attributing the impact to having family links to the homeland state. The data collected points to one

key theme - family. While there are many influences including tradition, culture and education, all these influences are predominantly mediated through the family. However, what encompasses the family can be diverse, including both immediate kin and the imagined community of fictive kin.

In addition to the primary data itself, the project has also been guided by the changes in my supervisory team. This has included incorporating perspectives from Cultural Studies and Geography to explore the nexus between identity development and place-making. It is the evolution of the project that has given value to its place within the scholarship exploring identity formation. Drawing from multiple scholarly areas is advantageous in examining the diversity of identity and the many influences that contribute to its development. For example, it adds to my ability to discern commonalities in identity development between groups that could be considered disparate. This allows for similarities and patterns to be observed and applied to the analysis.

In addition to this, especially in International Relations, examinations of identity formation tend to focus on the larger-scale - the state and collective. The multi-disciplinary nature of this thesis allows for the examination of both individual perceptions of identity formation and the relationship with larger-scale collective identities. Finally, the worth of a project such as this can be seen in relation to the current era of globalisation. This era has seen increased emphasis on interconnectedness. However, a common reaction to this interconnectedness has been increasing focus on the uniqueness and solidarity of the individual and ethnic, cultural or national group. In this era, the development of an understanding of individual identity and its interactions with group identity are essential in understanding events and attitudes. Utilising the inter-disciplinary strength of International Relations and going beyond its common state and political focus by drawing from a diversity of ideas, can enhance understanding and demonstrate the importance of individual experience to understanding the character and perceptions of the collective

Objectives of the Research

The objective of this project is to look closely into the evolution and development of diasporic identities. This dissertation will attempt to relate certain ideas of identity and place-making, particularly that of diasporas as examined in the literature, to the experiences of individual members of the two groups being explored. Therefore, the thesis will examine both individual and diasporic identity. It is conceivable to examine these types of identity autonomously but they are also closely inter-related. Diasporic identity can be both an aspect of individual identity and beyond individual identity, relating to the group. Although it is conceivable to examine individual identity without reference to diasporic identity one cannot examine diasporic identity without considering individual identity. This is largely because ideas of dispersion in diaspora play an important role in the construction of individual identity for diaspora members. This, in turn, allows for the maintenance of diaspora identity (Schnapper, 1999, p. 235) (see chapter 2 for further examination of this idea). Overall, the participants in this project formed their ideas about identity through the circumstances and experiences of their own upbringings. I intend to demonstrate that through examining the literature regarding diasporas, and how homelands relate to their diasporas, common patterns and differences regarding the development of identity in Chinese and Jewish diaspora members can be observed.

I also explore how these observed commonalities and differences hold up when compared to the opinions and perceptions of individual members of the diasporas in question. I am interested in how specific demographic characteristics impact on whether patterns of identity formation are present or not, and if similar demographics culminate in similar results in the two diaspora groups and vice versa. Due to the small sample size utilised in the research, it won't be feasible to determine a universally-applicable causal mechanism for identity formation. However, the data will demonstrate that there are similarities in perspectives about identity and place-making between groups and sub-groups with similar demographics and experiences. Therefore, it is viable to discern patterns when examining the formations of identity in diaspora groups.

The inter-disciplinary nature of this research has meant that the examined literature explaining and examining the histories of both these diasporas is wide ranging. The research draws from literature within the disciplines of International Relations, Political Science, History, Anthropology, Sociology, Cultural Studies, Geography, Life Writing and Psychology. In addition to this, much of the literature is focused on the idea of

modernisation in relation to the state, the character of population groups and the socio-cultural. In this thesis, the modernisation I am referring to is that predominantly originating from, and globalised by, the West, including Enlightenment principles and capitalism (see G. Wang, 2004, p. 312). I also see modernisation in this context as time-specific. Namely, in the era where these ideas gained traction, it refers to governance and the state sovereignty system that all countries and groups evaluate their identity and actions against, even if this results in a rejection of such ideas of the modern.

How I came to Recognise the Importance of Family and Place-making to Identity Formation

The framework of identity being centred around the family emerged as a result of a number of elements that were recurring throughout the research. Identity development and place-making[1] in diaspora, migrant and minority[2] individuals has to take into account factors that may not be an issue for others. For example, in the process of migration there will be a re-evaluation of the identity of oneself or one's family. This will aim to both adapt to the new environment and, if possible, retain elements of the culture and values of origin as deemed important (Wickberg, 2007, p. 178). Movement creates a separation between migrants and the society and culture of origin and therefore it is not uncommon for migrants to rely on memory to construct ideas of culture and homeland. This means that some details may be lost or warped in the process (Kipnis, 2002, p. 1103). It also means that in the absence of previously available sources of identity and memory, the family becomes the primary source. This is both because of the proximity of the family and the unfamiliarity of other potential sources in the new host land. Additionally, the greater the contrast between diaspora culture and host land culture, the more extensive the issues that need to be negotiated regarding ethnic, cultural and national identities (Carstens, 2003, p. 324). This is in addition to the diversity within Chineseness and Jewishness, which can differ

[1] In this thesis, identity will be examined as the sense of self as both an individual and as a member of specific collectivities. Place-making will be utilised as the creation of a sense of belonging in both physical locations and socio-cultural environments.

[2] A distinction is made between these terms in this thesis. Diaspora is defined by the maintenance of ties after geographic movement to the state, culture and people group of origin. Migration is the term used for this geographic movement and minority refers to a sub-section of a state's population that is numerically small, relatively. Such sub-groups are distinguished from the majority population by ethnicity, culture, status, perceived role in society and other characteristics.

between people who retain strong adherence to tradition and people who focus on the importance of modernisation (see G. Wang, 2009, p. 201). Family not only provides a constant anchor to an individual's identity but examining identity through the framework of family can bring continuity to the development of understanding. Therefore, in this research, family is not only the focus of the analyses but also its anchor.

The family can also be thought of as being a source of 'given' (that is, 'primordial') elements of identity that can be assumed to exist in a socio-cultural environment (Geertz, 1996, p. 41). Well-known examples of this can be seen in both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas. Economic ties within networks in and between China and the diaspora can be linked to ideas of family and links to ancestral villages and networks (Yahuda, 1993, p. 688). Thus, some have the perspective that economic prowess is a part of the Chinese make up. In the diaspora, this can be traced to the failure of the Qing authorities to link the trading potential of the diaspora to a strong Chinese national identity in the nineteenth century. Instead, the Chinese diaspora flourished, especially in Southeast Asia, based on an identity and networks based outside the Chinese state, often linked to the family through companies and organisations (Mathew, 2012, p. 357), (see also G. Wang, 1991, p. 32). There have been numerous historical instances of a Jewish population being viewed with mistrust or suspicion about their aims and motives by the majority population of a host land. It has been argued that such attitudes can be partly attributed to reactions to the Jewish diaspora's ability to thrive economically, educationally and culturally and maintain strong links to family, religion and culture even in socially hostile environments (F. Cohen, Jussim, Harber, & Bhasin, 2009, p. 291; Gold, 2004, p. 331). In both diasporas, family can be viewed as both a contributing factor to socio-cultural status and also the means of negotiating the implications of such a status.

The centrality of the family within the framework of analysis also comes from the focus on cultural elements within the diaspora literature and the perspectives of the participants. Cultural behaviour in human societies can be considered to be that which goes beyond the physiological and includes actions, thoughts and perceptions of environment and experience (Downs & Bleibtreu, 1975, p. 4). Cultural behaviour is also defined by its nature of being transmitted from older to younger generations and as such is very focused on the family (Downs & Bleibtreu, 1975, p. 4). This can be seen in the importance of ancestry and family ties in the Confucianist values system carried by many Chinese to their host lands. The emphasis on kinship ties

and preparing genealogies has been maintained and has resulted in some of the longest and most continuous family histories seen in the world (G. Wang, 2009, p. 210).

Culture becomes important within diaspora populations as cultural behaviour can have system-wide impacts because major changes in one area of behaviour will impact other areas of cultural behaviour (Downs & Bleibtreu, 1975, p. 5). Such system-wide changes have a significant impact on identity development and a sense of place. Many aspects of culture are propagated within the level of the family or household, including the practice of rituals, marriage and child-rearing traditions and the generational transmission of ideas and values. For example, Chinese culture and history can be found as an underlying element of many family rituals, especially those relating to births, deaths and marriages (G. Wang, 2009, p. 204). Therefore, it is critical to look at the family when examining the development of identity and sense of place. This is particularly so as, by the twentieth century, ancestral historical ties had become institutionalised in a number of ways. This both kept diaspora members tied to community and gave a foundation from which to innovate and build (G. Wang, 2009, p. 210). Additionally, the importance of family and ancestral ties manifests in the maintenance of language skills to ensure communication with kin. The importance of maintaining ties is also seen as the means of ensuring community binding and enabling business networking (G. Wang, 2009, p. 211).

In this thesis, what I am referring to as family can be seen in both the large and small scales. The small-scale refers to immediate kin, those related by blood, marriage, adoption and the like. The large-scale refers to the imagined community, 'fictive kinships' based around social groupings (see Kyomugisha & Rutayuga, 2011, p. 191). This will be explored in more detail in Chapter 2. In both diasporas, such ideas have long been promoted in relation to religion, culture, ritual and celebration, economics and politics. This broader idea of family stems from the fact that many of the participants' responses were drawn from their own memories and the memories passed down to them within the family. Additionally, this use of memory can be seen throughout the case studies utilised in the literature. 'Memory,' is both personal and collective and it differs from 'history' as it emphasises interpretation and focuses on the different ways it can be constructed by groups or individuals. Collective memory can become myth, legend, sacred or inspire public ritual or commemoration. It can be manipulated or exploited in order to meet the perceived needs of the socio-political present (see Zerubavel, 1995). The sharing of memory is a means of transmitting

culture and, as culture is focused on the family in both diasporas, family becomes an obvious site for examining memory. This research will examine the idea that all aspects of identity, be it personal, national, cultural, diasporic or any other kind, can be seen as relating to family. If the origins of the perspectives or stances of individuals or groups regarding culture, nationalism or loyalty are traced, they can be seen as adhering to, or reacting against, that instilled within the family. That is, the nature of their family and experiences within the family.

Why I'm Looking at this Topic in this Time Period

A project centred on examining diaspora identity, and focused on these two specific diasporas, is pertinent and timely because contemporary globalisation has seen ideas that surround identity and migrant, diaspora and transnational populations become prominent. In addition, both the diasporas and the two homelands, China and Israel, have played prominent roles since at least the mid-twentieth century.

Towards the end of the last century there was speculation that diaspora or transnationalism was in decline due to globalisation (Sheffer, 2006, p. 121). Instead the opposite has occurred. These kinds of communities are increasing in number, size and level of organisation (Sheffer, 2006, p. 121). Ideas of diaspora and transnationalism have become central in contemporary theories on migration (Brettell, 2006, p. 327). This is because plural societies and multiple loyalties or affiliations within a population are becoming increasingly prominent in the current age of globalisation. This can be observed in familial networks but also in work and social organisations (Haiming Liu, 2006, p. 150). With increased mobility and information flows becoming increasingly fluid, the meanings of ideas about place, community and nation are being contested and unstable (Barabantseva, 2005, p. 7).

The periodisation of this study is therefore conscious and deliberate. Globalisation and the communications revolution allow for greater access to more information and opportunities to go places or do things beyond what would have been practicable in previous generations. Individuals can go places or do things than minimise or maximise what they wish, to cultivate the identity they want. If their social and economic standing allows, they can make conscious decisions to maintain an identity in line with their forebears even if there are difficulties. In the current era of globalisation, choice plays a more central role in identity development and place-

making. This research examines the perspectives of those who choose to maintain an identity linked to Jewishness or Chineseness in an era where choosing alternatives is more possible than it may have been in the past. Chinese diaspora members in contemporary states have in common with the Jewish diaspora in similar societies the idea that they do not have to return to the homeland and return is not necessarily their primary desire. The Chinese diaspora and Jewish diaspora individuals spoken to throughout this research instead had opportunities to cross the borders between host lands and the homeland relatively easily. Maintenance of the idea that decision to move or return were about what was considered to be the best decision for them (see Chan, 1997, p. 207).

Additionally, states are part of an integrated global whole and can therefore impact on populations with any kind of affiliation with them (see Jacobsen, 2009, p. 70). In this era of globalisation, states have become increasingly dependent on the international community for their economic survival. A greater openness leads to international influences on states in areas beyond the economic (Jacobsen, 2009, p. 70). For example, the adoption of multicultural policies in most Western states has led to new migrants being more able to accommodate and adapt a range of aspects of their identity into the different social contexts they encounter (Lev Ari, 2011, p. 1).

In more recent times, ideas such as multiculturalism have become the mostly accepted norm in many host lands. In these instances, there is less pressure for migrants to suppress aspects of their identities in order to fit into the host land society (Lev Ari, 2011, p. 1). For example, there has been a rapid expansion of media sources such as websites, magazines and newspapers targeted at Chinese people. These communicate Chinese culture, language and national image to Chinese people both inside and outside the borders of the People's Republic of China (PRC) (see Ding, 2011, p. 301). This has resulted in an increased pool of information and influence diaspora members can draw on when constructing their identities. The breadth of sources and the ease of access might suggest that a greater shift in identity-related priorities may be observed in diaspora members of today than if the study had taken place even a few decades ago. However, this is not universal and even in multicultural host lands there may be some elements of identity that need to be, at least, de-emphasised.

Globalisation has impacted on both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas, their interactions and how they and the homeland states portray themselves as Chinese or Jewish. In recent decades, Chinese migration has expanded to encompass an even

wider range of sites and has become multidirectional. This is in large part due to the nature of globalisation (Parker, 2005, p. 412). As China is often viewed as having a central role in this century, considerations about learning and speaking Mandarin, China's official language, and increasing business and travel links to the country are becoming more prominent with diaspora members. Facets of globalisation such as the internet and a greater ease of travel further emphasise this (Parker, 2005, p. 416). Similarly, the accelerated processes of communication and information accessibility and liberalisation stemming from globalisation have impacted on definitions of Jewish identity and diaspora relations with Israel (Sheffer, 2012, p. 80). Additionally, access to more information and easier communication has seen a rise in anti-Semitism being experienced by the diaspora, with the perpetrators justifying it by the actions of Israel (see F. Cohen et al., 2009, p. 290). These contemporary developments make conducting this research at this time both interesting and necessary. As these developments also impact on the development of identity, their examination informs the trajectory of identity formation, which places the research within the trajectory of identity scholarship.

Diaspora, Migration and the Relevance of Diaspora Scholarship to this Research

Diaspora is closely linked to migration and ideas of migration often come up in any discussion of diaspora. However, diaspora narratives differ from those of migration as the latter tends to emphasise 'new starts' over the maintenance of connections and continuity (Mankekar, 1994, p. 367). Relations with the homeland are an important means of maintaining connections and continuity in diaspora and can occur through engagement with the economic, political, familial, social or religious. A diaspora can also be the means of promulgating the culture, ideas or interests of the homeland (Lev Ari, 2011, p. 1). Even if that homeland is more mythic than tangible (Esman, 1996, p. 318). Diaspora connections with the homeland can be maintained through familial communication, the recruitment of teachers or religious leaders, economic, humanitarian or military assistance or involvement in political developments (Esman, 1996, pp. 317-318). The type and extent of the engagement of a diaspora with its homeland depends on both the opportunities and skills available at a given time (Esman, 1996, p. 320).

A simple definition of the Chinese diaspora is those who can trace their origins or ancestry to China but who have settled beyond China's borders (Salaff, 2005, p. 3). The history of the Jewish people and Israel makes a similarly simple definition of the Jewish diaspora less easy to come by. However, Israel's Law of Return can be utilised as a basis for a basic definition, making a Jew someone who is entitled to Israeli citizenship through this law (see Ben Rafael, 2002, pp. 32-33, 43, 51). However, defining and examining both these groups is far more complex than these basic definitions suggest. Therefore, an understanding of diaspora scholarship and the relations between diaspora and the state is important. This understanding gives context to the perspectives voiced by the participants and situates their own Jewish or Chinese identities within the larger spheres of the Jewish and Chinese peoples and communities, migration and transnationalism and relations between the state and groups or individuals in general. For example, the evolution of diaspora studies is closely linked to global events and the development of large scale ideas, including colonialism, its decline and the creation of new independent states, nationalism, the rise of consciousness in indigenous populations and the rise of anti-Semitism amongst changes in Europe during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries including industrialisation, Darwinism and nationalism.

These events and ideas have changed the ways diasporas have defined themselves as old ideas have been adapted, reconstructed or discarded to fit into the contemporary worlds of diaspora members and the scholarship has adapted in response (see Gale, 1997, p. 330). Additionally, diaspora studies are beneficial to this research as they are influenced by ideas of globalisation. This is particularly so in regards to identity being less linked to specific geography and socio-cultural engagements being less impeded by boundaries (Blumer, 2011, p. 1332) and the phenomena of increases in the number of people living in and engaging with diaspora in a globalising world (Mittelberg, 2007, p. 31).

Why These Two Diasporas?

As stated in the beginning of this chapter, the Jewish and Chinese diasporas were selected due to my personal connections but also due to the parallels that can be observed between the two groups. Firstly, there has been debate about whether both groups really do constitute diasporas. Understandings of relations between ethnicities and races have primarily been in terms of culture, ethnic affiliation and nationality. Chinese people residing outside of China have often been defined as a single ethnic group due to similarities in physical appearance and assumed commonalities in culture, values and customs (Salaff, 2005, p. 3). However, despite the ideas and terminology utilised by policy-makers and academia, there has never been a single, unified Chinese diaspora population. There is diversity in perceptions of the Chinese state and the host land states they reside in. There is also diversity in perceptions of the diaspora's role as Chinese resident outside China (G. Wang, 1993, p. 939). This is in addition to diversity in Chinese diaspora communities based around differences in language or dialect, place of birth and ancestral origin. The Jewish people outside Israel have been classified as a single group due to their cultural links to Judaism and a shared history of persecution and discrimination. However, like the Chinese diaspora, there are many variations in terms of perceptions of affiliation to Israel or host land states, language, ancestry and country of birth, compounded by ethnic and racial diversity. For the sake of this thesis it will be assumed that the connections that can be observed within these two diaspora groups globally do constitute diasporas.

Beyond definitions, there are a number of factors regarding the nature of the Chinese and Jewish diasporas that have sufficient parallels to justify comparison. For example, there has been a tendency in some of the scholarship to attribute the existence of connections, especially the economic, between China and the Chinese diaspora to primordialism or cultural kinship (Hoe, 2005, p. 559). Similarly, the shared ties between all within World Jewry are seen to stem from the primordial, including common ancestry, collective behaviour and deep-rooted links to the homeland (Sheffer, 2002, p. 335). This kind of primordialism tends to have a nationalistic nature, intended to serve the interests of the state by obscuring differences (see, for example, Marat, 2007). This is, of course, both supported and challenged but the interest lies in whether the people such ideas are aimed at, the diasporas themselves, adopt such ideas into their own identities.

In addition to this, the Chinese and Jewish diasporas have both tended to be outsiders but have still been at the centre of many socio-cultural changes in history (see Reid, 1997, p. 34). Their status as outsiders has often, in both diasporas, been linked to them occupying positions as traders or middlemen. Traders and middlemen are often positioned as separate to the majority, not just by their occupations but by factors such as ethnicity, religion, race, language or a previously-held status (Zenner, 1996, p. 184). Governments that permit the entry of middlemen minorities often implement laws and policies that limit or prevent access by these migrants to land ownership, entry into the civil service or being eligible for citizenship (Zenner, 1996, p. 185). If a migrant population is set up as distinct from the rest of the population they tend to be relatively weak and lacking in authority, if not power. This means that, although they may receive a degree of protection from the government, as they fill a perceived need, they are also often made convenient scapegoats or seen as suspect (Zenner, 1996, p. 185). Their position frequently means they do not invest in land or heavy industry and in a climate of nationalism they can be accused of sending money out of the country and exploiting the native peoples of the state (Zenner, 1996, p. 185).

In the Chinese diaspora, migrants' ideas of Chineseness are often influenced by not only the historical ideas they brought with them but also by the circumstances and ideas they encountered as a minority in their new places of residence. 'Chineseness' can be perceived as the characteristic elements that make up Chinese identity. The ideas and policies regarding Chineseness created by China have been influenced by specific factors. These include historical experience (especially during the European colonial era), the evolution of population demographics and power relations, both domestic and international.

In the Jewish diaspora, the destruction of the Second Temple meant that there was no longer a physical homeland, leading the Rabbis to create a diaspora around the synagogue which allowed Jews to have a sense of home wherever they resided but still maintained a cultural distinctiveness from the non-Jewish peoples with whom they lived (Aviv & Shneer, 2005, p. 5). Additionally, aside from unity through religious practice and belief, the Jewish diaspora as a whole developed strategies to ensure the continuity of the community including elements of self-isolation, the development of institutions which were entirely self-contained and a substantial set of religious dictates and guidelines which were central to maintaining a sense of separate identity. In order to ensure the physical survival of the community, diaspora populations relied of the indifference (at least) of the majority population as well as adhering to the

society's laws and refraining from becoming involved in conflicts with the majority population (Safran, 2005, p. 44).

Finally, the homeland states of Israel and China have frequently taken interest in their diasporas and have tried to influence the diasporas and utilise them for their own interests. At various times in history, homeland states have presented themselves as representing their diasporas (L. Kong, 1999, p. 565). One example in the Jewish diaspora is the government-backed roots tourism program, March of the Living seeking to create a feeling of 'home' in Israel amongst diaspora youth as they approach adulthood (Blumer, 2011, pp. 1332-1334). In the Chinese diaspora this often has an economic element such as during the Reform Era[3] when China overtly courted diaspora involvement in China's modernisation (Bolt, 1996, p. 474).

Within both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas, the level of influence the homeland has on the diaspora is contested. Many believe that China as the homeland will play a lesser role than the host lands and their Chinese communities in influencing diaspora identity development (Chong, 2006, pp. 284-285). It must then be asked what is it about the various Chinese diaspora communities that makes them Chinese if links to China itself are severed (Chong, 2006, p. 285)? The importance of supporting Israel by the Jewish diaspora is often attributed to the idea that Israel allows Jews to end their exile and ease the risk of destruction due to anti-Semitism (see Magid, 2006, p. 201). However, most diaspora Jews do not consider themselves as living in exile (Sheffer, 2012, p. 80). Additionally, in recent times there has been debate about whether Israel is the most important centre in terms of Jewish cultural development, values and preservation (Sheffer, 2012, pp. 81-82).

As already outlined, the choice to examine the Jewish and Chinese diasporas was based both on my personal experiences and interactions but also on the perception of several parallels between the two groups. These parallels can be seen in the nature of each groups diasporism, the perceived nature of the links between diaspora members and their history as outsiders, middlemen minorities and convenient scapegoats in times of turmoil. The parallels between these Chinese and Jewish diasporas can also be seen in the development of ideas of Chineseness and

[3] The Reform Era in China began in the late 1970s with Deng Xiao Ping's post-Cultural Revolution policies. These policies opened China to the world and moved the Chinese economy from a collectivised, socialist system to a market-based, capitalist system. It is distinct from the reform era in Indonesia (referred to in this thesis by its Indonesian title, *Reformasi*). The *Reformasi* era refers to the post-New Order era, which started after Suharto's resignation in 1998.

Jewishness, the levels of interest the homeland states have in their diasporas and the complexities that can be seen in how important the homeland is to the diaspora.

Why These Three Sub-Comparisons

This project has not only selected two diasporas as the comparative case study, it has also selected three sub-comparisons within the case study. These sub-comparisons have been chosen to represent major socio-political environments experienced by the two diasporas. This gives as comprehensive an examination as possible in this relatively small investigation. The differences present in the populations of these sub-groups relate to both the practices and histories of these diaspora groups and also those of the host land states in which they reside. The Chinese and Jewish populations in Australia were chosen as representative of diasporas in a post-industrial, developed Western state. Australia is also an example of a settler state that has moved from policies of narrowly defined and restrictive immigration emphasising assimilation to policies of multiculturalism and freedom of cultural expression.

The second sub-comparison examines the Jewish population in Germany as comparable to the Chinese population in Indonesia. Both of these diaspora populations experienced periods of severe state-sponsored and encouraged discrimination and violence. Both states are still tackling the legacies of these periods. Additionally, both diaspora populations have had to consider the likelihood and means of the population surviving with their culture and identity intact.

The last sub-comparison examines the Jewish population in South Africa and the Chinese population in Malaysia. The populations of both states, and many of the issues they deal with, were largely established during the period of European colonial rule. Both these states also experienced periods where the majority populations were significantly disadvantaged due to racially-based policies and have now moved towards policies of affirmative action for these disenfranchised majorities. In both South Africa and Malaysia this has had an impact on the nature and status of the Jewish or Chinese populations and therefore impacts on their identities and senses of place.

The selection of different geographical locations for two of the three sub-comparisons did result in additional complexity, both logistically and in terms of analysis. However,

the choice to do this was deliberate and viewed as the best option for the ideas being explored. Firstly, I wished to examine the responses of diaspora members regarding identity when faced with specific attitudes or environments in their host lands as outlined above. For the first sub-comparison, it was possible to examine both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas in the chosen location, Australia. For the last two comparisons, the demographics, statuses and experiences of the Jewish and Chinese diasporas in a single location were too dissimilar to allow for meaningful comparison. As well as geographic proximity, the concentration of the Chinese diaspora in Asia is due to Western commercial interests and the actions made in response during the colonial era (Mathew, 2012, p. 354). Such an environment was never fully realised in other locations where Chinese migration occurred, leading to smaller population sizes and differing characters in the Chinese populations in locations such as South Africa and Germany.

Additionally, in some locations, such as Indonesia and Malaysia, the Chinese diaspora population was sizeable and prominent but the Jewish diaspora was extremely tiny and not very prominent in terms of policy or the socio-culture of the location. This is primarily because most Chinese migration is still centred on the Asian continent, with approximately 80% of the Chinese diaspora resident in Asian states. This has not changed significantly with the most recent wave of migration from the PRC, despite the popularity of destinations in North America, Western Europe and Australia (Shen, 2010, p. 35). In other locations such as Germany, the Chinese diaspora population has a shorter history and has not been the specific focus of national policy at any time in Germany's history. These aspects create more variables when considering a comparison between the Jewish and Chinese populations and lends more appeal to a comparison between locations, as is conducted in this thesis.

Terminology and Pseudonyms

Although the population groups utilised as case studies here will be exclusively referred to as the Chinese diaspora and the Jewish diaspora, in the literature and in common parlance several terms are used. In this thesis, I only use one term, diaspora, to reduce confusion and also because many alternative terms can have unclear definitions or negative connotations. 'Jewish diaspora' is the most widely utilised term to describe Jewish people residing outside Israel and is rarely problematic. In large part, this is because early definitions of diaspora specifically related to the exile and dispersal of the Jewish people from the Holy Land (although this is not universal, there has always been some discomfort with such an ethno-

centric definition) (Safran, 2005, pp. 36 and 38). However, the frequently utilised term 'Overseas Chinese' has been seen as problematic, confusing or politicised due to varying ideas of citizenship and loyalties connoted by the term (Hong Liu, 1998, p. 583). This term often connotes the Chinese as 'nationalised foreigners' who are not entirely loyal to the host land and still retain some degree of ties to China. It can also perpetuate the idea of the Chinese as still just sojourners and, even if a family has been resident in a host land for generations and adheres to the ideals and practices of that state, they can still be politically marginalised (Jacobsen, 2009, p. 87). The term has often been criticised in the post-World War II era especially because diaspora members have become citizens of their host states (Hong Liu, 1998, p. 583; G. Wang, 1993, p. 926) (see also Suryadinata, 1997; G. Wang, 1992).

The Chinese term 'Huaqiao,' often favoured by the PRC, can also be problematic due to its connotations of national loyalty to China and the idea that the establishment of permanent residence is in flux (Cheung, 2004, p. 664). The term 'Chinese diaspora' is not completely ideal as there is some ambiguity about its definition and who qualifies as diaspora, making it more about self-identification (Cheung, 2004, p. 664). Wang (1993, p. 927) also expresses concern with the term 'Chinese diaspora' due to its association with Jewish history and utilising this in the Southeast Asian context, preferring to use 'Chinese Overseas.' However, the text outlining these reservations is over twenty years old and the use of the term 'diaspora' has evolved and become more widely used (the term 'diaspora' will be further examined in Chapter 2). Additionally, I feel that the term 'Chinese Overseas' still connotes ambiguous residency, unsuitable for the participants in this research who are, overall, settled in their nationality and residence. Of the available and widely used terms, 'Chinese diaspora' is the least problematic as it connotes ideas of transnational networks and relations.

Secondly, it should be noted that all participant names used here are pseudonyms, all of which have been drawn from the Bible. The names of the Jewish participants are all drawn from the Old Testament, as it originates from the Jewish Bible. The Chinese names are drawn from the New Testament, as all the Chinese participants identified as Christian. Selecting a specific source for pseudonyms was deemed a better choice than random selection to avoid unconsciously choosing a name that may be related to a participant. The Bible as a source was also selected as it has a place of importance to the identities of participants from both diasporas.

Thesis Structure

The thesis is divided into two sections. The first, which includes this introduction chapter, establishes the context and relevant background information for the analysis. This first chapter has outlined the development of the project, its objectives and justified the structure of the project and selection of case studies. The second chapter explores the theoretical background concepts that give context to this thesis. As stated previously, this project is multi-disciplinary. The range of ideas that could potentially contribute to fulfilling the project's objectives are vast. There is, of course, insufficient scope to cover every related concept. Therefore, data collection and the analysis have been conducted within a theoretical framework most relevant to family as the primary site of identity formation and place-making. Theoretical concepts regarding family, identity and place-making are framed and relevant concepts such as memory, culture diaspora, migration, nation and nationalism, homeland and globalisation are outlined in the context of the project.

Although a solid foundation of theoretical understanding is essential, a clear comprehension of the background of the case studies being employed is equally necessary. Therefore, Chapter 3 will examine the historical, social and political backgrounds of the Jewish and Chinese diasporas. The background information is not simply a historical narrative but is structured to be relevant to major aspects of place-making. These include notions of origins, geographical movement, tradition, ritual and values, upheavals and persecution and reactions to the contemporary world and globalisation. The chapter will then conclude with comparisons of the backgrounds of the three sub-groups utilised in the analysis. These are the Jewish and Chinese diasporas in Australia, the Jewish diaspora in Germany and the Chinese diaspora in Indonesia and the Jewish diaspora in South Africa and the Chinese diaspora in Malaysia.

Having established solid contextual foundations, part one of the thesis will conclude with Chapter 4 outlining the methodology utilised. This chapter will look at the research design and the use of reflexivity in conducting the research. The methods of literature review, interviews, transcription, journaling and experimental data collection utilised in the research will then be outlined. The ethical issues encountered in conducting the project and their solutions will also be explored. The chapter will finally explore the methods utilised in data analysis.

The second part of the thesis comprises the three analysis chapters and the conclusion chapter. The analysis chapters explore three main themes within the family as the primary site of identity development and place-making. Although any of the sub-comparisons could have been case studies in any of the analytical chapters, by reflecting on the data I was able to find a best fit for each theme based on participants' responses.[4] Chapter 5 utilises the Jewish and Chinese diasporas in Australia as the case study and explores place-making, identity performance and communication within the family. The chapter explores what is prioritised during childrearing, in the process of migration and in engagement with the homeland through roots tourism.

Chapter 6 utilises the Jewish diaspora in Germany and the Chinese diaspora in Indonesia as the case study and explores language and the family in identity development and place-making. It focuses on the importance of Hebrew to the Jewish diaspora and Mandarin to the Chinese diaspora. The chapter examines how language is integrated into the identity of individual, the role location plays in language acquisition and expectations and the importance of passing language down to subsequent generations.

Chapter 7 rounds out the analysis using the Jewish diaspora in South Africa and the Chinese diaspora in Malaysia as the case study. It explores the role of culture in the family in creating identity and a sense of place. This chapter focuses on cultural practice and examines the idea of the lived culture for individuals and cultural practice in the imagined community. It concludes with exploring an aspect of culture, religion, and the role it plays in the identity development and place-making of individuals.

The themes of each analysis chapter are closely related and many ideas are inter-twined. Chapter 8, the conclusion to the thesis, will draw the findings made together and situate the analysis within the context of the objectives of the project. It will also

[4] Casual conversations with other members of the communities being examined, who did not become participants as they did not fulfil the criteria outlined in Chapter 4, conveyed similar perceptions and opinions as analysed in this thesis. However, as these perceptions were not given in a situation that would be covered under the ethics clearance for this project (for example, they did not give their permission for their perspectives to be published), I will not be specifically referring to them in the analysis. The perceptions and observations I have made have also been voiced by some outside observers. The extent to this is dependent on what their own examinations were focused on and whether they were willing to consider these diasporas with something approaching objectivity. Where such similarities can be observed in the literature they are included in the analysis. In other cases, additional research would be required to look into the focus and motivation behind such observations, taking it outside the scope of this research.

look at factors that could potentially impact on diaspora identity formulation and place-making into the future. As stated above, before conclusions can be drawn, a sound contextual foundation has to be established. This will now commence with the next chapter.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Background

Introduction

The theoretical concepts that will be explored in this chapter are extensive and complex. The chapter does not aim to give a comprehensive overview of each concept in its entirety. Instead the focus will be upon defining each concept within the context of this thesis and outlining the major elements that have contributed to conducting the research and the development of understanding about the main themes of the thesis. To achieve this, the chapter will be divided into two sections.

The first section (Part A) will look at the theoretical ideas behind the main objects of investigation, that is, identity and place-making. Then family will be defined and outlined within the context of the thesis, as family is posited as the primary site of identity formation and place-making. To fulfil the objectives of the project, culture and memory (incorporating narrative and story) will be major lenses of investigation. Therefore, this section will conclude through a theoretical examination of these two concepts, as relevant to the project.

The second section (Part B) will examine theoretical concepts that influence and contribute to an understanding of the major sites, themes and lenses explored in the thesis. Due to the demographic characteristics of the Jewish and Chinese diasporas, these concepts are related to their being minority, migrant populations. These concepts are diaspora, migration, nation and nationalism, homeland and globalisation. This chapter is the first of two chapters that will provide the context to my analysis and help establish links and patterns within the comparison.

Part A

Identity and Place-making

It is important to first establish what identity is being defined as within the context of this thesis. It is also important to outline what it is about identity that will be examined here, that is, its relationship with place-making.

Definitions

Although it is difficult to come to a comprehensive definition of identity, in its most basic sense identity can be considered as "the sense we have of our place in the world" (Driver, 2014, p. 235). That is, an identity is formed through experiences and interactions which an individual characterises as belonging to themselves (P. Cloke, 2014, p. 68). Identity can be characterised by other individuals, groups and institutions (Vertovec, 2001, p. 573). Both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas are viewed as culturally distinct minorities.[5] As such, that sense of having a place in the world can be contested both by their own perspectives and outside expectations.

Identity can be both plural and singular. It can be subjected to additions, subtractions, pauses and adaptations and can be multiplied across time and space without being threatened (Trinh, cited in Metta, 2010, p. 57). This can account for the diversity of elements and perspectives individuals can have regarding being Chinese or Jewish. There is no single way to be Chinese or Jewish and there are many variations of identity performance in terms of culture, faith, community engagement and ritual. Additionally, it can be observed that identities change across the generations (Salaff, 2005, p. 5). This contrasts with the traditional view that identity is specific and generally fixed (Jackson, 2014, p. 630) which is based on an assumption about the continuity of identities. Hall (1990, p. 25) posits that identity is more about "becoming" rather than "being" and is not a state that existed prior to historical changes but undergoes constant transformation. He also articulates identity as being a never completed process of production and a core feature of diaspora cultural identities (Hall, 1990, p. 22). This accounts for the variations encountered in engaging with

[5] The Chinese and Jewish diasporas are generally classified as culturally distinct minorities as a contrast to the majority populations with a territorially-based, nationalist-linked identity as the numerically superior or 'indigenous' inhabitants (A. Freedman, 2001, p. 414).

Jewish or Chinese individuals from different generations in different geographic locations. It is also an important foundational principle of the analysis in this project which can be seen throughout the thesis.

An individual sees themselves as located within a given social structure, making identity relational (P. Cloke, 2014, p. 68; Eakin, 1999, p. 43). Therefore, identity is expressed, and ownership of identity occurs, through relations and interactions with others in the social sphere. Thus, identity can be defined as a "social production" (P. J. Cloke, Crang, & Goodwin, 2014, p. 624). This can have a positive impact if it enhances a sense of belonging for the individuals. However, it can have a negative affect if the social nature of an identity is deemed to contrast too greatly with the social norms of where they are resident. In both the Jewish and Chinese diaspora populations, emphasising the differences between the Chinese or Jews as minorities from the majority population of the host land has played a central role in this social production of identity. This is because boundaries, by nature, identify the distinction of one group from another, distinguishing what particular values and other aspects separate it from others (Weissbrod, 1997, p. 48). They can therefore be sufficient basis for the development of identity (Gitelman, 1998, p. 125). Identity is constructed from common genealogical origin or common geographical origin (D. Boyarin & Boyarin, 1993, p. 693).

In more contemporary times, ideas of identity have shifted to be seen as more multiple and also fluid and unstable (S. Turner & Allen, 2007, p. 113). Identity is not a fixed entity that is inherited down the generations but is related to the moment in history in which it develops and is transmitted through culture (Whitfield, 2002, pp. 164-165). In addition to this, the intermingling of ideas regarding identity with theories of diaspora, globalisation and post-colonialism since the mid-1980s has transformed the way identity itself is thought about across a wide range of disciplines and locations (Alexander, Kaur, & St Louis, 2012, p. 4). At present there is an expectation that an individual creates their own identity and obtains recognition for that identity within society in general (Ben Rafael, 2002, p. 3).

In relation to diaspora, a post-modern or post-structuralist understanding of diaspora places individual interpretation at the centre of the development of understanding (Safran, 1999, p. 235). However, a post-modernist or post-structuralist focus is not strictly necessary to recognise the importance of the interactions between individual and diasporic identity. Indeed, Tölölyan (1996, p. 29) states that Interactions between individual identity and collective or community identity is also an important aspect of

diaspora identity. For the Jewish and Chinese diasporas, this results in a process by which the multiplicity of ideas about Jewishness and Chineseness encountered from the homeland or other host lands is integrated with the values and traditions passed down from within their family and close community. This has manifested itself in terms of the details of what elements are retained and passed on, what language is considered Chinese or Jewish and the way traditions or rituals are practiced.

Identity through Place-Making

A purpose of identity is to highlight the differences and boundaries between the self and others. An individual will belong to more than one social group and hence will focus on different social identities depending on the context (Guan et al., 2011, p. 378). Social identities speak of a sense of place an individual has in their environment. In this context, I define place as a sense of affinity, attachment and rootedness that applies to both a geographic location and/or a community. Place provides the anchor which gives an element of stability as identity evolves. It can provide a sense of 'home' and safe haven. Place-making is a process of developing a sense of belonging and home. This process can both embrace and challenge traditions and norms. Therefore, in formulating a definition of place-making there must be an understanding of the traditions, assumptions and challenges faced by the individual in their location.

Geographic location does play a role in place-making. As Massey (2005, p. 64) states, "local communities had their localities, cultures had their regions and, of course, nations had their nation-states." An idea of place is also assumed to be coherent with recognised differences from that outside its boundaries, with that difference giving authenticity to the very idea of place. There is also an assumption that place is the site of everyday practices and the "real and valued" (Massey, 2005, p. 5). However, ideas of migration and diaspora do challenge such assumptions to an extent. The main challenges to these assumptions come in the form of there being a multiplicity of space and a recognition of the complexity of relations between a location and ideas of place, an acknowledgement that exclusivity or authority in ideas of place cannot be assumed and a recognition of the fluidity and evolving nature of ideas of place (see Massey, 2005, pp. 20-21, 66).

In both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas a sense of place as Chinese or Jewish in one location may be very different from that in another location. Ideas of Chinese or Jewish identity both often refer to specific locations such as China or Israel as the homeland or former host lands of significance, such as Eastern Europe in the Jewish diaspora or Southeast Asia in the Chinese diaspora. This relates to ideas explored by Massey (see 2005, p. 192, citing Hall, Gilroy and Gatens and Lloyd) that identities are relational, inherited, ongoing and are rooted in the geographical. In diasporas, this can be seen in the physical separation from a location but a maintenance of the importance of the location to the group or individual. This is often seen with the family being the site of place-making, the safe haven, and is the established and known lens through which to examine the environment. This includes how the individual interacts with peers, popular culture, nationalism, politics, and socio-economic factors as well as how s/he prioritises what should be adopted or discarded. In such cases, geographic location has less of an impact on an individual's process of place-making than the values and stories drawn from memory that are emphasised within their community.

For example, the identities of Chinese diaspora individuals in the current era can be influenced by many more ideas and concepts than previous generations. There is not an overall need to look to China and many perceive little in the way of ties to ideas of China the location and its history. They also may or may not find it easy to tie their sense of place to the location or nationalism of residence. However, they have opportunities to find place in different historical paradigms, religions or types of public service (see G. Wang, 2009, p. 204). Place may be linked to a physical location or non-temporal elements, or a combination of the two. Similarly, Jewish identity can be based on unifying factors such as history, law, values and rituals. Location plays the role of creating diversity within these elements in terms of diet, dress, language and customs (Solomin, 2012). Location in Jewish identity can also only relate to a foundational collective identification. That is, originating from a specific place, living in oppression and statelessness for an extended period and the struggle to regain political control over the homeland (Safran, 2007, p. 33). Additionally, the concept of location in more modern ideas of Jewish identity, especially in the West, is influenced by the political and cultural developments stemming from the European Enlightenment from the late eighteenth century. In particular, granting citizenship to Jewish people in a number of locations had a distinct impact on identity (Friesel, 2011, p. 504).

In summary, identity is being examined here in the context of perceptions of self within and related to a geographic and social location. Identity is complex, diverse and ever-evolving but creates both individuality and a sense of belonging to collectivities deemed important, that is, place-making.

Family

In this thesis, the family is positioned as the primary institution where identity development and place-making occur. Therefore, it is important to establish what I mean by the term 'family' and what it is about family that strengthens its role in these processes.

'Family' is one of the most commonly utilised terms in fields of study such as anthropology and is considered important as the actions and traditions of the family in the past influence decisions made in the present (Aborampah, 2011, p. 71).[6] However, the meaning of the term is not always clear, and there is little consensus about a specific definition, even though it is considered to be a basic unit of social organisation (Aborampah, 2011, p. 71). The most simplistic definition of family is the mother, the father and the children (Copeland & White, 1991, p. 2). This 'nuclear family' is considered to stem from a hegemonic, Western culture that has often been emphasised by both politicians and social scientists (Azevedo, 2011, p. 22).

However, other scholars have demonstrated that no single definition of family encompasses all the elements expected by different groups (Azevedo, 2011, p. 24). Therefore, definitions of family can be very diverse. For example, the concept of 'family' can go much further than the nuclear to embrace ideas of the inter-generational, where the family is more extensive, comprising extended and joint families, community and the people-group in the broader sense (Parkin, 1997, p. 28). This is, in part, because the formation of families through marriage or other arrangements become the foundations for community. The creation and maintenance of families is also of interest to the success and stability of these communities (Kyomugisha & Rutayuga, 2011, p. 187). In addition, 'fictive kinships' can be established around social groupings rather than blood-related lineages (Kyomugisha

[6] This thesis considers 'family' as distinct from 'household.' Although the terms were often used interchangeably, particularly up until the 1950s, 'household' generally connotes economic and residential elements. 'Family,' in the context of this thesis, does not necessarily include these elements (Azevedo, 2011, p. 25), (see also Weisner & Bradley, 1997, p. xxv).

& Rutayuga, 2011, p. 191). These can even be utilised in extended ways such as positioning the nation as family.

In more recent times there has been a greater emphasis on the plurality of meanings found in the term 'family' (Pine, 1996, p. 223). In the Jewish and Chinese diasporas ideas of family have been impacted by historical events. For example, the loss of so many lives in the Holocaust has meant that other concepts of connections as family in the Jewish diaspora had to be embraced to fill the void. Many Chinese diaspora members who migrated from China left parents, spouses or even children behind and often there was little or no contact between the families established in the host land and those remaining in China. Later generations who have had the opportunity to re-establish connections have had to decide just what this family connection entails. This aligns with the idea of the family as being a basic unit to ensure survival through both procreation and passing on strategies for success. This is most frequently executed by immediate family members, such as parents. However, it can also be done by those who perceive their survival as being linked to the success of the family (Azevedo, 2011, p. 25).

This all relates to the concept of the 'imagined community.' Although Anderson (1991, pp. 6-7) specifically refers to the nation when discussing imagined communities, aspects of his definition can be related to diaspora families. Firstly, it is unlikely that any individual diaspora member will ever know even a majority of diaspora members yet there is still the idea of community. Secondly, the imagined community is finite, having limits and also those who don't belong. Finally, there is a sense of community within the group, whether that translates to the lived experience or not. The concept of imagined community is of particular relevance because identity develops from "self-awareness achieved either through the collective experience within a membership group or the individual perception as we compare ourselves to a reference group" (Germain, 2004, p. 134).

However, although there is great diversity in what is defined as family, there are some commonalities in how family is defined and understood in both diasporas. This includes families as being entities with a shared history that goes back generations and encompasses religious or ethnic values. Additionally, families have a shared future (Copeland & White, 1991, pp. 4-5) and can be considered to be a crucible, within which intersections between the development of individuals, the behaviour of the group and society at large can be found (Grotevant, 1991, p. vii). Identity development for members of the Jewish and Chinese diasporas is also impacted by

feelings of interdependence within the family, which is perceived as enabling the family to flourish (L. Thomas, 2005, p. 136) and incorporating both the biological and the spiritual and ritual (Peredo, 2003, p. 398).

There are a number of characteristics of family that impact identity development which can be seen in both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas. In both diasporas, the roles and expectations imposed on an individual are often determined according to the boundaries and hierarchies existing within the family. This can be seen in both family as close kin and the imagined community. In the societies of both groups this nexus of expectations and roles can be observed through economic, social and political activities, the makeup of residential environments and psychological elements which impact on perceptions of obligation (Zhao, 2014, p. 405). In both diasporas, the nature of the hierarchies an individual exists in are determined by tangible elements such as the presence of multiple generations, cultural and gender expectations and the ages of the members (both between and within generations). They are also determined by the specificities of family history, myths and experiences, even those that are denied or contested (Copeland & White, 1991, pp. 4-5).

Specifically, both diasporas have origin myths based on a single ancestor common to all in the group. The Jewish people traditionally trace their ancestral and spiritual origins to Abraham, known as the father or patriarch. The history and origins of the Jewish people are complex and the ancient genealogical origins of any Jewish person have been highly contested. Despite this, the Jewish origin myth is still widely utilised, particularly in establishing historical ownership or rights to land. Parallel to this, there is a belief that all Chinese are blood kin due to mythological origins which centre on the Yellow Emperor. It was the Yellow Emperor who gave birth to himself and then to all his children and was known as the first father of all Chinese people (Souchou, 2009, p. 252). It is said that if you trace the lineage of a person who claims to be Chinese with Chinese ancestry, you will eventually trace it back to this single individual, the Yellow Emperor, from whom all Chinese can claim descent (Souchou, 2009, p. 252). This idea has proved very influential and far-reaching.

Additionally, both the Chinese and Jewish peoples see the family as the means of maintaining connections within the group. The Jewish family is seen as “preserving the framework of Jewish life and instilling it in the next generations” (Razi, 2010, p. 399). The extended family became a primary metaphor of identity as many children were raised with a fear or suspicion of outsiders, learning to only place their trust in those considered close kin (Shoham, 2014, p. 241). Celebrations are also the rituals

whereby an individual can be socialised into the two extended families in which they have membership, namely their own extended family and the imagined extended family that is all the Jews in the world (Shoham, 2014, p. 253). In the Chinese diaspora ideas about unity or origins are utilised both politically and in relations with the state. This persists in spite of, or perhaps as a result of, the often-fractured relationship between the Chinese state and the diaspora. Like the Jewish diaspora, the frequently complex relationships between Chinese diaspora populations and their host lands has led to greater emphasis being placed on the importance of the family. Historically and, to an extent, even today, significant amounts of economic activity in the Chinese diaspora are focused around the family. The nature of relations between home and host lands also has an impact on diaspora identity development and place-making. This will be looked at further in Part B of this chapter, which examines nation and nationalism and its impact on family and diaspora identity.

In both diasporas the collective family arises as family-based identities do not remain confined to the family and move into identities found in the wider society and their constructions and understandings of gender (Morgan, 1996, p. 74). For example, as the family is seen as crucial to passing on the ethnic and religious identity of the Jewish people, the stability of the family is considered as essential to the preservation of the entirety of the community (Razi, 2010, p. 399). As such, many Jewish religious laws relate to aspects of family life, attesting Jewish spirituality is ideally attained as much through family life and marriage as through the deeds of the believer (Razi, 2010, p. 399). Family-based holidays such as the Jewish Seder night celebrations and, similarly, Chinese New Year family reunions can also create links with the state, education systems, consumer culture and between the spheres of individuals and the broader public sphere (Shoham, 2014, p. 242). They can create distinctiveness from the host land or contribute to the patchwork quilt-like character of the host land, depending on its national ideology. They also create links with the homeland or serve to illustrate the gaps between the diaspora and homeland populations. This creation of the collective or imagined family can have a significant impact on the development of individual identity and sense of place, especially if there is a lack of opportunities for immediate kin to play a strong role.

The institution of the family that will be examined in this thesis as the primary site of identity development and place-making is therefore defined according to the perceptions and priorities of the individual. These perceptions and priorities are

further impacted by the character and practice of culture and memory experienced by individuals.

Culture

Within the family, culture is the means by which identity is practiced and transmitted. It creates a sense of belonging and defines the character of that belonging and the expectations of what that belonging entails.

Culture is a word that is often used in discussing diaspora or migrant groups. A basic definition of culture states that it can be classified as any behaviour or trait that goes beyond physiological mechanisms. Namely that which we do and think and perceptions of our environment and experiences (for example, see Downs & Bleibtreu, 1975, p. 4). As such, culture can also refer to a system of ideas and knowledge (Keesing, 1975, p. 9). Geertz (1973, p. 448) positions the function of culture as constituting the stories we tell ourselves about ourselves. Schneider (2004, p. 261) states that "culture concerns the stage, the stage setting, and the cast of characters; the normative system consists in the stage directions for the actors and how the actors should play their parts in the stage that is so set." Additionally, cultures operate within societies and society and culture are both different and linked. That is, society refers to the structure, groupings and arrangements of people and culture refers to the knowledge, ideas and meaning, both conscious and unconscious, shared by people (Keesing, 1975, p. 9).

In the study of culture, one of the most significant debates concerns how someone comes to possess a culture. A number of disciplines, such as anthropology, have long debated whether culture is acquired or is innate in a person (Nic Craith, 2012, p. 126). Much of this debate comes from ideas concerning authenticity, roots and boundaries, which are often closely linked to culture. Indeed, these ideas become central when discussing the culture of diaspora populations as there has been movement across the acknowledged geographic borders of the culture and a severance from their perceived roots. These movements can be considered problematic in terms of the authenticity and purity of the cultural identity of these populations (Chong, 2006, p. 293). However, it needs to be remembered that culture is not static but evolving. This aspect is often lost in discussions of past glories and memory. Indeed, a cultural trait is something that can be borrowed, copied or modified without making any changes to the physical characteristics of the individuals

in question (Downs & Bleibtreu, 1975, p. 6). It also needs to be emphasised that many aspects of culture, including language, religious practices and even food culture, can change markedly in different environments and over generations.

For example, a wide variety of cultural traditions have been used as markers of Chineseness in Chinese populations in many places at many times. Throughout history, and in many locations, Chinese people have identified with many languages and customs and have adhered to beliefs as diverse as Confucian, Buddhist and Christian, atheist, Marxist and capitalist (Nagata, 2005, p. 101). Additionally, as Cohen (2004, p. 96) states, Jewish culture should really be considered as a "collection of cultures" as diaspora Jews have blended the cultural traits they brought with them with elements of the cultures of their different host lands. This has spread not only to aspects such as food, dress and music but also to aspects such as values and priorities. Even tradition, an important aspect of culture, can be defined as existing on a continuum. It encompasses the past of a culture and acknowledges of the authority of elements of the past and a reverence for them. However, it also as seeing the past with continuity and traditions creating a present **and** a future (Nash, 1996, p. 27) (emphasis mine).

In this thesis, culture both informs individual identity and also creates an individual's sense of belonging to social and geographic collectives, their place. The context in which an individual lives has a significant influence on how they define their identity and therefore the cultural boundaries of their identity can either be heightened or blurred depending on the specific cultural context (for example see Germain, 2004, pp. 134-142). The family is central to this, as culture is both transmitted and practiced between immediate kin and also within the imagined community. The transmission and practice of culture is also dependent on the maintenance of memory.

Memory

Memory both allows for the transmission of culture and also influences the development of culture. This can especially be seen within collective identities and the identities of individuals within the collective. Memory is significant to this research as it is the means through which participants communicate the development of their identities as Jewish or Chinese. Memory is also a way in which the family as the primary site of identity development can be discerned.

Collective identity arises from interdependent social activity (Ben Rafael, 2002, p. 3). Identity is not just about remaining the same through time or persisting in spite of changes but about personal connections with the past (Smith, 1995, p. 5). For individuals, collective identity is something that is consciously present whenever they think of themselves and is also a mission, obligation and responsibility (Ben Rafael, 2002, p. 3). In both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas, memory has influenced the development of traditions and rituals that reflect but do not exactly replicate those brought from the homeland or former host land. It also ties the populations together, particularly in the celebration of major holidays. In the Jewish diaspora, Passover is a time to gather with family and reiterate memories both ancient and more recent through ritual. In the Chinese diaspora, family reunion and the remembrance of those who went before is central to both the purpose and the rituals of the Chinese New Year holiday.

Since anthropology's origins in the eighteenth century culture has been "understood in terms of shared beliefs and practices" (Driver, 2014, p. 235). Collective memories can be transmitted orally through the traditions of the family, clan, community or religious institution. These shared practices and beliefs are retained through individual and collective memory which is transmitted through story and narrative. Thus, through exploring the stories, narratives and recollections of memories of participants it is possible to examine the development of their identities and how family has provided both a framework and a medium of transmission for this. This is because, as Cameron (2012, p. 574) states, "stories express something irreducibly particular and personal, and yet they can be received as expressions of broader social and political context, and their telling can move, affect, and produce collectivities."

Collective memory is present in all families, groups and communities and has an impact on constructions of not just identity but also aspects such as gender and race in social, historical cultural and ideological ways (Davis, 2011, p. 27). The development of collective memory can be contributed to by representations of the past framed by both cultural and intellectual traditions, those who create the memories by selectively using or manipulating these traditions and those who are "memory consumers." These memory consumers, according to their own interests, utilise, ignore or change the memories (Price, 2010, p. 203). The Jewish and Chinese diasporas have encountered this in interactions with both the host and homelands and also within their communities as both secular and religious elites attempt to fulfil agendas.

Memory has a distinct impact on place-making as there is the idea that when a memory is recalled it is reconstructed and that each retelling is not an exact replica of those previous to and following on from that instance of recall (Nic Craith, 2012, p. 33). Additionally, in developing a coherent sequence of events memories can be distorted as they are recalled (Nic Craith, 2012, p. 35). In the recollection of memories to create stories there can be a dramatisation of facts. Even though what is being described is true, the manner in which it is presented, which is done for specific reasons, can go beyond a simple recounting of facts (Cronon, 1992, p. 1349). Identity is culturally and socially constructed and both mobile and subject to contextualisation, so the narrative of memory will often experience many shifts (Metta, 2010, pp. 23 and 68). This can account for the variations in tradition, the performance of ritual and what values are prioritised in both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas. Even if the source of these cultural elements was the same, both diasporas have experienced multiple waves of dispersion with incalculable opportunities for memory recall.

Migration has an impact on memory and when a person migrates their experience of migration does not finish upon arrival at their destination. Instead it continues, requiring ongoing appraisal and adjustment involving cultures and generations (Chamberlain & Leydesdorff, 2004, p. 233). This impacts on memory creation and recollection and the evolution of the stories and narratives they hold onto and share. Diasporic and transnational families may have a sense of belonging and place that is found in memory and the imaginary (Metta, 2010, p. 68). This makes memory an especially important site for examining identity development. Of particular relevance in a study of minorities and diasporas, imagined or fictionalised narratives can involve invented or absent memory (Metta, 2010, p. 68). Absent or invented memory is especially prevalent in histories that would be considered those of repression, exile or erasure such as the Holocaust (Chamberlain & Leydesdorff, 2004, p. 229). These kinds of memories can become relevant in place-making and identity formation when information regarding family history can be scarce or there is a lack of opportunity to receive memories from direct kin members.

Cronon (1992, p. 1367) states that a story differs from other types of discourse in that stories “describe an action that begins, continues over a well-defined period of time, and finally draws to a definite close, with consequences that become meaningful because of their placement within the narrative.” As well as being a form of entertainment, a story can give instructions in proper behaviour, be a repository of history, create consensus, influence opinion and emotion, provide understanding and

incite people to action (Price, 2010, p. 207). A narrative has the characteristic of containing an argument which involves beliefs, ideologies and assumptions that can be examined (P. J. Cloke et al., 2014, p. 932). It can be a helpful strategy to critically examine a culture, (Price, 2010, p. 205). This is because narratives can be perceived as having a broader range than a single story. A narrative can hide the contradictions and discontinuities in experience in order to not undermine the primary meaning (Cronon, 1992, pp. 1349-1350). Therefore, there are factors that are important to keep in mind when analysing both the content of participants' responses and the choice they make to convey such information. These include the individual's context at the time of the interview (including that which is happening around them at that moment, such as personal circumstances, local and global events and attitudes encountered) and the wider historical context of the community, country and region of residence.

Story and narrative are important when exploring identity in the Jewish and Chinese diasporas as both groups acknowledge the importance of literature in understandings of their origins and ideologies. As both diasporas are minorities whose histories tend to be de-emphasised in official accounts, the recollection of memory through story and narrative has been of importance to both diasporas to maintain and transmit ideas of Chineseness and Jewishness. This means that in examining identity in both diasporas, memory is of importance when looking at family. This is because memories that are utilised and understood by families in order to construct coherent narratives (Chamberlain & Leydesdorff, 2004, p. 229). As Jackson (2014, p. 635) states, "an individuals' narration must always be located within wider stories associated with family life and in relation to changing institutional structures." Narratives don't become integrated into identity directly but are mediated through a spectrum of social and political institutions and practices that make up the social world of an individual (Jackson, 2014, p. 635).

Individual identity is created by relating, in part, to both family and national history (Davis, 2011, p. 13). Hence, perceptions of the self by an individual are contributed to by memories of family and the family memories themselves and these memories play a role in the negotiations a person makes between their cultural sphere and the self (Chamberlain & Leydesdorff, 2004, p. 231). These cultural and social spheres can be examined through the ideas of International Relations and historical scholarship, giving another tool with which to examine identity development and place-making in the individual.

This marks the transition to the second part of this chapter. Here theoretical ideas found in International Relations and historical scholarship will be outlined. These ideas impact on culture and memory practices and transmitted within the family at all levels. This, in turn, influences identity development and place-making in the individual. The concepts that will be discussed are diaspora, migration, nation and nationalism, homeland and globalisation.

Part B

The concepts that will be discussed in this section are all inter-related. However, to ensure clarity each concept will be discussed separately. These concepts encompass a wide range of ideas and can be complex. It is therefore important to establish a definition which will be the context for their examination in this thesis.

Diaspora

There are many ideas surrounding the concept of diaspora that have been constantly challenged and re-evaluated. The oldest definitions of diaspora are relevant to the Jewish people as for the majority of history 'diaspora' referred to the Jewish people exiled after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70-71AD. In the past, the term 'diaspora,' even in broader definitions, was only applied to groups who had been forcefully expelled from their homelands. In more contemporary times the term is applied to a wider range of groups (Brettell, 2006, p. 327). More recently, the term has been associated with the rise of nation-states, and groups such as the Chinese who were referred to as 'overseas communities' have been redefined as diaspora (see Band, 1996, p. 329; Tölölyan, 1996, p. 3).

There are a number of factors of diaspora that both the Chinese and Jewish populations share. The first is the active maintenance of a collective memory (Tölölyan, 1996, p. 13). Collective memory in this sense refers to memory held by a people group who have migrated away from what is considered to be their homeland but still retain links to their homeland, not completely assimilating into the majority culture of their host land. Both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas maintain these links through family and also through business, culture or beliefs in place-centred ancestry or origins, whether tangible or mythological. In both groups it is not the physical

dispersion alone that creates diaspora but the retainment of memories, images or contact with the homeland (Safran, 1999, p. 262). These memories create real or imagined bonds based upon this shared connection to homeland (Brettell, 2006, p. 329). Secondly, both groups are increasingly embracing a description of diaspora for themselves instead of having this description imposed upon them externally (J. Boyarin & Boyarin, 2002, p. 27). Historically, many groups in both diasporas have felt their best chance at surviving well in their host lands is through adapting and assimilating into the society of the majority population and de-emphasising their Chineseness or Jewishness. More recently, individuals have been consciously embracing or re-establishing their Chineseness or Jewishness. For example, roots tours aimed at connecting with the past and culture have become increasingly popular in both diasporas.

Being a member of a diaspora can be helpful to an individual when they experience alienation, discrimination and negative stereotypes in their host lands (Safran, 2007, p. 33). This can be advantageous to individuals as it gives them a sense of belonging within an imagined community and is helpful in the process of individual place-making. However, the concept of diaspora can also raise a number of issues which can have an impact on an individual's identity and sense of place. For example, issues can arise if how an individual defines himself or herself as belonging to the Jewish or Chinese diaspora falls outside accepted norms of defining the Chinese or Jewish diaspora. In addition to this, Safran (1999, p. 265) questions whether groups with more distance from the homeland can be classified as diaspora. The groups he has in mind would have left voluntarily, are able to return but don't, have only indistinct memories of the homeland and have little, if any, continuing communication or cultural links with the homeland. In other words, place-making and identity development for a diasporan individual are not just about personal experience but are often dominated by perceptions of, and attitudes within, the collective. This both illustrates the distinction between individual and diasporic identities and the links between these types of identity.

As ideas of diaspora have expanded over time, it is important to establish a definition of diaspora within a specific project. In the context of this thesis, an individual will be considered a member of a diaspora if they regard themselves as Jewish or Chinese, do not live in Israel or China but do perceive themselves to retain links there in some form and if these aspects have some impact on their identity development and process of place-making.

Migration

Although a diaspora member does not need to have migrated from one location to another themselves, many of the participants in this project were migrants or are the children of migrants. Migration has, therefore, for the participants, been a significant catalyst for the specifics of identity formation. Thus, it is important in this thesis to position identity development, place-making and culture, particularly in the family, within the context of migration. For many of these participants, migration has been from one host land, such as Malaysia, Singapore, Chile or the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), to the host lands being examined here.

Regardless of whether the migration was from the homeland to a host land or between host lands, in relocating to another country, there is an expectation that the new migrant will conform to the norms of the host land in terms of attitudes, values and behaviours. If this does not occur, as these norms are incompatible with those of the culture of origin, there is the potential for conflict (Leong & Ward, 2000, p. 765). Although this conflict can be societal, it can also be internal and develop into feelings of separateness or difference in relation to the majority population of their current host land, those still remaining in the former host land and even those in the homeland, with whom those in the diaspora still tend to associate with. This is often because the rules and regulations an individual should adhere to in order for their behaviour to be deemed proper and accepted by their community and society in general form a society's normative system (Schneider, 2004, p. 261). Having influences from other locations can result in their identity not quite fitting in with the norms of their location and, in turn, impact on the development of how they see themselves as Chinese or Jewish.

It may be that negotiating between fitting into a new society whilst retaining Jewish or Chinese culture is easier in a society such as Australia, where multiculturalism is treated as official discourse. Migrants are not only expected to arrive with an established culture, there is almost an obligation for that culture to be maintained (Sinclair & Cunningham, 2000, pp. 41-42). In states with a strong ethno-nationalist system in place (for example, Malaysia is multi-racial but the government promotes Malay as the national language and constructs a Malay-centred national culture), some see this as marginalising or ignoring minorities (DeBernardi, 2004, p. 124). In addition to this, it is important to be aware that, particularly in migrant populations,

generalisations about culture tend to be based on their memories and it is not unusual for details to be lost or modified (Kipnis, 2002, p. 1103). However, overall it does seem that although a culture can be perceived as monolithic, there is still a degree of flexibility within a culture, there are still perceived anchor points for that culture that are familiar to all members of the population group.

Both diasporas have engaged in migration for a variety of reasons, both due to coercion and by choice to pursue opportunities (see Salazar, 2011, p. 586). In recent times, migration by both diasporas is undertaken more by choice than by coercion (Nic Craith, 2012, p. 2). Jewish and Chinese individuals who have migrated to new host lands have had varying levels of success which are predominantly dependent on their level of engagement with culture, language and social interactions in the new host land (Stoessel, Titzmann, & Silbereisen, 2012, p. 143). In general, both Chinese and Jewish diaspora individuals retain some level of attachment to the former location, often through consuming media and other commodities and retaining relations and networks (see Vertovec, 2001, pp. 574-575).

There are dominant stereotypes about both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas. This means that in entering a new host land, individuals will be faced with expectations about how they will behave and interact. These expectations have also influenced the kinds of socio-economic policies that have been imposed on Jewish or Chinese populations in a host land. This includes being forbidden from owing land or engaging in certain industries. Additionally, there may also be expectations that by being Chinese or Jewish, they will automatically become part of a certain community, although the individual themselves may not wish to do so. Despite this, immigrants and their descendants have access to, and can choose between, different identities. They can choose to identify more with their country of origin, their origin group within their adopted land or with the adopted land (assimilation) (Lev Ari, 2011, p. 8). When an individual migrates, they will go through an acculturation process in which they re-evaluate and reconstruct their allegiances to ethnic, cultural and national factors. For example, through establishing a balance between acquiring the ability to speak the language of the host land and maintaining their mother tongue (Golan-Cook & Olshtain, 2011, p. 362). In the Jewish diaspora, this leads to differentiations in the population termed, for example, as ‘practicing,’ ‘secular,’ ‘traditional’ or ‘assimilated.’ In the Chinese diaspora, differentiations can be termed, for example, as ‘traditional’ or ‘Westernised.’

It is this nature of migration that positions the family as a strong source of identity for diaspora members. In the changes, challenges and multiple ideas that come with migration, family provides a haven of stability and continuity within which new experienced can be filtered and processed. This includes experiences of ideas surrounding nation and nationalism, homeland and globalisation.

Nation and Nationalism

Since the early twentieth century, ideas of national commitment have been strongly emphasised. This has led to a greater importance being placed on defining and categorising migrants in terms of their motivations and intentions (Donato & Gabaccia, 2015). Since this period and into the present this has meant that ideas of identity are central to the experiences of migration as there is a view that immigrants and minorities do not so much 'choose' their identity labels but have them imposed by others (see Song, 2010, pp. 1008-1009). This is true to some extent because upon migrating individuals will experience a "process of cross-cultural translation" (Ang, 2001, p. 4). Thus, as new migrants will often experience expectations as to how they are perceived and should perceive themselves, particularly in relation to the nation and its identity.

The role that nations play in the development of an individual's identity and their process of place-making can be significantly impacted by migration. This is because ideas of nation become more complicated as migration does not necessarily end the individual's association and affiliation with the former nation and transfer it to the new nation, ties can be held with both. This mean that issues with identity development and place-making occur not simply due to migration but because of the multiple associations an individual's migration experience can create. In the Chinese and Jewish diasporas, migrants will bring both ideas of the homeland and ideas from the host land and develop their identity and sense of place from the confluence of these ideas.

In addition to this, since the second half of the twentieth century, both China and Israel have been globally prominent. This includes the levels of international engagement by the states themselves, these states being the focus of other states' policies and being frequently the subject of media reports across the globe. Additionally, ideas of nationhood and citizenship are emphasised in the host lands of both diasporas. This is particularly because nationalism can be perceived as a necessary framework for

cultural, economic and social enterprises (Hong Liu, 2005, p. 300). Therefore, even if an individual diaspora member prioritises other ideas, nation and nationalism are so dominant that they have to be taken into account in exploring identity development and place-making. For example, many Chinese diaspora members maintain connections to their Chinese ethnicity and even the Chinese nation through engagement with Chinese organisations, community groups and churches. This has given the Chinese state in all its incarnations a channel for engagement with the diaspora. Especially after the crackdown due to the Tiananmen Square massacre, the Chinese diaspora were perceived as being able to facilitate outside investment to support China's economic development (Ong, 1997a, p. 175). The increase of migration of Chinese people from the PRC is an opportunity to further strengthen this channel (Ding, 2011, p. 301).

The impact this has had on Jewish or Chinese identity in diaspora has been dependent on the kind of nationalism experienced in a host land. If a nation bases its origin myths on being a migrant nation where groups and individuals have come together to form the nation (see Chirot, 1997, p. 17), as in Australia or the US, the diaspora population, to an extent, is able to develop a sense of place within these myths. If a nation is established upon the origin myth of a single culture, language or loyalty (see Brown, 1996, p. 307), such as in post-colonial Malaysia or Indonesia, or, to devastating effect in the fascist period, in Germany, the identity and sense of place of these diasporas would be defined by this exclusivity. This, in turn, can impact on what is prioritised within the family regarding the expression of identity through values and practices.

Another aspect of nation and nationalism that is especially relevant to the Jewish and Chinese diasporas is that within the system of the state, where ideas of nationalism and patriotism abound, transnational networks, such as diasporas, can be perceived as suspect. This can be expressed in terms of loyalty and members may come under suspicion or be accused of being "domestic enemies" or "strangers within the gates" (Schnapper, 1999, p. 229). In the history of both diasporas there have been periods where they have been perceived as a threat to the nation and have been subjected to moves to restrict or lower their status. For both, this has come in the form of restrictions on land ownership, political participation, occupation, residence and access to citizenship.

Although such moves are less overt today, the legacy of such a history still impacts on identity and place-making in both groups.[7] For the Chinese diaspora this legacy can be seen in response to the rise of China. The perspectives and identities of Chinese diaspora members have also evolved in response to changes in relations between China and their host lands. Areas this can be seen include assimilation, acculturation, intermarriage, cultural conservation and involvement in the affairs of the Chinese state (Carstens, 2003, p. 321). This is because, as Wang (2004, p. 311) states, if the rise of China was not of global interest, issues with Chinese culture, and any implications of such issues, would only be of interest to Chinese people. Additionally, in Southeast Asia in particular, the size, political weight and historical power of China are not ideas that can be easily dismissed (G. Wang, 2004, p. 318).

For the Jewish diaspora, the relationship between many Jewish people and Israel is influenced by the past. This includes religion and ritual incorporating feelings around exile and feelings of betrayal by the West. This stems from promises of legal equality during Emancipation being made hollow by continued prejudice and the silence and indifference that were believed to have allowed the Holocaust to reach its final extent (Smith, 1995, p. 15). Additionally, the enormity of the Holocaust became the context within which Zionism came to be supported by the majority of Jewish people. This largely overshadowed the original context of the struggle to establish a modern Jewish state (Falk, 1983, p. 99).

Bilateral relations between the homelands and the host lands examined in this research have specific foci and challenges. These have a significant impact on diaspora members but the nature of this impact is not universal between different

[7] Post-World War II, Jewish people saw an overall improvement in status and lifestyle, especially in the West, and Israel became a regional power (F. Cohen et al., 2009, p. 290). Anti-Semitism has become less overt in the West since World War II. In the first few decades after World War II, liberals in the West tended to predict that anti-Semitism would be eliminated by increases in modernisation and prosperity and new anti-discrimination laws (Chirot, 1997, p. 4). The murder of two thirds of the Jewish population in World War II resulted in the Jewish people becoming less of a target for hatred or jealousy (Chirot, 1997, p. 3). There are very few groups who explicitly state discrimination and harm against Jewish people amongst their goals. However, anti-Semitism still exists and is often excused as being anti-Israel instead of anti-Jewish (F. Cohen et al., 2009, p. 292). The scale and impact of the Holocaust was the catalyst for the decrease in overt anti-Semitic policy, particularly in the West. By the end of the Cold War, the main issues affecting the Chinese diaspora were largely resolved. These included the often-hostile attempts at assimilation initiated by Southeast Asian governments, the unstable relations between the PRC and Chinese diaspora host lands and the competition between Beijing and Taipei to gain diaspora support as part of Cold War machinations (Hong Liu, 1998, p. 596).

diaspora populations. Relations between Israel and Australia are generally positive as Australia has been seen as supportive of Israel since the beginning, playing a central role in the lead up to the establishment of the new state. Australia was one of fifteen states in the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) that recommended the creation of Israel (Rutland, 2007, p. 261). In February 2017, Benjamin Netanyahu became the first sitting Israeli Prime Minister to officially visit Australia. During the visit, agreements and discussions about technology, science, innovation and cyber-security cooperation took place. The meetings were reported as being very successful (Tasker, 2017). There is a great geographical distance between Israel and Australia but social media and other online resources ensure close engagement between Australia and Israel is possible (Slucki, 2017, p. 146). This enables many Australian Jewish diaspora members to maintain links to Israeli government-backed organisations that advocate on behalf of Israel in Australia (Slucki, 2017, p. 146). However, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict plays a significant role in relations between Australia and Israel (Slucki, 2017, p. 146). Therefore, although positive bilateral relations between Israel and Australia make for a generally positive environment for Jewish diaspora members, the impacts of tensions regarding conflict in the Middle East can have ramifications for feelings of belonging or security in Australian society at times.

In South Africa, the Jewish diaspora has been impacted by shifts in bilateral relations between Israel and South Africa in the post-Apartheid era. This bilateral relationship is also long-standing. South Africa recognised the state of Israel in 1948, during the same year Apartheid became official government policy (Bishku, 2010, p. 153). During Apartheid, Israel was less critical of the South African government, cooperated in economic and military areas and, in the 1980s, went against some of the sanctions it had imposed on South Africa (Bishku, 2010, p. 169). By the end of Apartheid, South Africa had relations with no state in the Middle East except Israel (Bishku, 2010, p. 153). However, the end of Apartheid and governance by the African Nation Congress (ANC) since 1994 has led to a cooling of the relationship. Full diplomatic relations were established by South Africa with the Palestinian territories and an ambassador was sent to Ramallah in 1995. This was part of ANC policy to favour those who had given them support during the Apartheid era (Bishku, 2010, p. 166). Politically, South Africa currently has less cordial relations with Israel than with other Middle East states. Economically, relations tend to prevail over political concerns, with Israel playing a significant role in South African imports and exports (Bishku, 2010, p. 169). The nature of this current bilateral relationship contributes further to issues with security

and belonging felt by the Jewish diaspora in South Africa, which will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

The current relationship between Israel and Germany has been shaped by the legacy of World War II but is under pressure from contemporary conflict in the Middle East. Official diplomatic relations were established between West Germany and Israel in 1965 and extended to the whole of Germany after reunification (De Vita, 2015, p. 835). After China and the US, Germany has become Israel's third largest economic partner (De Vita, 2015, p. 837). There have been numerous difficulties that have arisen throughout the history of German-Israeli relations (De Vita, 2015, p. 849). Additionally, German actions towards Israel have been seen as somewhat uneven. There is opposition to a total boycott of Israeli goods and substantial engagement in security and economic trade but support for labelling anything coming out of the settlements. There is also some overt opposition to some UN resolutions regarding the Middle East region but only abstention to others (Susser, 2014, p. 12). Although there are some uncertainties and disagreements, relations between Germany and Israel have a solid foundation based on security knowledge exchange and trade (De Vita, 2015, p. 837). Germany's leaders still see the state as having a historical debt to the Jewish people. However, despite Angela Merkel being vocal in voicing Germany's non-negotiable support of Israel, making her very popular in Israel ("A very special relationship: Germany and Israel," 2015, p. 46), the continuation of the relationship has been discussed as being contingent on Israeli efforts to resolve the conflict with the Palestinians and ensuring the German position regarding its relations with Israel is maintained by younger generations (Susser, 2014, p. 12). This overall positive bilateral relationship has made Germany a desirable location for the Jewish diaspora. However, the greatest risk for the diaspora is reported as not coming from the remnants of Germany's past but from the risks posed by the growing Islamic population in Germany ("A very special relationship: Germany and Israel," 2015, p. 46).

Contemporary relations between China and Australia are seen as a balancing act between the economic opportunities and potential security risks China's rise brings. The Australian government sees the future of the nation as tied to prosperity and stability in the Asia-Pacific region (He & Sappideen, 2013, p. 66) and Australia cannot afford to ignore the economic opportunities brought about by China's rise. Indeed, by 2007, China had become Australia's largest trading partner (Yu, 2016, p. 750), a relationship based on a compatibility between what each country needs and can

provide the other state (Reilly, 2012, p. 376). However, for the last decade, Australia has also focused on strengthening the military alliance with the US (Yu, 2016, p. 751). This is because Australia-China relations still face trust issues. China has concerns about Australia's military alliances with the US and Japan. Australia has concerns about Chinese strategy and aims, once of the primary reasons behind seeking strong relations with the US (Yu, 2016, p. 752). Australia's mistrust of China is exacerbated by Chinese actions and rhetoric regarding disputes in the East and South China seas. This can be seen as the latest element of Australia's long-standing fear about threats from the north (Yu, 2016, p. 753). In addition to this, there is a need for the Australian government to balance between domestic pressure and diplomatic pragmatism, particularly in regard to issues such as sovereignty and human rights, which China considers to be internal issues (Reilly, 2012, p. 390). For the Chinese diaspora population in Australia, the bilateral relationship brings opportunities to be conduits for trade and communication between the two states. However, if potential security risks were exacerbated, the Chinese diaspora risk facing the ramifications of a re-emergence of old race-based prejudices.

Malaysian policy regarding China has had an economically pragmatic foundation since the 1980s and is based on trade (Devadason, 2015, p. 46). China invests heavily in Malaysian property, tourism and manufacturing industries (Parameswaran, 2016, p. 378). However, there has been more recent criticism of the government's stance and some signs of reconsidering relations by the Malaysian government. This is in response to issues such as Chinese encroachment on Malaysian-claimed waters, Chinese criticism of Malaysia's handling of the missing flight MH370 and allegations of Chinese interference in internal Malaysian affairs (Parameswaran, 2016, p. 376). Regarding the South China Sea dispute and its own claims, Malaysia tends to play it quite safe. It aims to maintain its claims but also continue building bilateral relations with China. The Malaysian government prefers to discuss the issues quietly with China and emphasises the importance of diplomacy and International Law (Parameswaran, 2016, pp. 375-376). Therefore, like the Chinese diaspora in Australia, the Chinese diaspora in Malaysia may be able to take advantage of the opportunities Chinese engagement with Malaysia may bring. However, they too risk being impacted by the re-emergence of old prejudices, should PRC actions be viewed as a security risk in Malaysia.

Relations between China and Indonesia were largely suspended throughout the New Order era but bilateral relations between Indonesia and China really started to develop

after the advent of *Reformasi* and its changes to policy (Tjhin, 2012, p. 305). However, current Indonesian engagement with China is sometimes seen as ambivalent or ambiguous (Tjhin, 2012, p. 304). The *Reformasi* era Indonesian government's policy of engagement with China is focused on the economic, especially the energy sector (Tjhin, 2012, p. 307). A strategic partnership agreement between Indonesia and China was signed in 2005 (Tjhin, 2012, p. 306). Additionally, positive relations between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and most Indonesia political parties are maintained, even though the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) remains banned (Tjhin, 2012, p. 306). There are legacies of the past that need to be overcome in Indonesian-Chinese relations. These stem in large part from the three decades where bans on Chinese language and cultural elements resulted in a loss of knowledge about China and engaging with the state, people and culture (Tjhin, 2012, p. 312). Although relations continue developing and there are positive opportunities for Chinese diaspora members, there is still the possibility that anti-Chinese or anti-Indonesian-Chinese feelings and actions in Indonesia could have a negative impact on the bilateral relationship and on the status and identity of the Chinese diaspora in Indonesia (Tjhin, 2012, p. 313).

Finally, globalisation is often perceived as a threat to the nation as it has diluted the appeal of nationalism and many people no longer feel it necessary to define their identity in terms of a single state of citizenship (Reid, 2009, p. 197). To counter globalisation and the resulting increased ease of communication, many governments are becoming very attentive to the national image that is portrayed (H. Wang, 2003, p. 47). Both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas have long histories of maintaining successful transnational networks, which positions them well in a globalised world. This can emphasise existing tensions between the diaspora and the host nation, particularly as reasserting national identity is a common reaction to globalisation.

However, ideas regarding nationalism and identity have also evolved over time due to shifts in global, homeland and host land policy and actions. For the Jewish diaspora, there has been both constancy and evolution in ideas of nationalism over time. There is constancy because even during the millennia of exile, the Jewish people were viewed as maintaining a national ideology, despite dispersal (see Gorny, 2002, p. xi). However, evolution has also occurred due to a number of forces with a nationalist character influencing Jewish identity. These include Emancipation, anti-Semitism, the Holocaust and political Zionism (Gorny, 2002, p. xii). For the Chinese diaspora, by the time of the establishment of the PRC and the independent states of

Southeast Asia, emigration from China almost came to a standstill. The primary concern of diaspora members became proving their loyalty to their host lands or demonstrating their position within the Cold War divisions. In particular, this came in the form of disproving suspicions that the Chinese were potential collaborators or outcasts (McKeown, 2001, p. 342). In Southeast Asia, where an increase in Chinese power will be quickly felt, the diaspora has been mostly relieved that China's move away from Communist, collective economic policies to a market-based economy has made dealing with China a more profitable and positive prospect to their host land governments (G. Wang, 1993, p. 932).

Additionally, the distance from China the state felt by many Chinese diaspora members is influenced by the time their family has been outside China, their host land national loyalties and the importance of their commitment to their families and host land diaspora communities. This is in addition to the impact of ideas of modernisation and globalisation on their value systems (G. Wang, 1993, p. 939). Unlike in mainland China, where there is still some concern that the robust interactions inherent to democratic processes could lead to social instability or worse, the Chinese diaspora has significant choice in how to express ideas of nationalism (G. Wang, 2009, p. 207). The evolution of the interaction between national and cultural or ethnic identity in the Chinese diaspora can be viewed as pragmatic. Diaspora members adjust to ensure individual, family and community security and ensure multiple links are maintained to provide contingency measures for any changes that may occur. However, it must be acknowledged that asserting or reasserting a national identity is often not straightforward (L. Kong, 1999, p. 582). An individual's sense of belonging and home can depend on where they feel they stand within the dominant national identity and how the national identity perceives them. It is this complexity regarding the impact of ideas of nation and nationalism that will help inform the analysis of the perspectives of the participants of their environments and their identity formation.

Homeland

In all the diversity of defining diaspora, a common element is an association with the homeland. In this thesis, homeland becomes an important consideration due to its influence on identity formation. Like all the concepts explored here, defining this concept can be challenging as ideas of home and homeland can vary widely between groups, individuals and situations (McKeown, 2001, p. 356). Homeland can be both

the literal place of origin for the family or household or it can be a place of significance that is not linked to the actual, experienced location of the family and home (McKeown, 2001, p. 355). In the Jewish diaspora defining a homeland has been impacted by the non-existence of a physical Israel for nearly two millennia, the nature of the current Israeli state, the trauma of memories of Eastern Europe and more recent patterns of migration such as South African Jews migrating to Australia. In the Chinese diaspora, although China has always existed in one form or another, like the Jewish diaspora, ideas of it being the homeland are not straightforward. This is because there have been periods of estrangement from, or inaccessibility to, the physical location of China as well as conflicting feelings about the nature of the current Chinese state. Ideas of homeland can also be affected in the Chinese diaspora by memories of violence or discrimination in the host land, as has occurred in both colonial and post-colonial Southeast Asia, and also more recent patterns of migration, such as the Malaysian Chinese to Australia.

Despite the complexity of deciding where exactly the homeland of any given group is, having a homeland is an important aspect of diaspora identity. In an increasingly globalising world, interest in homeland is becoming more important as a growing sense of cultural 'homelessness' can provide a sense of a golden age and community (Lahusen, 2000, p. 255). This can especially be seen in populations where there is a lack of opportunities to gain information about the past from immediate family members. Indeed, an individual's relationship with the homeland does not end with departure but continues and evolves in the form of physical return, emotional attachment, expression through artistic and creative activity and through reinterpretation in the development of diaspora culture (Butler, 2001, p. 204). This speaks to ideas of the imagined homeland and, although the homeland will often be considered to be an imagined community for many in diaspora, the basis for this community is based in historical fact and real events and this serves as a basis for diaspora identity (Safran, 2007, p. 43).

One way in which this manifests in both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas is in the idea of 'return.' The specifics of what 'return' entails for individuals is complex and Safran (1999, p. 280) identifies three types of return. The first idea as 'instrumental' where physical return is attempted as soon as possible. The second is 'millennial' return, which would occur in the future at the 'end of days.' The final kind of return identified by Safran (1999, p. 280) is an 'intermediate' return, where thoughts of the homeland are constantly in mind but the individual continues to live outside the

homeland. In the Jewish diaspora, this complexity speaks to the idea that the exile created significant diversity in what it means to be Jewish and to have a homeland. Israel may not necessarily be what comes to mind when homeland is invoked as most Jewish people do not originate from Israel (Schnapper, 1999, p. 247). Therefore, Israel can be viewed several ways by diaspora members. Some have made return a priority, some see Israel as a safe-haven should the worst happen again. It has religious connotations for some people, while others perceive Israel as a sacred space which is the only place in which a full Jewish life can be lived (Safran, 2005, p. 42). However, although Israel has come to be acknowledged as the homeland by the majority, this is not universal. For some, Israel is merely an ancestral or mythic homeland with little bearing on day-to-day life.

Ideas about return in the Chinese diaspora are influenced by the reasons for moving into diaspora initially (see Butler, 2001, p. 204), relations with China and the attitudes they have about China or receive from China (see Sheffer, 2002, p. 351). In modern times, Chinese diaspora members have been very aware if the contrast between the communist system in China and the systems operating in their host lands. For example, the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) were so confronting that many diaspora Chinese felt they were unable to equate their Chineseness with the PRC (Reid, 2009, p. 198). In recent years, the rise of China as a global power has led to challenges to the idea of an autonomous global Chineseness as the PRC is very aware of the potential of the diaspora and wishes to create a PRC-centred idea of Chineseness (Reid, 2009, pp. 198-199). Some in diaspora have seen this as an opportunity to reconnect with China and others see it as another means of distancing themselves from this idea of homeland.

As defining where the homeland is and what a return to the homeland would entail is complex within both diasporas, the impact of homeland on identity and place for individuals is diverse. These definitions are often based on cultural expectations and experiences and the memories that are maintained within the family. In this thesis, China and Israel will be referred to as the homelands to give clarity but the complexity of ideas of homeland will be acknowledged.

Globalisation

Globalisation, in the sense of linkages between dispersed populations through trade, communications and cultural exchange, is not a new phenomenon as there have

always been varying levels of human movement (Nic Craith, 2012, p. 1). However, revolutionary advances in communications and transportation technologies that have occurred in recent decades have allowed for increases in the speed, scale and type of movement, far exceed anything that came before (Carstens, 2003, p. 322). Globalisation can be considered to be process that transforms society and is one of the main driving forces behind social, economic and political changes that are rapidly altering the status quo globally (Fan, 2010, p. 254; Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999, p. 7). A result of this is the possibility that processes of place-making become more complex and involved as there are more, and a greater variety of, influences an individual takes into consideration, consciously or unconsciously. This particularly relates to identity development and place-making in the Chinese and Jewish diasporas. This is because globalisation can impact the evolution of their status in the host land as they are often well-positioned to take advantage of available opportunities. Globalisation also expands the scope and ease of exploring aspects of Jewish or Chinese culture, ancestry and history, which all can refine how an individual sees themselves as Jewish or Chinese. This especially relates to the idea of the imagined community, as globalisation allows for the greater facilitation of connections between individuals and influence who is considered to be kin.

Additionally, globalisation can lead to both a homogenisation of culture as well as phenomena such as cultural resistance, hybridisation, cultural fragmentation or a resurgence of previously declining cultures (Knight, 2006, p. 4). In particular the assumption that a culture belongs to a specific people in a specific location who have a distinct way of life has been challenged by the forces of globalisation (Sinclair & Cunningham, 2000, p. 7). This is because rapid social change challenges the notion that the rituals and beliefs of a group greatly strengthen group solidarity and the connections between individuals. Group structure also allows traditions, myths, rituals and symbols to exist and persist (Gale, 1997, p. 321). This can cause alterations to long-established power structures and expectations within the family and therefore impact on identity development and a sense of place.

In both developed and developing host lands there have been concerns in both Chinese and Jewish communities about assimilation and cultural decline. Globalisation can be seen as an opportunity to arrest this decline through greater connections with dispersed family members and chances to visit the homeland and engage in roots tourism programs. However, globalisation has resulted in a re-evaluation of diaspora identities as many are resident in states that are pluralistic but

not necessarily multicultural. In these states migrants are both expected to integrate but not fully assimilate and are subject to the xenophobia that can be a result of a backlash against the forces of globalisation (Sheffer, 2005, p. 6). In both diasporas, this may result in a level of editing cultural engagement, such as promoting food culture around holidays like Chinese New Year and Passover but playing down political or economic connections to the homeland.

Increased efficiency in communication and the transmission of information allows for the creation and maintenance of diasporic links through rapid exchanges through the networks regarding ideas of religion, culture and family (Schnapper, 1999, p. 242). Globalisation can lead to exposure to, and adaptation of, new ideas which in diaspora populations can lead to either further integration into host land societies or the development of more assured political actions as a group outside the majority (Sheffer, 2005, p. 10). For Jewish diaspora individuals, this can be seen through opportunities to engage in global Jewish institutions or take part in global Jewish conferences like Limmud.[8] For Chinese diaspora individuals, this can be seen in the establishment of groups of (for example) Malaysian Chinese or Indonesian Chinese students in universities abroad whose networks are maintained and utilised well after graduation.

The influence of the above ideas means that the elements impacting on the process of place-making and identity development are myriad and complex. The result can be overwhelming, and, in adapting to this, deliberate choices can be made about where a sense of belonging is focused. The complexities of migration and links to the home and host lands, as well as the increased influence of globalisation have led to many in diaspora turning to family as the primary site of identity development. Culture and memory transmitted in the family provide a stable lens to view experiences through. This can occur with immediate kin or within the imagined community, especially if opportunities to interact with immediate kin members are lacking. In this thesis globalisation provides a historical context to the perspectives of the participants and also can be seen as a catalyst for many of their perspectives and actions.

[8] Limmud is a UK-based charity that runs conferences in many locations across the globe dedicated to “cross-communal Jewish learning.” I was privileged to speak at the Cape Town conference in August 2014.

Conclusion

This chapter explores theoretical understandings of the primary terms and ideas explored in the research and outlines how they are utilised in the thesis. Identity and place-making are central to establishing a sense of self and of belonging and affinity with one's environment, be that in the tangible or intangible sense. The family is the primary institution where identity formulation takes place, so a clear definition of what constitutes family is essential. Culture and memory play a strong role in the transmission and understanding of the experiences that contribute to identity development and place-making. Culture and memory are, in turn, impacted by a number of ideas that can be explored through theoretical concepts. The concepts that are especially relevant to this project are diaspora, migration, nation and nationalism, homeland and globalisation. The ideas explored in this chapter have influenced the methodology of the project and the analysis of the data. However, a theoretical understanding is not enough to fully inform a methodology. A sound understanding of the groups being examined is also required, which will be undertaken in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Historical Background

Introduction

History can be an essential tool in understanding the development of identity and a sense of place (Cronon, 1992, p. 1350). It is important to develop an understanding of the historical backgrounds of the Chinese and Jewish diasporas as history can inform contemporary understandings of diaspora (see J. Boyarin & Boyarin, 2002, p. 10). History is also that which is experienced by individuals that came before and the transmission of memories can define the identity of a family. This transmission can also create the common bonds that develop imagined communities and fictive kinship.

This chapter will be structured thematically, and will examine and compare features of the Chinese and Jewish diasporas and how history impacts on related identity development and processes of place-making. The first theme that will be explored is that of origins and their impact on place-making. It will examine origin narratives and myths, the origins of ideologies and religions, cultural origins, migration origin narratives and the role of the state and nation in notions of origin. The chapter will then look at the impact of the history of geography and movement in these two diasporas and the impact on migration. The history of tradition, ritual and values for the two groups will then be explored. These ideas are an important means of differentiating between diaspora and majority populations. While there has been an evolution of the character and importance of different aspects of tradition, ritual and values over time, there are elements of continuity. These give a sense of linkage to forebears and other group members. In particular, historical aspects of ideology, language, state and culture and community engagement as relevant to the Jewish and Chinese diasporas will be explored.

The chapter will then examine the history of upheaval and persecution that has coloured the experiences of both diasporas and which continues to have an immediate impact for many today. Historical persecution and discrimination that has occurred in the social, cultural, economic and political realms will be explored. In particular, this will be related to the impact these events have had on the socio-political character of the two diasporas and the impact on identity development and place-making in individuals. The chapter will then conclude with an exploration of historical factors specific to the populations in the case study locations. The parallels and differences between the history of each population, in terms of demography, origins, war time experiences, the impact of post-war policy and the current challenges and

benefits being experienced, will be explored. All of the elements of history explored in this chapter impact on the character of the family and its role as the mediator of diasporic experience.

Place-Making Through Notions of Origins

To understand the history of the Jewish and Chinese diasporas, it is important to first understand how these two groups view their origins. By this I am referring to how their group identity originated in terms of myth and narrative, ideology and religion, culture, migration and the nation or state.

Origins in Narrative and Myth

In both diasporas, their origin myths provide a common starting point for everyone who identifies as Chinese or Jewish. As briefly introduced in Chapter 2, in the Jewish diaspora, the origin of the Jewish people is anchored in the Biblical account which started with one man, Abraham, who was divinely inspired. He passed his inspiration to members of his family forming a clan, which became a sect after migrating to Egypt. It then evolved into tribes, then a nation and then attained statehood (Gitelman, 1998, p. 114). In the Chinese diaspora, the origin myth centres on all Chinese people being able to claim descent from the same, mythic, pre-historical ancestor, the Yellow Emperor. Indeed, stating descent from Yellow Emperor is another way of claiming Chinese ancestry (Souchou, 2009, p. 252). These origin myths provide a shared commonality that transcends the diversity of geography, language and custom. It persists through periods of political or cultural de-emphasising and can provide an anchor for the establishment of a community. The familial nature of these myths is also significant as they suggest that the family, both in terms of close and extended kin, has been the primary site of identity development for both diasporas since the beginning.

Ideological Origins

Ideas of common origin also help develop ideologies that are defined as being specifically 'Jewish' or 'Chinese.' In both diasporas, ideas of origin have contributed to the sense of distinction between them and their neighbours that both groups are noted for, that is, their imagined communities. In the Jewish diaspora, the biblical origins set up Jews as a chosen people. This idea was further reinforced in biblical accounts of the Exodus and beyond (see Crowe, 2008, p. 6). In the Chinese diaspora this distinctiveness was seen in the differentiation between the Chinese civilization and the 'barbarians' beyond China's borders (see Sinclair & Cunningham, 2000, p. 39). Origins have also contributed to the development of the social ideologies of Judaism and Confucianism, particularly as they relate to the family. In the Jewish diaspora, this can be seen in how one becomes Jewish. For example, birth is important but not completely essential. A conscious decision to adhere to and practice Jewish values is of greater importance. The biblical accounts of only Isaac and Jacob being considered Hebrew, even though both Isaac and Ishmael were sons of Abraham and Jacob and Esau sons of Isaac, emphasises this. This suggests an element of choice in the process of becoming Hebrew, although it's not clear whose. This became the accepted practice later in history where one does not have to be born a Jew to be a Jew (Gitelman, 1998, pp. 114-115).

In the Chinese diaspora, ideas of common origin came from the development of Confucian thought. Particularly as one of the most important goals of Confucius and his disciple Mencius was to try and persuade rulers to behave in a more humane way to their subjects. This resulted in the development of the tradition of rulers and officials being perceived as father or mother to the people they rule over (Dawson, 1976, p. 32). Additionally, Confucianism focuses on social ethics and the veneration of ancestors and may reinforce a sense of exclusivity to some Chinese (Nagata, 2005, p. 102). All these ideas seek to create the idea of a bond between all Chinese people and an obligation to support and maintain Chinese identity and commonality. For more than 2,000 years Confucian philosophy has had a primary influence on Chinese politics, education and social life (Wu & Singh, 2004, p. 30).

Cultural Origins

Cultural origins contribute to the diversity and nuances in how individuals identify themselves as Chinese or Jewish. Given the dispersed nature of both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas, there is great variety in the cultural origins of both groups. The specifics of cultural origins can both create connections between individuals with similar origins and make distinctions between the different populations that make up each diaspora. Additionally, cultural origins contribute to the development of an individual's sense of place in a particular geographic location or within the imagined community.

A significant difference between the two diasporas is the diversity of cultural origins appropriated by the groups operating within the greater political realm. In the Jewish diaspora the gradual process of transforming the Jewish people into a diaspora, which began with the Babylonian Captivity in the sixth century BC, resulted in the beginning of what Smith (1995, p. 7) refers to as "the phenomenon of shifting centres of Jewish communal life." This resulted in the proliferation of a wide variety of ethnic traditions which combined Jewish ritual and belief with the customs of host societies in locations both close to and far from the homeland such as Egypt, Babylonia and Persia, Spain, France, Germany, Poland and Russia (Smith, 1995, p. 7). Visible diversity in the Jewish diaspora population in terms of physical appearance, ethnicity, language and custom has been a major result of these varied cultural influences and may account for its socio-political emphasis. An example of such a distinction that has been made since pre-modern times and which persists today is the distinguishing of a person as either Ashkenazi, Sephardi or Mizrahi.

The Ashkenazim are European Jews, particularly from Central and Eastern Europe and Yiddish was established as the main language of daily use. Both traditional religious scholarship, modernisation and secular Jewish institutions thrived amongst the Ashkenazim. Later pogroms and persecution led to extensive Ashkenazi migration and the Jewish populations of many settler states, such as the United States (US), Australia and South Africa, are dominated by people of an Ashkenazi background. The Sephardim are those descended from the Jews of the Iberian Peninsula who were expelled in the late fifteenth century. Those expelled, spread to both Holland and England and across the Mediterranean to North Africa and the Middle East, retaining their distinctiveness. The language of daily use was Ladino, a mixture of Medieval Spanish, Hebrew, Portuguese, Arabic and other languages in the region (see Rozovsky, 2010). The Mizrahi are the 'Oriental' Jews dating back to

antiquity and originating from the Middle East, particularly Iraq, Iran and Yemen. Today, most Mizrahi live in the US and Israel and different groups have their own language, depending on geographical origins. The Mizrahi culture, particularly food and music, has in recent times experienced a rise in popularity (Solomin, 2012).

In contrast to this, although the Chinese diaspora possesses significant diversity in terms of ethnicity, language and cultural practice, this diversity tends not to be emphasised. Media and government entities both inside China and abroad tend to use 'Chinese' as a blanket term for all with a Chinese background to avoid dealing with the complexities of the great variances amongst the Chinese population (Wickberg, 2007, p. 183). Additionally, the PRC government likes to emphasise similarities as they view acknowledging the diversity as threatening to ethnic and cultural harmony (Barabantseva, 2012, p. 100). Furthermore, ideas of origin developed in the Maoist era in China emphasised Chinese foundations in the Yellow River region of the north and the spread of civilisation, including the 'northern' language of Mandarin (see E. Friedman, 1994, pp. 70 and 78). However, this does not sit well with many in diaspora as for the majority of history the bulk of Chinese migration came from the south, particularly during the largest wave between 1850 and 1950 (Clark, 2009, p. 22; Hong Liu, 2005, p. 292). Despite such ideas falling out of favour in recent years, they still retain a degree of influence on perspectives. This can particularly be seen in the political realm, as rhetoric tends to de-emphasise the diversity within the Chinese people. However, individuals in the diaspora tend to place importance on identifying themselves both as Chinese and as belonging to a linguistically-based cultural group such as Cantonese, Hokkien or Hakka. This more specific identity tends to refer to what dialect is spoken within the family, or was spoken by the individual's forebears.

Migration Origin Narratives

As well as the origins of the Jewish and Chinese people themselves, ideas regarding the origins of the diasporas also have an impact on processes of place-making today. The main distinction that can be made between the Chinese and Jewish diasporas in this regard is that in the Jewish diaspora, dominant narratives are centred around a return to Israel. Despite the many contested perspectives, the dominant migration narratives in the Jewish diaspora tend to be centred on ideas of exile and return and have either a nationalist or a religious base. A Zionist view of Jewish history is that it

had three stages: the establishment of the Jewish nation in antiquity, the exile, and the return of the Jewish people to the land of Zion. It thus positions anyone not returning to Israel as not fulfilling their duty (Hertzberg, 1996, p. 172). There is also the religious perspective that the Jewish presence in Zion has to be re-established to be the vanguard for the coming of the Messiah (Hertzberg, 1996, p. 175).

In contrast, Chinese diaspora migration origin narratives tend to be centred on the benefits of leaving China. China's migration history stems from ancient times when emperors sent their citizens to explore nearby regions and establish trade links. One of the most significant followed the voyages of Zheng He in the early Ming dynasty (Shen, 2010, pp. 25-26). The earliest acknowledged Chinese migrants did not relocate as family groups but were crew members of Chinese ships who stayed abroad, with or without imperial permission, to take advantage of shipping, skilled employment or trade opportunities (Cheung, 2004, p. 668). For much of the history of the Chinese diaspora, it was largely taken for granted that early Chinese migrants were just sojourners and that the practice of sojourning was a feature unique to the Chinese (Yang, 2000, p. 235). This has had an impact on perceptions of the Chinese diaspora which have endured into the modern era, particularly in the relations with host lands.

This history of migration has also led to an evolution of the concept of family in Chinese diaspora populations. In addition to blood-kinship family ties, more extended ideas of family, such as organisations focused on particular surnames, emphasise both real and imagined ancestral links. Such organisations also provide practicalities such as community strength in numbers when confronting political or economic issues (G. Wang, 2009, p. 210). The attitudes and expectations surrounding Chinese identity are expected to change over the generations. During the period after migration, which may extend to the children of migrants, ethnic identity may be considered more important than national identity. However, the rate and extent of this evolution is dependent on the policies, legal system, opportunities for education and business and acceptance of Chinese culture experienced in different host lands. Should relations between the home and host lands be relatively stable, this will be less of an issue. However, if there is a decline in relations between the home and host lands, diaspora members may become the target of resentment for the majority populations of their host lands (Jacobsen, 2009, p. 87). This will impact on the trajectory of the process for migrants to settle down in a new host land and as diaspora members. How positive or negative these experiences are will impact on the importance given to retaining

specific Chinese identity traits or how a Chinese identity is expressed, privately or overtly (G. Wang, 1993, p. 932).

Origins in the Nation and the State

Given that narratives regarding migration in both diasporas centre around movement in relation to the state, it is unsurprising that ideas regarding the origins of the nation or state have an impact on identity and place-making in the Jewish and Chinese diasporas. The origins of Chinese and Jewish ideas of nation and state have also had an impact on the development of China and Israel in the modern era. They continue to play a role in place-making as Chinese or Jewish, regardless of geographical location.

The main difference, as stated previously, between the two diasporas is linked to the historical fact that Israel as a state in some form did not exist for nearly two millennia. In contrast, a Chinese state in one form or another has always existed. This difference can be seen in how ideas of the state or nation are associated with being Chinese or Jewish. In the Jewish diaspora even during the long exile from the geographical homeland, ideas of Zion as the nation were maintained, influencing the creation of the state of Israel and persistently impact contestations about the state's continuance and character (see Falk, 1983, p. 89). The years of exile also created ideas of homeland and nation beyond that of Zion or Israel. For example, when defining their place of origin, Sephardic Jews may refer to the city in Spain from which their ancestors had been forced to flee in the late fifteenth century. Ashkenazi Jews may refer to a shtetl in Poland or Lithuania as the homeland (Safran, 1999, p. 274). As the world moved towards the modern era, and in the midst of new widespread Jewish mobility and immigration and great transformations in Jewish identity, the modern Jewish nationalist movement, Zionism, came into being in the last third of the nineteenth century (Ram, 2000, p. 412).

The new state of Israel looked to the diaspora and utilised long-held ideas about the Jewish nation to inspire support. Despite this, the creation of the state caused major adjustments to the meaning of Jewish identity (see Bayme, 2007, p. 310). One way in which this occurred was due to attitudes towards the diaspora cultivated by elites in Israel. They felt a need for diaspora support, particularly through return, but also wanted to distinguish Israelis from the diaspora. For the early Jewish leaders of Israel, the call for the return of the diaspora had a practical as well as an ideological

reasoning. The fledgling state had a great need to bolster the population with those who had a Western education and specialist expertise (Butler-Smith, 2009, p. 169). However, those who migrated to the land that would become Israel before and during the establishment of the state aimed to develop a new nation with its own distinctive culture. Therefore, Israeli Jewish culture came to differ from that of other Jewish communities (Zerubavel, 1995, pp. xiii-xiv).

Initially, the dominant ideology amongst Israeli elites emphasised the merits of the tangible efforts of those who were on the ground creating the new state. The contributions of diaspora organisations were largely de-emphasised or ignored and accorded a lower status within Jewish values in the eyes of the Israeli elite. In the decades that followed, such attitudes did become both quantified and more seldom focused on (Hertzberg, 1996, pp. 172-173). However, some policy makers in Israel continued to see diaspora pro-Israel lobbying efforts as not being in line with the aims of Zionism to move away from the Jewishness of the past (Rynhold, 2007, p. 152). Consequently, there developed a situation where the Israeli government was happy to accept material assistance from the diaspora but didn't want to recognise any level of dependence on the diaspora (Rynhold, 2007, pp. 151-152).

The evolution of interactions between Israel and the diaspora, including diaspora attitudes towards Israel, were also dependent on political shifts affecting Israel and the region in the decades after the creation of the state. From 1948 to 1966 diaspora Jewry in the West tended to see Israel as the poorer and more vulnerable relative. There were also feelings of guilt for not doing enough to save fellow Jews during the Holocaust. The events of 1967 saw an evolution away from such perspectives (Rynhold, 2007, p. 145). The years 1967-1981 are seen as the high point of the importance of Israel to diaspora identity. For example, generally positive feelings about Israel's military actions and the compromises made to achieve peace were expressed (Rynhold, 2007, p. 146). From the early-1980s, the Lebanon War and the First Intifada saw an anti-Israel stance start to be taken by the international media and Israeli policy started to become controversial for some in the diaspora mainstream. The diaspora overall continued to support Israel but there was increasing criticism of government policy (Rynhold, 2007, pp. 146-147).

During the era of the Oslo Peace Process form the mid-1990s, some in the diaspora considered Israel to be more secure than in the past. This led to some opinions that favoured less of a focus on the defence of Israel and more focus on diaspora issues. However, Israel continued to be important. This could especially be seen in

increasing level of encouragement for diaspora group tours to Israel, such as through roots tourism (Rynhold, 2007, pp. 148-149). There was an increase in feelings of solidarity with Israel in the diaspora after the Oslo process collapsed at the turn of the twenty first century. Although there was criticism of Israeli government policies, increases in violence and anti-Semitism in Israel and the diaspora resulted in a heightened sense of Jewish identity amongst diaspora members (Rynhold, 2007, pp. 149-150).

At present, developments in both Israel and the diaspora continue to impact on perspectives in the diaspora regarding Israel and Jewish identity. These developments include the decline of the number of people still alive who lived through the period of the Holocaust; younger Jewish people being influenced by more recent social and political trends; that Israeli Jews may outnumber diaspora Jews in the near future, and; the reorganisation of Jewish entities required due to migration, demographic change and globalisation (Sheffer, 2007, pp. 302-303). Israeli policy makers continue to consider the impact on diaspora identity when formulating foreign and defence policies. This is because it is felt that reactions from the diaspora do have ramifications for Israeli interests (Rynhold, 2007, p. 151). Contemporary mainstream Jewish attitudes do include differing opinions about some Israeli policies, with some diaspora members perceiving some Israeli policies and actions negatively (Bayme, 2007, p. 312). However, in the current political climate, any critiques tend to be carefully worded to avoid conveying anything other than full support for Israel itself (Gordis, 2007, p. 67).

For the Chinese diaspora, the continuous existence of the Chinese state means that the state, past and present, as well as ideas about it, has had a significant impact on Chinese identity (Reid, 2009, p. 197). However, this is primarily an aspect of the modern era. The term 'Chinese' and the economic, political, racial and socio-cultural idea of Chineseness came to the forefront from the nineteenth century. Prior to this, 'Chinese' was only really used by those originating from outside China. The terms '*Zhongguo*' and '*Zhongguoren*' (which literally translate as 'the middle kingdom' and 'the middle kingdom people,' respectively) to refer to the Chinese state and people respectively were established at this time and only achieved connotations of citizenship after the Republic of China (ROC) was established in 1912. Ideas around the term '*Zhongguo'* draw from the pre-modern past and connote China as the glorified centre of the world where anything outside of the centre, and hence not Chinese, is classified as 'barbarian' (Sinclair & Cunningham, 2000, p. 39).

Ideas of Chineseness linking diaspora members also only gained traction in the period from the late nineteenth century. Prior to this, there was an acceptance of being referred to as 'Chinese' communities by outsiders but diaspora members were more focused on their village, lineage, language group or occupational identities. An awareness of China and their links to it became prominent only with the rise of modern nationalism (G. Wang, 2009, p. 202). Many Chinese migrants then sought to be recognised by the Chinese government of the day due to the prestige it could bring (McKeown, 2001, p. 356). Additionally, the cultural construction of identity in modern Chinese nationalist movements from the late nineteenth century concentrated on ideas of biological descent (Dikötter, 1997, p. 6).

Further to this, the history of the Chinese diaspora spans centuries but the histories and politics of most Chinese diaspora host lands changed radically over the twentieth century (G. Wang, 1993, p. 934). In particular, following the split between the PRC on the mainland and the ROC on Taiwan in 1949, and then again when Hong Kong and Taiwan rose to be economic powers, the idea of the centrality of China was seriously challenged (Lei, 2006, p. 7). An examination of the evolution of relations between China and the diaspora illustrates the development of Chinese diaspora identity.

The history of the Chinese state and its engagement with the Chinese diaspora has resulted in the diaspora often being cautious in approaching engagement with China. As a result, some groups became concerned with the importance of China's development and political resurgence, whilst others became concerned with ensuring the survival of Chinese diaspora communities in different locations (G. Wang, 1993, p. 948). Contributing factors to this cautiousness include the idea that up until the first half of the nineteenth century, the primarily southern Chinese who left China tended to reject identifying with the Qing dynasty. They instead focused on establishing their place as Chinese trading communities within the colonial frameworks established in Southeast Asia and other locations (G. Wang, 2009, p. 204). Additionally, it wasn't until the main wave of Chinese migration started from the mid nineteenth century that the diaspora received official protection and endorsement from Chinese authorities (G. Wang, 2009, p. 205). For example, the Qing authorities from the 1890s offered titles and government positions to diaspora members providing financial investment to the Qing state (Bolt, 1997, p. 224).

The development of an entrepreneurial culture in China was hampered by controlled trading relations and a ban on Chinese private international trade (G. Wang, 2004, p.

316). Wang (1993, pp. 935-936) also ascribes the lack of support Chinese merchants received from the Qing authorities, in contrast to the military and financial backing often given to European traders by their governments, as giving the Chinese diaspora an independent, self-reliant and adaptable character from early in its history. This characteristic is largely similar to that found in the Jewish diaspora.

In response to this, as the Qing states weakened, potential alternative authorities appealed to the diaspora for support. For example, Sun Yat-sen appealed to anti-Manchu sentiment[9] and promoted promises of establishing a modern China to gain support for the 1911 revolution from the diaspora (Bolt, 1997, p. 225). This appealed to the many Chinese diaspora members who felt a desire for support from a strong Chinese homeland and a duty to support the Chinese state (G. Wang, 1993, p. 936). This feeling of duty, which can be ascribed to the influence of Confucianist ideas on social and cultural identity, was still significant into the ROC era. Such ideas were the norms taken out of China by migrants in the period of greatest expansion of the diaspora (G. Wang, 2009, p. 207). Sun's promises of a modern China held appeal because Chinese migrants saw the contrast between the dynamic and technologically advanced cultures from the West and the relatively stagnant and less influential Chinese values (G. Wang, 2004, p. 317). However, from the 1911 revolution to the communist victory in 1949, Chinese diaspora investment in China proved fairly fruitless more due to invasion and civil war than because of a lack of idealism and investment. In response, the Chinese diaspora turned from direct investment in enterprises in China to creating the financial success in their host lands that would allow them to send remittances back to China (G. Wang, 1993, p. 936).

After the communist victory in 1949, the PRC authorities continued to try and attract support from the diaspora. Prior to the Cultural Revolution the PRC established diaspora investment companies and accorded special privileges to the families of diaspora members living in China to attract investment (Bolt, 1997, p. 224). These efforts came to an end with the Cultural Revolution when the PRC turned inward and interaction between China and the diaspora became very limited. Diaspora identity became more focused on the host land and community and was often impacted by the more global events of the Cold War.

[9] Many anti-Manchu Chinese people joined the diaspora in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, bringing their political values to their new communities (G. Wang, 2004, p. 316).

Therefore, prior to the Reform Era, the Chinese diaspora was becoming increasingly assimilated into the host land population in many locations. In the Reform Era, the increase of migration from the PRC had the added impact of strengthening the sense of Chinese identity in earlier diaspora members (Barabantseva, 2005, p. 19). As China has developed economically, there have also been considerations of the role of Chinese culture in this development. Chinese culture and civilisation and considerations of its adaptations to modern economic and political discourse may have more influence on diaspora members than ideas about economic and political issues within the PRC (see G. Wang, 1993, p. 926). Additionally, the evolution of Chinese national identity in the PRC has been impacted by greater exposure to diaspora ideas through increased contact through trade and investment (Ong, 1997a, p. 174). In light of this understanding of the development of ideas of Chineseness and diaspora identity, the changes brought about by globalisation can be seen as the next step in the development of identity and place-making.

Place-Making and Geographical Movement

Geographical movement is another key factor impacting on place-making for the Jewish and Chinese diasporas. Mobility can vary geographically, being internal, regional or transnational, and demographically, spanning the boundaries imposed by skills or class (Salazar, 2011, p. 578). Like many diasporas, the Jewish and Chinese diasporas were created by a mixture of voluntary and forced migration (Sheffer, 2002, p. 335). Separation from the homeland means that the imagined plays a central role in the culture of migration, both about future opportunities and the, frequently mythological, memory of the homeland (Salazar, 2011, p. 586). The ideas and values considered important in both diasporas were contributed to by the accumulated history of movement, the types of environments encountered during these movements and the centrality of the family to the experiences of individuals.

In both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas developing a sense of place is often influenced by the status Jewish or Chinese people have had in a host land historically. For example, both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas were impacted by the medieval idea that although all were equal before God, society on Earth was hierarchical, with men having differing statuses, rights and privileges (Chee-Beng, 2000, p. 441). This directly influenced the status of Jews as inferior in Europe in this period and beyond as the idea evolved into theories such as Social Darwinism. These ideas were

brought into the lands colonised by European powers and impacted on the status of both Jewish and Chinese people in places as diverse as South Africa and Indonesia. Both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas were known as traders and middlemen in this era and were classified as distinct from the majority, distinguished ethnically or racially or by religion, language or status (Zenner, 1996, p. 184). However, this distinction was not always a disadvantage. For example, for a member of such a community, who was forbidden from positions of authority or social prestige, their distance from the social norms of the majority made them more trustworthy (Zenner, 1996, pp. 184-185). This instilled a role in the host land which, in turn, gave them a place in the society.

In addition to their historical status in a specific geographical location, the nature of geographical movement and dispersion of the diasporas also influences the development of a sense of place for Jewish or Chinese individuals. In the Jewish diaspora, this comes from the many waves of expulsion and voluntary migration since ancient times. Although the Roman expulsion in the first century AD marked the beginning of a nearly two millennia-long exile, it was not the first. The two major dispersions prior to this were due to the invasion of the northern kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians in 722BC and the conquest of the southern kingdom of Judah by the Babylonians in 586BC (Band, 1996, p. 325). After the Roman expulsion, the Jewish diaspora was characterised by frequent movement between host lands, both forced and voluntary. Some of the most noted include the forced expulsions from Spain and Portugal at the end of the fifteenth century. Voluntary examples include the large number of South African Jews migrating to Australia and North America since the 1980s and 1990s (Sheffer, 2002, p. 335). After Emancipation, which saw the giving of social and political rights and the lifting of bans on mobility for Jewish people in Europe from the eighteenth century (Azoulay, 2001, p. 229; Kopelowitz, 2001, p. 171), many European Jewish families moved to larger cities in order to ensure their children had access to quality education (Reichman, 2011, p. 82).

In the Chinese diaspora, the history of mass movement spans a much shorter time period, with mass migration primarily occurring from the nineteenth century as a response to large-scale European colonialism and the decline of the Qing dynasty. Instead, Chinese diaspora geographical movement is characterised by its size. Between 1840 and 1940 about 20 million people emigrated from China, with approximately 90% of those heading to Southeast Asia (McKeown, 2010, p. 98). Prior to World War II, diaspora Chinese communities were also generally characterised by

their transient nature with much of the population consisting of sojourning males. These migrants had families still in China and their aim was to return to China after sufficient money had been raised. They remained psychologically attached to the homeland and sent remittances back to China to not only alleviate the poverty of their families but also to fund the construction of public services such as schools and transport networks (Hoe, 2005, p. 564). The nature of the dispersion was also impacted by political reactions in response to this movement. For example, in the 1850s there had been a significant migration to locations such as the US and Australia due to resource booms. However, this was quite short lived due to the institution of anti-Chinese migration laws and changes in the availability of transport. This meant that Chinese migration outside of Asia dropped and then stagnated for the next 90 years but increased more than twenty-fold across Southeast Asia (McKeown, 2010, pp. 98-99).

The character of geographical movement has influenced the kinds of approaches made to place-making in both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas. This includes both a sense of never fully belonging in the host land and the felt need to make every effort to belong in the host land. The character of geographical movement has also influenced the nature of diaspora members' sense of place in the homeland. For the Jewish diaspora, the early years of settlement by Zionists in what would become the State of Israel was characterised by a great deal of examination of what made up their collective identity. This was to be expected in a society consisting primarily of immigrants trying to lay their national foundations. This interest in examining collective identity is still important in the established state despite the many changes in terms of the cultural, social, economic, demographic, political and ideological characteristics of the population in the intervening decades (Zerubavel, 2002, p. 115). In the Chinese diaspora, the development, and even survival, of diaspora Chinese communities has less to do with their homeland and the traditions and culture of the place of origin. It has more to do with their local society and its ideas and policies regarding race and accommodating various groups within the society and national narrative (Li & Li, 2011, p. 139).

Place-Making Through Tradition, Ritual and Values

Place-making in the Chinese and Jewish diasporas is also influenced by the history of tradition, ritual and values in the two groups. Throughout the history of these groups, both internal and external factors have maintained certain distinctions between diaspora and majority populations in most host lands. This relates to the idea of cultural pluralism, which emphasises the maintenance of cultural identity and is the opposite of assimilation and acculturation (Suryadinata, 1997, p. 14). The maintenance of these distinct identities is done through the development of tradition, rituals and values. Tradition can be understood as the revered past of a culture that has authority, continuity and is considered an important part of the preservation and survival of the group (Nash, 1996, p. 27). Rituals express traditions and instigate bonds and a sense of community through creating common sentiments and purposes (Tong & Chan, 2001, p. 372) and values embody traditions and rituals. The continuity of cultural and social values can leave an imprint on an individual. Such imprints can endure even after a break with the tradition appears to have occurred (Cranmer-Byng, 1973, p. 67). The claiming of a cultural identity for oneself assigns certain obligations, responsibilities, loyalties and a need for authenticity. This bestows recognition from the collective and restrains as much it sustains (Souchou, 2009, p. 259).

Like other diasporas, it is recognised that Jewish diaspora culture is not homogenous. There are multiple divisions on a range of issues including relations with Israel, the role of Israel and group and personal identification and organisation, all of which can be expressed through tradition, rituals and values (Sheffer, 2007, p. 302). For example, an individual can still be Jewish without practicing Judaism or while practicing another religion (Gitelman, 1998, pp. 112-113). It is often perceived that Chineseness focuses on birth and appearance and that Chinese membership cannot be attained through marriage, developing linguistic skills or engaging in cultural practices (Chan, 2009, p. 114). However, historically, Chinese identity has been based on culture and similar learnt traits as opposed to biological descent (Choe, 2006, p. 90). Therefore, the performance of recognisably Chinese activities, such as food, religious rituals, dance and other cultural practices (Souchou, 2009, p. 252) retain significant importance in the development of Chineseness.

There are numerous facets of tradition, rituals and values that impact on identity but some of key aspects of these two diasporas are ideology, language, national culture and community engagement.

Ideology

The process of place-making in both Jewish and Chinese diaspora individuals is influenced by the ideologies of what makes a person Jewish or Chinese. For example, all members of the Chinese diaspora, whether they are descendants of nineteenth century coolie workers or are recent migrants from China (*xin yimin*), are considered to share some basic characteristics. These include observance of Chinese festivals and traditions, the practice of religions such as Taoism, Buddhism or ancestor worship and values such as filial piety, respecting authority and the importance of education, frugality and hard work (Chun, 1989, p. 236; Ding, 2011, pp. 300-301). Tradition was reinforced and transformed amongst the diaspora due to the Confucian-based and patrilineal ethos regarding family and also the tendency for Chinese emigrants to congregate in areas that came to be known as Chinatowns (Chan, 1997, p. 201). Within this context, memories transmitted through story and cultural practice ensured enduring Chineseness (see Sun, 1998, p. 112).

In the Jewish diaspora, over the millennia Jewish law has defined Jewishness as being transmitted matrilineally. This made sense as it maintained the legitimacy of descent even in times of war or forced migration (Azoulay, 2001, p. 226). In addition to this, Jewish law also states that those who convert to the Jewish faith become a part of the Jewish people (Gitelman, 1998, p. 115). However, from the mid-1980s there have been challenges and controversies around how to define someone as Jewish. Many arguments settle on the push to only recognise conversions made by the Orthodox authorities, a threat to those who convert according to the Reform or Conservative traditions (Hertzberg, 1996, pp. 177-178). In both diasporas, these ideological traditions are transmitted through story and narrative, particularly within the family. In the Jewish diaspora, this transmission was done to remember the homeland and develop diaspora Jewish culture. For example, the reading of Psalms and stating ‘next year in Jerusalem’ during the rituals of Passover (Aviv & Shneer, 2005, p. 5).

Language

In both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas language has played a significant role in identity development and place-making as the means of transmitting tradition, ritual and values. However, in both diasporas language use and perspectives on language, as it relates to Chineseness and Jewishness, are complex. Indeed, this complexity is

a reflection of the intricacies of the communities themselves (Luykx, as cited in Perez Baez, 2013, p. 35). For example, in the Jewish diaspora, many Yiddish speakers in Europe were murdered in the Holocaust and those outside of Europe often discarded Yiddish in favour of other languages such as English, French or Spanish. Yiddish was considered backwards and old-fashioned by many migrants and their direct descendants. Later generations who became curious about their backgrounds were then faced with a lack of resources and opportunities both within their families or in the wider community, which either no longer existed or were in locations that were hard or impossible to access (Gitelman, 1998, p. 122). Perspectives on Yiddish have been further complicated by the idea that the rebirth of Hebrew language culture has been central to the process of Jewish cultural revival (Azaryahu & Golan, 2001, p. 180).

The complexity of the role of particular languages can also be seen in the Chinese diaspora. For example, perspectives on the use of Mandarin (*Putonghua*) have been complicated by PRC language policies. The PRC government's language policies build on the success of the Qin which unified written Chinese so there were no distortions. This allowed for a continuity of written communication between the centre and the very peripheries of China. The difference here is that the PRC government concentrated on spoken communication so that by speaking *Putonghua* a person could communicate with anyone in China, whether in Beijing or in the most remote villages (Zhou & Ross, 2004, p. 5). Such ideas have been applied to promoting Chinese language learning outside of China, where some younger members of the diaspora are making an effort to claim Chinese identity and learn Mandarin. This differs from their ancestors whose identities and languages were much more regional (Chirot, 1997, p. 28). The result for both diasporas is that place-making through the sense of belonging given by language has generational differences and creates distinctions in the nature of Chinese or Jewish identity between individuals and within families.

The Homeland State

In both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas, perspectives about the homeland state are seen through the filter of tradition, ritual and values. This can be seen in ideas about whether the homeland plays a significant role in an individual's sense of belonging and place. For example, in the Jewish diaspora, since the Babylonian

expulsion, the idea that the Jewish people are one nation with unique ties to the homeland, Zion, has been central (Miles, 1998, p. 122). Once the physical homeland was lost, the rabbinical authorities positioned scripture and the synagogue as the focus for a sense of home or nation and cultural distinctiveness (Aviv & Shneer, 2005, p. 5; Safran, 2005, p. 44). This situation meant that diaspora members had to decide whether the re-creation of the physical Israel aligned with their values. Some in the Jewish diaspora believe that the Jewish people do not need a geographical homeland. Instead, the Scriptures and Jewish writing define their sense of identity and the establishment of a tangible homeland is "superfluous or even subversive" (Gruen, 2002, p. 18).

In the Chinese diaspora, the rhetoric from communist China has led to something of a break between the Chinese state and tradition, ritual and values in the diaspora. The Chinese communists denounced many traditional Chinese institutions as feudal and a negative influence and attempted to replace these institutions with one based in Marxist-Leninist-Maoist thought. This was something which was alien to much of the diaspora (C. S. Kong, 1997, p. 220). A perceived distance between the Chinese state and the diaspora is not without historical precedence. Imperial Chinese authorities generally associated civilised groups with remaining in their homeland and mobility with the 'barbarians' beyond China's borders such as the Mongols and the Huns (Donato & Gabaccia, 2015, p. 21). This led to periods of the state perceiving emigrants negatively. This contrasted with the break which occurred in the second half of the twentieth century, where the perception of separateness came from the diaspora, as outlined earlier in this chapter.

The actions of the communist Chinese state have led to the identity of some diaspora members becoming more localised, describing themselves as Malaysian Chinese, Indonesian Chinese, and so on (Souchou, 2009, p. 258). The Chinese in the label does not refer to either an attachment or longing for the Chinese state. Many diaspora members feel that, due to recent history, emphasising a connection with China can be contentious. Young diaspora members often feel a greater attachment to their country of birth and do not feel that the Chinese state plays a role in their personal identity. Particularly in Southeast Asia, there have been numerous attempts to define a Chinese identity free of the connotations of China the state or Chinese the race, such as food, language, tradition and spousal choice (Souchou, 2009, p. 258).

Community Engagement

The tradition of community engagement and the associated values and rituals have played a role in the process of place-making in both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas. In the Jewish diaspora, this community involvement was frequently centred around religious practices which offered a sense of place in host lands that often maintained a distinct separation between the Jewish and majority populations (Safran, 2005, p. 44). More secular international networks also provided community engagement and the cultivation of the contacts and opportunities necessary for survival and even prosperity (Jacobs, 2011, p. 46). These kinds of networks can be seen today in institutions and organisations within the diaspora and between Israel and the diaspora.

In the Chinese diaspora community engagement historically took placed within clan organisations. Organisations tended to be along dialect lines and were based on the close family ties of traditional society, aiming to be an extension of this for migrants. These organisations provided welfare and maintained law and order in the community. They also ensured the maintenance of tradition and values (Ching-Hwang, 1981, pp. 62-69). Even into the present, many in the Chinese diaspora join ethnically-based organisations, community groups and churches. Membership is thought to ensure the interests and well-being of the collective and ensure continuity (Ding, 2011, p. 301). Chinese diaspora associations and similar organisations often aim to preserve Chinese culture and develop group identity, as well as engaging in community and charitable activities (Hong Liu, 1998, p. 588).

Place-Making Through Upheaval and Persecution

One of the most significant historical factors of both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas has been the presence of upheaval and persecution. This has had many manifestations, ranging from social or institutional discrimination or limitations to rioting, destruction and murder in varying scales. Although this has not been constant throughout the entire history of the diasporas, both its occurrences and narratives after the fact have been dominant and have significant impact on identity and the process of place-making.

For the Jewish diaspora, the greatest of these persecutions was of course the Holocaust. However, the Holocaust is not viewed as an isolated event but rather the

culmination of persecutions dating back to antiquity. This perspective is partly due to anti-Semitism being seen as a common reaction by non-Jewish populations looking for something tangible to focus their fears on in times of hardship or social upheaval (F. Cohen et al., 2009, p. 290). Jewish ethnic identity stands out in that it has survived without having the opportunity to rely on a territorial state and in the face of a scale of oppression, dispersal and pressure to assimilate that is unprecedented (Falk, 1983, p. 90). To this day many in the Jewish diaspora see the precariousness of their future and are acutely aware of their minority status (Tannenbaum, 2009, p. 992). This feeling is enhanced by the decimation of so many families and the resulting loss of collective cultural memory.

Although the Chinese diaspora has not suffered anything to the scale of the Holocaust, their long-standing status as convenient scapegoats has resulted in numerous incidences of violence. In Indonesia, the two most prominent examples of this occurred in the aftermath of a botched coup and the murder of several army generals (blamed on the PKI), whom the Chinese were often associated with) in 1965 and in 1998 during the collapse of the Suharto regime amid the Asian Financial Crisis. In addition to instances of physical violence, Chinese populations may also experience locations and periods of tolerance or discrimination or the threat of expulsion (Ma Mung, 2004, p. 212). Upheavals and persecution in the history of both diasporas can be seen as originating from three main areas, the social and cultural, the economic and the political.

The Social and Cultural

In both diasporas, experiences of persecution and discrimination occurred within an environment where they were classified as 'other' and distinct from the majority societies and cultures of the host lands in which they resided. Although Chinese or Jewish diaspora identity is often a matter of self-identification, which may spring from the experience of exclusion in the host land and a desire to have an allegiance with a transnational community (see D. L. Madsen, 2009, p. 45), a status as separate is often imposed from outside the diaspora. The status and rhetoric this separation creates can lead to resentment which can escalate. In the Jewish diaspora, this has meant that all too frequently the only option available for leaving the diaspora was through leaving the Jewish community and Judaism itself (Safran, 2005, p. 44).

In the Chinese diaspora, especially in Southeast Asia, there is often a distinction made between 'native-born' and 'migrant' residents, with the Chinese clearly identified as the latter. Attitudes of resentment and suspicion of the Chinese within indigenous populations in Southeast Asia can be attributed to differences in culture, race and language, perceptions of economic dominance, a lack of willingness to be engaged in the interests of their places of residence, their origins in the once dominant regional power and their perceived continuing involvement in Chinese politics and ambitions in Southeast Asia (Fitzgerald, 1970, p. 2). Highlighting the perceived lack of cultural integration of the Chinese often allows them to be used as a convenient scapegoat, deflecting attention from failing policies or regimes (Tan, 2001, pp. 950-951). In both diasporas, these social and cultural distinctions and the associated discrimination and violence continue to impact the development of a sense of belonging long after an event. These negative distinctions and events also lead members of both diasporas to look to sites and influences beyond the state, primarily the family, to develop their identity and sense of place as Chinese or Jewish people.

Economic Activities

Perceptions about the economic activities of both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas at various times in history have also resulted in persecution. Ideas about the economic status and behaviour of the two groups still feature prominently in instances of resentment levelled against both diasporas. This still plays a role in identity development and place-making.

Throughout history, the elites of many areas, including feudal Europe and colonial Asia and Africa, wanted to maintain a distance from the masses and decided to fill the resulting economic gap with those from outside (Reid, 1997, p. 36). Both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas became successful and prominent as a result of these economic activities. However, this also created resentment within the host lands, especially amongst those disadvantaged by feudal or colonial policy. Thus, the Jewish and Chinese diasporas both experienced limitations or discrimination through policy as a way to appease such resentment. In the Jewish diaspora, firstly, they were excluded as pariahs from both the feudal economy and status system. Secondly, they were prohibited from engaging in most kinds of long-term investments, particularly the purchasing of land, and; thirdly, they were subject to exploitation by feudal hierarchies, both local and regional. In the short term, these practices had a

negative impact on the security and prosperity of Jewish people in Europe. However, working within the restrictions placed upon them would ultimately result in the indirect generation of assets or the creation of advantages once Jews began to engage in early capitalist markets (Karady, 1997, p. 128).

In the Chinese diaspora, in locations where mineral wealth played a pivotal role in the development of the economy, such as Australia and South Africa, Chinese emigrants were singled out and restricted if they had already arrived or were forbidden from entry in the first place (Harris, 2010, p. 221). Politicians and members of anti-Chinese movements frequently took opportunistic advantage of this idea to point out that the Chinese were, because of their sojourning orientation, unable or unwilling to assimilate, therefore justifying anti-Chinese actions or laws. Even in contemporary times this idea persists particularly in light of illegal political donations in Asia (Yang, 2000, p. 235).

Moving into the modern era, Jewish populations in post-Emancipation Europe were often resented as being economically exploitative. This was because some Jewish people were able to become prominently successful in high-profile areas such as finance and the cultural and academic sectors, becoming associated with modernism and its related upheavals (Jacobs, 2011, p. 46; Roshwald, 2000, p. 434). In the Chinese diaspora, many ideas about Chinese economic activity developed in the colonial era were carried into the independent states established in the twentieth century.

In the Jewish diaspora, political events and the rise of nationalism encouraged conspiracy theories about the Jewish goal of world domination through economic means (Jacobs, 2011, p. 47; Roshwald, 2000, p. 434). Since the creation of the State of Israel much of this resentment has been yoked to Israel in response to its activities and successes (see Falk, 1983, p. 88). Similarly, in the Chinese diaspora, further pressure was added with the economic rise of China in recent years. A prevailing opinion in China is that its economic development does not upset the global equilibrium but rather restores it (Lampton, 2007, p. 117). However, despite assurances that diaspora economic investment in China is done simply for profit, there are still fears in some host lands that such investments indicate a resurgence in diaspora support for the political power of China. At worst these fears have manifested in rioting and destruction (Ong, 1997b, p. 339). Examples include Malaysia in 1969 and Indonesia in 1998.

The Political

The political realm has been the site of some of the most prominent traumatic events for both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas. Political rhetoric about both diasporas is often contradictory. However, it primarily focuses on either the nature and actions of the diasporas or the nature and actions of China or Israel. For example, the Jewish diaspora has been subject to accusations of being secret sympathisers of socialist regimes by fascist regimes such as Nazi Germany and Argentina in the 1980s and also being accused of being in league with the West by socialist regimes such as the USSR. Jewish people have been accused of being both insular and traditionalist and cosmopolitan and corrupt, obsessed with the mystical and free-thinking heretics and being weak, overly feminine and ineffectual and also harbouring secret plans for world domination (F. Cohen et al., 2009, p. 290).

In the Chinese diaspora, outside of economic aspects, accusations did not get as specific as against the Jewish diaspora but attitudes were influenced by the turmoil in China in the colonial period. The Opium War of 1840 is generally perceived as the beginning of the Century of Humiliation and the Communist victory in 1949 as its end (Callahan, 2006, p. 180). This perception coloured China's interactions with both the diaspora and states and other entities beyond its borders. However, many ideas coming out of China were not entirely compatible with diaspora identity and resulted in a degree of separation which may be viewed as leaving the diaspora politically vulnerable to an extent.

From the twentieth century, the nature and policies of Israel and China have been prioritised in attitudes towards the Chinese and Jewish diasporas. Examples of such policies include, in the Jewish diaspora, the right of immigration to Israel given to all Jews allows Israel to exist as a response to the precarious nature of life in the diaspora and gives every Jews an opportunity to stake a claim on Israel's future (Falk, 1983, p. 95). This policy has substantial support in the diaspora because of ideas that those in Israel were fighting to maintain a place of refuge for Jews living overseas who had not yet been forced to find shelter from persecution (Falk, 1983, p. 89). This perceived need to maintain a place of refuge is fuelled by the remembrance of the experiences of Jews who managed to flee Nazi Germany but then found they had no place to go as even the liberal democracies were often unwilling to give them refuge (Falk, 1983, p. 89). Political anti-Semitism is seen as enduring, the difference is that historically it was theological and right-wing but now it is ideological and left-wing (Safran, 2007, p. 48).

In the Chinese diaspora, the period of decolonisation was characterised by nationalist governments of the region mistrusting their own Chinese minority populations (Hong Liu, 2011, p. 819). During the Maoist era relations between the PRC and the Southeast Asian states were generally unstable (Bolt, 2011, p. 278). In the 1950s China raised what has been dubbed the 'Bamboo Curtain,' where China closed its door to foreigners until the late 1970s (Choe, 2006, p. 99). After the communists came to power in China, the West and Southeast Asia started to see China as a threat to regional security. This perception was enhanced by the assumption that the PRC gave support to armed insurgents in the region (K. H. Lee, 1997, p. 73). China's rise has also led to ideas such as the 'China threat theory' which stem from criticisms of actions of the PRC state such as corruption, a poor environmental record, the suppression of dissidents, the one child policy and the use of the death penalty (Fan, 2010, pp. 271-272).

In both diasporas, it can be seen that experiences of persecution and discrimination in history have had an impact on identity, particularly in terms of the process of place-making. Major discriminatory events in the diaspora have as much of an impact on perceptions of Israel and China as the ways these states develop within themselves. In the Jewish diaspora, the impact of events in the diaspora is particularly high as the Israeli state's existence is comparatively recent and for nearly two millennia the Jewish people and culture could only be defined through the diaspora (Safran, 2005, p. 44). For the Chinese diaspora, China has always existed; however, their reactions in this regard are not too dissimilar from those of the Jewish diaspora because returning to China has not always been desirable or possible. For example, in the early Qing era, harsh penalties for migration, that had been relaxed during the Ming era, were reimposed for domestic political reasons. This meant that returning from overseas could result in the death penalty and these restrictions were not entirely lifted until 1893 (Duara, 2009, p. 97; Nyíri, 2002, pp. 208-209).

The current states of Israel and China were established at approximately the same time in the late 1940s, meaning that diaspora perspectives on these states were greatly influenced by the events of World War II. In the Jewish diaspora, organised Jewish groups opposing Zionism almost disappeared. To the majority, the creation of Israel came to be seen as compensation for the Holocaust and historical persecution of the Jews. As time passed many Jews, especially in English-speaking countries, came to view Israel, the haven, as one of the fundamental components of their identity as Jews (Mendes, 2007, p. 105). In the years prior to the creation of the

PRC, the Chinese diaspora had experienced the situation of even if return was desired, the means or opportunity to do so were not always available (Yang, 2000, p. 238). After the CCP victory, many in diaspora chose not to return and live under communism as they did not expect conditions to be good (Suryadinata, 1997, p. 10). After the first few years, until the advent of the Reform Era, the PRC government tended to discourage the return of diaspora members (G. Liu, 2008, p. 196).

In more contemporary times both diasporas have seen further questioning of the role of the homeland, even though anti-Semitism and anti-Sinicism have not disappeared. The Jewish diaspora still remains an important site of Jewish identity. Safran (2005, p. 55) outlines a role reversal that sees the diaspora as a sanctuary from assimilation and persecution prompted by fears that the Jewish state may cease to exist. In the Chinese diaspora, the Reform Era has seen China encouraging return (even if only for economic activities) but there is still a reluctance to leave the host lands. For example, although over 100,000 people, assumed to be mostly Chinese, left Indonesia during the violence of 1998, they constituted only about 1% of the total Chinese Indonesian population. Of these, the majority soon returned to Indonesia, their birthplace (Suryadinata, 2001, p. 508).

Place-Making in Reaction to the Contemporary World and Globalisation

Since the last decade of the twentieth century and the end of the Cold War there have been many social and political upheavals, including the fall of the USSR and its ramifications, revivals in religious fundamentalism, unprecedented mass migration, the internet and developments in international relationships that had previously seemed insurmountable. This has caused rapid evolutions for the daily lives and identities of many individuals and collectives (Della Pergola, Rebhun, & Tolts, 2005, p. 61). The post-Cold War era is seeing the dismantling of old orders and imaginings and opportunities to create new identities, orders and cultural activities. However, the new is still tending to be grounded in the old, making their development very complex (Ruprecht, 1994, p. 202). Thus, understanding the more recent history of the Chinese and Jewish diasporas is as important as understanding the more distant past. Although a number of theories about globalisation and related phenomena predict greater rates of homogenisation, in the twenty first-century diaspora membership appears to be rising, not declining (Sheffer, 2006, p. 121). However, Blumer (2011,

p. 1332) suggests that in contrast to traditional notions of diaspora, which emphasised the importance of roots, boundaries and the centrality of the homeland, contemporary diaspora embodies movement, fluidity and globalisation. In both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas reactions to the rapid changes and interconnections of globalisation are influenced by population size and dispersion and relations with the homelands.

The Jewish population was estimated by The Jewish People Policy Institute in 2015 to be about 14.5 million people, with just over 6 million resident in Israel (The Jewish People Policy Institute, 2016, p. 17). Sheffer (2007, p. 304) states that approximately 90% of the Jewish diaspora population lives in the 2% of states ranked as having the highest development standards according to the United Nations (UN) Millennium Goals. At the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first centuries, it is estimated that the Chinese diaspora resides in approximately 130 countries with around 96% of the Chinese diaspora population residing in just 22 of these countries (Li & Li, 2011, p. 144). The estimated 38 million-strong Chinese diaspora is considered to play an increasingly important role in the rise of China and in managing its national image (Ding, 2011, p. 300).

In the Jewish diaspora, the main potential demographic challenges to be faced include an ageing population, particularly in the West, high urbanisation rates, high levels of education and significant portions of the population engaged in technical, economic and academic occupations (Sheffer, 2012, p. 78). In the Chinese diaspora, such challenges largely stem from China's rise and increased opportunities to engage with China and Chinese language and culture, which impact on the character of the diaspora (Parker, 2005, p. 416). In the Jewish diaspora, specific religious elements have less influence than "ethno-national-communal views and sentiments" for most members (Sheffer, 2007, p. 305). The Chinese diaspora tends not to see itself as a global Chinese nation, members instead see themselves as Chinese Australians, Chinese Malaysians or similar (Chee-Beng, 2000, p. 471).

As the Jewish state was built, Jews around the world began to associate their Jewishness with support for Israel, something that was publicly done by those with the ability to express their convictions (Falk, 1983, p. 87). The events of 1967 are considered so significant to Jewish identity that many speak of perceptions of Israel in terms of the pre-1967 and the post-1967 (Zerubavel, 1995, p. xiv). Over time the distinction between Jewish identity and support for Israel has blurred for some diaspora Jews as Israel became identified as the refuge of last resort should latent

anti-Semitism start having tangible effects on their lives (Falk, 1983, p. 87). In more recent times, conflicts in the Middle East and terrorist activities targeting Jews have reinforced this.

In the Chinese diaspora, contemporary ideas regarding China started to shift from the late 1970s. There were four main changes that contributed to this, namely, greater opportunities to migrate to the West; China itself reopened to investment, trade and emigration; the development of information and communication technologies allowed for the greater globalisation of daily life; and the first generation of locally-born Chinese diaspora members born since the end of World War II reached adulthood (Mathew, 2012). Ideas of China in the diaspora have been influenced by China rising from being only regionally powerful to being a global power who is active not only in its own region but in areas as diverse as South America, the Middle East and Africa (Yahuda, 2011, p. 181). The extent of this influence depends on what stage the Chinese population of a given state is at in terms of awareness and assertiveness of their rights and awareness of China and its actions (Reid, 2009, p. 199).

In the last two to three decades, concepts such as place, community and nation have been challenged and contested (Barabantseva, 2005, p. 7). Improvements in technology and accessibility to travel as well as political and social developments have allowed for the creation and expansion of programs such as Birthright and March of the Living that promote Israel and diaspora ties (see Aviv, 2011, p. 34). The internet has also allowed for a vibrant Jewish news media environment from both Israel and the diaspora and social media is utilised to disseminate information and illicit support for Israel and diaspora causes. The internet has also made it easier to obtain information about the myriad facets of Chineseness. It is also now easier to ask questions about Chineseness and explore the expressions of others about their Chineseness and the role China plays in forming their identities (Wickberg, 2007, p. 182). More, and more easily accessible, information facilitates gathering data in a project such as this. Not only was I able to communicate with participants in ways that would have been unfeasible in the past but I had easy access to information that provided context to my observations, expanding my analysis.

Having now established a sense of the major factors affecting identity development and place-making in the Chinese and Jewish diasporas generally, this chapter will now discuss the main historical elements impacting identity development and place-making in the case studies being utilised in this thesis. Variances in the character of experiences by diaspora members in different geographic locations create diversity

in the perspectives and priorities that inform individual identity and sense of place. First the Jewish and Chinese diasporas in Australia will be examined. This will be followed by exploring the histories the Jewish diaspora in Germany and the Chinese diaspora in Indonesia and then by the Jewish diaspora in South Africa and the Chinese diaspora in Malaysia. This order relates to the sequence of case studies found in the analysis chapters.

The Jewish and Chinese Diasporas in Australia

The development of identity and a sense of place in both the Jewish and Chinese populations in Australia can be closely linked to the evolution of Australia's demographic character and its policies, especially regarding migration. These elements not only have an impact on the political and economic status of these groups but also contribute to the character and priorities of families and the imagined community. The history of both diasporas in Australia is as long as any non-indigenous population and can be traced back to the early days of European colonisation. Jewish history in Australia begins at the very start of European settlement with Jews being among the first convicts transported in 1788 (Rutland, 2007, p. 254). Chinese migration to Australia in significant numbers was a result of the 1860 Sino-British treaty which gave Chinese subjects of the Qing the right to go abroad (Nyíri, 2002, pp. 208-209) and the gold rushes of the mid-nineteenth century (Sinclair & Cunningham, 2000, p. 37).

As the colonial period progressed, policy became increasingly race-focused. This was carried into the newly federated state as the Commonwealth Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 and became known as the White Australia Policy (WAP), having a significant impact on both Jewish and Chinese populations. Anti-Semitism in Australia arose alongside the first wave of nationalism in the nineteenth century and tended to be linked to the Australian nationalist desire for a homogenous 'white' state. However, a contradiction arose in that the Jewish population was also able to assimilate to a degree as many were able to achieve a designation as 'white' (Stratton, 1996, p. 362). This exacerbated the creation of a specifically Australian Jewish identity that was interwoven with the dominant Anglo-Australian identity, leading to high assimilation rates. This meant that there was a degree of cultural invisibility in the community and that the population faced incidences of anti-Semitism linked to certain nationalist ideas (Stratton, 1996, pp. 358 and 362; 2000, p. 206). A primary

result was that there was a struggle to maintain a distinctly Jewish identity both within the family and in the imagined community and the diaspora faced struggles in maintaining its identity (Rutland, 2007, p. 254).

In contrast, no such contradictions were possible for the Chinese population. The physical differences between the majority Anglo-Australian population and the Chinese were considered obvious and often pointed out (see Irving, 1999, p. 103). Additionally, many of the colonial-era migration policies specifically targeted the Chinese and were utilised in the development of the WAP (Markus, 2001, p. 208). This focus on the 'dangers' of migration from Asia to the north was central to the WAP, meaning that Chinese migration to Australia was largely curtailed until the latter half of the twentieth century (see Sinclair & Cunningham, 2000, p. 38).

The end of World War II and developments from the mid-twentieth century saw attitudes and perspectives about migration in Australia evolve. This was influenced by global circumstances like the Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel for the Jewish population and the victory of the CCP in China and the end of European colonialism in Asia for the Chinese population. However, the nature of relations between Australia and China were less stable than those between Australia and Israel. Australia was an early supporter of the new Israeli state but, within the context of the Cold War, was concerned with China's communist ideology. Despite this, such concerns were not seen as a hindrance to economic interactions, making developing identity and a sense of place as Chinese in Australia less straightforward (see Manicom & O'Neil, 2012, p. 212). Once started, the evolution of ideas and policy regarding migration continued and in recent decades, Australia's population has become much more culturally varied. This is largely due to the easing of racial migration policies from 1966 and the official ending of the WAP in 1973 (Sinclair & Cunningham, 2000, p. 21).

Demographically the Jewish population has seen its numbers bolstered by migration from South Africa, the former USSR and Israel, in addition to refugee migration after World War II (Rutland, 2007, p. 254). From the late 1980s, mainland Chinese migration began again, in large part due to new programs aimed at attracting overseas students to Australian universities (Sinclair & Cunningham, 2000, p. 38). The evolution of both populations in response to policy changes towards multiculturalism has created the specific characters of the Chinese and Jewish diasporas in Australia today. Although both populations are still relatively small, they tend to be quite diverse in terms of background.

Today's Jewish population in Australia is predominantly Ashkenazi (although all sub-groups are represented), distinctly middle class and has a high rate of entrance into higher education (Lerman, 1989, p. 6). Since the mid-twentieth century, it has developed a more Zionist, Israel-focused character, something which is reinforced by more recent migration from South Africa and the former Soviet states (see Lerman, 1989; Rutland, 2007). Today's Chinese population in Australia also tends to be predominantly middle-class, well-educated, cosmopolitan and focused on business (Sinclair & Cunningham, 2000, pp. 4 and 39). The population has increased through waves of migration from Southeast Asia, Hong Kong and, more recently, the PRC. In particular, this has been impacted by policies designed to attract Chinese trade to Australia (see Sinclair & Cunningham, 2000, p. 38; Tung & Chung, 2010). The population's diversity is this seen in terms of country or region of origin, language or dialect, religion, socio-economic status and how 'Chinese' their values and behaviours are considered to be.

Just as Australian policies, both historic and contemporary, impact on the character of the Jewish and Chinese populations, so they do on the nature and priorities of Jewish and Chinese families and their sense of identity and place in their imagined communities. This both creates distinctive populations in Australia and creates links with other Jewish and Chinese populations. This can also be seen in the choices made regarding passing down cultural identity traits to subsequent generations, which will be explored in Chapter 5.

The Jewish Diaspora in Germany and the Chinese Diaspora in Indonesia

Although geographically and culturally distinct, the Jewish population in Germany and the Chinese population in Indonesia share a number of similarities including a small population size and a long-standing involvement in trade and finance. They also share a history of institutional and state-sponsored discrimination and persecution. The nature and scale of such incidences is varied, as are the specific motivations leading to them. However, both populations have been utilised by the authorities as convenient scapegoats during times of political, economic or social turmoil. In both diasporas, this overt distinction between them and the state has positioned the family and the imagined community as primary in identity development and place-making.

Both the Jewish diaspora in Germany and Chinese diaspora in Indonesia can trace their presence in these locations far back in history, although knowledge about the earliest origins of both communities is scarce. The first Jewish movement into Germany occurred during the Roman period (Voigtländer & Voth, 2012, p. 1346). Chinese contact with what is now Indonesia can be traced back as far as the Han Dynasty (200BC-200AD) (V. J. Turner, 2008, p. 2).

Over time both groups successfully established communities but identity maintenance was not straightforward. In the Jewish diaspora in Germany, pogroms and localised incidences of violence have been a common occurrence, justified by, for example, the Crusades, the plague and accusations of murder, poisoning and desecration (Voigtländer & Voth, 2012, p. 1346). Initial Chinese migration to the Indonesian archipelago occurred as individuals or small groups who tended to assimilate into the local population to the extent that they no longer spoke Chinese languages, even at home (A. L. Freedman, 2000, p. 97). It was observed by Chinese visiting Batavia in the eighteenth century that those who had settled in the area previously had mostly assimilated into the local culture and language (Salmon, 1981, p. 273). However, by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries large waves of Chinese migrants entered from a variety of locations in China. This included a significant proportion of women, making assimilation no longer so necessary if settlement was to be achieved (Hoon, 2006, p. 93). After the advent of the Industrial Revolution, both diasporas were able to establish successful populations, particularly in economic terms, but with varying degrees of assimilation (see Crowe, 2008, pp. 106-108; S. Turner & Allen, 2007, p. 114). With the rise of fascism, World War II and its aftermath, both populations went through significant changes that would have an impact into the present.

The actions and consequences of the World War II era in Germany are both well-known and complex. There is not scope within this thesis to fully explore this but it suffices to say that Germany's actions towards its Jewish population in the first half of the twentieth century are seen as a defining event of the century and a reflection of a long history of anti-Semitism (Voigtländer & Voth, 2012, p. 1340). The early Nazi policy of 'encouraging' Jewish migration by any means did result in emigration but many German Jews were reluctant to migrate because they considered themselves to be German (Reichman, 2011, p. 7). This reluctance would prove fatal as by 1945 of the 600,000 German Jews living in Germany before World War II only around 15,000 remained. This population consisted of those who had survived the war in

hiding or who had been spared because they were married to people certified by the Nazis as being Aryan and who were not abandoned by their spouses. After the war, this number was added to slightly by some of those who survived the camps and chose to return to Germany (Bookbinder, 2008, p. 504).

Following economic depression in the 1930s, migration from China ceased. The diaspora population stabilised with local-born Chinese becoming an ever-increasing majority of the Chinese population in Indonesia (Reid, 1997, p. 59).[10] The Chinese in Indonesia remained a culturally distinct population due to both choice and the policies of both the Chinese and Indonesian states. During Indonesia's 'Guided Democracy' era from 1959, Sukarno and the PRC authorities sought closer ties, especially between the CCP and the PKI. However, this only served to increase fears in Indonesia of Chinese and communist subversion and contributed to the atmosphere that exploded in 1965 (Stuart-Fox, 2003, pp. 178-179). A botched coup resulted in violent reprisals against the PKI and, by association, the Chinese. This did not die down until Sukarno was forced to step down and General Suharto became president (Ricklefs, 2001, pp. 347-350). The oppression of Chinese Indonesians under the Suharto regime did not manifest itself in systematic and focused mass-murder as occurred in Nazi Germany but in the suppression of Chinese identity and culture. Although there were incidences of violence, as the Chinese were often positioned as convenient scapegoats, this particularly came through state-enforced assimilation polices. The authorities reduced Chinese migration to Indonesia to almost zero and forbade Chinese, language, education and cultural expression, blurring existing distinctions in Chinese identity (Suryadinata, 2001, p. 503). By the end of this era, the Chinese in Indonesia were forced to re-evaluate and, to an extent, reconstruct their Chinese identities.

For both the Jews in Germany and the Chinese in Indonesia the era of state-sponsored repression in the twentieth century did not last forever. In Germany, the era was far more destructive but lasted little more than a decade, ending with Germany's defeat in World War II. In Indonesia, the era lasted more than three decades and ended with significant violence, the resignation of Suharto and the advent of *Reformasi*. Although differing in scale, both populations experienced a re-

[10] The Chinese Indonesians did suffer greatly under the Japanese occupation during World War II; however, this occurred alongside the suffering inflicted on the population as a whole.

evaluation of their identities as Jewish or Chinese and both groups still face challenges in establishing and maintaining their communities.

The Jewish diaspora population had to be rebuilt physically as well as in terms of identity. In the immediate aftermath of World War II Germany became a haven for approximately 182,000 displaced Jews from Germany and further afield. Although most of them quickly moved on, about 30,000 settled permanently (see Bookbinder, 2008, pp. 504-505). Initially, this rebuilding of the community faced many challenges. The trauma, fears about living in the land of those who had murdered their families and lingering anti-Semitism made integration difficult (Bookbinder, 2008, p. 505). Additionally, Israeli and diaspora bodies were unwilling to recognise Germany as a legitimate Jewish home post-World War II, so the German Jewish population had to seek reconciliation and create their own networks (Bookbinder, 2008, p. 505).[11] Population growth was initially small due to reduced birth rates in Holocaust survivors (see Bookbinder, 2008, pp. 510-511). Over time this was supplemented by migration first from the Middle East, especially Persia (see Cohn, 1994, p. 47), then from Central and Eastern Europe and then from the former USSR (see Bookbinder, 2008, p. 503). This both challenged and changed German Jewish identity (see Shneer, 2011, p. 111).

In the Chinese diaspora, the end of the Suharto era saw a re-evaluation of Chinese identity, due to the lifting of restrictions on Chinese culture and the increased resumption of relations between Indonesia and China (see Bolt, 2011, p. 280). The advent of *Reformasi* also saw anti-Chinese violence become rarer both because the violence of 1998 was shocking enough to largely dispel the idea that anti-Chinese violence was partly justifiable and because post-New Order governments no longer emphasised ethnic distinctions in the same way (Hwang & Sadiq, 2010, pp. 197-198). This is partly due to greater opportunities for all Indonesians to express distinctions and opinions in parliamentary elections at various levels. However, the *Reformasi* era is less than two decades old and Indonesia and the Chinese diaspora still face numerous challenges including how the state will respond to the rise of the PRC and the increasing influence of extremist religious ideas and figures.

Historical events still colour the identity and sense of place of individuals in both diasporas today. They have also created the current character of each population.

[11] This did not last forever and in recent decades Israel has developed better relations with Germany than with many diaspora communities (Safran, 2007, p. 50).

Today, the current German Jewish population is primarily made up of people who have chosen to make Germany their home (Bookbinder, 2008, p. 504). A large percentage of today's Jewish population in Germany is made up of recent migrants with a diverse cultural character (Livingston, 1998, p. 72). It is acknowledged that the present German Jewish communities have little in common with the pre-World War II communities (see Berkowitz, 2012, p. 767). However, there are still efforts to create a sense of German Jewishness linked to the past in both families and the community.[12]

Indonesia today still faces a number of challenges regarding its Chinese population including political representation, resolving persisting tensions and redefining what it means to be Indonesian (Hwang & Sadiq, 2010, p. 202). This means that investing in an identity linked to the nation is still not entirely straightforward for Chinese Indonesians. Although there is no longer forced assimilation, many Chinese in Indonesia do not wish to solely identify as Chinese and are making efforts to be a part of the nation, whilst maintaining Chinese cultural elements (S. Turner & Allen, 2007, p. 119). These efforts can be observed in the linguistic priorities and practices of families and the imagined community, which will be the focus of the analysis in Chapter 6.

The Jewish Diaspora in South Africa and the Chinese Diaspora in Malaysia

Although there are significant parallels between the Jewish diaspora in South Africa and the Chinese diaspora in Malaysia, there are also significant differences between the two groups. Due to these similarities and differences, an examination of these two populations identifies both parallels and divergences in terms of identity development and place-making. This can particularly be seen in the specifics of the role of family and what is prioritised by South African Jewish and Malaysian Chinese individuals.

The main difference between these diaspora sub-groups is population size and proportion of the total population of the state. This impacts on the influence the group has in the state and its priorities and practices. The South African Jewish population

[12] I have personally observed substantial community support for initiatives commemorating those who lost their lives in the Holocaust, even if few, if any, relatives of the victims remain in the community.

is estimated to be around 70-80,000 people (Deputies, 2016). This equates to about 2.5% of the white population and 0.3% of the total population of South Africa (Adler, 2000, p. 24). The Jewish population has never been more that 4.5% of the total white population and is thus considered to be a "minority within a minority" (Adler, 2000, p. 24). Therefore, the Jewish population not only considers its character and role in terms of the black/white, majority/minority dichotomy, it also distinguishes itself within the white minority population. The small scale of the Jewish population in these regards has resulted in a primary focus on family and the community, particularly the Shul or school. Jewish people in South Africa may not feel a strong connection to cultural elements identified as 'white' in the South African national narrative and therefore concentrate on elements found in the family which have greater relevance to them. For the Jewish diaspora in South Africa, their small numbers mean that their interests are only served through ensuring solid relations with other groups. Additionally, developing a sense of belonging in South Africa will always include and refer to interactions beyond the Jewish community.

In contrast to the South African Jewish population, the Chinese population in Malaysia is currently about 6.8 million people, approximately one third of the population (CIA, 2016), constituting one of the largest Chinese diaspora populations in the world (Haiming Liu, 2006, p. 151). Therefore, due to their numbers and economic prowess, it may not be appropriate to call the Chinese in Malaysia a minority (DeBernardi, 2004, p. 112). The population has always been substantial, indeed, a census conducted in 1931 showed that in the whole of British Malaya, the Chinese outnumbered the Malay population (Kim, 1981, p. 101).[13] As such, the Chinese have a larger and more conspicuous impact in Malaysia and general elements of Chinese culture have greater prominence in the state. This is because in Malaysia the Malay-Chinese division is primary (Hwang & Sadiq, 2010, p. 202). Therefore, Chinese identity in Malaysia is very much related to the political dimension and racial identification in Malaysia is quite strong (Chee-Beng, 2000, p. 453). Ethnic identity is reinforced in Malaysia, being stated on the birth certificate, political parties being race-based and many socio-economic opportunities involving competition between the races. It is such that in talking about a person, identifying their ethnic affiliation is paramount (Chee-Beng, 2000, pp. 463-464).

[13] There has been speculation that one of the reasons behind Singapore's expulsion from the federation was its majority Chinese population (see Chee-Beng, 2000, p. 447).

For the Chinese in Malaysia, their size means that there is potential for the community to have substantial political clout. As a result, place-making for the Chinese in Malaysia often focuses on demonstrating that they are not a threat to the nation and that Chinese identity is compatible with Malaysian identity. This means that many Chinese Malaysians look primarily to the family and the imagined community for identity development as there is less incentive to focus on other elements such as national belonging.

Looking beyond distinctions in size and potential influence on the state, there are a number of parallels between the two groups in terms of history and status. These parallels prioritise family as the site of identity development and place-making in both groups. In both instances, their origins can largely be traced to the era of European colonialism, although small populations did exist prior to this. In South Africa, the first settlers of Jewish ancestry in South Africa arrived from the Netherlands, England and Germany in the seventeenth century as employees of the United East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Campagnie* - VOC), however the population was very small (see Lerman, 1989, p. 5). The Chinese population in Malaysia had a small presence before European colonisation from about 1400, and the Chinese presence was entirely at the discretion of the Malay ruling elite. Although the remaining documentary evidence is scarce, it appears that Chinese living in the Malay states at this time resided in separated and distinct areas (see A. L. Freedman, 2000, p. 53; Kim, 1981, p. 94).

For both groups, population growth did not begin in earnest until the British gained a strong colonial foothold in these locations. In South Africa, mass Jewish migration from Eastern Europe started in the 1880s (Lerman, 1989, p. 136). They predominantly came from a few regions in Lithuania and Belorussia, leading to South African Jewry becoming overwhelmingly what is called in Yiddish “Litvak” (Horowitz & Kaplan, 2001, p. 6). In Malaysia, large-scale Chinese migration occurred throughout the nineteenth century following British colonial occupation, first in Penang, Melaka and Singapore and then throughout peninsula Malaysia (Chun, 1989, p. 239). They were predominantly from the provinces of Guangdong and Fujian and from one of five major dialect groups, Hokkien, Hakka, Cantonese, Teochew, and Hainanese (Kim, 1981, p. 94). For both groups, this resulted in the majority of the population having quite similar backgrounds. This gave a sound foundation from which to develop feelings of a collective commonality, that is, an imagined community. These commonalities also focused on bloodlines, that is, the family.

Both populations were able to utilise the policies and events of this era to become well-established and economically successful. An unintended result of this was that, in the period just before World War II, there was a significant rise in incidences of discrimination. The Jews in South Africa experienced a rise in anti-Semitism both abroad and domestically. Afrikaner leaders often established movements and promoted rhetoric that was Nazi-inspired such as the Greyshirts who occupied the political far-right (Adler, 2000, p. 28; M. Shain & Mendelsohn, 2007, p. 280). In Malaysia, colonial policies towards the different communities shaped and strengthened ethnic differences and the policies of the Japanese occupation during World War II reinforced ethnic distinctions, particularly between the Chinese and Malay (Jomo, 1997, p. 240). This period and its immediate aftermath, which saw the demise of European colonialism, led to both diaspora groups experiencing a degree of distancing from the nation and the majority population and an enhanced cultural focus upon the family and community.

In the post-World War II era, the parallels continued as both the Chinese in Malaysia and the Jews in South Africa have resided in host lands where the authorities have focused policy on the empowerment of certain racial groups. In South Africa, this occurred in two opposite and distinct eras. The first was the Apartheid era where the Jewish population was classified as part of the privileged white population (see Adler, 2000, p. 28; M. Shain, 2011, p. 93). Jewish reactions ranged from resistance to the population generally remaining inward-looking due to fears of state-sponsored anti-Semitism (Adler, 2000, pp. 24, 25, 28). The second era is the current post-Apartheid 'New South Africa' (which the Jewish diaspora population was quickly able to adjust to), which has aimed to right the wrongs perpetuated against the black majority during Apartheid (M. Shain & Mendelsohn, 2007, p. 283).

In Malaysia, this came in the form of the post-independence state aiming to remedy the economic and other discrepancies between the majority Malay population and other ethnic groups, something the Chinese population recognised as a necessity (see Chirot, 1997, p. 21). This resulted in Malaysia having a Malay-dominated government which operates under race-based politics (communal politics) (Chee-Beng, 2000, p. 452). As a result, ethnic identification is so strong in Malaysia that there are solid ideas about the role and character of each group in society. For both groups, while individuals have developed a sense of national identity, there is an acknowledged distance from complete national belonging and a sense of the importance in investing in the family and community.

Since the end of the Cold War, the legacy of these historical circumstances is still being dealt with both by the Jews in South Africa and the Chinese in Malaysia, impacting on identity development and the process of place-making. A high-profile result of this legacy is the high rates of emigration that both groups are experiencing. On the one hand, migration from South Africa has primarily been to other English-speaking countries and to a lesser extent, Israel (Horowitz & Kaplan, 2001, p. 4). This emigration has been to the extent that individuals, communities and scholars have questioned whether South African Jewry has a future (see Horowitz & Kaplan, 2001, p. 22).

In Malaysia, the size of the Chinese population is large enough to not present such as risk, however, there are still high Chinese emigration rates (see Tyson, 2011, p. 91). Due to the ethnic quota system operating in Malaysia, many non-Malay students go abroad to study (DeBernardi, 2004, p. 120) and many choose not to return to Malaysia upon finishing their studies (Tyson, 2011, p. 90). This results in the loss of highly educated professionals and there have been government initiatives to combat this. The success rates of these initiatives have been complicated by a number of issues, including the fact that ethnic and religious elements have played a central role in Malaysian national identity in recent years (K. H. Lee, 1997, p. 74; Tyson, 2011, p. 91). This phenomenon has resulted in a re-evaluation of definitions of the Jewish and Chinese communities, its identity and its priorities, and has an impact on ideas of belonging in the nation and in the family. The parallels and distinctions between these two groups can also be seen in cultural practices and attitudes within the family and imagined community. This will be the focus of the analysis in Chapter 7.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the history of the Chinese and Jewish diasporas by examining the history of particular themes that have an impact on identity development and place-making. As historical elements were often discussed by the participants during the interviews, a sound understanding of the histories of both diasporas is invaluable to the analysis. Ideas of origins give the foundations for an identity and the ties an individual has to the community and its members. These give commonality even if there are variations in more contemporary elements. The history of movements and geographical notions of place are central for diasporas, as with any trans-national population, as narratives surrounding this add to origin foundations

and can also provide a sense of commonality and place in the continuity and evolution of the collective. Tradition, ritual and values inform the way identity is performed and taking part in this performance can also contribute to the creation of a sense of place and also challenge a sense of belonging to a larger-scale environment such as the state. The ramifications of historical upheavals and persecution can colour recollections of origins, impact on the development of culture and can both aid and hinder the development of relations both within and beyond the group.

As was established in the previous chapter, globalisation is causing global-scale re-evaluations, and this is also occurring on smaller and individual scales. Contemporary identity development and place-making in individuals arguably has to take more into consideration, due to the proliferation of information, and face more challenges that in previous eras. Thus place-making now has arguably become more of a conscious process than ever before. Although all these elements have an impact on the Jewish and Chinese diasporas in general, the specific experiences of a sub-set of these populations in a certain geographical location also colour their perspectives. They can add to the challenges or advantages experienced and contribute to variation in processes of identity development and place-making.

What this examination of the history of these groups has shown is that it plays a role in determining the character of their identity development and place-making. This includes what they feel it means to be Chinese or Jewish, what obligations or challenges they feel are attached to being Jewish or Chinese, where the boundaries of Chineseness or Jewishness are and if or how they can fit into the society in which they reside. Throughout the history of both diasporas and regarding individual and group reactions to events, the family has been central. Both as the location of adaptation and survival and as the mediator of the incorporation of experience into identity. Now that the historical context of this research has been established I will now move onto the methodology utilised in the research.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Introduction

This project has been designed so that the perspectives of individuals are primary in the analysis, which also refers to the historical context of both diasporas. The project is situated at the micro-level of individual perspectives, decisions, actions and sensibilities. It has a particular focus on the complex reverberations that structural forces exert on diasporic lives and my methods choices are based on this focus. This project has evolved substantially since its initial formulation. At the start of my research my initial questions focused on the role homelands play in the development of diaspora identity. However, it became clear early in my data collection that families were the locus of identity formation for most of my respondents. Therefore, the methodology was refined to explore identity development and place-making with the family as the site of its formulation. Such refinements included a focus on reflexivity as a tool in data collection and analysis, and alterations to the themes and focus of the analysis process.

This chapter will first outline the research design of this project, which is centred around tools derived from ethnography, especially in-depth interviews. It will then explain how reflexivity was utilised in the project and outline the research methods used in this project, including a literature review, interviews, analysis of the interview materials, journaling and observation and site visits. The chapter will then discuss the ethical approach taken in conducting the research. The approach utilised in the data and thematic content analysis will then be discussed before concluding with a summary that will lead into the analysis chapters.

Research Design

This design stems from the central theme found throughout the research; the practices, perspectives and priorities experienced in the family influencing the development of the identities of the participants. Additionally, identity development in this project is linked to ideas of place-making, or creating a sense of belonging somewhere, whether in a geographic location or within a group, and the attendant roles and responsibilities. The research design can be explained through three related areas of my research: individual participant perspectives conveyed through the lens of memory, story and narrative; framing these concepts within a broad

constructionist epistemology; and my choice of methods that utilised ethnographic tools for data collection. These elements are quite different but are complementary within my research design and serve specific purposes in the methodology.

I have chosen to use memory, narrative and story as a lens because these concepts allow me to examine family as the medium of translating ideas of identity. The importance of memory, story and narrative to explorations of identity development and place-making has been outlined in Chapter 2. Its particular importance to my methodology is in that it brings the research within a broad constructionist epistemology. In this project, constructionism has been utilised within Crotty's (1998, p. 8) definition, namely that "truth, or meaning, comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities of our world." Crotty (1998, p. 42) also defines constructionism as taking the position that "all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is constructed upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context." These constructs can be considered to be the result of the socialisation and culture of those creating them (S. Lee, 2007, p. 273). When there is an absence of material objects, and I would argue an absence of concrete knowledge, the space can then "be filled only with stories" (Macdonald, 2014, p. 480). This is relevant as the people I interviewed were from migrant families and, in many cases, there was little concrete information or material objects that could have provided tangible links to their forbears, leaving behind stories. I therefore utilised what Winchester and Rofe (2010, p. 9) refer to as the "spoken testimony of people".

Ethnography was a useful source of data collection methods because it requires an in-depth focus on participants' specific perspectives, histories and experiences. The use of multiple geographic case studies more specifically puts this research in line with a multi-sited ethnographic approach. Multi-sited ethnography is frequently utilised in migration and diaspora studies (Hertz, 1997, p. vii). It is designed to utilise the threads, conjunctions and juxtapositions between locations and create associations and connections between ethnographic sites (Marcus, 1998, pp. 83 and 90). Multi-sited ethnography does not aim to create holistic representations (Marcus, 1998, p. 83) but does create the potential for a specific ethnographic study to be generalisable and applicable more broadly (Dimitriadis & Weis, 2007, p. 326). While this is not an ethnographic project, this approach is applicable as it aims to explore ideas that could be utilised in other diaspora-based case studies.

Reflexive Research

My approach strongly engages with reflexive practice, which Hertz (1997, p. vii) identifies as being "a qualitative study where the author's voice and those of her respondents are situated more completely for the reader." The literature defines reflexivity as including "a process of self-reference" (Davies, 2008, p. 4) to intensively scrutinise what is known and how it is known (Hertz, 1997, pp. vii-viii). It also includes the idea of understanding that social background impacts on the beliefs and perspectives of the researcher, thus impacting on how the researcher attributes meaning and interprets their data (Wasserfall, 1997, p. 152). In order to make sense of that which is told to us, as well as what we observe, we can draw upon our own experiences and thus the "self becomes the subject of study and the narrator" (Hertz, 1997, p. xiii). What reflexivity has meant to this thesis is that the stories told directly to me, the stories that weave through the literature and the story of me conducting this research here and now are central. Ideas of memory, story and narrative were essential for this thesis to develop understandings of participants' experiences (Davies, 2008, p. 210). Reflexivity also informed the ethics of this project. For example, reflexivity played a role in how interviews were conducted and how the analysis of the data was approached. This will be apparent as I outline below the methods utilised to conduct the research.

Research Methods

As stated above, a number of research methods were used to give depth to my analysis. These were a thorough literature review, conducting interviews and their analysis, journaling and experiential data collection, including participant and group observation, and site visits.

Literature Review

The first strategy employed was an extensive literature review of the Chinese and Jewish diasporas and China and Israel covering history, culture, political positioning, socio-economic experiences, movements and ideas of place. The initial purpose of using a literature review as a data collection method was to provide a background to the data collected through the interviews and site visits. As analysis progressed this

information became integrated in order to give context and clarity to the perspectives voiced by the participants. It also enabled the recognition of how commonalities or differences in history or culture could account for differences and similarities in responses, opinions, priorities or preferences. After an initial extensive review, the literature review became more focused and selective in order to be tailored to the experiences of the participants. This approach is a "selective history" (R. M. Thomas, 2003, p. 20).

In this thesis, the aim of the selective history is to include that which gives sufficient context to the analysis. It does not intend to give the connotation that anything that is not covered is not important or interesting. Instead, history is utilised to establish the environment in which the identities and senses of place of the participants are developed. For example, the Japanese invasion of East and Southeast Asia in World War II is acknowledged as being important to the development of ideas of Chineseness in the diaspora, homeland and host lands. However, the myriad elements of the evolution of this invasion and the intricacies of events and attitudes in different locations is not covered in exacting detail unless there is an aspect that specifically related to a participant's experience or family. Thus, the literature review explores how an event, or combination of events, played a role on subsequent events and circumstances.

Interviews

Qualitative methods are appropriate for researching people's experiences as they allow sufficient depth and flexibility. Sample size, while important, can be quite small while still retaining a high degree of research rigour (see Bradshaw & Stratford, 2000, pp. 43-44). This idea was of particular relevance to this research as I sought to gain a more in-depth understanding of the factors that contribute to the development of diasporic identities through in-depth interviews with participants. As Thomas (2003, p. 92) states, "nearly every thesis and dissertation is based on data from an available sample." My research was no different as the project required relationships of trust and openness with participants. The sample of participants chosen is small but they were generous with their experiences and perspectives. Creating empirical generalisations from case-based investigations can be achieved through ensuring effective sampling when selecting case studies (R. M. Thomas, 2003, p. 92). The sampling for my interviews was not random. Participants were selected based on

who my contacts were able to introduce me to, their availability to meet me during quite a restricted period (particularly outside Australia) and their comfort in speaking with a new acquaintance on relatively short notice in English. This placed recruitment within the bounds of nonprobability sampling, namely, relying on available subjects, purposive sampling (namely, choosing subjects thought best for the study) and snowball sampling (Babbie, 2010, p. 192; Kiang, 2008, p. 101).

In order to ensure some degree of continuity in the demographics of the participants, a set of criteria was applied during recruitment. The first set of criteria was the same for both diasporas. These included that the participant be over 18 years of age; that they consider themselves to be Jewish or Chinese and have at least three grandparents who also consider (or would have considered if they are deceased) themselves as Jewish or Chinese, and; that the participants has, or is in the process of obtaining, a university education. As university populations in general include a diverse range of people in the student body and staff, this criterion ensured that the participants' experiences and interactions were not too narrow or isolated. They had opportunities to evaluate their Chineseness or Jewishness in relation to interactions with people who are not Jewish or Chinese.

The final criteria were related to places of birth and residence and membership of sub-groups within the diasporas. These criteria for Jewish participants included that they not be born in Israel or British Palestine and that they had not ever been resident there for more than five years at any one time. For Chinese participants, these criteria were that they not be born in the PRC/mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong or Macau, nor ever been resident in these locations for more than five years at any one time. This was to ensure that their primary experiences were in diaspora and not directly affected by the character and policies of the homeland states, their predecessor entities or areas that had ever been considered to be breakaway provinces. The final criteria for the Jewish participants was that they be Ashkenazi or Sephardi and not Mizrahi or from what some refer to as the 'Lost Tribes,' such as people from Kaifeng in China or the Lemba people in South Africa. For Chinese participants, this criterion was that they be Han Chinese and not from any minority groups such as the Tibetan or Uighur peoples. This criterion was applied as being a member of a minority within the diaspora population augments their experiences with additional factors that could impact on their responses and perspectives.

Early on in recruitment, it became clear that Chinese diaspora members agreeing to be interviewed by me were all Christian. Upon consideration, I decided to make this

an additional criteria as it would reduce the number of variables between participants, allowing for a clearer analysis of the family. All the Chinese participants being Christian would also strengthen the comparison with the Jewish diaspora, as Christianity's roots are from Judaism, giving both faiths and their associated cultures a similar framework for morals and values. In considering the adoption of this criterion, I had to address the idea of the impact of a 'foreign' religion on the concept of Chineseness. However, I came to believe that this impact would be outweighed by the advantages of utilising this criterion. This is because the adoption of world religions to complement and enrich traditional Chinese value systems is not new. It has been many centuries since Buddhism was added to the Confucian and Daoist heritage of China. For Chinese diaspora members, the adoption of secular or religious ideologies from outside China is not viewed as a threat to Chinese tradition or identity (G. Wang, 2009, p. 212).

A number of other ethical issues were encountered while conducting the interviews. These included conducting interviews in multiple locations and in different cultures; and issues that could arise in entering into people's private lives, no matter how minimally. An awareness of the habits and manners of speech in a given group is important, as habits that are familiar and a norm in one group may be jarring, or even offensive, in another. This can impact on the interview process as the interviewer, coming from one particular culture, may, without sufficient knowledge, perceive the mannerisms of the participant (from another culture) as seeming argumentative or conveying that something is wrong, when in fact they are simply expressing themselves in the manner with which they are familiar (Yow, 2005, p. 177). As well as ensuring I had a familiarity with cultural traits prior to the interview, social norms were observed and the chances of transgressing any of these norms were minimised through my interactions with participants. For example, I was aware that some religious Jews prefer not to have any physical contact with non-family members of the opposite gender. Therefore, I ensured that the participant was the one to initiate greetings such as handshakes. Additionally, I was aware that some Chinese Christians prefer not to be alone with a member of the opposite gender who is not a family member. Therefore, I respected and accommodated their preference to conduct the interview with their spouse or in a public space such as a café.

These techniques were rarely required as most participants were very accommodating. The one time they had to be implemented was when I was conducting interviews with Jewish diaspora members in South Africa. At this time,

the 2014 Operation Protective Edge was taking place in Israel and this was the first time many of the participants had experienced more than just low-level discrimination for being Jewish. For most, the fact that I was still interested in their perspectives and opinions when many of their countrymen were dismissing them solely for being Jewish and the fact that I still intended to visit Israel (which I did a few weeks after these interviews) was enough to assuage any discomfort. Only one participant, who worked in a Jewish association and was at the front line of the negativity, became slightly distressed during the interview. I let her know that we could stop the interview or change the subject if she did not wish to continue. However, she said she wanted to keep going and intimated that she felt it even more important to give her perspectives at that time.

Table 1: Summary of Demographic Data

	Total	**Gender**		**Age**					**Place of Birth**	**Married**		**Occupation**	**Hebrew/ Mandarin**		**Israel or China**	
		Male	Female	18-25	26-35	36-50	51-80	>80		Yes	No		Yes	No	Yes	No
Jewish in Australia	6	4	2	1			3	2	Australia: 2 UK: 1 South Africa: 3	5	1	Retired: 3 Business: 1 Accountant: 1 Student: 1	2	4	6	
Chinese in Australia	8	2	6		3	2	3		Australia: 1 Malaysia: 5 Vietnam: 1	8		Finance: 3 Journalism: 1 Recruitment: 1 IT: 1 Vet: 1 Education: 1	6	2	6	2
Jewish in Germany	10	4	6	2	3	1	4		Germany: 4 Iran: 1 Morocco: 1 Ukraine: 1 Chile: 1 Brazil: 1	3	7	Student: 3 Lawyer: 2 Education: 3 Biologist: 1 Jewish Community: 1	7	3	10	
Chinese in Indonesia	3	2	1	2		1			Indonesia: 1		3	Librarian: 1 Consultant: 1 Student: 1	1	2	3	
Jewish in South Africa	11	4	7	1	3	4	3		South Africa: 11	4	7	Engineer: 1 Business: 4 Student: 1 Jewish Community: 2	6	5	11	4

												Accountant: 1 Speech Therapist: 1				
Chinese in Malaysia	10	2	8		6	4			Malaysia: 9 Singapore: 1	8	2	Financial: 2 Education: 2 Real estate: 1 Analyst: 1 Marketing: 1 Business: 2 Wedding Planner: 1	7	3	6	

A summary of demographic data collected from the participants can be seen above[14]. As can be seen, overall more females than males participated. In particular, there were a number of additional potential male participants in Germany and Malaysia who were interested in being interviewed by me but due to work or travel commitments were not available at the times I was in those countries. Additionally, the greatest representation came from the 26-35 age group. This can be attributed to this being my own age group. It should also be noted that although there are numerous languages that are classified as 'Jewish' or 'Chinese,' I only asked about participants' proficiency in Hebrew and Mandarin. This is because these are official languages of the homeland states and heavily promoted as the 'Jewish' or 'Chinese' languages.[15]

Recruitment for Chinese Indonesian participants was conducted between late 2014 and early 2015. Although there was interest, a number of factors including scheduling, work commitments and curtailed communication from potential participants resulted in a much smaller pool of potential participants. Additionally, financial and logistical restrictions prevented me from travelling to Indonesia. Therefore, interviews had to be conducted either via Skype or in Perth when participants were visiting or in Australia short-term for study or work. In the end, only three interviews were conducted. In consultation with my supervisors, a number of options to deal with this situation were discussed. This included not utilising the comparison between the German Jewish and Chinese Indonesian diasporas. However, I was disinclined to take this option due to the important contributions these perspectives brought to the project. As the Indonesian interviews were conducted last, I was able to assess the data collected alongside that collected from the other locations, especially the German Jewish participants. The decision was made that the depth and diversity of the experiences of the three Chinese Indonesian participants (as well as them originating from two major Javanese cities, Jakarta and Surabaya, in line with the pattern of the other locations) and the richness of the data collected gave adequate parallels to the perspectives of the German Jewish participants. Additionally, the qualitative nature of the analysis meant that I would not

[14] Please note that the columns regarding language refer to Jewish people who speak Hebrew and Chinese people who speak Mandarin. The columns regarding homeland visits refer to Jewish people visiting Israel and Chinese people visiting China.

[15] It should also be noted that visits to China do not include day trips to Shenzhen from Hong Kong to go shopping. Those who said they had done this felt that they had only technically visited China and did feel that they had not truly experienced mainland China. Additionally, the columns devoted to marital status include those who identify their marital status as divorced have been placed in the unmarried column. There were two German Jewish participants and two South Africa Jewish participants who identified as divorced. All other participants identified as either single or married.

be utilising the perspectives of all participants in the thesis. In assessing that data gathered from the Chinese Indonesian participants, I judged the data to be sufficient for the comparison with the German Jewish perspectives.

All interviews were conducted at a location of the participant's choice. Locations included the participants' homes or workplaces, cafes and via Skype. The majority of interviews were conducted singularly aside from four instances where interviews were conducted with married couples. Additionally, three times the person who recruited the participant (but did not participate themselves as they did not fulfil the criteria) was present at the interview at the request of the participant. This person did not participate directly in the interview but provided a level of comfort for the participant when dealing with a new acquaintance. Interviews conducted at a participant's workplace tended to be the most rushed (although not to the detriment of data collection). Many of these were Jewish people who worked for Jewish organisations and, in addition to participating in the research, many were eager to recommend readings or ask if I had been to Jewish museums, centres, sites and so forth in their city. They also tended to be the most interested in the concept of my project, with some asking to see publications.

All potential participants were given a Participant Information Sheet (see appendix 1) outlining what they could expect from participation. Upon agreeing to take part, participation in this study consisted of the signing of a consent form (see appendix 2), completion of a written demographics questionnaire (see appendix 3) and a face-to-face interview following questions in an interview schedule (see appendix 4). All interviews were conducted in English as all the participants had a good level of English (see Jowell, 1998, p. 168). The particular questions, as well as follow up questions, took into account that meanings are often complex, problematic or taken for granted and allowed for meanings to be clarified by addressing the social context of the participants' experiences (see Brewer, 2000, p. 35). Topics such as education, occupation, family life, cultural practices, religion and interpersonal relationships were covered (see M. L. Friedman, Friedlander, & Blustein, 2005, p. 78).

Additionally, although the interview questions were designed to answer my initial question, there was enough flexibility in the questions and interview techniques to allow me to discover alternate answers to the larger question of what primarily influences the development of identity. All interviews were recorded on an audio device and notes were taken by me during the interview. These methods of recording were done with the full knowledge and consent of the participants. After the

interviews, the audio recordings were copied to a backup storage device and the recordings and notes were secured, when not in use, in a lockable cabinet, only accessible by me.

In starting an interview, I tried to make the participant feel at ease by employing what Dunn (2010, p. 115) terms “warm-up techniques for face-to-face interviews,” namely, establishing rapport with initial chat about their day, home or such, outlining what I will be doing, their rights and asking if they have any questions before the interview commenced. I then started the interview by showing the participant three images sourced via Google Images that pictured sites or occasions often associated with China or Israel or being Chinese or Jewish (see appendix 5). The three images chosen would be considered to be symbols that could elicit places, names, events or objects that might express or contribute to identity.

This kind of beginning to the interview was designed to start the participant thinking about what it means to them to be Chinese or Jewish but it also served to ease any lingering nervousness about participating in the interview. Some participants, although willing to take part, did voice concerns that they would not be knowledgeable enough to be of assistance. The tangible act of looking at some pictures and saying what they thought proved to be an effective means of assuring them that their participation was of value. At the conclusion of the interview I tried to maintain rapport with the participant, listening to their feedback, having a chat about their lives, my research, my trip or anything else they were interested in and sometimes having coffee or a meal with them afterwards. Upon returning home or to my accommodation after an interview I took some time to go over the recordings, my notes and my own recollections of the interview and wrote down ideas and observations as per the reflexive approach employed in this research.

Analysis

Full and formal transcriptions of each and every interview were not undertaken. Before creating a transcription, it is important to be sure of the purpose of an analysis. Ten Have (2004, p. 50) states that a transcript “is no more than a practically useful rendering of a recording of an actual interactional event. What is left of the original is limited to what can be heard and/or seen on the tape.” Although transcriptions can be useful in ethnography, they “never catch all the relevant details of the recording

and should not, in principle, be treated as 'the data' but only as a selective rendering of the data" (ten Have, 2004, p. 43). Transcripts can result in reductions or simplifications if what has been said and might even serve to "*instruct* an audience as to what is there to be heard on the tape" (ten Have, 2004, p. 51) (emphasis in original).

In attempting formal transcription, I felt a move away from what had drawn me to reflexivity - the intimacy with the data - and typed transcriptions felt too clinical. I found more inspiration through interacting with the recorded voices, with my own handwritten notes and the hand filled out demographics questionnaires. Techniques I have used in place of transcription include making extensive notes, both timed notes made during the interviews and reflexive notes made after the interviews and the creating of selective transcripts, that is, transcribing passages that particularly fit within the main themes and coding these partial transcriptions. Additionally, listening to the recordings over again, as opposed to transcribing it, allowed me to reflect on the data and to pick up nuances in voice or word choice which complemented the practice of reflexivity. Listening to the participants' voices, and indeed listening to my own voice, during the interviews allowed my memory to be triggered by pauses, tones, repetitions and thinking sounds, as well as to the questions and responses themselves, something I found lacking in a written transcription. Where quotes are used, they have been transcribed from, and checked against, the original recordings.

All quotations are referenced according to the methodology utilised by Hughes, Jones and Phau (2016). This method allocates a referencing code to each participant, as outlined in the table below, and further ensures participant privacy is maintained.

Table 2: Interview Reference Codes

Reference Group	Interview Code
Jewish in Australia	JA1, JA2, JA3, JA4, JA5, JA6
Chinese in Australia	CA1, CA2, CA3, CA4, CA5, CA6, CA7, CA8
Jewish in Germany	G1, G2, G3, G4, G5, G6, G7, G8, G9, G10
Chinese in Indonesia	I1, I2, I3
Jewish in South Africa	S1, S2, S3, S4, S5, S6, S7, S8, S9, S10, S11
Chinese in Malaysia	M1, M2, M3, M4, M5, M6, M7, M8, M9, M10

Journaling

Throughout the process of all these data collection strategies I journaled my reflections on the information gathered, what I was doing, the participants and my reactions, ensuring all the notes were dated. Aspects such as rapport, location and environment of the interview, the attitude, actions and recommendations of the interviewee were noted and I related this information to any links I saw with the literature. I also linked things said by someone from one group to something said by a member of the other group (similar and different), as well as noting the similarities and differences between locations within and between groups. This was in addition to notes taken through the whole process of this project, from the initial literature review, through data collection and into process of analysis and writing. These notes included thoughts, recollections and any links made. In particular, I made distinctions between the types of reflections made, what Dunn (2010, p. 124) refers to as analytical logs, used for data analysis, and personal logs. Personal logs reflected on the practice of the interview, commenting on the questions, any ethical concerns and the method in general. This process of note-taking employed tools which could be defined as auto-ethnography but I utilised as a reflexive strategy.

Experiential Data Collection: Participant and Group Observation and Site Visits

To complement these methodological techniques and to improve clarity and reflexivity, I also engaged in experiential data collection through group and participant observation and site visits. Throughout the research process I observed members of both diasporas in general, beyond my pool of participants. I also observed the participants during social activities such as conversing with colleagues and interacting in their host land environment. This reflexive strategy enabled me to consider the data beyond the words of interviews and take into account elements such as body language, attitudes and the directions participants tended to go in. In addition to this, in collecting the interview data I frequently entered into the sphere of participants' families, even if just the periphery or just for a moment. This strategy was primarily executed as a means of data collection by taking any available opportunities to experience museums, associations, institutions (such as schools), cultural practices and interactions with the Chinese or Jewish groups. This included meals with people, both everyday meals and celebratory meals such as Chinese New Year and Passover.

Furthermore, when I was travelling to collect data I generally stayed with people who were members of the diasporas and also had an indirect kin association with me but were not taking part in the research. I also engaged in socialising and informal, unrecorded conversations with diaspora members who were involved in community organisations and activities. Often these experiences occurred during my data collection trip, as my recruitment was primarily done through already established acquaintances, which allowed me access to their homes and personal spaces beyond simply conducting the interviews. Interactions with these people were utilised as a source of experiences and additional information about groups, locations and ideas which complemented the more direct strategies of data collection. As Dowling (2010, p. 26) states, "collecting and interpreting social information involves personal interactions".

Site visits and experiences assisted me to clarify participants' statements in interviews, and put many of these things into context. Site visits included museums such as the Jewish museums in Cape Town and Berlin and Yad Vashem in Israel and also included Jewish schools and churches with a congregation that was more than 90% diaspora Chinese. I recorded my reflections in journals and also took photographs where appropriate. Although these photographs were not directly

relevant to the data collection or analysis, they were useful aids to memory to assist with reflexivity. This aspect of data collection has proved invaluable in developing the quality of my argument and conclusions. They also contributed to a personal journey for me, adding to my reflexive process. These experiences were reflected on and recorded throughout the data collection process and afterwards in my journals.

Ethics

The ethical approach to this research was designed to ensure academic rigour. Academic rigour ensures that research is conducted with the informed consent of any participants whilst maintaining their confidentiality and minimising any risks of harm. It also is there to ensure that reciprocity is undertaken in a manner that will not unduly influence the results and conclusions of the research. Academic rigour also enables the research to be objective in that the researchers own biases, opinions and agendas do not unduly influence the presentation or interpretation of results.

Confidentiality and ethical practice remained of paramount importance throughout the interview, analysis and production process. All participants were fully informed when they volunteered, and reminded again prior to commencing the interview, that they were not obliged to answer every question and were free to pull out of the study at any time. Information regarding confidentiality was given in spoken form by me and in written form via the participant information sheet and the consent form (see appendices 1 and 2). Participants were informed about how the information they provided would be used, namely, in this thesis and possibly in journal or conference papers. Once the data was collected from the interviews, participant anonymity was preserved through ensuring the security of any information given and also through the use of pseudonyms, which could not be easily traced back to participant, in all publications.

In conducting participant observations and the analysis, reflexivity supplied the necessary tools to conduct this research in an ethical manner. Even when assumptions are acknowledged and controls are placed upon a methodology to enhance objectivity, there will always be a degree of subjectivity. This is because "the research begins, processes and ends with the researcher," who is, by nature, a subjective creature (Yow, 2005, p. 7). Reflexivity guides the epistemology, methodology and methods chosen to achieve the research objectives. I have found

reflexivity helped me understand how my social background impacted on how I attributed meaning to the data and interpreted the actions and speech of the participants (see Wasserfall, 1997, p. 152).

Reflexivity has also influenced my approach to research ethics. Filmer (2007, p. 174) makes a statement which is at the centre of the primary ethical issue I encountered with reflexivity: "to cross a cultural boundary without respect is to imagine oneself occupying the centre of every universe." This idea requires an awareness of the integration of the self into the research without it developing into self-absorption. In order to address this risk, the primary focus of the research methodology was on the people in the diasporas, with the integration of myself only aimed at positioning and framing the lens through which my study has been made. Of particular relevance is my position as being neither Chinese nor Jewish myself but having close association with both groups through my church and my sister in-law. Additionally, being the child of migrants and having a southern European background meant that in my childhood I was perceived as a minority in a conspicuously Anglo, local-born community, which has directly influenced my choice of research topic, question and approach.

This impacted on my choices regarding the process of recruiting participants, that is, using already established networks to facilitate an 'inside-outsider' position. Utilising my sister-in-law and church in the recruitment process gave potential participants a 'reference' for me as someone who would respect them, their culture and values and the ideas and opinions they conveyed. Through the recruitment process and through the data collection process, my choice was further solidified. I was left with the impression that trust would have been a greater issue had I utilised a recruitment process that could be considered closer to 'cold calling.' Feelings of being outsiders or 'other' often experienced by both diasporas would not have made recruitment impossible but would have lengthened the time it took to establish rapport. My choice was also reinforced by the difficulties experienced in recruiting Indonesian participants. Circumstances meant that my networks were not able to assist in recruiting as many participants as in other locations. Alternative methods of recruitment proved fruitless, further exacerbated by my inability to travel to Indonesia myself.

Although my choice to utilise existing networks for recruitment was successful overall, it was not without consequences. These included that it did limit range of perspectives and demographics, although in the end minimally, as my pool of participants did include quite a range of backgrounds, ages and other demographic details. However,

to get a broad range with any type of recruitment I would have to expand the research considerably, beyond scope of this thesis. Therefore, this would always be an issue and I would have to recruit a specific pool of participants regardless of the recruitment methods used. Additionally, as I was using an ethnographic methodology, it was not necessary to ensure that the conclusions made in my analysis were applicable to all members of the diasporas being examined.

Reflexivity allows for the rethinking of the identities and relationships between those conducting the research and those being researched within the practice of ethnography (Marcus, 1998, p. 17) and is something that can be practiced at every stage of research (Hertz, 1997, p. viii). I have used reflexivity as a methodological approach to constantly scrutinise what I know and how I know it, looking back at experiences and keeping a focus on the moment. To achieve this, I considered the position of the interviewee and my own state of mind before the interview and then after the interviewee considered any environmental factors and my own reactions to our conversation. Anything that had an impact was noted down and returned to in the process of analysis.

Data Analysis

The data collected through all the methodological approaches created a large and rich body of information. Although all the information collected had merit and would have made for worthy analysis, the volume of information went far beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, the first step in analysis was a conscious refinement of the focus and objectives of this project. This was done through utilising reflexive processes and extensive consultation with my supervisors. It was at this time that the nature of the major themes of identity development and place-making as being employed in the thesis and the framework of examining the themes within the family were formalised.

A major objective of this project was to highlight the patterns, themes and structures that are part of the ongoing processes of identity formation and place-making. Therefore, the process of analysis started with going over the notes made during all stages of data collection finding ways to narrow down the material while not being detrimentally selective. I did this through thematic coding of my notes and journals, or “distilling along key themes” (Cope, 2010, p. 281) which could also be described

as ‘data reduction.’ Word documents were created grouping related themes together, which served to form the headings for the analysis chapters of this thesis. The data was assembled and summarised and then coded into sub-themes and categories within the major themes. Then links and comparisons were made within these sub-themes and categories and the patterns, relationships and connections between the data and sub-themes were also identified and contributed to evolving structure of analysis.

I primarily engaged in what Dunn (2010, p. 125) terms “latent content analysis,” namely, searching for themes and determining their underlying meaning. I did this through my notes, flagging where there might be related data from historic, political or cultural literature or my own reflections. I then went through my literature notes and added more flags into interview data as necessary. I also returned to the interview recordings to give further clarity to any ideas raised in this process. By organising the material into themes, I could more easily see any patterns between participants, between groups and between locations. I utilised narrative, story and memory as ways of knowing and giving interpretation of events. This is because embedded in narrative, stories and memories are meanings, interpretations, representations, knowledge and the world views of participants. All of this was then synchronised to articulate the key insights and conclusions and to form the basis of interpretations within the broad epistemology of constructionism. This approach gave valuable information on how participants’ identities developed. This kind of analysis treated their stories, memories and narratives as both evidence and meaningful expressions of identity, and was an integral element in my descriptions and analysis.

Comparison between and within the two diasporas had been a feature throughout the reflexive process of the research but in the analysis, it became central. An ‘incorporated comparison’ was used as an analytical approach, as through comparatively analysing ‘parts’ a picture of the whole will emerge and “comparison becomes the substance of the inquiry rather than its framework” (McMichael, 1990, p. 386). Comparison permeates this entire project, looking at the similarities and differences between not just the two diasporas but also between the same diaspora in various locations and between the different participants themselves. Three sub-comparisons were also made based on geographic locations with compelling parallels in histories. These sub-comparisons were allocated as case studies to the analysis chapters based on the results of the thematic coding. The Jewish and Chinese diasporas in Australia were the case study for Chapter 5 exploring the transmission

of culture, the Jewish diaspora in Germany and the Chinese diaspora in Indonesia were the case study for Chapter 6 exploring the role of language in identity and the Jewish diaspora in South Africa and the Chinese diaspora in Malaysia were the case study for Chapter 7 exploring cultural practices in the family. The specific parallels that informed each sub-comparison encompass the political and the socio-economic and have been outlined in detail in Chapter 3. As such, this study is a cross-national focused comparison (Sheffer, 2005, p. 4). Due to the volume of data generated, only those elements deemed to be most relevant or essential to the study are compared. Additionally, this research examines place as not only a geographic location. It also utilises place as referring to a person's position within a social hierarchy (Cresswell, 2014, p. 250).

The conclusions drawn from the analysis have been based on the sub-groups examined and address the small sample size. Although I am very aware that an expanded analysis or sample would result in a greater diversity of ideas and responses, the conclusions developed were focused on the construction of identity and place in specific individuals. However, these individuals are members of the Chinese or Jewish diasporas and can be perceived as representative. Therefore, although the specific ways the themes are manifested in the participants' diasporic lives was central, it was acknowledged that such themes could be employed in further studies of diaspora or migration.

Conclusion

The methodological approach utilised here is qualitative and draws primarily from ethnography. I have specifically undertaken a reflexive method that sits within a broad constructionist paradigm. This methodology is appropriate to my research objectives as it allows me to examine ideas and perspectives of identity development and place-making that concentrate on individual experience, but also remain applicable to wider explorations of Chinese and Jewish diasporas.

This outline of the methods used in this project concludes the first part of this thesis. The second part of the thesis examines the results gained through data collection. It will explore the main themes as experienced and perceived by individual participants. As stated above, this section will begin with an analysis of place-making, identity performance and communication within the family.

Part 2

Chapter 5: Place-Making, Identity Performance and Communication within the Family

Introduction

This chapter will examine place-making and identity development and transmission (that is, the conscious communication of elements of identity) through performance and communicative practices and how they are shaped by relationships within the family. Family plays an important role in the identity formation and self-perceptions of individuals through a myriad of familial practices, rituals and traditions. This occurs because there is an expectation that families not only bear the next generations but also ensure that children are raised to become productive adults (Aborampah, 2011, p. 71). Both Chinese and Jewish identities are performed and communicated within the family from before birth and this continues to have an influence into adulthood. In adulthood, the impact on identity regarding these factors is not just felt in interactions within the family it colours interactions in wider society, such as with approaches to ideas of loyalty, alliances and the state. This illustrates that identity in both diasporas is more about 'becoming' rather than 'being,' as asserted by Hall (1990, p. 25).

Jewish and Chinese participants living in Australia will form the case study utilised in this chapter. Place-making and identity development are significantly influenced by the circumstances outlined in Chapter 3. This is because Australia's multiculturalism policy, as Sinclair et al (2000) suggest, 'obliges' immigrants to have and maintain a culture from their former home and not fully assimilate into Anglo-European-based culture. This culture is generally expected to manifest itself in terms of food, language and rituals (Sinclair & Cunningham, 2000, pp. 41-42). This has given both diasporas greater scope to establish their identities as Chinese or Jewish, retaining cultural elements without the same levels of pressure to assimilate into the majority Anglo-British-based culture.

The establishment of the character of the Jewish and Chinese populations in Australia has played a significant role in the evolution of elements that make up Australian Chinese and Jewish identities. This has, of course, had impacts in terms of socio-politics but also affects the structures of family life and the perspectives of individuals about what elements of their identity are important and thus should be transmitted to

subsequent generations. In multicultural Australia, place-making has a different character for everyone. Different ideas are emphasised depending on the specific character of an individual, their background, practices and relationships. There may be a degree of continuity within a group but if a dominant aspect doesn't work, the individual may look elsewhere to establish a sense of place. This means that place-making is created not just by culture and background but through interactions within the group and outside the group in the wider environment, making it very relational (see Massey, 2005, pp, 10, 66).

The main themes of the chapter will be covered in three sections. The first will examine childrearing practices in the family and how this contributes to place-making and identity development and transmission. The section will examine ideas of creating a foundation for identity and a sense of obligation in childrearing practices. It will then examine how the structures present and opportunities available within the family impact on forms and priorities regarding communicating and performing elements of identity. The second section will explore ideas of migration, place-making and the family, stating that migration has an impact on what an individual prioritises in the process of place-making and that place-making in a new geographical location becomes a conscious process. It will also state that the age of the individual when migration occurs plays a role in determining the nature of place-making and impacts on what the individual considers worth retaining, discarding or passing on to subsequent generations within the family. The chapter will finally examine roots tourism, considered to be a form of temporary 'homecoming.' Although roots tourism is not a permanent return to the homeland, it is framed within ideas of family. The way it is engaged with and experienced is dependent on the way in which family is viewed by the individual. It will also look at ideas regarding the perceived purposes and expectations the participants had about roots tourism and how this, together with the nature of diaspora, impacts on the process of place-making experienced by an individual.

Child Rearing Practices and the Family

Childrearing practices within the family are a method of identity transmission. That is, they provide the conscious communication, from generation to generation, of elements of identity through practice and performance. Participants from both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas in this case study framed the transmission of ideas of Chineseness or Jewishness during childrearing as bestowing an obligation to build a foundation of Chinese or Jewish identity that the child would take with them into adulthood.

Deborah is in her 70s, she has been married for over 50 years and has three sons, although one passed away several years previously. She migrated from South Africa, where her parents were also born, to Australia following one of her sons a few years ago, having retired from her career in librarianship and education. Deborah recognises the importance of developing foundations of Jewishness while living in diaspora. Thus, Deborah and her husband ensured that their three sons had bar mitzvahs and were taken to Israel during their childhoods. Upon entering adulthood and migrating to Australia the sons had moved away from the practice of Judaism. However, the foundations established in childhood meant that they still placed importance on elements of Jewish identity in developing their sense of place. This includes celebrating Jewish holidays and passing the same foundations onto Deborah's grandchildren. Deborah terms it as having "definitely a strong Jewish input in our lives."[16] For Deborah, the family becomes the repository in which memory, particularly memory of values important in the past and specific cultural patterns, is kept in order to be passed on (Chamberlain & Leydesdorff, 2004, p. 229).

The idea of creating the foundations of identity during childrearing was also something voiced by Barnabas. Barnabas is in his 50s, works as a financial planner, was born and raised in Malaysia, as were his parents as his grandparents had migrated to Malaysia from their native China. He came to Australia in his late teens to study, returning to Malaysia upon finishing. He later returned to Australia in his 30s to live permanently and raise his children. Barnabas felt that instilling a Chinese identity during childrearing included specific obligations to engage in Chinese cultural activities. This came in the form of the family being members of the Chung Wah Association.[17] Both adults and children engaged in activities such as language

[16] Interview JA4 (11.26)
[17] Established in 1909, the Chung Wah Association is the largest and oldest Chinese organisation in Western Australia (WA), is recognised at all levels of government as the

classes, concerts and year-end balls. For many newly-settled Chinese people this engagement is important in the place-making ritual and facilitates membership into the imagined community. Activities such as language classes also ensured that his children had the opportunity to be able to speak Mandarin with extended family and socially, as Barnabas is able to do. However, membership had a specific timespan and Barnabas explained that this particular obligation was limited to the childrearing years. Once his children were grown and had left school the membership lapsed, as he no longer felt an obligation to maintain it. According to Barnabas, this is a common occurrence as membership has a specific purpose, namely, establishing Chinese cultural foundations, and, once fulfilled, other activities take priority.

While the purpose of passing down identity traits during childrearing is to lay foundations that will be carried into adulthood, not every child who is raised a certain way will maintain that identity as they become adults and establish their own sense of place. However, as another Chinese participant, Priscilla, explained, it is something that remains and can be returned to if the individual wishes. Priscilla, who is in her mid-30s and works in recruitment, was born and raised in Australia. Her mother was born in Malaysia, her father was born in China and all her grandparents were born in China. As a result of this, Priscilla was raised in a strongly Chinese-identifying home. This was present in terms of language (her family speaks Cantonese as well as English at home), rituals practiced, holidays celebrated, food and childrearing practices such as discipline and the respecting of elders. Outside of the home, such as at school and amongst her peers, Priscilla's environment was based on European-Australian culture and she saw this as being quite distinct from Chinese culture. Her brother, Priscilla's junior by three years, went to a different school with a different cultural mix. Although he did encounter identity development-related challenges, Priscilla mentioned that their reactions were not identical.

During her teen years Priscilla consciously drew away from Chinese culture and identity. She described it as "I wanted my freedom" and "when I was growing up I didn't want to be associated with being Chinese actually. The music I listened to, I think my mind-set, I just wanted to be very Western."[18] However, as she grew older she developed a greater desire to connect with her parents and decided that going

mouthpiece of the Chinese community in WA and has a membership of around 140,000 people (The Chung Wah Association, 2016).

[18] Interview CA6 (20.43) (23.26)

back to the Chinese culture and identity she was raised with was the best way of doing that. Priscilla describes this:

> [ ] as I grew older it was just something that I thought 'I want to connect with my parents more, I want to have a better relationship with them.' So, I think that meant being more Chinese than, you know. So, appreciating and kind of seeing it from their point of view.[19]

This has become particularly important to Priscilla since becoming a mother to two daughters. In multicultural Australia, she sees raising a daughter with a strong Chinese foundation as allowing her "to know that she fits in, there's nothing lacking in her."[20] Priscilla's attempts to de-emphasise her Chinese identity and embrace Australian culture stem from feelings that she needed to be more Western to be accepted by her peers and society in general. Priscilla feels that helping her daughters to establish solid identity foundations through child-rearing practices will hopefully smooth their process of place-making as they grow into adulthood.

The particular ways in which these identity foundations are transmitted depends on a number of factors. These include what is prioritised in an individual's family unit, the makeup of the family during the period of childrearing, the events that shaped this makeup and the opportunities for family connection during this time. Sarah is in her mid-30s and was born and raised in Malaysia, coming to Australia in her late teens to study and remaining to marry and raise two sons. Her parents and one grandfather were also born in Malaysia, with the rest of her grandparents originating from southern China. She is a vet and runs her own business with her husband who came to Australia from Vietnam as a very small child and whose family maintain a strong Chinese identity. For Sarah, the Chinese foundations she was raised with were centred on her family's Teochew background. Thus, language and foods that would be classified as Teochew, which are sites of place-making in that they convey a sense of belonging, are prominent when Sarah describes what cultural elements she sees as Chinese.

Sarah also places importance on respecting elders as contributing to her Chinese identity. She ascribes this to her mother's quite traditional outlook influencing the way Sarah was raised. For example, Sarah's was raised with a knowledge of Chinese (particularly Teochew) literature, poems and stories that frequently voiced messages centred on the importance of family and respect. Sarah identifying stories as being a

[19] Interview CA6 (21.05)
[20] Interview CA6 (21.52)

significant part of her upbringing is something that is also examined in the literature. As Sun (1998, p. 112) explores, to remain Chinese whilst living in Western societies, collective memories are passed down through the retelling of Chinese stories and retaining the forms and strategies of story-telling that are familiarly Chinese.

Amongst the Chinese participants, the identity foundations created during childrearing were centred within the immediate family; parents, grandparents and such. Generally, the Chinese participants had access to multiple family members who were present to perform and communicate their Chinese identities, which influenced the participants during their childhoods. This occurred through the telling of stories, the practice of traditions and cultural holidays and through practices honouring the ancestors (if the family member was not Christian). Although most families had left China some time ago, they had been able to establish themselves in their host lands and had been able to cultivate their own cultural practices and identity in relative freedom. This allowed family members to convey expectations about how the children would grow to be able to ensure the well-being of subsequent generations within their own cultural context (Aborampah & Sudarkasa, 2011, p. 5).

In contrast to this, for the Jewish participants, especially the older ones, the direct and indirect consequences of the Holocaust meant that these kinds of opportunities may not have been available. Even if parents and grandparents survived, the trauma and displacement of that period resulted in changes in the performance of identity during childrearing. This meant that Deborah knew very little about her family background, other than that they were Jewish. There were a number of early deaths in her grandparents' generation and those who remained were very reticent to speak about the past. For example, she told me "my grandfather even lived with us for a short time. But discussing where his roots were never came into the conversation… it wasn't there."[21] Like Deborah, Isaac was born and raised in South Africa, as were his parents, before migrating to Australia in his early 40s for (as he described it) a "better life." However, he is in his 60s, born and raised in the post-World War II period. Isaac's experience was similar to Deborah's in that there was little communication about the past and he has almost no information about his family background. For Isaac, this was exacerbated by the changes after the war in how children were raised in his family. This is mostly seen in terms of language. Isaac was raised English-

[21] Interview JA4 (2.01)

speaking but his grandmother only spoke Yiddish and Afrikaans, further complicating communication and the transmission of information about family background.

Despite this, both Deborah and Isaac spoke about being raised with a strong Jewish identity and the importance of this within the family. However, this was generally described in terms of family encompassing not just immediate kin but also in terms that refer to the imagined community, something not generally voiced by the Chinese participants. For the Jewish participants, the absence or distance of immediate kin has led to a focus becoming centred on notions of the importance of the collective. For example, Deborah spoke about the importance of finding a Shul community she felt comfortable in after migrating to Australia. Deborah and her husband had their son and extended family in Perth and a number of friends from South Africa had also migrated to Australia. However, Deborah felt that connecting with a Shul ensured a continued connection with Jewish culture and society and showed solidarity to the Jewish people overall.

Although many aspects of family are taken for granted and therefore unconscious, family cannot be assumed or automatically allocated; it is consciously constructed. Thus, family is so central to place-making and the development of identity during the childhood years that, even if family in the sense of immediate kin cannot play a central role, connections through elements of culture such as tradition, ritual and behaviour will lead to the creation of fictive kinship in the imagined community. This was also demonstrated by Isaac who, although not religious, felt a strong sense of connection to the Jewish community in Perth. He described the situation as being that even if he did not know a Jewish person, he nearly always knew someone they knew, which gave him a greater awareness of being Jewish.

These ideas have passed to younger generations, who were born long enough after the Holocaust to have the opportunity to communicate with their direct kin elders. Aaron is in his early 20s and was born and raised in Australia to South African parents and is currently studying engineering. He sees that the foundations of his identity have been created through his (and his family's) adherence to Orthodox Judaism. Elements of Jewish identity prioritised by Orthodox Judaism, such as Jewishness coming from matrilineal descent and the building of a Jewish home through practices and behaviours, are important to Aaron. These elements also impact on the choices made in the family such as those about schooling. Aaron's schooling was entirely Jewish, so environment, in this context the overall location, attitudes, events and interactions within which life is conducted, did have a significant impact on his identity.

However, cultural performance and communication is of more importance to Aaron. When I asked him if he felt that his beliefs and practices would have been the same had he attended a non-Jewish school, he said, "I think so, my parents were always traditionally religious, so they were always big into that."[22] Aaron feels that everything encountered does have an influence, but identity transmission from within the family, particularly as he has access to his extended, as well as immediate, family, has a greater impact. He sees this as continuing to do so as he establishes his identity and sense of place as an adult.

The role of childrearing practices (such as the values conveyed as important, engagement in rituals such as those undertaken during holidays and approaches to education), within the family relating to identity development and transmission was given similar levels of importance by participants in both diaspora groups. This was despite significant differences between the groups seen in the structures and opportunities for family interaction caused by historical upheavals. Both Chinese and Jewish participants felt an obligation to communicate elements of identity through childrearing practices and felt that this established the foundations of identity which would be carried into adulthood. There was also an acknowledgement that these foundations would remain in spite of any changes in cultural practice. In addition to this, these foundations would inform the evolution of an individual's sense of place, whether they remained in their place of birth or migrated to a new geographic location. The established foundations would also be primary in mediating interactions with notions of loyalty and the state, especially through the framework of the community or extended kinship.

Migration, Place-Making and the Family

Experiences of migration lead to developments in considerations of what elements of identity an individual decides to retain and cultivate and have an impact on the process of place-making. Place-making is of particular importance to the participants due to both migration experiences and their positioning, through their Chinese or Jewish identities, as being minority 'others.' All the participants are committed to their lives in Australia but are aware that their sense of place could not be assumed. This process of place-making is not confined to the individual but is a part of the performance of identity within the family. Through the process of individual place-

[22] Interview JA5 (9.14)

making, elements of identity can be prioritised and transmitted between generations, especially between parent and child. The participants' experiences of migration make place-making a conscious process and a priority in childrearing.

For Barnabas, place-making upon migrating to Australia included a very conscious re-evaluation of his Chineseness. He firmly stated that assimilation into the Australian sociocultural environment was important but that this did not require him to discard Chinese culture. Barnabas stated that "every culture has got its good things and bad things."[23] Thus, Barnabas saw place-making in Australia as an opportunity to discard 'bad' Chinese traits such as superstitiousness and embrace 'good' Australian qualities such as a more carefree attitude. Barnabas had moved to Australia to create a better life for his family but still felt that his family's past was important. He termed it as "the grandparents passed down the cultural values and traditions and we must keep what is good. We don't just throw everything out just because 'but now I'm naturalised, so I don't want to know anything about Chinese traditions and culture' I think that is really stupid, very foolish, very unwise."[24] This influenced his choice of cultural practices after migration, both for himself and his family, which may have not been the same had he remained in Malaysia.

Sarah's experience of migration involved a degree of confusion about the reception her Chineseness received. In Malaysia, she had grown-up questioning where she belonged. This is because, on the one hand, Malaysian cultural influences meant that that she didn't feel China would entirely accept her as Chinese. However, on the other hand, she felt that "Malaysia doesn't say that I'm Malaysian as much because of the way the political scenarios are like." [25] After arriving in Australia she encountered different reactions to her background. In Sarah's experience, if she said that she was from Malaysia people would assume she was Malay. If she then said that she was actually Chinese people would say that she must be from China. This meant that, for Sarah, place-making had to be a conscious effort to create her own identity in response to, and despite of, what she encountered in her environment. This process has had a definite impact on how she is raising her own two young sons. She said to me:

> I guess it emphasises to me that I need to pass on the values to my children, because I can't do anything about them [other people] but I can do something about my children and how it would affect them. Because if I

[23] Interview CA8 (18.17)
[24] Interview CA8 (19.59)
[25] Interview CA3 (8.30)

> bring them up in the Chinese way and then they get to see the world a different way, at least they have a sense of belonging to something.[26]

For Sarah, a sense of belonging, resulting from place-making, comes from the family, which provides an anchor point and gives a solid foundation to be built upon. Although other factors such as nationality and the homeland are important and have an impact, family is primary.

The age that Sarah and Barnabas migrated meant that the process of place-making had a direct impact on their views on the transmission of identity within the family. This was in contrast to the experiences of a number of the Jewish participants. For example, Deborah's migration experience occurred after her children were grown. Aaron was the child of migrants. Thus, place-making and its impact on identity performance had different priorities. As mentioned above, place-making for Deborah came in the form of a conscious effort to maintain Jewish practice and connection with the community and ensure that this was performed within the family. In Australia, unlike where she lived in South Africa, the Jewish community and Jewish cultural elements were no longer on her doorstep and thus she cultivated a deliberate practice of seeking it out. She told me "in this environment it could slide away completely and we didn't, didn't want this to happen,"[27] acknowledging concerns about assimilation that have been voiced by the Jewish community in Australia for many generations. As such, Jewish practice performed in Deborah's family was framed as something that had to be consciously maintained.

As explored above, Aaron's identity stemmed from the Orthodox Judaism practised his family. But for him, place-making was also influenced by his parents' experiences of migrating from South Africa and also by his choices as regards his parents differing Jewish backgrounds. His Orthodox beliefs prioritised Aaron's adherence to his father's Ashkenazi culture, something Aaron gladly adhered to. However, his mother came from a Sephardic, Mediterranean-based Jewish culture and Aaron had made a conscious decision to incorporate this culture into his process of place-making and his identity. This primarily came in the form of embracing customs around food and holidays but also in what was acknowledged as being part of his identity. For both the Chinese and Jewish participants, their sense of place involved a differentiation from the assumed or dominant within the Australian context. The diversity in practices

[26] Interview CA3 (7.34)
[27] Interview JA4 (8.33)

came from the uniqueness of the experiences of the participants and the character of their families.

Further to this, processes of place-making after migration can influence whether identity is retained or rejected by the individual and how that identity is adapted to place. Peter, Priscilla's husband, who is in his mid-30s and works in journalism, was born in Vietnam, as were his parents, with his grandparents being born in Vietnam and China. He came to Australia as a refugee when he was a very young child. He has two much younger siblings and, as his parents worked long hours, he had a significant involvement in their upbringing. Peter sees family, in the sense of close kin, as determining his retention of his Chinese identity. When I asked if he could ever become less Chinese, he told me that if he no longer had contact with his parents and siblings it might be possible. He stated that:

> I think that yes there are things that you could do to be less Chinese. The things that you would do to be less Chinese would be not to uphold any of the traditions, the culture or the values. So, for example, if you don't pass onto your kids some of the things that are valued and important to maybe your parents or their parents. And I think that as you do that then it gets lost in the subsequent generations.[28]

He then extended this to community in general and related it to the idea of place-making after migration. He stated that if:

> I moved to a different country and decided that, you know, I was going to start hanging out with people of that country and that culture, and I wanted to assimilate into that culture and had no contact, I could probably do that [lose Chineseness].[29]

The idea of choice playing a role in identity is in line with the traditional Chinese attitude that those who come from outside, in choosing to acquire a Chinese cultural identity, could become Chinese. Conversely, those who were born Chinese but chose to move away from Chinese cultural identity could also become "barbarians" (Toyota, 2003, p. 312).

This is in contrast to the idea that Jewishness is not something that can be discarded. This is something which has been reinforced by Jewish tradition and practice but also by outside attitudes to Jewishness. Adam, who is in his 50s, moved to Australia from South Africa in his 30s and now runs his own business, sees this less as a barrier to expression and instead has allowed him a degree of flexibility in place-making in

[28] Interview CA5 (17.32)
[29] Interview CA5 (19.12)

different environments. Adam is very involved with Jewish genealogy and has spent time travelling and interacting with many Jewish communities in many locations. He also perceives family as being not only his close kin but also in a broader sense of the Jewish people, as he is constantly discovering connections between dispersed individuals. As such, he feels the performance of his Jewishness can adapt to place and the members of this large Jewish family in the moment. For Adam, this could come in the form of Shul attendance and participation in rituals and holidays. It can also come in the form of appearance and Adam used the example of the kippah (yarmulke). In illustrating this to me he stated "I don't wear a kippah because I don't normally do but when I went to Auschwitz I wore it. So, it's also time and place for me."[30]

The transmission of Adam's identity as part of the Jewish people was something that was performed for both those inside the imagined community and those outside. He therefore saw the necessity of balancing adaptation with authenticity, saying "I would never deny it unless I was in a situation of a threatening environment."[31] Adjusting practice in the process of place-making as Jewish in different environments was not contentious for Adam as his Jewishness was not something that could be lost or diminished. He would still be Jewish even if none of his practices or his appearance could be classified as 'Jewish.'

Although Chinese appearance in Westernised, majority Anglo-European Australia suggests that Chinese identity would be impossible to lose, for the Chinese participants, a Chinese identity required practice as well as everything else. Place-making as Chinese, that is the creation of a 'Chinese life,' namely, actions, attitude and interaction, was required and was something that could be reduced or discarded. Although the reasons for this would be myriad, ideas of family are influential. For the Jewish participants, historical circumstance has made notions of the imagined community as family important and maybe widened the scope of how one can be Jewish. Historical circumstance has allowed the Chinese participants to focus on family as immediate kin and may have resulted in a narrowing of the parameters of what could be perceived as the site of place-making, which would be transmitted across generations.

[30] Interview JA6 (30.41)
[31] Interview JA6 (30.58)

Place-making allows for a prioritising of what elements of identity are important to the individual and should be passed down. This occurs in the geographical location where the individual lives but also can occur whether present in any given moment in that location or not. In diaspora populations, place-making can be particularly influenced by visiting sites perceived to be the homeland (by the individual and/or in general). For Chinese and Jewish people, this can occur through participation in roots tourism, which will be examined next.

Roots Tourism and the Family

This section will be looking at the phenomenon known as 'roots tourism' and exploring perspectives of the participants and how such activities impact on their identities and place-making as Chinese or Jewish. Roots tourism in this context refers to trips taken by diaspora members to perceived sites of origin to gain a better knowledge of heritage, family history or identity. Often these trips are conducted as group, organised tours but roots tourism can also be conducted independently, whether as an individual or a family group. Regarding both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas, the literature concentrates on organised group tours but many of the principles explored are applicable to independent trips. These tours can have elements in common with general tourism, such as tour guides, a set itinerary and pre-packaged activities such as shopping and cultural 'experiences' such as demonstrations of traditional dance or martial arts. However, they differ in that they have a personal significance for the participants (Louie, 2003, p. 740).

Many roots tours are designed based on a perception of an imagining by participants of a faraway homeland and a gaining of knowledge about said homeland (Louie, 2003, pp. 736-737). Roots tourism is often positioned as a return to the homeland and thus can also impact on the transmission of values and traditions as instilled through communication and performance within the family. Roots tourism is not a permanent return to the homeland but is framed within ideas of family. This includes connections to the immediate family and to the extended, imagined community. Identity within the family is performed during the roots tourism experience and aims to transmit certain ideas of Chineseness or Jewishness to create a sense of place within the group, connections and relationships that will, in turn, be performed and communicated within the family.

Although both the Jewish and Chinese variants of roots tourism are based on the goal of creating connections to the homeland and identity, the nature of the phenomenon is distinct within each group. The origins of Jewish roots tourism can be traced through the evolution of diaspora attitudes to Israel. Prior to 1967 Israel was seen by many in the diaspora as a place of refuge from the perceived risk of a second Holocaust. After victory in the Six Day War in 1967 Israel started to be viewed by the diaspora with a sense of pride and as a symbol of growing Jewish confidence (Rynhold, 2007, p. 146). One of the ways this new-found confidence in the Jewish state was manifested was in a desire of many in the diaspora to establish a link with the homeland and their heritage without necessarily committing to immediate *aliyah*. This, coupled with increasing concern about high assimilation rates amongst diaspora youth, led to the establishment of a number of programs by people based both in government and non-government organisations.

Two of the most well-known roots programs are March of the Living (MOL) and Birthright which focus on Jewish youth and are supported by both the Israeli government and philanthropy (see Aviv, 2011, p. 58; Blumer, 2011, pp. 1334-1335). Many of these programs are centred on visiting Israel but some also include trips to Eastern Europe where many diaspora members living in locations such as the US, Australia and South Africa can trace their origins. This is a relatively recent development as before the 1980s Jewish roots tourism focused on creating connections to Zionism and Israel rather than visiting Eastern Europe or utilising Israel as a means of strengthening identity (Aviv & Shneer, 2005, p. 53). However, in the present era Eastern Europe has become the second most important site of Jewish roots tourism after Israel. It is still considered to be haunted by the atrocities of the Holocaust but is also seen as a place of nostalgia and romanticism about a lost or imagined heritage (Aviv, 2011, p. 61). Whatever the site of the trips, much of Jewish roots tourism focuses on identity development through carefully planned educational programs that are not simply about touring or tourism (Aviv & Shneer, 2005, p. 56). Programs vary widely and cater to any sub-group in the diaspora based on religious affiliation, age, class and institutional involvement. As well as touring relevant cities, activities can also include religious study, spending time on a kibbutz and even basic training with the Israeli military (Aviv & Shneer, 2005, p. 58).

Chinese roots tourism is in part based on the idea that, even if an individual's background is several generations removed from China, they will still feel linked to China and will therefore want to establish a relationship with China (Louie, 2003, p.

743). Much of the diaspora's experiences of China are generated through family stories, Chinese pop culture and media portrayals (Louie, 2001, p. 347). However, there are still perceived ties to ancestral villages, burial grounds, local customs and the land itself which is seen to create a love of the nation and upon which much of roots tourism in China is based (Louie, 2001, p. 355). Since the advent of the Reform Era, the PRC has used these ideas of nostalgia for home villages in the diaspora as a way of encouraging visits to China (Louie, 2001, p. 356). The government instructed local authorities to satisfy the desires of any Chinese person resident overseas to return to their ancestral home to search for their roots and to consent to the restoration of family graves should that be requested (Thunø, 2001, p. 918). By 1981 the PRC started sponsoring roots tourism programs and saw this as part of achieving the goal of reintroducing the diaspora to China (Louie, 2003, p. 736).

Like Jewish roots tourism programs, many Chinese programs are focused on the youth. PRC-sponsored programs for young Chinese diaspora people to experience their cultural heritage in China are a result of the PRC position that the diaspora has a role to play in developing Chinese modernisation and bridging the gap between China and the capitalist world (Louie, 2001, pp. 349 and 353). However, even though tourism of all kinds has economic importance, emphasising the openness of borders can be a potential danger to a state as closely regulated as China (Ang, 2001, p. 22). Thus, roots tourism to China became quite state-based and, due to the nature of PRC authority, even tours run by private travel firms are subject to the regulations of the Chinese state.

These differences between the nature of the tours in the two diasporas, of course, contributes to the differences in perspectives of the participants but is not the only contributing factor. The perceived roles of roots tourism in each group may be attributed to the nature of the diaspora experience and its connections to the homeland. For the Chinese diaspora, China has always been there and many of the participants had tangible, continuous links to China with living memories of China's past directly available to them through the memories and stories of parents and grandparents. For the Jewish diaspora, the 2,000-year exile and the relative newness of the current Israeli state mean that this continuous physical connection is largely absent. Additionally, the atrocities of the Holocaust meant that the potential for memories of life in Eastern Europe to be directly passed down was largely taken away. Therefore, the focus has been not just on personal family connection but has a distinct focus on the Jewish people and a shared past and heritage. These

differences can be seen in the differences in responses from the participants but there are enough commonalities between the two groups in terms of culture, diaspora history and the importance placed on heritage that some common themes were discernible in their responses.

Both Chinese and Jewish participants viewed roots tourism within a familial framework. Namely, that its importance came from the connection to family it gave and the meaning participation had to, and within, the family. Eve was born in Malaysia and grew up there, although she was educated at international schools. Her parents were born in Malaysia and Singapore and her grandparents came from Thailand and China. She moved to Australia as a teenager for university, following her much older siblings. She is married to an Italian-Australian man who has a strong cultural bond with his family and is raising her two pre-school age children in both cultures. Eve's experience with roots tourism occurred in her early 20s while she was spending a semester studying in China. I found that Eve's experiences of taking part in in-country studies in China are similar to my own. This is despite us have very different cultural backgrounds and the fact that, by studying in China, Eve was 'returning to the homeland.' For Eve, this time spent in China largely felt more like living in another place than a homecoming. However, she saw her roots tourism experience as distinct from the rest of her time spent in China. This is because visiting the graves of her great-grandparents and her grandfather's hometown was something she did for the sake of her grandfather. She stated, "I think that I knew it would make my grandfather happy to know I was there looking at it as well."[32] This very specific familial connection was primary for Eve as her participation in roots tourism only focused on her mother's side and not on her father's side as she has no living paternal grandparents. Eve saw the value of roots tourism as stemming from enhancing the tangible connections she had with living family members. Abstract ideas of developing connections with absent family members had no appeal for her.

In contrast to the very specific appeal of roots tourism to Eve, the appeal of roots tourism to Isaac came in the form of a potential remedy to secularisation and assimilation. There is much concern about, and much literature analysing, this significant issue within the Jewish diaspora (especially in the multicultural West). Namely, that living in a globalised world where young people have access to many types of cultural elements is leading to high rates of intermarriage and cultural dilution. Isaac's family is not religious and his, now adult, children have many influences in

[32] Interview CA4 (47.28)

their lives outside the Jewish community. Therefore, Isaac sent his children on roots tours as he saw it as a very good way for his children to find out more about the Jewish people, culture and the Holocaust. He also saw merit in roots tourism creating stronger ties with Israel in his children, telling me it "gives them not only a Jewish identity but an identity with Israel. And I'm very much in favour of that."[33] Although Isaac's focus was on his own children and their experiences, influencing their processes of place-making as Jewish, the importance of roots tourism for him lay in the benefits it gave on a larger scale to the imagined community.

The importance the participants attributed to roots tourism also stemmed from their perspectives about the way tours were organised and their purpose. For Sarah and Peter and Priscilla a favourable impression of roots tourism was conditional on there being a minimum of perceived interference from the Chinese state. The way the PRC authorities run the state is seen as being distinct from, or even at odds to, the way many participants live their lives as Chinese. This is in turn reflected in their perceptions of roots tourism. Sarah has not participated in roots tourism but was not against the idea. She did have some reservations about the idea, telling me:

> I'd be very interested in it but first I'd probably want to know is it state-run? And is it propaganda-ish? Because of that is the case then no, I would not participate in that. But if it is run for that purpose, solely to reconnect the overseas Chinese to their roots, I'd love to do that[34]

Peter and Priscilla also expressed some reservations about organised, state-run tours but did acknowledge that their own preference for independent travel also contributed to this. Peter and Priscilla had been able to travel to China with Priscilla's dad a few years ago. They had been very happy to see her dad's hometown and listen to his stories and experiences and would like to do something similar with their children in the future. However, they were conscious of the fact that their experiences with roots tourism were different to the opportunities available to most diaspora Chinese. Peter told me that he felt his perceptions were:

> [ ] partially influenced by the fact that we still have family members who are alive to be able to take us back and show us if we wanted to. If we were fourth, fifth generation and we had kind of lost our culture and didn't have that anymore, then I can see where you might want to, you know, engage someone who actually has experience in that area[35]

[33] Interview JA3 (24.44)
[34] Interview CA3 (35.18)
[35] Interview CA5 (1.10.17)

Priscilla echoed this, stating, “I guess if you don’t know, like if you don’t have your family and want to find out then, obviously it [an organised tour] works.”[36] This perspective is supported by the general evidence in the literature as cultural and ancestral tours, such as those established during the Reform Era in China, have proved popular in large part because many of the participants are not equipped with sufficient linguistic, cultural or political knowledge or connections to organise and undertake such visits autonomously (Louie, 2003, p. 739).

The reticence about state involvement in roots tourism voiced by many of the Chinese participants was not observed in the perspectives of the Jewish participants. I ascribe this to the nature of the Jewish state being not too dissimilar from Australia (democratic, quite Westernised) and the strong ties between Israel and the diaspora that have been cultivated since the State of Israel’s creation. Instead, the purpose and outcomes of roots tourism were of more concern to the Jewish participants. There is a strong expectation of Jewish roots tours amongst many organisers and participants as the programs are designed to induce emotions such as pride, camaraderie, nostalgia, anger at historic persecution and a desire to ‘return.’ They are also designed to initiate action by the participants. This could come in the form of marrying a fellow Jew, becoming involved in Jewish organisations and making financial contributions, should a permanent move to Israel not be an immediate possibility (Aviv & Shneer, 2005, p. 567). Participants in cultural tours expect to feel a connection to their destinations and have an expectation that the tour will round out an aspect of their identity, and therefore influence the process of place-making (Louie, 2003, p. 741). This was in contrast to the Chinese participants who did not equate roots tourism with a possible permanent return to China, increased participation in Chinese organisations or obligations regarding life choices.

Aaron has participated in the MOL program and has also returned to his mother’s ancestral home on the island of Rhodes. This was a trip conducted with a large group of extended family but was not an organised tour *per se*. Aaron does not view roots tourism as “vital to Jewish survival”[37] but sees merit in it if it results in the development of a stronger Jewish identity. As he puts it:

> [ ] if it was a marketing company just trying to sell something… for me it’s like someone visiting Disneyland. If nothing comes out of it, if you just visit and

[36] Interview CA6 (1.09.07)
[37] Interview JA5 (18.47)

> you go off and marry a non-Jewish person anyway, what's the point? I feel something positive should come out of it, not just for tourism's sake[38]

This perspective may stem from Aaron's own beliefs and approach to Jewish identity but may also be related to the more general idea of the Jewish diaspora having an obligation to support the state of Israel. This is not something seen in the Chinese diaspora beyond the economic, perhaps because the Chinese population is enormous and China itself is powerful. Therefore, there is no need or ability to make the Chinese diaspora feel guilty for not returning to China, not contributing to China's survival or not perpetuating Chinese culture (Safran, 1999, pp. 282-283). Israel, on the other hand, is small, relatively new and faces numerous threats to its survival. This has been the case since the creation of the state and has been a focal point in the promotion of relations between Israel and the diaspora.

Although roots tourism does not involve a permanent relocation, for the Chinese and Jewish diasporas it does have an impact on place-making. Due to the nature of diaspora, place-making in this context cannot be confined to a single geographic location and, as roots tourism is positioned as 'homecoming,' the site of the tours is promoted as having as much significance as the site of residence. This in turn impacts on the development of place within the group and the negotiations of the development of identity. For the participants, place-making involving roots tourism can be manifested in the evolutions of place within the family, either through immediate kin or in the imagined community. This will depend on experiences, opportunity and perspectives. The impact of roots tourism on place-making is also linked to attitudes about the nature of the tours or expectations about the purpose and results of the tours. Depending on the perceived success or not of these elements to the individual, their sense of place can influence the character and boundaries within which they live their lives and establish their identities. It can also impact on precisely how their sense of belonging as an individual and within the group develops and evolves.

[38] Interview JA5 (18.59)

Conclusion

This chapter has examined ideas of identity communication, performance and transmission within the family and how this impacts on, and indeed is impacted by, processes of place-making. The chapter first explored the idea of childrearing practices within the family, that the participants perceived an obligation to establish solid Jewish or Chinese identity foundations during this period that would be carried into adulthood and could be returned to even if they were de-prioritised in later life. The main difference in the responses of the two diaspora groups originated from variations in opportunities to communicate with close kin. For the Chinese participants, the communication of values and traditions perceived as Chinese was largely unbroken. Many participants also had opportunities to communicate with family members should they wish to discover more about their backgrounds. In contrast, historical circumstances meant that opportunities for many Jewish participants to communicate with parents or grandparents were limited or absent. Their response was to emphasise passing down what they knew to their own children and seeking additional information from the larger, imagined community.

The second section explored the impact of migration on place-making and the family. It stated that migration experiences meant that place-making became a conscious process for the participants and the age of migration had an impact on how place-making evolved and what the individual prioritised in this process. It also impacted on what elements of identity were retained, discarded or prioritised, thus impacting on what was transmitted to subsequent generations. There were many similarities between the responses of the Chinese and Jewish participants but also a number of differences. These differences primarily came from differing perspectives in whether identity could be lost. The Chinese participants perceived cultural practice as being essential to retaining identity. The Jewish participants were of the opinion that Jewish identity remained, whatever was or wasn't practiced.

The chapter finally examined the phenomenon of roots tourism, which has become an oft-promoted form of temporary 'homecoming' for both diasporas. This section explored the important role family and the way family was viewed had in the participation and experience of roots tourism. This was particularly apparent according to whether an individual mainly viewed family as immediate kin or in the broader sense of the collective or imagined community. For the Chinese participants, roots tourism is primarily a means of strengthening ties to their own close families and had little to do with the Chinese state or Chinese people in general. For the Jewish

participants, roots tourism is seen more in the context of strengthening ties to Jewish culture, people and to Israel. Additionally, it is seen as a catalyst for more Jewish life choices. Although ideas of nationality and the state play a role, positively or negatively, for the participants, roots tourism is primarily mediated through the family when developing perspectives.

Overall, what is prioritised in the communication, performance and transmission of elements of identity by an individual is determined by the specific process of place-making experienced by an individual. Although place-making is an individual process, it does not happen in solitude but within the entirety of their environment (location, attitudes, time, interactions and events experienced). In diaspora populations, there may be a sense of separation or exclusion from aspects of this environment (for example, the majority population culture), impacting on the success of achieving a sense of belonging. Amongst the participants, this led to the family becoming the primary and most important site of place-making. Place-making for an individual is inseparable from the family and thus becomes inter-generational as the process of place-making determines precisely what is communicated and passed down within the family. Cultural expectations and obligations primarily stem from family responsibilities and relations which give context to identity formations (Brinkerhoff, 2012, p. 78). This then becomes integral to the interpretation of ideas of loyalty, alliances, homeland and the modern nation state. The family as the mediator of identity development interacts and give a contextual lens for other influencing factors such as history, technology and place. Identity is then about the process of becoming, which is achieved through child-rearing, cultural practice and engagement with heritage. Examining the transmission of ideas of identity and belonging contributes to an understanding of identity formation overall as it informs the evolution of perceptions about identity. It can also aid in identifying where diversions in perception occur and account for the similarities and differences that can be observed within and between diaspora groups. Language plays a primary role in identity development and place-making through cultural performance and communication. This is the theme of the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Language and the Family in Identity Development and Place-Making

Introduction

Anthropological and ethnographic scholarship has long recognised interactions between language and thought, experience and memory (Chamberlain & Leydesdorff, 2004, p. 230). This speaks to the nature of identity concerning 'becoming' rather than 'being' as explored by Hall (1990, p. 25). This is linked closely with how language is utilised in the family day-to-day and to language as the medium through which beliefs, values and goals for the family are transmitted (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry, as cited in Perez Baez, 2013, p. 29). Language plays such a central role in culture and its transmission that the loss of a language can be fatal to a culture. This is because when linguistic skills are lost, the record of the history and accomplishments of a people can become less accessible or forgotten (Molho, 1991, p. 103).

This idea has been long debated in the Jewish diaspora and it has been suggested that if Jewish people have less experiences in common in the future, as well as fewer shared interests and interactions, in addition to no common language, there will be less sharing of understandings, values and interpretations (Gitelman, 1998, pp. 123-124). Such ideas are also of concern to all migrant groups. This is because shifts in language use tend to occur either due to a social or political repositioning from dialects or vernacular language to an official language or due to movement to areas where the dominant language is not the main language used by the family (Luykx, as cited in Perez Baez, 2013, p. 29).

Like culture, language is not static but constantly growing and developing (Nic Craith, 2012, p. 87). An individual's experiences influence their perspectives on the impact of language on their identity and sense of place. Additionally, the attitudes held about a particular language can also be influenced by a number of factors such as how socio-culturally significant it is, its place in a global setting, to what degree the speaking and learning of the language has institutional support, the practical uses and importance of the language to someone learning it and the stereotypes and attitudes that exist regarding the native speakers of the language (Tannenbaum & Tahar, 2008, p. 284). It should, however, be noted that cultural differences can result in contextual variations even if individuals speak the same language. This idea is of relevance to

dispersed diaspora populations and adds to the complexity of examining language and diaspora identity.

Examining the perspectives of diaspora members regarding language is also significant as language is often considered to be an important marker of ethnicity and can be seen as "a cause or consequence of identity" (Golan-Cook & Olshtain, 2011, p. 362). The choice of a national language in a multi-ethnic state can be a very contentious issue as it will often be believed that promoting the national language will threaten the languages of other ethnic groups. (Tan, 2001, p. 962). Language can also be a symbol of one's ethnic affiliation and a window through which to view the orientation of one's identity (Golan-Cook & Olshtain, 2011, p. 362). This plays a significant role in creating an allegiance to a people group and the adoption of that group's cultural elements, values and beliefs. This is thought to be achieved through interacting using language and participating in group activities with the language's speakers (see Golan-Cook & Olshtain, 2011, p. 361). For example, Mandarin can be considered to be social capital and can grant benefits beyond simple cultural exchange (Cheung, 2004, p. 667). This includes business and financial opportunities and creating connections between disparate populations.

This chapter will use the Jewish diaspora in Germany and the Chinese diaspora in Indonesia as a comparative case study to explore language (focusing on Hebrew and Mandarin) as an element of identity. Language use in both the Jewish diaspora in Germany and the Chinese diaspora in Indonesia has been shaped by the historical nature of these populations and also by host land policies imposed upon the diasporas. However, it must be acknowledged that the histories of these two sub-groups are distinct. In particular, the Jewish diaspora in Germany was almost annihilated during World War II and has been rebuilt over the following decades. This is in contrast to the Chinese population in Indonesia which, in spite of numerous incidences of violence, has endured. Despite this distinction due to historical events, the two groups share a number of parallels in history and make up that result in similarities in perspectives, attitudes and responses.

The nature of Germany between Emancipation and the 1930s resulted in the first language of most German Jews being German, in line with the significant nationalist feeling in the Jewish population. This was such that in the 1910s and 1920s Yiddish-speaking Jewish people fleeing Russia were considered to be "too Jewish" and a threat to German Jewish assimilation (Shneer, 2011, p. 113). The 1930s and 1940s saw the almost-annihilation of German Jewry. This period also saw the shattering of

the nationalist dream of Jews being able to become accepted as German-speaking Germans. The result was that the population needed to be almost entirely rebuilt, including in terms of language. The waves of migration that rebuilt the Jewish diaspora in Germany resulted in the population having a range of languages as mother-tongues. Today, even though most use German in their everyday lives, Russian speakers make up a majority in the Jewish population, particularly outside Berlin, with estimates ranging from 80-90% (Shneer, 2011, p. 112).

Colonial policies in the Dutch East Indies meant that Chinese communities were better able to maintain their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness and remain Chinese-speaking, although many were multi-lingual to facilitate trade and other interactions. This largely continued during the Japanese occupation and the early period of independence but changed drastically after 1965. Suharto's New Order regime became a rare example of a state banning the use of a major global language (Heryanto, 1997, pp. 26-27). In what was claimed to be a means of preventing racial exclusiveness, the regime instituted regulations that banned Chinese-language radio and newspapers and required all Indonesian Chinese people to replace their Chinese names with more Indonesian sounding ones (Hwang & Sadiq, 2010, p. 201). Chinese language education in Indonesia, which had flourished during the Japanese occupation and the early years of independence, was gradually shut down. By 1975, by law, all schools, both public and private, only used the Indonesian language (Hoon, 2011, p. 405). Additionally, the use of Chinese characters, and indeed any expressions of Chinese culture, in public were forbidden (Hwang & Sadiq, 2010, p. 200). The end of the New Order regime and a relaxing of the restrictions imposed on Chinese language and culture has seen a revival of Chinese language in Indonesia, bolstered by China's economic rise. Although for most Chinese Indonesians their mother-tongue remains Indonesian, many have started utilising or learning Chinese languages, both Mandarin and other dialects.

The chapter will argue that the degree to which Hebrew or Mandarin is an important part of identity depends on an individual's family background and experiences. This in turn, has an impact on the level of importance they place on speaking or learning a language. This chapter will also explore the idea of geographic location (either long-term residence or visiting) impacting on the importance placed on language and the expectations faced by an individual regarding language use. Here I will argue that it is again family background and experiences that affects the way this occurs and will suggest that for the Chinese and Jewish diasporas, their experiences may be

determined by aspects such as the role of physicality and the homeland. This suggests that family is the primary mediator of identity, even though other aspects such as the nation and state are also important. This chapter will conclude with an exploration of the idea of passing down language and, in keeping with the rest of the chapter, again argue that it is family background and experiences that plays a significant role in the perspectives held by individuals. However, before examining the participants' responses, we need to establish the role the history, development and place of Hebrew and Mandarin have as an element of identity development.

Brief Overview and History of Mandarin and Hebrew

This chapter will concentrate on Hebrew and Mandarin because they are the official languages of the homelands of both groups. However, they are by no means the only Chinese or Jewish languages that do or have existed throughout the long histories of both these groups. Additionally, both languages have been highly promoted, especially in recent decades, both to those considered to be Chinese or Jewish and to those outside these groups who are considering learning a Chinese or Jewish language. The character and history of both these languages is complex and an understanding of how the present circumstances of both languages came to be is of benefit when creating an understanding of the perspectives of Chinese and Jewish individuals regarding language.

Hebrew

Although the modern nationalist view posits that Hebrew has been a binding element amongst all Jewish diaspora populations throughout the centuries, the actual situation is more complex (Band, 1996, p. 327). Language has always been seen as problematic in terms of determining identity within the Jewish diaspora as there is not really a single Jewish language. Hebrew is the language of Judaism and the national language of Israel. Yiddish became the fusion language of Jews in Eastern Europe whilst Jews in Western Europe generally spoke the language of their location. The Sephardim and Mizrahi have historically spoken Ladino or Judeo-Arabic or the language of their host lands (Stratton, 1996, p. 358). Even though Hebrew has survived due to its status as a holy tongue (*leshon kodesh*), in general, over history Jewish people have not remained loyal to any one language. It appears that as

conditions changed they linguistically adapted with relative ease from Hebrew to Aramaic to Yiddish or Ladino to German, Spanish, Arabic, English or any other tongue used in the location they resided in (Gitelman, 1998, p. 123).

After the destruction and exile perpetrated by the Roman Empire in the first century AD, Hebrew became only the language of Judaism. The revival of Hebrew as an everyday life language was not attempted until the advent of modern political Zionism (Azaryahu & Golan, 2001, p. 180). The revival of Hebrew is closely linked to Zionism, and therefore nationalism. Language was highly diverse in the diaspora and, as it was the language of the Old Testament, Hebrew was seen as an "authentic cultural option" which would promote unity and would lead to a Hebrew identity (Azaryahu & Golan, 2001, p. 182). The successful revival of Hebrew is generally attributed to the enduring status Hebrew retained in the diaspora for centuries (Band, 1996, p. 330). However, the creation of a modern language for use in everyday life from an ancient, religious language has been a complex process and is ongoing. Today, Hebrew is the mother tongue of Israelis from multiple generations, is taught at numerous Jewish schools in the diaspora and there is strong support for the use and learning of Hebrew in many diaspora communities, although this is not universal.

Mandarin

The language known as Mandarin originates from the regional dialects of northern China near Beijing and was the official language of multiple imperial dynasties. The idea of Mandarin as being a single language to link all of China and all Chinese can trace its roots to the policies of the Qin dynasty, although they concentrated on written not spoken language. As a means of strengthening its rule, the Qin instituted the 'small seal style script' (*xiaozhuan*) as the official script of China to be used, unchanged, from the centre to the periphery of the empire. All other scripts were abolished and to enforce this, the Qin burned books written in other scripts and executed any scholar who opposed the standardisation of the script (Zhou & Ross, 2004, p. 2). Although the methods of the Qin were brutal, their efforts did unify China as after the Qin all literate Chinese people, even if their spoken language was different, could read the same standardised script (Zhou & Ross, 2004, p. 2). However, throughout the imperial era, spoken language in China remained diverse and geographically varied.

After the chaotic and divisive events of the fall of the Qing dynasty, the Republican era and World War II, the PRC authorities sought to reunify the state. Thus, the second half of the twentieth century saw China embarking on the world's largest linguistic engineering project in terms of the number of speakers involved, and the second largest number of languages spoken (only beaten by the former USSR) (Zhou & Ross, 2004, p. 1). During the first few decades of the PRC, language policy focused on the goal of making *Putonghua* (standard modern Mandarin Chinese) the actual national language throughout China (instead of just being the official language) and improving literacy on a wide scale (Zhou & Ross, 2004, p. 3).[39] The success of this program also had an impact beyond China's borders. For example, the teaching of 'Chinese' outside of China invariably means the teaching of Mandarin, further strengthening the association of Mandarin as the language of China. Additionally, in host lands with significant Chinese minorities, such as Singapore and Malaysia, the 'Chinese' language used in Chinese-medium schools and official announcements is Mandarin. This has an impact on the diaspora as, if a Chinese language was spoken in the family, it tends to be a southern dialect such as Cantonese or Hokkien because most diaspora Chinese trace their roots to southern China. This has meant that the 'Chinese' language was often a foreign language to the Chinese diaspora (see Huat, 2009, pp. 239-248; Jomo, 1997, p. 251; Khor & Ng, 2006, pp. 137-138).

Since the advent of the Reform Era in the late 1970s, the increasing rates of PRC nationals working and studying overseas (particularly in the English-speaking West) have caused changes in the development of Chinese-language cultural products and the dissemination of those products amongst diaspora members (Sun, Yue, Sinclair, & Gao, 2011, p. 519). At present, the primary Chinese language offered in schools and universities outside China is Mandarin. Added to this, the economic rise of China ranks Mandarin as not only having one of the highest numbers of speakers in the world but also as becoming a globally important language.

[39] This program could be judged a success as at present it is commonly believed by speakers of Sinitic languages such as Cantonese and Shanghainese, both inside and outside China, that they speak dialects of Chinese even though the differences between these dialects can be as large as the differences between what are considered to be distinct languages (Zhou & Ross, 2004, pp. 2-3).

Language as an Element of Identity

The question of the impact of the Hebrew and Mandarin languages on Jewish and Chinese identities is pertinent because, even though they are oft-promoted as 'the Jewish' or 'the Chinese' languages, they are not the mother tongues of many Jewish or Chinese people. Indeed, these languages are not spoken at all by many Jewish or Chinese people. Amongst the participants in the case study utilised here, two of the three Indonesian Chinese participants spoke Mandarin, one at a beginner level and the other at a sufficient level for his work. None of the Indonesian Chinese participants came from families where speaking Mandarin was prioritised. Of the German Jewish participants seven of the ten participants spoke Hebrew to varying degrees. Those with the most fluency had family in Israel, were religiously observant or were active in the global Jewish community. In addition to this, as Nic Craith (2012, p. 107) states, in order to develop an understanding of what someone says there must be "a process of personal orientation and finding a corresponding context." This suggests that the family plays a central role in language perspectives. As such, the language a person utilises or chooses to use at a given time and the importance they place on that language can add to an understanding of their identity development and sense of place.

Language is the medium through which information about identity is transmitted but it is also an element of identity in and of itself. Additionally, the primary language a person uses can determine what elements of identity they emphasise. For example, Tong and Chan (2001, p. 380) outline the phenomenon of Chinese-educated members of the Chinese diaspora emphasising Chinese language as a key determinant of identity. Whereas English-educated members tend to emphasise physical traits and adherence to core values and rituals. Thus, discussions with the participants about language, specifically Mandarin or Hebrew, gave insight into their priorities and what contributed to their identities and place-making process.

In this section, it will be argued that language plays a role in developing identity and sense of place but the degree to which this is so, for the individual, is dependent upon their background and experiences such as during their upbringing within the family, occupation, everyday life activities and interactions with others both within and outside their community. This section will also examine the idea of language creating the imagined community. It will argue that the extent to which an individual perceives this to be so is also dependent on family background and experiences such as engagement with the sites and elements of culture. Finally, this section will examine

the range of perspectives the respondents have about the importance of learning or speaking Mandarin or Hebrew, particularly its importance within the immediate family and imagined community.

Is Language an Important Part of Being Chinese or Jewish?

When speaking to the participants about what they believed made them Chinese or Jewish, language was often cited as an important aspect. The degree of importance placed on language varied, something which could be accounted for through upbringing in the family, social status and experiences and the role language plays in their daily lives. Thus, to understand the importance language, specifically in this case Mandarin or Hebrew, examining a person's family background and experiences is very helpful.

For example, Dinah, who is in her early 30s, was born in Iran, as were her parents, with her grandparents being born in Iran and Azerbaijan, but moved to Germany aged three years. She feels that speaking Hebrew is "not so important but it makes the Jewish life easier."[40] Dinah speaks Farsi at home with her family, maintaining strong links to her Persian background, and German in her everyday life. As a teacher at a Jewish school, she uses Hebrew during her workday. Being quite active with youth groups and her synagogue, speaking Hebrew has been advantageous for her. Hebrew is important to Dinah's family in the community and faith sense but less so in the sphere of interactions with immediate kin.

Michael is in his 30s, was born in the Ukraine and his parents and grandparents were born in Ukraine or Russia. He grew up during the Soviet period, coming to Germany as a teenager. Michael is multilingual, speaking Russian, German, English and Hebrew and teaches Jewish religion at a Jewish school. He does not feel that the Hebrew language defines Jewishness but "it's a part of Jewish identity."[41] This position may stem from having a not very religious childhood due to being raised in the USSR but still having a very strong general sense of being Jewish. Additionally, the small amount of negativity Michael has experienced regarding language has not been related to his Jewishness. Rather, it has been about his German language capabilities because German is not his mother tongue. Michael puts this down to the

[40] Interview G7 (23.33)
[41] Interview G4 (22.09)

German attitude to language, namely, "they are fond of their language."[42] He also does not feel a lack of Hebrew speaking ability would be an obstacle to living in Israel. Even if he had less proficiency in Hebrew he feels that Israelis would simply define him as a Jew from a Russian-speaking area. Thus, Michael feels that although Hebrew is important as it creates a link between community members, and he feels it is important for his children to learn Hebrew, he does not see it as entirely essential. The differences and diversity will still remain and links can also be established through other means such as tradition and religious practice. His family was able to maintain a strong sense of Jewishness throughout the long Soviet period despite the limitations imposed on cultural elements such as language and religion.

Both Dinah and Michael not only differ from the non-Jewish German population in Germany by being Jewish but also through migrating from other host lands. They have had to adapt to a new location where the lingua franca is a language other than their mother tongue, making learning that language a priority for them. To create a sense of place in this new geographic location, they have had to step beyond language as previously prioritised in the family. However, both Dinah and Michael have a strong Jewish identity and do associate Hebrew with the development of that identity and the development of a sense of place that retains its Jewish character. Therefore, although other linguistic priorities, such as that primarily utilised by the state, dominate to the point where Hebrew is not seen as essential, the importance of Hebrew as an element of Jewishness still ensures it retains a level of importance for them, particularly within the family and community. Hebrew's importance to Dinah and Michael is linked to the importance of community to their identities. Religious practice and engagement are important aspects of family life for both participants. This has always been so for Dinah but for Michael this element of identity came to the fore in his teenage years. It was only after the fall of communism in the early 1990s that Michael had an opportunity to attend a Jewish school. Here, Hebrew was taught as the language of Judaism and for Michel it quickly became "a very main part of my identity."[43] This has continued into adulthood and is something Michael has maintained in raising his own children.

In contrast to Dinah and Michael, the Indonesian participants were all born in Indonesia. The background and experiences contributing to the importance they placed on language as a part of Chinese identity differed from those prioritised by

[42] Interview G4 (17.14)
[43] Interview G4 (5.27)

Dinah and Michael. For example, James is in his mid-20s and was born and raised in Indonesia like his parents and grandparents, with the exception of one grandmother who was born in the Netherlands. He is both proud of being Indonesian and being Chinese and feels that language is a universal Chinese trait, stating that "the language is something and the way we are connected to the community and having a lot of exposure of China in those specific countries."[44] James works as a consultant and has made a number of work trips to China. As such, he has learned to speak Mandarin to communicate better in China, feeling "nowadays I'm pretty much part of a larger community. And it's kind of embarrassing if I'm not really speaking their language because Chinese people they do value their culture."[45] In addition to this, James spoke about a characteristic of being Chinese was that he found it easier to learn Mandarin than his non-Chinese counterparts. He stated that "it's kind of easier for me to learn Mandarin, rather than other people who are the native Indonesians, though I'm not sure if that's a language capability or talent or anything like that, but I guess that's some of the advantage I'm pretty much having."[46] Whatever the cause of his linguistic aptitude, the result has been a linkage between the Chinese language and his Chinese identity.

Chinese culture was strong in James' family during his upbringing but there was also a strong Western focus because his mother had a strong Dutch background as James' grandmother was born in the Netherlands. James had utilised the Western side of his upbringing in his Master of Business Administration (MBA) studies in Melbourne but also wishes to ensure his ties to his Chinese culture remain strong. He stated that he wishes to "have more exposure towards Chinese communities so that I can practice my Mandarin… at the same time I actually present myself as being a Chinese Indonesian, not really just Indonesian."[47] The cosmopolitan nature of his upbringing is also countered by perceived ties to his family's Chineseness.

Despite the differences in elements of circumstance contributing to the priority participants gave to language, what stood out was that there was no questioning by any of the participants about whether Hebrew and Mandarin are Jewish or Chinese languages respectively. The participants themselves did not have any specific opinions on why this was so. There were some implied opinions throughout their answers that spoke to the influence of the nature of culture and socio-politics

[44] Interview I2 (8.38)
[45] Interview I2 (32.00)
[46] Interview I2 (6.56)
[47] Interview I2 (17.21)

regarding Hebrew or Mandarin. For the Jewish participants, this included the place of Hebrew as the language of Judaism and the degree to which they had contact with Jewish community institutions or with Israel itself. For the Chinese participants, this included how other Chinese languages were viewed and their contact with Chinese language education and China itself.

Ways in which Language Creates Community

The establishment of Hebrew and Mandarin as Jewish and Chinese languages, or arguably the predominant Jewish and Chinese languages, was done through creating a collective investment in these languages. As such, it has been suggested that commonality in language creates a sense of community amongst dispersed populations (Safran, 2008, p. 184). Although this is certainly true, not all the participants spoke Mandarin or Hebrew, which is representative of these populations in general. Additionally, even amongst those who did, all acknowledged that it is possible to live a full Chinese or Jewish life without Mandarin or Hebrew language skills. This suggests that language is just one part of the cultural nexus that creates community.

There were differences between how the Jewish or Chinese participants saw language as creating a sense of community for them. This can be attributed to the primacy of certain sites in the performance of community, which in turn can be attributed to the character and priorities of the groups. For example, on the one hand, Jael is a lawyer in her 40s with two sons who was born in Brazil and moved to Germany in her mid-20s. Her parents were also born in Brazil with her grandparents moving there from the Middle East. She is multilingual speaking Portuguese, German, English and Spanish, which she uses in her work and also some French, Italian and Hebrew. She considers herself to be "traditionally Jewish"[48] and a strong Jewish faith was an important element of her childhood.

Additionally, Jael has a strong sense of being part of a Jewish community. At the time of the interview she was refreshing her Hebrew language skills but was unsure if it was important to her identity. However, Jael did feel that Hebrew is important to her practice of Judaism, being able to engage with the prayers and to follow along with what is being read, adding another element to engaging with the religious side of the

[48] Interview G5

community. The reasons for this, as explored earlier in this chapter, can be traced to Hebrew being the element, prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, which linked diverse Jewish communities, as the religious liturgy was generally maintained wherever dispersal occurred. Hebrew did not play a large role in Jael's upbringing within her immediate family. It was only later through engaging with the Jewish community through religious practice that its importance increased.

On the other hand, James related Chinese language to how information is disseminated in Chinese communities around the world. Namely, in Chinatowns where Chinese languages are frequently spoken and Chinese characters are frequently used. He stated:

> If you notice that most of the countries in the world have Chinatowns and that's where the identity of Chinese is being displayed. So, I would say they have a very strong sense of community and they also, well from what I observe and that's also based on my personal experience, there's actually more of a, people who are, because they are diverse, they spread throughout the globe. They actually find themselves to be much comfortable to communicate with their own kind, our own kind.[49]

As such, James makes a direct link between the use of language in the community and the performance of culture. Thus, James's perspective on language and community can be attributed to there being a degree of similarity between Chinatowns throughout the world. This gives a sense of linkage and familiarity in a new location and places further importance on the idea of the imagined community being closely linked to family, that is, fictive kinship. This eases the development of a sense of place in a new location and ensures cultural survival.

As the backgrounds and experiences of the participants play a role in the importance language has to their identity, so does background and experience play a role in the importance placed on the speaking or learning of Mandarin or Hebrew by the participants. On the one hand, the backgrounds and experiences of the Jewish participants in Germany were very diverse and thus it is unsurprising that there was diversity in their opinions about the importance of speaking and learning Hebrew. On the other hand, the Chinese participants from Indonesia had similar backgrounds, namely, a well-established family presence in Indonesia, so a degree of similarity in their opinions about Mandarin may be expected. However, their experiences up to

[49] Interview I2 (8.42)

the time of the interviews were diverse enough to create differences in their perspectives.

With the Jewish participants, their linguistic abilities varied from fluency to not speaking Hebrew at all and the range of opinions was also diverse. For example, Jacob is in his early 20s, is a student of the social sciences and is very engaged with the Jewish community, even having a job explaining Judaism to non-Jews. He considers himself to be German and has a German-born father and grandparents born in Germany and Tunisia but has an Israeli-born mother who teaches Hebrew. Although he is multilingual, speaking German, English, Hebrew and some French and Arabic, he speaks Hebrew at home and thus feels that:

> It's a crucial part of being Jewish. I do understand there are lots of Jews not speaking it, since it was forbidden or not possible, for example in the former Soviet Union. However, I think that everyone should try learning a bit. I mean since all of our prayers are written in Hebrew… and this would be lost. I think it's a crucial part of Jewish education, definitely.[50]

Jacob's circumstances are interesting as he has frequent exposure to Jewish communities from various locations where the common 'Jewish' language is Hebrew (see Azaryahu & Golan, 2001, pp. 180 and 182; Shohamy & Kanza, 2009, p. 86) and the only other common language is English. Additionally, he has made numerous visits to Israel and has frequent contact with Israeli relatives, having considerable exposure within his family to Hebrew as a living 'Jewish' language (see Stratton, 1996, p. 358). Therefore, Jacob's stance on the importance of Hebrew is based not just on his own background and experiences, but also on what he observes in the broader Jewish community. Jacob feels a sense of belonging as being Jewish in Germany but also a sense of place within the Jewish community on a larger scale both through his community work and his religious practice which he terms Modern Orthodox/Conservative.

In contrast to Jacob, Bilhah, who is in her 50s, was born in Brazil of Russian and Lithuanian background. She went to Germany in her early 20s to visit relatives and stayed to marry and have children. Bilhah speaks fluent Portuguese, Spanish, German and English but only a little Hebrew. She does feel that Hebrew is important as it has links to Jewish roots stating, "I think it's important to know your roots and to know why you are like this or like that."[51] Additionally, she feels that the importance of Hebrew to a Jewish identity differs across the generations. For herself, Hebrew

[50] Interview G8 (49.53)
[51] Interview G3 (11.37)

was not so important when she was growing up, stating "in the Jewish schools everybody was complaining when they were young 'why we have to learn this? Have nothing to do with us.'"[52] Hebrew did not play a role in Bilhah's every day experiences within her family or community. However, she feels learning Hebrew is more important for her children, who are young adults:

> If I would think about my children, for example, they cannot speak Hebrew and it would be not bad if they would speak Hebrew just because they feel very close to Judaism… Judaism in Israel now is not so easy to separate.[53]

Bilhah also feels that Jewish language was more important to older generations:

> My grandparents, my grandfather was religious, and they were all religious at that time – any religion they were all religion – so they could read Hebrew, they spoke Yiddish and wrote in Yiddish, and the mother tongue for my father was Yiddish, so it's not so far away, you know?[54]

She relates this back to her roots and their importance, stating:

> I didn't learn Yiddish at all, I don't know and I didn't know how to write in Yiddish or in Hebrew, so we lost this, everything, you know? And I think it's a pity. So, that's why I think it is also important, it's important because it's part of our tradition and our life, is Hebrew language.[55]

Thus, the importance placed on family history and her own background influences Bilhah's perspectives on learning Hebrew and although her own sense of place as Jewish in Germany is not largely influenced by Hebrew, she can see it plays a role in the place-making process of those around her.

The differences that can be seen between Jacob and Bilhah can indeed be attributed to generational differences, as well as by differences in family background and experiences within their host land communities. However, even amongst those of the same generation, circumstance can create differences in perspectives on linguistic importance. For example, I also interviewed Bilhah's daughter, Hadassah, who is a medical student and in her mid-20s, so similar in age to Jacob. Hadassah was born and raised in Germany as were her father and grandparents from that side, adding to the Brazilian, Russian and Lithuanian background inherited from Bilhah. Hadassah didn't learn Hebrew as a child but would like to in the future when her schedule allows. As she explains it:

> I never learned Hebrew, my mother wanted me to go to Hebrew school here but I went once and they were really mean and I never went back. And this

[52] Interview G3 (12.50)
[53] Interview G3 (14.10)
[54] Interview G3 (14.38)
[55] Interview G3 (15.01)

> has been an issue for me because I would like to speak Hebrew. But it's not that easy for me to learn, since I'm doing other things that are not easy too. So, I think that's my… I want to do that in my life… I think everybody has to decide for themselves, you can be a good Jew and not speak Hebrew but I think it's an issue, I think everybody who doesn't know… my mother, for example, also didn't speak Hebrew and she was very insecure about that. And I'm not that insecure because I don't feel like I need to prove myself to anyone… but I would like to speak that… Firstly I like the language and for some reason I like myself speaking Hebrew.[56]

Hadassah's process of place-making differed to other Jewish German participants because she is able to exist quite comfortably in her host land should she wish to as she has blonde hair and blue eyes and often gets mistaken for being German. However, she also encounters quite a bit of confusion as she sounds Brazilian and identifies as Jewish. It is this that has led to her choosing her own path with her identity and having a perspective about the diversity a person can have in their identity. Hebrew has become more important to Hadassah as she has in more recent years chosen to become more involved with the Jewish community. At the time of the interview she was receiving a scholarship for her studies from a Jewish organisation. Through this she had participated more in community events and interacted more with community members. However, this was in a somewhat embryonic stage for her at that time, primarily because her medical studies did take up most of her time but also because she was at a stage of life where she was re-assessing and contemplating her identity as Jewish.

In contrast to the Jewish participants in Germany, all the Chinese participants from Indonesia stated that they didn't speak fluent Chinese, if they spoke it at all. Furthermore, the language policies of Suharto's New Order regime reduced the chances that it was their primary language (see Hoon, 2011, p. 405; Suryadinata, 2001, p. 505). However, each had differing opinions on the importance they placed on speaking Mandarin. For example, James felt that language is critical to identity, along with elements such as culture and appearance. He said he feels this most when travelling and portraying his identity to those he meets, stating:

> I don't really speak Chinese and if I say to people that I am Chinese, I personally have the sense of need or obligation that I am able to speak Chinese and that's the reason why I identify myself as Indonesian because Indonesian is the language, is my mother tongue. I do speak English… I do speak a bit of Mandarin… I can do survival Mandarin language… I just need to make sure I'm not really bringing some sort of identity which I'm not sure if I'm really having that. For me it's more that, even if my appearance looks

[56] Interview G10 (21.48)

> like Chinese, but if I don't really speak Chinese I can't really say I am 100% Chinese as a person. And that's the reason why I think language is very critical for me. If you're able to speak it… that doesn't also mean that if I am able to speak English very fluently that I can identify myself as English people. There has to be a combination of the culture and the language as we'll as your physical appearance. Those three will be mixed into one specific identity and that's where you actually identify yourself as certain nationality or race or something like that.[57]

James's background and family has instilled a pride in his nationality and his circumstances; travelling to China and being exposed to the culture of the Chinese in China have had a significant impact on his perspectives on language. The more frequent exposure to China James has differs to that of the other participants, one who had visited China once and the other who never has.

A participant whose experiences contrasted with James's was Tabitha, who is in her early 20s and was born and raised in Indonesia. Her family has been in Indonesia for at least three generations, although she is not sure exactly when her forebears migrated. She considers herself to be Chinese in terms of family background but does not feel that she really lives a Chinese life; Indonesia is definitely home for her and her sense of place is anchored to this location. Tabitha speaks fluent Indonesian and English but does not speak Mandarin or any Chinese dialects, even though she does encounter linguistic expectations. As she says, "because I'm Indo-Chinese people expect me to be able to speak Chinese. But to be honest I don't really, like, feel that I have to, like I need to or want to."[58] Mandarin has not been a part of her upbringing and is not considered to be of importance in her family. Thus, there has never been any familial incentive to learn or wish to learn Mandarin. This is compounded by her experiences as her lifestyle preferences do not necessitate speaking Mandarin and any expectations made about language based on her background or appearance are viewed as an irrelevance to her. However, this does not make her any less Chinese as the loss or absence of a distinctive language does not preclude the development or maintenance of an ethnic identity. Tabitha's situation is similar to that of Jewish people who do not speak either Hebrew or Yiddish but are not excluded from having very strong Jewish ethnic identities (see Brass, 1996, p. 88).

[57] Interview I2 (13.44)
[58] Interview I3 (16.22)

For participants in both diasporas, perspectives on language use were primarily influenced by the importance given to specific languages within their families during their upbringing. However, engagement with the community also has an impact on perspectives about language, especially during adulthood. The participants recognised that they would encounter certain expectations about language use as Jewish or Chinese people. For some, these became their own expectations about whether they should speak Hebrew or Mandarin, although this was not always translated into action. For others, there was enough comfort in the values about language present in their families to reduce the impact of expectations from outside.

Importance of Location in Language Acquisition and Expectations

As we saw with Tabitha, a factor that stood out when discussing the links between language and identity with many of the participants was how their sense of place and their physical location (and relationships with that location and its society) determined the kind and level of expectations experienced by them in relation to Hebrew or Mandarin. For some participants, these expectations came from the self and for others from outside. These expectations also came in regard to both learning the language and the expected existing levels of linguistic capability. This section will argue that location plays a role both in terms of the participant's upbringing within their families and also regarding migration as experienced in their lives. Additionally, this section will argue that there were noticeable differences between the Chinese and Jewish participants regarding the kind and extent of linguistic expectations they encountered. These differences came from the diversity in upbringing in the family but could be attributed both to the role physical appearance plays in defining a person as Jewish or Chinese and also to the circumstances and attitudes of the homeland relating to language. These expectations could both impact the development of individual identities but also impact on what was valued and prioritised within the family.

To participants from both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas, expectations about language learning could be traced back to their upbringing and their experiences into adulthood. For example, Rachel's parents and grandparents were born in Germany but fled to Chile in the 1930s where Rachel, who is in her 50s, was born. She told me that she believes learning Hebrew should be important and she did start to learn Hebrew until she came to Germany in her 20s for her studies as a biologist. However,

she found it difficult and fell behind with her lessons, so today she does not speak Hebrew. Rachel has two sons, one a young adult and one a teenager, who both studied Hebrew when they were younger but now do not speak the language and have no wish to learn. Language has been linked to national identity in her family, as although forced to flee Germany, her parents and grandparents identified as German and spoke German at home in Chile. Rachel herself, although she has lived in Germany for many years, continues to consider herself Chilean and now works as a Spanish teacher. Her children were born and raised in Germany and for them the German language has the greatest importance to them. Thus, their sense of place is closely linked to where they perceive to be the home of their family. The importance of a particular language is closely linked to their specific perspectives.

Paul is in his 30s and was born and raised in Indonesia, as were his parents with his grandparents migrating from China. He primarily speaks Indonesian and Javanese with his family and also with friends and colleagues in Indonesia. Paul has taken a cosmopolitan attitude to the experiences he has sought, studying in the US and Australia and studying both English and German, which he speaks with international friends and colleagues. He credits a change in geographical location as influencing his desire to learn Mandarin, stating:

> When I was doing my masters in the United States that was the time I realised, oh, people spoke so many different languages… because I studied in a very big state university. I had experiences, like in social events, when in one room I heard, I listened to, people spoke so many languages and that inspired me. If you speak, the more languages you speak the better you will be… I mean for your personal development, it's good, because learning new language not just about the language but you learn new culture, new way of thinking and new structure of seeing the world[59]

This opinion is further emphasised with Paul as he is well-travelled and also is an academic in the humanities, so examining cultural identity is something he is familiar with. Thus, for Paul, Mandarin was a small part of his upbringing in his earliest childhood with his grandmother and aunt but Indonesian languages played a much larger role. Instead Mandarin plays more of a role in the development of his sense of place within his occupation as a scholar and his imagined community.

In regard to expectations about existing linguistic capabilities, there was marked difference between the Jewish and Chinese participants' responses. If linguistic expectations were ever encountered by the Jewish participants, they tended to be

[59] Interview I1 (41.11)

internal expectations of themselves as individuals within their families and the Jewish community. For example, Rachel perceived Hebrew as being important if a person was going to be in Israel. When she was younger, she had planned to go to Israel. However, the issues she had with learning the language are what she credits with the changes made to those plans and her choosing instead to remain in Germany, stating "it's too much for me… it's a big thing because I didn't go to Israel because of the language."[60] So now, living in Germany, "to learn Hebrew it's not so important for me."[61] Rachel has centred her process of place-making on a specific geographical location, Germany, and her perspectives on language use have followed suit.

The Chinese participants, in contrast, often spoke about the linguistic expectations they experienced from others outside the immediate family. For example, Paul described expectations about language as coming from other people and has had some amusing encounters because of these expectations. As he put it:

> When I'm overseas, when I was in China people just assume that I speak Mandarin. That's even the case when I was in Singapore, Malaysia or the Philippines, people just assume I'm Chinese and I could speak Chinese. One funny thing is that when I joined a group to visit several libraries in Beijing and Shanghai, one of the university librarians in those universities even directly approached me and expected me to translate for him! He just assumed![62]

Therefore, for Paul, although these expectations came from the outside, he did not see it as negative. Instead he saw the expectations through the lens of the diversity of perspectives encountered, something which could be linked to his academic interests. Although Mandarin played a role in his upbringing due to interactions with his grandmother and aunt, the role was not large. The language did not have a primary place in his immediate family or the Chinese Indonesian community as a whole, so he experienced few expectations regarding language use from that quarter.

James describes language elements such as the use of dialects or other languages being mixed into a language as creating expectations about language. He felt that whatever the location, a person's origins can be determined by their use of language. He stated to me that Chineseness could be demonstrated by:

> The way they also speak because apparently Chinese have their own specific dialects which is carried forward to the language that they're speaking to. So, let's say in Singapore or in Malaysia they will be speaking

[60] Interview G1 (34.14)
[61] Interview G1 (35.58)
[62] Interview I1 (11.33)

> English with some Chinese accent evident on it. And in Indonesia some of the Chinese community even though they are speaking Bahasa Indonesia they are also mixing it up with some Chinese words, which is pretty much obvious of you're actually communicating with them. You will eventually notice that those people are not really from the native of that country,[63] rather they're actually coming from China specifically, from the mainland or some other Asian countries where Chinese are predominant in those countries.*[64]*

As such, the expectations James experienced came from the outside. They also came from within himself through his own expectations about the commonalities being present within the diversity of the Chinese population. This may be because he has always known the differences between the Chinese and native peoples of Indonesia, having grown up during New Order where this was often emphasised and had a distinct impact on his sense of place as Indonesian Chinese. Additionally, through his work James has seen firsthand that there is a difference between the Chinese in China and diaspora Chinese and from there has noticed what it is that characterises diaspora Chinese. James' experiences and perspectives demonstrate that, although generalisations tend to emphasise a universal Chinese culture, at the individual level, differences in status and character between home and host land residents are prominent in perceptions.

When speaking to Tabitha about whether she felt that she could do anything to feel more Chinese, she said that perhaps this could occur if she learned to speak Chinese. At the time of the interview Tabitha was studying in Australia to be a pastry chef and said that she had encountered different expectations about her language ability. As she put it, "here, every time I go to like Chinese restaurant they always speak Chinese to me but I'm like 'nah, I can't speak.'"[65] For Tabitha, the expectation is coming from the outside, she is comfortable with own Chineseness but a temporary change of location for her studies has been challenging. However, although she has noticed this, the influence of her upbringing and the attitudes to speaking Mandarin held in her family are strong enough that these new language expectations have not changed the way she sees herself as belonging to a Chinese identity.

Two different attitudes to language acquisition are apparent here. First, these expectations, or lack thereof, could be linked to physical appearance. Common physicality is often cited as a universal Chinese trait, and was raised in passing by the

[63] By 'native' James is referring to Pribumi Indonesians, as opposed to Indonesian Chinese people
[64] Interview I2 (4.07)
[65] Interview I3 (6.52)

participants, although not directly. Thus, the expectation is that looking Chinese makes you Chinese so you should speak Chinese. There is no parallel with the Jewish diaspora as there is a great variation in physical traits in the Jewish population, something attributable to the long and wide dispersal of the population and intermarriage over the centuries. Amongst the German participants, as stated above, Hadassah can pass as German, and additionally Dinah looks like someone originating from Persia and often gets mistaken in Germany for being Turkish or South American.

The second reason for this marked difference in expectations experienced by the Chinese and Jewish participants can be attributed to the character of the homelands and the circumstances and attitudes about language associated with them. As being in diaspora indicates that ties to the homeland will be retained to some degree, this can impact on the values and priorities adopted and communicated by families living outside the homeland. Language is considered to be an important binding element in the Chinese diaspora. This is despite the many dialects spoken in China and the diversity of language use in the diaspora which is dependent on aspects such as location, generation and socio-economic background (Cheung, 2004, p. 667). This can be traced to the standardisation of the Chinese script by the Qin which created a solid relationship between language and the state in China (Zhou & Ross, 2004, p. 2). The PRC government's language policies were built on the success of the Qin which unified written Chinese so there were no distortions allowing for continuity of communication between the centre and the very peripheries of China. The difference here is that the PRC government concentrated on spoken communication so that by speaking *Putonghua* a person could communicate with anyone in China, whether in Beijing or in the most remote village (Zhou & Ross, 2004, p. 5).

However, prior to the Reform Era, PRC authorities themselves encouraged diaspora members to adopt the languages of their host lands, teaching them in schools and using them in diaspora newspapers. This position is thought to have been due to moves to diffuse beliefs that the diaspora were economic parasites who were a means for the PRC to establish economic power in Southeast Asia (Fitzgerald, 1970, p. 31). A change in this attitude came in China's Reform Era, as in the 1990s the government promoted Chinese education and culture as a means of linking the diaspora to China. If location, circumstances and Chinese population levels were suitable, they established local Chinese schools. They also sent out teachers from the PRC to teach Chinese language in twenty different countries as well as training thousands of teachers from overseas in China. Also during the 1990s summer language camps

that took place in China were set up for second and third generation ethnic Chinese and these received almost 100,000 participants (Thunø, 2001, p. 924).

Thus, an expectation about the importance of Mandarin for Chinese people has come out of China and influenced the expectations of individuals and possibly the values and practices associated with language use within the family. However, the extent to which this may occur could be impacted by two factors. Firstly, China's expansion and the increasing profile of its economic and political policies and cultural priorities in the region may result in a resurgence in negative feelings about the diaspora. This could be seen in terms of their being a threat or being arrogant or dismissive of the cultural importance or capabilities of the majority populations in their host lands (see G. Wang, 1993, p. 926). This adds to tensions experienced as a reaction to globalisation. Secondly, even in times when Chinese language and expressions of Chinese culture were not encouraged or permitted, the translation of Chinese cultural works into other languages such as Malay/Indonesian or English from the nineteenth century allowed for the maintenance of Chinese identity and a resistance to assimilation (G. Wang, 1993, p. 933). Therefore, the link between language use and Chineseness may not be as direct as assumed. Indeed, it may be the diversity in ideas of Chineseness, and also Jewishness as explored earlier in this chapter and below, that makes family primary as a mediator of experience regarding language, above other factors such as nationality and alliances.

In relation to the Jewish diaspora, as soon as the borders of the new State of Israel were set, the most pressing national project to be undertaken was that of absorbing and transforming disparate groups of migrants into a unified whole. As the state came into being, the existing population was joined by not only the remnants of Eastern European Jewish communities but also the members of the ancient but rapidly dissolving Mizrahi communities. These include those of Yemen, Iraq, Kurdistan, Iran, Syria and Egypt in the Middle East, Morocco, Tunisia and what is now Libya in North Africa, Asian Jews from India and Afghanistan and also Jewish peoples who had been resident in areas of the Balkans such as Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, and the former Yugoslavia (Shokeid, 1998, p. 227). This diversity meant that although learning Hebrew was encouraged, it was not possible to have rigid expectations about linguistic ability and flexibility was required.

However, this kind of cultural autonomy and preservation of the old language and ways was not looked favourably upon by earlier migrants and those of Eastern European descent as they envisioned the new Israel as a community unified by the

Hebrew language and a rejection of diaspora life (Shifman & Katz, 2005, p. 847). Therefore, today Hebrew has become the official language of the State of Israel and is the main language of the majority of people living there. However, within the diaspora its use still remains relatively limited (Vital, 1994, p. 183). As such when Israelis wish to communicate with diaspora Jews it is mostly done in English, not Hebrew. In the realm of global Jewish communication English plays the role held by German a century ago (Gitelman, 1998, p. 123). In the values and practices of the family the priorities and policies of the state do influence whether opportunities for language acquisition will be taken up. However, the history of language use within the family still retains its importance and often trumps outside expectation.

Expectations about the acquisition and maintenance of language, particularly Mandarin and Hebrew, will often come from outside the family. They are particularly impact by migration, policy shifts and changing politics in home and host countries. Such expectations may or may not be taken on board by the individual. Some participants recognised the value of such expectations and have integrated such attitudes about language into their own identities and will incorporate those values into their own families and the upbringing of their own children. Others feel comfortable enough within the values and priorities about language that they were raised with and are practiced in their families to not incorporate such expectations into their own identities.

The Importance of Passing Down Language

When an individual establishes priorities and expectations in relation to language they will inevitably transfer their ideas about this when considering passing down language to subsequent generations. This section will once again argue that the differences in perspectives about this between the two groups and individual participants are due to their upbringing within the family and experiences. The level of importance Jewish participants from Germany placed on passing down language depended on both upbringing and the opportunities they encountered by living in Germany or migrating from another host land to Germany.

The transmission of Hebrew language skills has been a crucial part of Jacob's upbringing. He states that "I found it myself; my mother is a Hebrew teacher and a teacher for Jewish studies… I never questioned it, I will never question it and I hope

that my children will learn it as well."[66] In Jacob's life, language has been firmly established as being an important element of his family and thus is something that requires generational continuity. There is a continuity between Jacob's upbringing and that which he anticipates for his own children, should he have any. In contrast, Michael is raising his children in Germany, in a very different environment from that which he grew up in. He feels that it is very important for his children to learn Hebrew which is possible because they have more linguistic freedom in the Germany of the present than he did growing up. In particular, in Germany Jewish identity is something that is often debated and thought about, as opposed to being ignored or swept under the carpet, at the very least, as it was during Michael's upbringing in the USSR. Jael had a strong Jewish upbringing herself, and despite raising her children in a different place and environment, she still feels it is important for her children to learn Hebrew. This is because she feels that it is better to understand Hebrew if you are Jewish than not. Jael's perspective could come from the cultural, particularly linguistic, continuity within her family remaining strong despite locational change.

As explored above, the perspectives of the Chinese Indonesian participants about passing down language can be significantly attributed to the differences between attitudes to Chinese language and culture during the New Order era and the *Reformasi* era. In particular, the actions of the New Order regime cut Chinese people off from tangible elements of their identity such as language, customs, rituals and even names that had previously been cornerstones. However, this did not erase all memory and consciousness of Chinese identity which continued to be maintained, albeit in more subtle ways (Nagata, 2005, p. 114). Since the advent of *Reformasi* in Indonesia, Chinese-language publications have flourished and imported Chinese-language books, music and film and television have become widely available (Suryadinata, 2001, p. 522). Paul was taught Mandarin as a small child by his grandmother and aunt, so he does have a familial link to the language. He has also observed that in the *Reformasi* period learning Mandarin has become very popular. However, as this trend has spread to non-Chinese Indonesians he feels it is more about China's economic rise than any reawakening sense of Chinese identity. For Paul, being exposed to socio-political debates and elements about language through his work has had an impact on his perspectives about language but he still has a background of the passing down of language within his family which continues to have

[66] Interview G8 (50.23)

an impact. Thus, although background is important, it is not the only influence on Paul's perspectives on language.

In contrast, for Tabitha, passing down Chinese language skills is not an issue. She herself doesn't speak Chinese and neither do her parents. "My parents can't speak Chinese as well… and yeah, I'm fine with that, it doesn't really bother me too much."[67] As stated before, the linguistic aspect of being Chinese does not play a significant role in Tabitha's family and thus she does not have an established example to follow in considering the next generation and therefore has different priorities. Tabitha is also in her early 20s, so having her own children and her priorities for their language capabilities is not something she has closely considered.

Considerations about passing down language also play a role in participants' perspectives about language. This section has argued that it is the circumstances of the individual participants as well as the circumstances of their host lands, and how these have changed over time, that contribute to their opinions about passing down language.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the idea of language having an impact on identity and has used the Chinese diaspora in Malaysia and the Jewish diaspora in Germany as a case study. As language is central in transmitting ideas about personal and communal identity, an understanding of the dynamics and diversity of language use greatly informs an exploration of identity formation. The chapter explored this concept in three sections. The first argued that circumstances, such as upbringing within the family, everyday activities, occupations and interactions, determined the degree to which language played a role in an individual's identity. Additionally, upbringing and experience also determined the level of importance an individual placed on learning or speaking Hebrew or Mandarin.

The second examined the role of location in the importance a person would place on language and argued that circumstance also determined the extent to which this was so. This section also examined the expectations individuals in these groups faced regarding language and suggested that the differences found between the two

[67] Interview I3 (16.36)

diasporas could be attributed to the role physical aspects and the nature and attitudes of the homeland played. The chapter concluded with examining the priorities and expectations individuals had regarding passing down language to subsequent generations. The chapter also argued that upbringing and experience determined the opinions participants had, largely because circumstance affected the opportunities that were available to them. In particular, opportunities were affected by the role the family played in language acquisition, transmission and evolution through the generations as affected by the changing political and historical circumstances. This also speaks to wider aspects of legacy and the passing down of culture, as well as cultural practice. This will be explored further in the next chapter which looks at the impact of culture, tradition and ritual on identity development and place-making.

Chapter 7: Culture and Family in Creating Identity and a Sense of Place

Introduction

The practice of culture in the family contributes significantly to identity development and place-making. As culture is not static, it contributes the nature of identity as a process and not simply a state of being. Cultural practice can be performed through rituals, traditions, value systems, work and educational choices and engagement with media and entertainment elements that have links to the imagined community. The Jewish diaspora in South Africa and the Chinese diaspora in Malaysia will be the comparative case study for this chapter. These populations engage in cultural practices common throughout these diasporas. However, the specifics of their demographics and experiences in these host lands impact on what is prioritised in cultural practices.

In general terms, South African Jewry is comparatively homogenous in comparison to other English-speaking Jewish populations (Horowitz & Kaplan, 2001, p. 21). There are relatively high rates of religious observance such as synagogue attendance and keeping kosher. There is also a strong Jewish identity and a strong loyalty to Zionism (M. Shain & Mendelsohn, 2007, p. 283). However, despite appearances and background, South African Jews are not homogenous in terms of views on religion, culture and economics and held a wide range of views on Apartheid (Wieder, 2007, p. 1238). Despite this diversity, cultural practices that are in line with Zionism, or at least generally compatible with Zionism, tend to be emphasised in South African Jewry. This can be seen in a range of cultural activities from rituals to education.

In Southeast Asia, Malaysia's Chinese population is considered to be the most unassimilated Chinese diaspora group but is also considered to be the least likely to experience ethnic violence (Lim & Gosling, 1997, p. 310). This is because the Malaysian authorities have managed to create a state which, although characterised by a nationalism based in Malay cultural elements such as Islam, is able to present itself as multi-racial and multi-religious (Tan, 2001, p. 953). For the Chinese population in Malaysia, this has resulted in a range of reactions. Some focus more on their culture as 'Malaysian' rather than 'Chinese.' Others react to Malay dominance in national culture by emphasising the importance of Chinese cultural elements in their

lives. Chinese culture is framed within the multi-racial nature of the Malaysian state and is expressed in personal rather than national terms.

This chapter will focus on three main themes. Firstly, I will argue that culture which is passed through the family influences an individual's definition of being Chinese or Jewish. This culture is lived through upbringing and the values and perspectives that influence actions. I will also explore the idea that this is linked to the impact of historical circumstances on the position and importance of family to the diaspora. Second, I will argue that commonality in culture practiced in the family creates an imagined community which informs identity and contributes to the process of place-making. Generalised commonalities differentiate an individual and their community from others, and define what being Chinese or Jewish entails. Lastly, I will look at a specific aspect of culture, religion, and how religion-based values and norms inform practices, rituals and traditions that contribute to identity development. I argue that this transmission occurs whether levels of observance of the religion linked to diaspora culture are high or not. An analysis of these themes further reinforces the idea that family is the primary mediator of experience in the Jewish and Chinese diasporas. Although other factors such as loyalty and the nation state are important, perceptions of these ideas are filtered through the framework of family.

The Lived Culture – Defining Identity and Place Through Family Practices

In this section, I examine the idea that culture that is passed through the family influences how an individual defines themselves as Chinese or Jewish and how they create a sense of place. I argue that this is a 'lived culture' in the sense that it is being experienced through upbringing, the values communicated, evaluated, retained or consciously discarded and the practice of rituals and traditions.[68] This was seen by the participants both through contact with others and through lifestyle and practices. The participants' responses demonstrate that family is important to identity construction, even when related to the experience of larger-scale events. However, variations in whether aspects of lifestyle in the home or aspects outside the home have greater influence in defining oneself as Chinese or Jewish were observed between individuals. For example, Chinese culture is generally seen as the most

[68] Due to the intertwined nature of cultural concepts, this idea of ritual and tradition will also be examined in a later section in this chapter exploring religion.

accessible way for diaspora members to engage with China. This often comes in the form of taking pride in and enjoying Chinese customs, food, festivals and media. It can also be seen in joining Chinese organisations, giving donations to Chinese charities and engaging with the learning, use and maintenances or Chinese languages. This is often not just expressed individually but encouraged within the family to maintain a sense of Chineseness (G. Wang, 1993, pp. 932-933). Another example can be seen in Jewish cultural elements, many of which are linked by a common basis in the Torah, which have underpinned institutions that have maintained ties between different Jewish populations. This was extended to maintaining ties with Israel once the state was established (see Schnapper, 1999, p. 234). This occurred as Israel as the Jewish homeland has an important place in Jewish culture as this idea is core to ideas of Jewish civilisation as a whole (Reich, 1987, p. 329). This has meant that ties to Israel are often cultural myths and connections due to the long period of time where physical access was not permitted or practicable and all that remained was the imagined (see Schnapper, 1999, pp. 237-238).

Many participants from both diaspora groups cited culture experienced during upbringing as a primary element contributing to the construction of an identity as Jewish or Chinese and a sense of place within the culture of the family. Miriam, who was born and raised in Johannesburg, is in her early 20s and was a student at the time of the interview. Her parents and grandparents were also born in South Africa as her great-grandparents left Lithuania at start of World War II. She told me that her Jewish identity stemmed from family and having a strong Jewish culture and home. She stated, "my parents always instilled very strong Jewish values in me in terms of respect for others… family comes first."[69] This laid the foundation for the centrality of family in the development of ideas of identity and belonging in later life.

Claudia, who is in her early 30s, is married with one young child and moved to Kuala Lumpur for work in the real estate industry, said that she would always be Chinese due to her upbringing and living the culture. Claudia's parents were born in Malaysia but her grandparents came from China and maintained their Chinese culture in the home. This extended down the generations, which can be seen in Claudia's home where Mandarin is still the primary language used. She further stated that although her identity would evolve as elements of new experiences and influences were considered and accepted, she would always be fundamentally Chinese. There was a sense of rootedness and belonging in the upbringings of both participants, a sense

[69] Interview S6 (3.26)

of place as Jewish or Chinese that has its foundations centred in the family and its culture. As different perspectives and outlooks were experienced moving into adulthood, these foundations of identity and place, developed during upbringing, served as a lens. This lens is the means of understanding their identity and sense of place as Chinese or Jewish in the face of these experiences in their daily lives.

In their everyday lives, both Miriam and Claudia came into contact with people from numerous backgrounds. When I spoke to them about elements that made them different from the majority populations of South Africa or Malaysia, they spoke of outlook and ways of life developed from the earliest time, again emphasising the importance upbringing played in their lives. For both these participants, this idea of identity development originating from the family was accompanied by a partially subconscious feeling of separation between them as Jewish or Chinese and the host land. That their place in South Africa or Malaysia was not entirely the same. There was, however, not a total feeling of disconnect as when I asked how they would describe themselves when travelling, both first stated nationality.

Although neither was reticent about telling someone they were Chinese or Jewish, they definitely felt a sense of belonging to their nationality, something that may have been emphasised because they were born and raised in South Africa or Malaysia. This meant that the culture practiced in the family has occurred for both participants within the context of being resident in South Africa or Malaysia. The difference between them and someone from the majority population was that their cultural identity was in addition to their national identity. The nature of a national identity that emphasises ethnicity (as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3) means that there is an inter-twining between nationality and culture for majority populations but a separation for minority populations, such as Jewish South Africans and Chinese Malaysians. This can especially be felt in response to national or international events and host land government policies. The result is that even greater importance is focused in the family as a source of identity and place.

The interview with Miriam was conducted during the Israel-Gaza conflict in 2014 and she stated at the time there was quite a bit of hostility towards Jews in South Africa. The result was she felt that it was hard to be outwardly Jewish at that time due to security. When considering her identity as Jewish in South Africa, she dwelt on the morality and outlook stemming from her upbringing, in particular, distinguishing herself through her Jewish values and her family's celebration of cultural events such as Shabbat.

No such situation of conflict existed at the time of the interview with Claudia. Instead, the values stemming from upbringing she focused on, to express what defined her Chinese identity, were in response to her experiences of Malaysian policies. Policies which take a race-based approach to countering the past disenfranchisement of the majority Malay population can have a disadvantageous impact on other races in Malaysia. These include educational quotas and regulations about business ownership.[70] For example, she spoke about ideas of humble living, investment and finding ways to survive being important due to lack of opportunities from the government. Both Miriam's and Claudia's responses demonstrate that when the national culture of the host land is not entirely conducive to developing a Jewish or Chinese identity, family becomes the central focus for identity development and place-making. Although influences outside the family, such as nationality, still have an impact on the definition of their identity, the character of these additional influences does not entirely work with the cultural context of being Chinese or Jewish.

The identity and sense of place created during an individual's upbringing continues to develop beyond childhood. In particular, participants from both South Africa and Malaysia concentrated on lifestyle practices, particularly those conducted within the family, as being important in identity development. Interestingly, the Jewish participants focused on the micro elements of lifestyle within the home, whereas the Chinese participants tended to focus on the macro, bringing up wider community-centred elements. Although the family and home was still central, how each group defined what this entailed differed. For example, Leah, who is in her 40s, was born and raised in Johannesburg, as were her father and his parents with her mother and her parents originating from the United Kingdom (UK). She works in the financial sector and has two young children and spoke about elements impacting on her, including being born and raised Jewish, Jewish celebrations, having a kosher home and her children attending a Jewish school. Elements such as celebrations and the way the household is run were frequently mentioned by the Jewish participants overall. These elements tend to be centred on the home and the immediate family.

On the other hand, Elizabeth, is in her early 30s and was born to Malaysian-born parents and Chinese-born grandparents and raised in Kuala Lumpur. A teacher and unmarried at the time of the interview, she spoke about lifestyle elements such as beliefs, customs and food traditions as contributing to her identity and sense of place. She also stated that she has an awareness of Chinese beliefs, such as ancestor

[70] This has also been covered in Chapter 3

worship and *feng shui*, even if she doesn't practice them all because of her Christian faith. Chinese beliefs, customs and traditions contributing to lifestyle were often mentioned by the Chinese participants. This also included the taboos, values and superstitions inherent to these elements and events such as reunions and weddings being central sites for their expression. These factors of identity tend to be performed both in the immediate and the extended families and often extend their scope into the wider community, the fictive kin. Although both diasporas positioned family as central to cultural lifestyle, there were differences in what was prioritised.

Culture as experienced in the family establishes norms and perspectives of the importance and role of cultural practice in their lives. This has been experienced by the participants through upbringing creating identity. In particular, contact with other groups in their host land contributes to both a sense of belonging and a sense of separation and their lifestyle and practices, further developing their identity. The Jewish participants expressed the cultural practices that impacted identity and place-making in terms of elements that take place in the home. In contrast, the Chinese participants tended to frame these cultural practices in terms of community-centred elements. When these elements of cultural practice in the family are then perceived as having commonalities with other Jewish or Chinese families, a sense of community is established. The next section will explore how culture, family and the imagined community impact on identity and place-making for the participants.

Culture, Family and the Imagined Community

This section argues that commonality in culture creates an imagined community which contributes to identity development and the process of place-making. This occurs as immediate, small-scale families perceive links with both extended, or large-scale, family members and also non-blood kin individuals (fictive kin) seen as contributing to the success and survival of the family and its culture (as explored in Chapter 2). As both diaspora groups have historically faced discrimination, I also examine the impact this has on participants' sense of community and shared experience, accounting for why, for them, discrimination has less of an impact than history might suggest. The main hypothesis of this section is that membership of an imagined community contributes significantly to identity development and place-making. However, the character of these imagined communities is very much centred on the family and this

institution of family provides the lens through which experiences and society are perceived.

In both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas, perceived cultural barriers between their populations and the national culture or culture of the majority population contribute to the creation of separate imagined communities. These barriers also contribute to the family-centred character of imagined communities in these diasporas. In South Africa, the character of Jewish diaspora experiences in this host land has a significant contribution. Namely, although Jewish South Africans were historically classified as white, they tended to be socially excluded from the English-speaking white population and often faced anti-Semitism from the Afrikaans population, making them quite isolated (Adler, 2000, p. 27). Similarly, the nature of being Chinese and resident in Malaysia also contributes to the character of the imagined community. This is because when living as a permanent resident in Malaysia, one cannot simply be 'Malaysian,' one must also have an ethnic identity (Chee-Beng, 2000, p. 464). The separation of the population of the state into separate communities is a foundational expectation. For both diaspora groups, these ideas of difference often include a degree of detachment from the national narrative. For both the South African Jewish and the Malaysian Chinese diasporas, this detachment has resulted in a greater focus on the family as central to the imagined community and identity development.

Both the Chinese and Jewish peoples are globally dispersed. There exists a wide variance in terms of experiences, attitudes and practices and there is wide acceptance of the heterogeneity of these groups (see Jacobsen, 2009, p. 88; Zerubavel, 2002, p. 118). This means that imagined communities are less about individuals' experiences but more about the perception of links and commonalities held by members of these communities. In order to explore the impact of imagined community on identity development and place-making in the family, I focused on participants' perceptions of these commonalities. The participants were aware of the variations in character and experiences in their diaspora. One participant, Esther, stated "obviously, everything I'm saying is a big generalisation."[71] However, when asked about the possibility of universal traits most seemed to think there were some elements that bound all Chinese or Jewish people together. Amongst these elements there were some similarities between ideas developed in the family and its values and traditions and ideas that have been imposed from the outside such as perceptions and stereotypes.

[71] Interview S1 (14.13)

One commonality that members of both diasporas raised in their responses was the idea of shared values and ways of thinking. Anna, a musician and music teacher in her 40s with two school-age children, was born and raised in Kuala Lumpur, to Malaysian-born parents and grandparents from Teochew-speaking regions in China. She believes that Chinese people share traits concerning what they think, what they do and how they see the world. Martha is in her early 30s, was also born and raised in Kuala Lumpur to Malaysian-born parents and Chinese-born grandparents, works in marketing and is married but didn't have children at the time of the interview. She perceives commonalities amongst Chinese people as related to traditions and food and the importance of career, money and planning for the future. She stated, "ever since young we've been groomed to think like that, so it's a lot of the mindset."[72]

Gabriel, is in his mid-late 30s, he was born and raised in Johannesburg, his parents were also born in South Africa and his grandparents were born in South Africa and Russia. He works in higher-level management and is married with 2 pre-school age children. Gabriel felt that Jewish people shared family-centred traits that are about upbringing, outlook and moral obligations and also tend to act and talk in a certain way. Reuben is in his 50s, was also born and raised in Johannesburg to South African-born parents, one Lithuanian grandparent and three grandparents born in South Africa of Lithuanian background. He works for the Jewish community as well as being a writer and editor and is married with 5 children ranging from school age to adult. To Reuben, the Jewish ethos and approach to life are universal to Jewish people.

Possible influences on the idea that Chinese people show commonalities in values and outlook could stem from the length and constancy of Chinese history and tradition. Elements that are often cited include a history that dates back 5,000 years. This is impacted by the nature of Chinese culture, which, especially in the imperial era, was positioned as being the centre of the world and unique compared to other cultures it encountered. Similarly, the length and constancy of Jewish history and tradition is cited as a source of commonality between all Jews. In the Jewish case, this includes responses to the circumstances of exile, namely, surviving as minorities in foreign, and often hostile, lands and finding balance between integrating into host land societies and maintaining cultural distinction in the face of assimilation. The character and histories of both the Jewish and Chinese people groups emphasises separation between them and other groups. This can be perceived as the people

[72] Interview M3 (28.33)

group as the large-scale imagined community. This creates a more inward-focused character to the community, emphasising the importance of family in creating identity and place. This could also contribute to the differences in focus on micro and macro aspects of family explored in the previous section.

This can be seen in the commonalities mentioned by the participants that focus on traits that assist the survival of these imagined communities. For example, John is in his early 30s and was born and raised in Kuala Lumpur, as were many of his forebears (John believes that he may be the ninth generation of his family to be born in Malaysia but he is not certain). He works in finance and at the time of the interview was unmarried and didn't have children. In his opinion, all Chinese people have a natural ability to be hard working and have "the ability to do what it takes to get what they want."[73] Esther, is in her early 30s, currently resides in Johannesburg (her parents were also born in South Africa and her grandparents came from South Africa, the UK and Lithuania) and works as an engineer. She is married with one pre-school age child. Esther gave a list of characteristics she felt were common to Jewish people. These included having a survival spirit, being hard-working and making success happen for yourself and having a savvy sense for business and financial matters. Additionally, she identified Jews as tending to be apologetic for being good at what they do, being non-confrontational and not looking for fights. She felt that Jewish people generally have a "live and let live" spirit, saying, "but I think in a lot of ways that non-confrontation-ness isn't coming from a place of like weakness or a lack of courage of our convictions. I think a lot of it also comes from live and let live, we want to get on with our lives and do the best we can with whatever we're trying to do. We're not looking for a fight."[74]

This idea of the imagined community contributing to survival is also significant as both the Chinese and Jewish diasporas in these two locations have historically been distinguished by their occupation, namely that they are merchant minorities or engaged in the business or finance sectors (see Chun, 1989; Horowitz & Kaplan, 2001). Both groups have a sense that they have to achieve for themselves as government assistance and opportunities are focussed on the disenfranchised majorities. In South Africa, this was to right the wrongs of Apartheid (see Adepoju, 2003, p. 6) and in Malaysia it was to rectify the inequalities created during the colonial period (see Kim, 1981, p. 96). However, it must be said that although they were

[73] Interview M5 (5.57)
[74] Interview S1 (13.52)

excluded from these opportunities this was not necessarily a source of negativity. A number of Malaysian participants mentioned the idea that affirmative action policies has meant that Malays have not had to work so hard to achieve. As seen in the previous participants' responses, being hard working is considered a positive Chinese trait and virtue. The South African participants overall seemed to take pride in the achievements of the Jewish people, being prominent beyond their numbers.

Indeed, given the histories and perceptions of the Chinese and Jewish diasporas over a long span of time, it could be expected that a commonality frequently raised would be being subject to discrimination. A number of other South African participants mentioned the change in atmosphere during the latest war in Israel but South Africa has been known for a long period of stability in this respect. In South Africa anti-Zionist rhetoric generally comes from South Africa's Muslim population, which constitutes less than 2% of the total population and is often in response to changes in circumstance in the Middle East (M. Shain & Mendelsohn, 2007, p. 283). Esther was aware of seeing more graffiti and anti-Semitic slogans in the city at the time of the interview. She also felt that anti-Israel movements in South Africa had become more anti-Semitic, as they no longer made a separation between state issues and ethnic or religious issues. She said that people were more concerned in general as they had never had to deal with such levels of anti-Semitism before. Gabriel spoke specifically about reactions in his community, stating "there was a lot of communication that went out, particularly from the school… our kids go to a Jewish school, that's an easy, soft target… so there was a lot of high alert and stuff like that."[75] Miriam felt that in that moment it would probably be easier for people to be less outwardly Jewish. She also felt that talking about Jewishness was a touchy subject and she did not wish to cause additional tensions.

Amongst the Malaysian participants, John mentioned that he had experienced some discrimination in the form of both direct and indirect comments, often from other young men, but never anything he felt was life-threatening, just the kind of thing he felt happens everywhere. Other participants stated that discrimination rarely came through everyday interactions with people but as a result of government policy. Claudia experienced discrimination sometimes in job interviews due to the quota system, but not on the streets. She felt that closed-minded people will always see her as Chinese and a second-class citizen but open-minded people just see everyone as Malaysian. Elizabeth experiences discrimination all the time with the quota system,

[75] Interview S4 (26.08)

education and business but not from everyday people, it's about policies and the constitution.

These responses could be attributed to the fact that the Malaysian state kept its focus generally on incorporating Malays into the economy and not on scapegoating the Chinese for the economic condition of the Malays (Hwang & Sadiq, 2010, pp. 203-304). In relation to the interpersonal relations between ethnic groups there is a general avoidance of discussing discrimination and Malay dominance (Chee-Beng, 2000, p. 464). The reason why the participants did not cite discrimination as a large contributing factor to identity development could be due to the nature and relative stability of being resident in South Africa or Malaysia. It could also be related to the family as being the central focus of identity development and place-making. That which is inflicted from outside the imagined community has less significance that the culture experienced within when it comes to developing an identity as a Chinese or Jewish person.

In both diasporas, the commonalities participants attributed to Chinese or Jewish people centred on upbringing and prioritised character traits. Although there was an acknowledgment of the diversity of these diaspora populations, there was still the perception that certain traits would be transmitted through the family and could be classified as particularly 'Chinese' or 'Jewish'. Both the Jewish and Chinese diasporas have been subject to discrimination and this is acknowledged as a commonality of experience. However, there was a difference between the participants of each diaspora group as to how this was perceived to impact identity and sense of place. For the Jewish participants, higher levels of discrimination, all the more impactful as South Africa had generally been seen as fairly tolerant to Jews, were occurring at the time of the interviews. This, of course, had a substantial impact on participants' responses but what was marked is that it was seen as impacting on the identity of the community as a whole. For the Malaysian participants, discrimination was seen on the state level but was not seen as having a great impact on identity. They and their families had options that meant the discrimination didn't have too negative an impact and the discrimination was not detrimental to their cultural practice.

For the participants in both diasporas religion was significant to their cultural practice, both directly through religious attendance and indirectly in terms of traditions, rituals

and celebrations observed. This specific aspect of cultural practice in the family and its impact on identity will be the focus of the next section.

Culture and Religion in the Family

The final section of this chapter will explore a specific element of cultural practice, religion. Religion is significant as it is performed both in the small-scale, the immediate family or household, and in the large-scale, the imagined community. Therefore, religious beliefs and practice have a fundamental impact on identity development and place-making. Here I will argue that a distinct difference between the Chinese and Jewish diasporas can be observed. Religion is viewed as foundational to Jewish identity by the majority of participants and influences beliefs, morals and ethics whilst maintaining a diversity of perspectives. The Chinese participants in this study were Christian and thus have had to answer questions, both inside and outside their families, regarding adhering to a 'foreign' religion whilst maintaining a Chinese identity.

In this section, I will also argue that levels of observance have an impact on identity. Additionally, the impact religion has on cultural practice, particularly in terms of rituals and holidays observed in the family, also contributes to identity formation. Religion, and the rituals and traditions that stem from it, are cultural elements frequently passed down to an individual from their family from an early age. Religion is particularly important to a society because it has a substantial ability to mobilise a large number of people as it is able to utilise values and symbols that are highly emotive (Tan, 2001, p. 955). Religious institutions are able to adapt to the social needs of people and can be viewed as a source of comfort in difficult times. However, religious institutions can also be seen as inhibiting individual's progress which can result in conscious decisions to turn away from religious beliefs and practices (see Gale, 1997, p. 326). Therefore, the impact of religion as part of culture can be seen in identity development and place-making, whether its values and practices are actively adhered to or not. To explore the impact of religion on the participants' identity development and place-making I will first look at the role of religion in defining Jewish identity. I will then look at Christianity and having a Chinese identity. The section will then compare the participants' perspectives regarding religious observance and identity development. The section will finally examine the impact of religion on cultural practice as a part of identity.

Religion and Defining as Jewish

According to Safran (2005, p. 41), religion is the most important element of the Jewish diaspora. This is because Judaism has positioned the Jews as a chosen people and has united both the homeland and the host lands. It is also because Judaism is inherently linked to the family, both in its origins and as the family is a primary site of the practice of Judaic beliefs and rituals. However, Safran (2007, p. 47) also states that a large number of Jewish people are secular and define their Jewishness not in religious terms, but in ethnic terms. Despite this, it must be kept in mind that many aspects of ethnic Jewishness, such as food and holidays, originate from Judaism. The South African Jewish diaspora population tends to have high rates of religious observance. It also has high rates of adherence to Jewish elements that would be considered more cultural, such as a belief in Zionism. Amongst the participants this can be observed through family practices such as religious holiday celebrations, educational choices for children and the maintenance of contact with Israel and family and friends resident there.

Amongst the participants in this study, the degree of religious observance was often cited as being a means by which people could judge how Jewish a person was. A very basic definition of Jewishness comes from Jewish (Halakhic) law which firstly states that a Jewish person is one born of a Jewish mother. Indeed, when asked what defined a person as Jewish, Esther, who considers herself to be religiously observant, simply stated that it was according to Halakhic law. For other participants, a list of traits that characterised a person as Jewish related to Judaism. Miriam included a belief in God, having more or less the same laws (referring to religious laws such as the Ten Commandments) and having the same morals and ethics. Reuben, who is Orthodox and observant, defined Jewishness in terms of identifying with Judaism, stating "my definition would be Halakhic, and further than that, it would be somebody who identifies with Judaism as a religion."[76] However, even though he was very conscious of being religiously observant, it was not an all-or-nothing situation for him. Instead he saw it in terms of degrees of affiliation, stating "you're still Jewish if you don't but there are degrees of affiliation, of Jewish identity, and the more connected you are to the faith, in theory and practice, the more Jewish you are."[77] The familial nature of Halachic law (Jewishness being passed from mother to child) means that even the most religious definition of Jewishness centres family in identity creation.

[76] Interview S7 (2.43)
[77] Interview S7 (2.43)

On the other hand, Ruth, is in her mid-30s, was born and raised in Cape Town (to parents and grandparents born in South Africa of a European, Ashkenazi background) but was about to move to Johannesburg for consulting work. She is unmarried, did not have children at the time of the interview and is very passionate about being Jewish. However, she is an example of an individual who can have a strong Jewish affiliation without a strong religious component, stating in the demographic questionnaire "I do not have a strong affiliation to an organised faith, but feel part of the Jewish community." As such, in defining herself as Jewish she stated that "I would sometimes refer to myself as traditionally Jewish. I like the ritual and I like what brings family together. I would certainly never be a practicing, like an Orthodox practicing Jew."[78] Instead, she felt that a definition of Jewishness would differ depending on who you asked because of elements such as how traditional or religious a person was. She also stated that her definition of being Jewish came from family, tradition and ritual and said "I would think I would break it up into people who are traditionally Jewish and people who are religiously Jewish. And that's how I would define that person… for me it's quite distinct."[79] Ruth's identity development does not actively engage with Judaism as a religion but is still as family-centred as those of Miriam and Reuben.

The origins of Jewish identity stem from Judaism, including its history and values. The religion retained its importance to Jewish identity for many participants but there was still an acknowledgement that Jewish identity was possible without religious practice. Instead, cultural practices in the family involving traditions, holiday and rituals that have their roots in Judaism could be expressions of Jewish identity without the need for formal religious practice.

Being Chinese and Christian

All the Malaysian Chinese participants in this study identified as Christian. This could be a result of the networks and connections utilised in participant recruitment but could also be an indicator of the factors that could have made an individual more inclined to be interviewed by me (as outlined in Chapter 4). As Tong and Chan (2001, p. 374) observe, there are a number of distinctions often drawn between Christian and non-Christian Chinese in the Chinese diaspora of Southeast Asia. For example, Christians

[78] Interview S9 (2.53)
[79] Interview S9 (2.53)

are more often English-educated and therefore comfortable communicating in English. Of course, this is not universal, and there are exceptions in both groups within the diaspora, but this idea is supported by the small sample utilised in this project. The religious affiliation of the Chinese participants is significant in terms of identity because Christianity is considered to be a non-traditional religion in China and is thus less able to be positioned as a cultural identity (Kao, 2009, p. 180).

The perceived separation between Christianity and Chinese cultural identity stems from the view that it is foreign and could erode "the base of Chinese customary practices" (Tong & Chan, 2001, p. 374).[80] Christianity is also linked to Western imperialism and the period of the decline of the Qing dynasty. After the communist victory the authorities did voice an opposition to the potential "imperialistic influences connected with Western religions" (Cheng, 2003, p. 19). This mistrust became extreme during the Cultural Revolution under the guise of doing away with anything to do with imperialism. Even today, Christianity is still seen as a threat as it can easily be influenced by overseas missionaries or the media and be in touch with overseas spiritual movements (R. Madsen, 2010, p. 68).

These ideas about Christianity originated in official discourse but were disseminated and became a part of social values in China. These ideas developed in China and retained a degree of influence in the diaspora due to these ideas being brought out and retained by migrants from China in generations past. Although the participants in this study had either never visited China or had only been there once or twice, they had been exposed to these ideas about Christianity through their families. These ideas had been brought by their forebears to Malaysia and had been transmitted to subsequent generations in the family. Some participants came from families that had converted to Christianity and altered their social values. Others had converted themselves or also had immediate families that were Christian but were members of extended families that were unhappy with their religious affiliation. All the participants had consciously evaluated the role of their faith in terms of their Chinese identity.

This re-evaluation had a cultural impact for the participants. Christian beliefs are positioned in opposition to Chinese religious beliefs which are seen as superstitious, with some practices (such as honouring ancestors) no longer engaged with (see Tong & Chan, 2001, p. 373). However, the participants did not consider their Chinese

[80] Unlike other foreign-origin religions such as Buddhism, whose entry into China was earlier (the first millennium AD), more gradual (such as spreading through trade routes) and partly achieved through monks gaining official patronage (see Clark, 2009, pp. 24-25).

identity or Chinese culture to be diminished by this. Elizabeth felt that even if she did not undertake certain cultural practices, such as ancestor worship, due to her faith, she still retained an awareness of Chinese traditions and their importance to Chinese families. Lois is in her early 30s, was born and raised in Malaysia, as were her parents with her grandparents coming from China, spent some time studying in Australia, works in management and is married but had no children at the time of the interview. She felt that Christianity didn't diminish her Chineseness as she was raised in Malaysia. This meant that she made strong distinctions about what was Chinese culture and how it applied to her; she celebrated Chinese holidays and her parents continue to practice Chinese value systems.

It could be observed that for the participants, their Chinese identity did not have an ethno-religious element (Tong & Chan, 2001, p. 373). The participants positioned both faith and Chinese culture as important to their identities. They saw their Christianity as making them distinct from other Chinese people but no less Chinese. Claudia's parents saw her differently after she became Christian, being more Westernised and moving away from her roots. Claudia saw herself as becoming more open-minded and less susceptible to the rigid, results and task-oriented thinking she felt Chinese people tend to have.

Christianity is considered to be a non-Chinese or 'foreign' religion and being both Chinese and Christian can raise questions, both inside and outside the family, about its impact on Chinese identity. Although adherence to this faith does mean that certain cultural practices that would be considered Chinese are no longer engaged with, the participants did not feel that this had diminished their Chineseness. Chinese values and traditions retained their importance and participants maintained strong ties to their families and their Chinese identities. The participants' attitudes regarding this idea support the statement made by Wang (G. Wang, 2009, p. 212) explored previously in the methodology chapter. The integration of faiths and ideologies from outside China into the identity of a Chinese individual or group is not viewed as impacting negatively on Chinese traditions or Chineseness.

Observance and Identity

As has been mentioned before, levels of observance can have an impact on identity and sense of place. It can also impact on how an individual is perceived as being Chinese or Jewish. This could be because it has been observed in anthropological studies that a change in the cultural beliefs or behaviours of an individual in one area will lead to changes in other areas (Downs & Bleibtreu, 1975, p. 5; see also Jenks, 2004). As cultural beliefs and behaviours are very family-centred in both diaspora groups, cultural changes can impact in the development of identity and place in the whole family.

With the Chinese participants, some felt that their Chineseness had been called into question because of their religious observance or lack thereof. That many of these questions had come from within the family made them more influential on identity development. Anna is very engaged with her Christian church, as is her immediate family. When I asked if there was anything she thought could make her less Chinese, she said that some of her relatives did think that her Christian faith made her less Chinese, but that she disagreed with this opinion. She had evaluated her faith and her Chinese culture and had determined that not participating in traditional Chinese religious practices had not diminished her place as a Chinese person in Malaysia.

Amongst the Jewish participants, a number stated that they had consciously increased their religious observance. Gabriel has increased his religious practice in recent years, considering himself to be Orthodox Jewish, and he feels that this is important for his young daughters. He told me that he feels that his identity as Jewish has changed in line with his increased observance, particularly due to a greater frequency of prayers and attending Shul. Reuben also said that his Jewishness couldn't be changed but did say that he had not been brought up in a very religious household and that he had felt impelled to become more observant, stating "my Jewish consciousness was a burning thing, I couldn't get away from it, I didn't want to get away from it. And it eventually impelled me to explore it and become more involved and lead me back to a more Orthodox faith."[81] Although the details of how religion was observed differed between the diasporas, for participants in both groups, observance was something that was consciously considered. In particular, the

[81] Interview S7 (8.05)

ramifications of observance on the family were important to the participants due to the impact it had on identity development and place-making.

Religion in Cultural Practice

Religion also plays a role in developing and distinguishing the cultural practices that influence identity development. This, in turn, impacts on perspectives of how religious practices make an individual Chinese or Jewish and impacts on their sense of place in the community. In distinguishing what made Chinese people different from other people groups, Martha mostly thought it had to do with tradition and that she thought this was "pretty similar for all Chinese around the world."[82] These traits included observing Chinese New Year and the importance of reunions, respecting elders and traditions with life events such as weddings and picking auspicious dates, wearing or not wearing certain colours as well as various taboos and superstitions around events and traditions. She then stated that she believed that there were traits that made a person very Chinese, for example a very Chinese person "wouldn't mind living with their in-laws because they believe in living together and growing the family"[83] and this distinguished the very Chinese from the Westernised. It is important to note that all the practices Martha considered important take place within the family and are defined in terms of familial relationships.

Lois felt that common Chinese traits were the culture and festivals and that Chinese virtues and values are still practiced and that it is about the family and not the individual. She stated that "our parents are still pretty much in touch with all these Chinese festivals, requirements and ceremonies.. I think that if they aren't around any longer, I see myself, I wouldn't be following some of these festivals and ceremonies that much any longer."[84] She added, "it's not what I still believe in, it's following what my parents are still doing."[85] In Lois' view, the importance of Chinese cultural practice is only relevant within the familial context.

All the aspects covered by these participants can be traced from traditional Chinese religious practices. A reason this is still of relevance to Chinese Christians may be because of the ethnic makeup of Malaysia. There are certain cultural aspects that

[82] Interview M3 (8.35)
[83] Interview M3 (9.32)
[84] Interview M10 (10.52)
[85] Interview M10 (11.10)

distinctly differentiate between the Chinese and Malay peoples and cultures. For example, Malays are Muslim, Chinese are not and because of this, the eating or not eating of pork becomes a significant ethnic marker (Chee-Beng, 2000, p. 453). Additionally, ethnic distinctions in Malaysia are divided along racial decent lines. Thus, cultural elements and practices performed within the family are prominent in the creation of ethnic divisions.

With the Jewish participants, cultural practices impacting on their identity did have close links to Judaism. Leah, who listed her faith as Orthodox, stated that defining someone as Jewish could be through their lifestyle. "In my mind if you're born Jewish you're Jewish, whether you practice or not.. there are a lot of people who don't practice but still consider themselves Jewish."[86] However, in going into more detail about what aspects she felt contributed to her own identity, Leah concentrated on cultural practices that were rooted in her religious beliefs, stating, "I do keep a Jewish home, my kids go to Jewish day school, we celebrate all the Jewish festivals, we have the Sabbath, Friday night we do the whole shebang.. I grew up at a Jewish day school as well; everything's been really centred around it."[87] She further described it as a complete life style "but it's integrated"[88] and said she doesn't keep Sabbath in the sense of not doing anything, she still does shopping and other activities as required.

When speaking about the activities that were prominent in their everyday lives, both Ruth and Esther mentioned family events that were based in Judaism. This was so, even though neither participant considered themselves to consistently religiously active or be specifically Orthodox. For Ruth, these activities included Bar Mitzvahs, kabbalah study at her local Shul and family holidays to Israel. Esther described the importance of the practices and traditions around Shabbat, the high holidays, festivals and milestones in her life and the lives of family members.

In terms of religion relating to Chinese or Jewish identity I have argued that there were differences in responses from the two groups. This is because Judaism has always been closely linked to Jewish identity and because the Christianity practiced by the Chinese participants is considered to be a non-native religion. However, there were still similarities in responses relating to the impact of levels of observance and the impact religion has on cultural practices such as rituals and holidays. This has demonstrated that even though there is diversity in religious adherence and

[86] Interview S3 (3.28)
[87] Interview S3 (4.02)
[88] Interview S3 (4.25)

perspectives on religion, religion is still a cultural element that has a very significant impact on identity development with all participants. Even if a person no longer practices the religion they were born into (either through secularisation or conversion) it will continue to have an impact in terms of perceptions, lifestyle choices and identity.

This is because it influences practices beyond those simply related to religious observance. These practices can include holidays observed, events attended and food practices, all of which contribute to processes of place-making, creating a sense of belonging. In this study, there was a marked distinction between the Jewish participants and the Chinese participants regarding religion. With the Jewish participants, the link between religion and identity was more overt, both because Jewishness and Judaism are very closely linked and also because of the nature of South African Jewry. The Chinese participants in this study were all Christian. However, although specifically Chinese religious observance practices did not play much, if any, role in their lives, religion still had significance in the development of their Chinese identities. In both diasporas, this was closely linked to the values and practices of their families. Their influence remained even if their beliefs took a new turn or certain elements of the culture were no longer practiced.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the idea that culture is something which, for the cases analysed here at least, is transmitted primarily through the family and has a significant impact on identity development and the process of place-making. This can be particularly seen through upbringing and values transmission and impacts the ways in which a person lives a culture, how they conceive of their imagined community and influences through specific cultural elements such as religion. Perspectives on what cultural elements are Jewish or Chinese (and whether they as an individual take part in them) can determine to what extent the participant feels a sense of belonging in the community. Perceptions regarding whether these elements create separation between them and the majority population of their host land can impact on their sense of belonging or loyalty in that location and society.

In terms of the cultural traits given by participants as defining someone as Jewish or Chinese there was an element of continuity between the two diasporas. This continuity can be attributed in part to common experiences of states historically

attempting to define the positions of these two groups within the host land societies. In particular, both groups being oft-persecuted minorities and in that the occupations they were often obliged to work in tended to be related to the financial or mercantile. This continuity can also be attributed to the centrality of family in identity development and place-making for the participants. The family remains important even if cultural practices change. Additionally, even if changes are made, participants still feel that the core elements of Chineseness or Jewishness remain. This speaks to the nature of the process of identity formation, that there is both stability and flexibility. It also explores the interactions between identity elements experienced in the larger-scale imagined community and the impacts on individual identity development.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Goals of the Thesis

This thesis aimed to explore the perspectives of individuals and their priorities regarding identity development and place-making through a comparative analysis of the Chinese and Jewish diasporas. This was undertaken through conducting qualitative interviews with members of both diasporas. Interviews were conducted in three sets of geographic locations, where each set consisted of a Jewish diaspora host land and a Chinese diaspora host land with historical and socio-political parallels. The data collected was then examined and related to extensive research into both groups as well as theoretical knowledge of relevant ideas including diaspora, identity, globalisation, migration and the nation, state and nationality. The data itself provided the main focus of analysis, namely that identity development and place-making was perceived and performed in the primary site of family. Family encompassed not only immediate kin but also the imagined community as fictive kin and became the mediator of diasporic experience and the framework for evaluating ideas such as loyalty and nationality.

The analysis was made on the premise that although there is significant diversity within and between the groups, there are still similarities to be observed. Such similarities were observed both between the two diaspora groups and within each group and sub-group. Through the process of analysis, the importance of family was determined to be the common thread running through identity formation and place-making for both individuals and the collectives they are members of. It should be noted that only a small sample size was utilised and therefore a universal causal mechanism was not sought. Nevertheless, the results were in line with Ben Rafael's (2002, p. 3) idea of identity stemming from "interdependent social activity." The results are also in line with Hall's (1990, p. 25) notion that identity is more about "becoming" than "being." The threads of these ideas can be seen throughout the thesis.

This research contributes to the scholarship around identity development and place-making in a number of ways. These include its comparative nature and its examination of two groups who are often viewed as geographically and culturally distinct. This demonstrates that commonalities in perceptions regarding identity can be observed in unlikely places. Analysing identity development and place-making in the individual, but also as that individual is intertwined with the collective, illustrates

both the diversity and commonality that can be found in human experiences. Finally, the project's interdisciplinary nature utilises a more diverse range of idea than scholarship focused on a single area. This allows for the consideration of a variety of possibilities in the analysis.

Chapter Summaries

The exploration of identity was divided into three analysis chapters that dealt with distinct but inter-related ideas. The first analysis chapter stated that the performance of identity has a significant impact on its transmission. For the participants, child rearing practices were key in this idea and lasted well into adulthood. This remained so even for participants that chose to move away from such family or cultural elements. Priscilla described her experiences of consciously moving away from the Chinese culture she was raised with as a teenager but later returning to it to improve her relationship with her parents and her own Chineseness. Thus, the perception of the participants from both diasporas overall was that elements transmitted through the family laid the foundations for identity that persevered throughout life.

Additionally, migration had played a significant role in the lives of all the participants. If they themselves had not migrated at least once in their lives, their very close kin, such as parents, had been migrants. A result of this was that the transmission of culture and other elements that impact on identity was a conscious process for the participants. This was because migration and their status as diaspora members meant that a sense of place could not be assumed. This is in contrast to other groups, particularly the majority population. In addition to this, being in diaspora and experiencing migration made roots tourism an idea that was highly promoted in both diaspora groups. A commonly expressed perspective of roots tourism was that it could create foundations of identity and further connections to Jewishness or Chineseness and the sense of place it gives, particularly within the family. For the Jewish participants, this was overall expressed in terms of a sense of place within the larger Jewish community. For the Chinese participants, this tended to be expressed in terms of a sense of place within extended family lines.

The second analysis chapter explored the idea of language being essential to transmitting culture and therefore having a prominent place in the development of identity and place-making. This idea was explored in terms of shared language and

also in relation to languages that were closely associated with a culture itself. The thesis concentrated on Hebrew and Mandarin, however, for many participants, dialects such as Yiddish and Cantonese also had an impact. For the participants, the importance of a given language to their identity and the development of their sense of place is strongly related to whether or not that language was used in their family and how it was used. How the language is used included the frequency of use, if the language was used more by certain members of the family and the attitudes towards using the language experienced within the family.

This was in turn impacted by elements such as if maintaining the use of the language was prioritised, if it influenced the upbringing of children and if the language in question had a specific status in their daily lives. For Jacob, his mother's strong ties to Hebrew through her own background and occupation were a major source for the importance Jacob placed on the language. On the other hand, Tabitha's perception of speaking Mandarin not being a priority to her Chinese identity was related to her parents not speaking the language or encouraging its study, even when it was permitted again in Indonesia. Language use in the family is also influenced by factors outside the immediate environment of the family group. For the participants, national identity as related to language had a significant impact in all locations. Developing a sense of place was impacted by the languages prioritised and promoted in the current host land, the homeland and also in any former host lands where the participant may have resided. However, the importance of the nations to language and identity was also perceived through the family as the primary mediator of experience.

The last analysis chapter posited that identity is developed through the practice of culture performed within the family and imagined community. Culture plays a role in creating a sense of belonging and in the development of an identity and sense of place. The perspectives shared by the participants demonstrated that it is family that provides the anchor for their identity. The family is the primary site for cultural performance and evolution and the sense of place this creates because it is perceived as immutable and, therefore, something to hold onto. There was also a common thread throughout the responses of the participants that many of the perceptions and priorities that make up their identities were created during their childhoods and through the process of upbringing. However, although early life experiences were perceived as essential to identity development, the relationship between culture and identity was not always straightforward. For the participants, the evolution of their identities and creating a sense of place could be impacted by many elements. These

included experiences and interactions with both the home and host lands, migration and many other socio-cultural, economic and political relations at different periods of their lives. What this means for the participants is that, although they had a sense of individual identity and place, the collective, the imagined community, was also very important as a product of culture that created shared values and priorities.

The perspectives and opinions were consistent overall across participants in all the locations examined. However, as there was not scope within the thesis to examine the themes as applied to all locations, the themes of each chapter were applied to only one location-specific comparison. The chapter examining identity performance and communication was assigned to the Australian participants because the move towards multiculturalism in Australia in recent decades has given the diasporas many more opportunities in terms of choice in what cultural elements are embraced. The chapter examining language and identity formation was assigned to the participants in Germany and Indonesia as language has been an important aspect of past discriminatory policy and attitudes, both officially and unofficially. In more recent years, opportunities for language acquisition and use have increased in both locations due to changes in policy and attitude. Finally, the chapter examining role of culture in creating identity and place was assigned to participants in South Africa and Malaysia as, with host land policy being focused on other population groups, culture's importance to individual and diaspora identity development has been significant.

Summarising Remarks

At the beginning of this research I expected the historic and current policies and attitudes encountered regarding migration and minorities, especially in the place of residence, to have a significant impact on the development of an individual's identity and sense of place. Such factors of course have an impact, and were acknowledged by the participants. However, for many, unless these factors and their institutions had a direct impact on their daily lives, the personal and familial had a far greater influence. The data suggests that an individual identity and sense of place is perceived as personal both in its character and in the mechanisms of its creation. More specifically, family is perceived as a stable foundation upon which to build an identity and sense of place. This can be seen in the participants' responses that focused on their own upbringings, the ways they choose to raise their own children and their life choices. This relates to the immediate family but also to fictive kinship, the imagined

community, particularly if there is a lack of opportunities for connection with closely related kin, whether due to historical circumstances or migration. This can also be seen in ideas of homeland and return, which are often linked to ties based on blood-kinship, that is, family connection to a location (Aitken, 2008, p. 449). Additionally, physical distance from the claimed homeland moves the focus of attachment to an identity based on kinship (Y. Shain & Barth, 2003, p. 451).

In both the data collection and in conversations with diaspora members in general, a commonly expressed attitude was that even if a socio-political environment wasn't ideal, being able to live relatively free lives, educate children and work and do business was good enough. Many saw their lives in comparison to their forebears as being much improved. As such, so long as their lives were able to continue without major interruptions, the machinations of political attitudes had less impact on identity than factors that were closer to home, such as family relations and culture.

Such attitudes can be in part attributed to ideas of civility and social capital as outlined by Putnam (1993) and Pye (1999). Civility relates to the behaviour standards expected in a society that, if followed, give a level of stability and predictability and a coherent and integrated society (Pye, 1999, p. 765). Such civility exists due to social capital, which allows for a level of trust in a society so it can act as a collective (Putnam, as cited in Pye, 1999, p. 764). For the participants, their lives had been conducted in relatively stable environments in their host lands for some time. The most recent major upheaval, namely, that in Indonesia in 1998, was nearly twenty years ago.[89] Therefore, the sense of civility and social capital in their host land, even if not perfect, was stable and long-standing enough to allow for a relatively successful existence. It also allowed for other elements to be prioritised in identity development and place-making.

This is not to say that socio-political elements did not have a degree of influence on identity development and place-making as experienced by the participants. For some it had a greater impact that for others. This was apparent with participants who either studied associated topics in the Social Sciences or who, through their work, such as with diaspora institutions, dealt with issues surrounding such elements. This pattern

[89] At the time of the interviews, the last war in Israel was considered by many South African Jewish participants to have the potential of a negative impact on South African Jewry. However, a tangible upheaval was not occurring at that time. Additionally, wide-spread violence and persecution against the Jewish diaspora in South Africa did not eventuate as a response to that war.

was observed in both Chinese and Jewish diaspora participants. However, even with these participants, their responses indicated that, primarily, culture experienced and performed in the family gave them their values and norms. It also was the means of developing a sense of belonging or separation within a community or a geo-political location.

Even local, national and international events and attitudes were filtered through the lens of the family as the primary site of cultural performance and transmission. A major reason for this is that nationality is one of the primary elements used to define the self for the majority of participants in both diasporas. However, when I asked how they would describe themselves, history, status and related circumstances still created a notion of distance between the diaspora and the state overall. That their Chineseness or Jewishness will always be a factor that has to be taken into consideration when developing a sense of belonging in a state or society where they are minorities. There were variations in the perceived scale of this distance among participants but it was always present. Thus, even a small distance was enough to create a sense that as members of a diaspora minority they could not fully belong to the nation. Therefore, in developing their identity and sense of place the family was prioritised as the setting for these processes.

Even though the specifics of ideas of Chineseness and Jewishness and the cultures associated with them developed separately and remain quite different from each other at first glance, there was a great deal of similarity between the responses of the two diasporas. This is because the family is prioritised by both diasporas. In both groups, an individual retained a place within the family even if there was a distance due to migration, catastrophic events or deterioration in relationships. This place came with certain experiences during their upbringing and a sense of responsibility to transmit familial ideas and culture to subsequent generations. For both diasporas, Jewishness and Chineseness is a 'lived culture' in the sense that it is being experienced through upbringing, the values instilled, evaluated and retained or consciously discarded and the practice of rituals and traditions. Memory and the communication of story and narrative also plays a role in developing identity and sense of place. This can be seen through Jewish law and the Confucian values system but also through the communication of the experiences of direct forebears. The communication of these memories conveys where the family came from and how they came to be where they are, underpinning a sense of belonging.

These foundations remained even through changing situations due to migration and the emergence of different opportunities. This was seen by Michael from Germany who feels that his identity was significantly impacted by the fall of communism in the Ukraine where he was born and the access to new opportunities this allowed. For Michael, this meant that he could study at a Jewish school, explore the Jewish faith openly and later to migrate to a new country and Jewish community. These foundations also endure through the complexities of being associated with multiple states, both the homeland and host lands. This was particularly seen with the South African Jewish participants who were having to adjust to new realities due to reactions to the last war in Israel.

For all the participants, the fast-paced change of the globalised world means that these foundations and the importance of connections to family, blood and fictive, will remain significant. This will be so due to developments and potential changes affecting both the homelands and their host lands. In Israel, this includes the ongoing turmoil in the Middle East and the publicised rifts between Israel and the UN and some representative states. Overall, support for Israel was high amongst the participants. Many had close ties to the country, had visited themselves numerous times or, at least, acknowledged the importance of its existence. Should socio-political developments increase anti-Israel feeling, particularly in their host land, it is likely that the centrality of family and the imagined community to identity and place would become stronger and more entrenched.

China's economic and political rise is continuing and the PRC is becoming more overt in stating its position on a number of issues. In particular, it has been very direct in voicing its claims to territory in the South China Sea, despite rulings in the international court. Although China's importance to trade in the host lands explored here remains solid, there is a potential that China's actions could impact on anti-Chinese feeling, especially in those states who also claim parts of the South China Sea. The participants, overall, did not express strong ties to the Chinese state and the actions of the PRC could widen any breach in connections. The result could be stronger ties to family and culture. However, many participants did make a distinction between the Chinese state and Chinese people, so developments could also result in a redefinition of the imagined community of the Chinese people.

Regarding the host lands, although there was an acknowledged distance between the Jewish or Chinese peoples and all aspects of the state, there was not a complete separation. Many participants were proudly citizens of their host lands and had no

desire to leave. The relationship is complex and rooting identity in the family is a way of dealing with this complexity. The family's background and values provide a lens to view experiences and interactions through. However, all the host lands examined in this thesis are going through periods of change which could impact on identity development and place-making for the participants. Many of the elements influencing this change are global and impact on many states. Additionally, the factors that created the parallels used in comparison here also see parallels in possible reactions to change.

Australia's economic prosperity in recent decades, its relative stability and its multicultural approach have given many minority groups, including the Chinese and Jewish diasporas, the opportunity to develop identities and a sense of place as they work for the individual. There are, of course, numerous issues but, in general, the participants acknowledged the overall positive environment living in Australia afforded, especially as compared to other states and societies. It is likely that this situation will not change drastically in the short-term but Australia is not immune to global political and social voices advocating moving further towards nationalism or isolationism. This is currently being seen in the re-emergence of the One Nation party at both the state and federal level. The Jewish and Chinese diasporas are not the primary target of such voices but an increased emphasis on a national identity that they do not feel they entirely belong to could further focus identity development and place-making on the family and imagined community.

Particularly since reunification, the German government has deliberately created policy that distinguishes the current German state from its past. This has made Germany a reasonably stable place to be Jewish in. Indeed, there is an opinion amongst some in the Jewish diaspora that it is safer to be Jewish in Germany than in neighbouring France. However, there are some concerns that Germany's recent open-door migration policy could influence levels of anti-Semitism. This could be both due to a backlash about immigration and also because many migrants are entering from states that have well-established anti-Israel policies. There is the possibility that reactions to local and global issues could see politically-based anti-Israel sentiment transform into culturally and ethnically-based anti-Jewish action. The Jewish community in Germany could never be considered relaxed, as can be seen in the security deemed necessary at Jewish schools and institutions. However, now there is concern that insecurity could come both from the old sources and from new sources.

Like Germany, in Indonesia there are also some concerns about the re-emergence of old sources of insecurity and the rise of new sources. In Indonesia's case, it is still developing economically and as a democratic state. This process is complex and there are sections of society who may feel that they are being left behind or not obtaining what they feel is their due. This could lead to a revival in old resentments against the Chinese diaspora, who still tend to be economically better off than many in the majority population. In addition, Indonesia is also experiencing a rise in the prominence of Islamist groups. This is in part due to opportunities for political expression that were denied during the New Order era. It is also due to the entry of ideas regarding Islam from other regions that never had much influence in Indonesia in the past. Some of these ideas tend to advocate more extreme interpretations of scripture and doctrine. This change has been seen recently in reactions to perceived wrongs committed by the Chinese governor of Jakarta. Additionally, this may be exacerbated as perceptions of the actions of the PRC in the region become more negative. In both Germany and Indonesia, recent changes have rocked any hard-won foundations of stability that may exist. Even if these changes do not result in overt actions against the diasporas, they may create further distance in feelings of belonging in the state and see an increased focus on the family and imagined community for identity development and place-making.

In South Africa, political and social instability is having an impact on all areas, especially economically. Although fears of wide-spread anti-Semitic violence or discrimination as a result of the last war in Israel did not eventuate, there has been a loss of the feeling that South Africa was among the safest places to be Jewish. The state is influenced by international issues but the immediate impact of local issues is paramount. High crime rates and a lack of economic and social opportunities for many South Africans may result in frustrations being pointed at minority groups, especially economically successful groups such as the Jewish diaspora. In addition, the Jewish diaspora is still experiencing high emigration rates, further contracting the population and the survival of the Jewish diaspora in South Africa is becoming a more pressing question. This situation could result in an even greater focus on family and community in the Jewish diaspora. Indeed, even now, for many individuals their lives are primarily centred on neighbourhoods, schools and social institutors that are majority Jewish.

In Malaysia, the large Chinese population means that continuing high emigration rates are not threatening the survival of the community. Additionally, politically and

economically Malaysia is much more stable than South Africa. However, this is in relative terms and there are issues that the state is dealing with that could have an impact on the Chinese diaspora. Malaysia was impacted by recent global economic turmoil and there is a need for the state to plan for Malaysia's economic future to prevent further economic stagnation or mismanagement. There are also issues with claims of corruption against the current prime minister. No major actions have been taken about this up to now but the continued uncertainty and loss of trust in the leadership could impact on stability.

In addition, Malaysia also needs to address issues caused by the emergence of extremist ideas and the actions of the PRC in the region. These issues could exacerbate feelings around Malaysia's race-based policies and, as in South Africa, focus the development of a sense of belonging around the imagined community. However, unlike Jews in South Africa, the size and dispersion of the Chinese population in Malaysia allows for greater participation in all aspects of the state, including the political. Additionally, a number of Malaysian participants stated that younger generations, unlike their parents or grandparents, choose to de-emphasise ethnicity. They refer to themselves simply as Malaysian, not Chinese Malaysian, and many have people from other race groups amongst their acquaintances who do the same. For them, the racial divisions are mostly about government policy and there is a sense of belonging to Malaysia.

Jewishness and Chineseness can both encompass the identity and sense of place of an individual and also be considered just a part of their identity. The level of prioritisation can vary over time and depending on different situations and contexts. In both diasporas, although identity and a sense of place is very centred around the family, it is also complex and, like culture itself, is never static and constantly evolving. I conclude then that although identity is something cultivated within an individual and can vary widely between individuals, there is no denying that identity is concurrently developed within the context of both the family and the group. Thus, although a person will develop a sense of their own, individual Chineseness or Jewishness, that identity will evolve from what has been passed down to them from their elders. They will then make decisions about what they will transmit in terms of values and culture to their own children and younger generations in general. Family, in addition to its central role in identity development, can also be viewed as a filter to assess cultural elements that are consumed outside the family in wider society. For example, even if the Chinese diaspora member's primary community is the Chinatown and Chinese

organisations, the practices and identity of such communities and organisations will be strongly rooted in the family. This includes groups being based on perceptions of family and kin ties, surnames, shared language, home village and ancestry (Chan, 1997, p. 201).

Ideas for Further Research

I see this project as the starting point for longer-term research. Therefore, I have given time to considering where the ideas and conclusions developed during this project could be taken through further research. There are many possibilities including exploring whether family plays as big a role in identity in homeland populations. Additionally, further research could be conducted looking into ways in which Israel and China can better engage with their diasporas. This research has also identified possibilities for further research into roots tourism and its impact on identity and more specifically into the generational differences that can be seen in identity development and place-making.

In conclusion, the research conducted for this thesis has demonstrated that, although complex and diverse, identity development and place-making in the Chinese and Jewish diasporas do have common threads. In particular, the formulation of identity and belonging can be seen to be primarily sited within the family. The exact definition of family can differ between individuals but perspectives regarding the cultural, social, political and economic can be related back to what was communicated and performed within a person's family. The role of the family in identity development and place-making as explored here both communicates with, and contributes to, the scholarship. It is centred around the process of identity formation which is perceived as concerning becoming rather than just existing as a state of being.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet

Thank you for taking part in my study. This information sheet contains details regarding the goals of the study, how I will be conducting the study and your rights as a participant. If you have any queries or concerns that are not covered here I will be happy to address them as I wish you to be comfortable and fully informed when participating in this study.

*This study has been approved by the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval Number **HR 114/2012**). The Committee is comprised of members of the public, academics, lawyers, doctors and pastoral carers. If needed, verification of approval can be obtained either by writing to the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee, c/- Office of Research and Development, Curtin University, GPO Box U1987, Perth, 6845 or by telephoning 9266 2784 or by emailing hrec@curtin.edu.au*

Project Summary

Many factors can influence the development of identity in people who are members of diaspora groups. An example of this is the ideas about identity which are promoted by the homeland of a diaspora, but it is unclear just how strong this influence is. This study will compare two diaspora groups, the Chinese and the Jewish. These two groups appear to be very different at first glance but there are many similarities and parallels in their historical experiences and the ways in which they have been perceived in the places where they live. The countries considered to be their homelands, The People's Republic of China and The State of Israel, also appear to be very different from each other but also actually share many similarities. This makes a comparison between these two groups particularly interesting.

The main goal of my interview with you is to establish how you see yourself as Chinese/Jewish, your opinions on how China/Israel promotes Chinese/Jewish identity and to establish whether you feel that this promotion of identity from China/Israel has an impact on how you see yourself as Chinese/Jewish. There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions I will be asking you. I am interested in your thoughts and opinions and will not be judging you in any way.

** Please Note: During this study, I am referring to the homeland of the Chinese/Jewish people as China/Israel. Of course, not everyone who identifies as Chinese/Jewish considers China/Israel to be their homeland and you yourself may or may not agree that China/Israel is your actual or ancestral homeland. However, many authorities, organisations and individuals will assume that as a Chinese/Jewish person your homeland must be China/Israel and create policies or treat you accordingly. Additionally, China/Israel frequently declares its importance to Chinese/Jewish people all over the world and many of the policies created in China/Israel have Chinese/Jewish people in general in mind. This will have some degree of impact on you whatever your personal beliefs and this is what I am interested in.

Your rights and privacy

During this study, I will respect all local laws and will try to not ask you any questions which may cause trouble for you where you live. Additionally, I will take all care to not cause insult to any cultural or religious traditions you may hold. If during the interview I unintentionally ask you something that does make you uncomfortable I sincerely apologise for the oversight and will move away from that topic to something you are more comfortable with.

It is your right to pull out of the study at any time for any reason without you having to justify your withdrawal from the study in any way. Should you choose to withdraw from the study I will ask you if you are willing to allow me to use any information already obtained from you in my research. If you do not wish this to happen I will not use any data obtained from you at any point in my research and will destroy or delete any information already obtained.

In order to protect your privacy in my research I will not refer to you by your real name and when referring to any data you provide will endeavour to not publish any information that makes you easily identifiable. If there are any personal details which you particularly do not wish me to mention please let me know and I will ensure this does not happen.

Recording of your interview and storage of any data obtained

I will have both digital video and audio recorders available during the interview. I prefer to use both concurrently to give the best chance possible of making sure the interview is recorded accurately. However, if you prefer that only one of these devices is used for your interview I will act according to your preference. All recordings and any written data produced from your interview will be kept by me in a secure location for the duration of my PhD program and once I have submitted my final thesis will be kept in a secure location at Curtin University for a period of 5 years. The only people who will have access to the recordings and data are myself, my supervisors and my examiners should it be required. The recordings will not be

distributed beyond these people and will not be released online or into any public forum.

How your interview will be used

Any data or information obtained in your interview will be used as part of the research for my PhD thesis at Curtin University, Perth, Western Australia. Additionally, the data obtained from your interview may be used as part of papers submitted for publication in peer-reviewed journals or in order for me to participate in academic conferences.

Your privacy will be respected at all times and your name and recordings of your interview will not be submitted to any publication or conference.

Further Information

If you would like any further information please contact either:

Freyja Bottrell (Co-investigator and interviewer):

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Email: M.Metta@curtin.edu.au

Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee:

Telephone: +61 8 9266 2784

Email: hrec@curtin.edu.au

Appendix 2: Interview Consent Form

Interview Consent Form

"Diaspora Identity and the Influence of Ideas from the Homeland: Comparing the Chinese and Jewish Diasporas"

Principal Investigator, Marilyn Metta

Department of Social Sciences and International Studies, Curtin University

Co-Investigator and Interviewer, Freyja Bottrell

PhD Candidate, Department of Social Sciences and International Studies, Curtin University

1. I …… consent to take part in the research project "Diaspora Identity and the Influence of Ideas from the Homeland: Comparing the Chinese and Jewish Diasporas." I have read the information sheet for this project and understand its contents. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about this project and I have received answers that are satisfactory to me. My consent is freely given.
2. I understand that while information received during the interview may be published in academic journals or books or presented at conferences, my name will not be identified in relation to any of the information I have provided.
3. I understand that if I agree to be recorded on digital media, it will be made available upon request.
4. I understand that any personal information will be kept confidential so far as the law allows. The information collected throughout the duration of the interview will be stored in a locked cabinet at Curtin University. The information entered onto a computer will be accessible via password only by Freyja Bottrell.
5. I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage, without providing any reason and that this will not have any adverse consequences for me. If I withdraw, the information I provide will not be used by the project.

Signed …… Date ……..

6. I consent to be recorded on digital media by the interviewer. I understand that the media will be stored securely at Curtin University. I agree for my interview to be recorded on the following media (check one):
   ☐ Audio device only
   ☐ Video device only
   ☐ Audio and video devices

Name of Participant:

Signed:

Dated:

I certify that I have explained the study to the participant and consider that he/she understands what is involved.

Name of Interviewer:

Signed:

Dated:

Appendix 3: Demographics Questionnaire

Demographics Questionnaire

1. Please select your age range
   - ☐ 18-25 years
   - ☐ 26-35 years
   - ☐ 36-50 years
   - ☐ 51-80 years
   - ☐ Over 80 years

2. Where were you born? (City, Country)

_____

   a. At what age did you leave this place? (if applicable)

_____

3. Where were your parents born?

_____

4. Where were your grandparents born?

_____

5. Where did you primarily spend your childhood?

6. What is your current city and country of residence?

7. When did you come to the place you currently reside? What were the circumstances behind you coming here?

8. Aside from your birthplace and current place of residence, have you lived in any other cities/countries?

9. What is your marital status?

10. Do you have children? If yes how many and their age bracket (i.e. pre-school age, primary or high school age, adults, etc.)

11. What is the highest education level you have achieved? (i.e. Primary, secondary, tertiary, post-graduate, etc.)

12. What is your profession?

13. What languages do you speak? (including level of fluency, written or spoken)

    a. Where are these languages primarily used?

14. Do you profess a particular faith/belief? Are you an active member of any faith community?

Appendix 4: Interview Schedule

Interview Questions

1. (For Chinese informants) Do you know how many generations have passed since your forebears left China?

2. (For Jewish informants) What kind of knowledge do you have about where your family has resided over the generations?

Defining self/others as Chinese/Jewish

3. How would you define someone who is Chinese/Jewish?

4. What characteristics do you possess that make you a Chinese/Jewish person?

5. Do you think that there are characteristics that are universal to all Chinese/Jewish people?

6. Do you know of people who also consider themselves to be Chinese/Jewish but live in different environments and see themselves differently?

7. Have you ever encountered other definitions/perceptions of what it means to be Chinese/Jewish that differed or contradicted with yours? How did you feel/react? What was different?

8. When you travel overseas how do you perceive/describe yourself?

9. Do you think that there is anything you could do to be not or less Chinese/Jewish, or do you feel that your Chineseness/Jewishness is a fundamental part of who you are which can never be changed?

Community and Place of Residence

10. Please describe the community/ies in which you grew up. (Including family structure, community ethnic and socio-economic composition, whether the informant was a minority in that community or not. Specific aspects of this question tailored to ensure comfort of informant)

11. How do you think the environment in which you live influences how you see yourself?

12. Do you consider yourself to be a part of a larger Chinese/Jewish community? How so?
    a. If yes: What kind of impact do you think being a part of this community has on your identity as Chinese/Jewish?
    b. If no: How do you think this affects your identity as Chinese/Jewish?

13. As a Chinese/Jewish person what makes you different from the majority of people in your community?

14. How do you think you are perceived as a Chinese/Jewish person in your place of residence?
    a. How do you think the way you are perceived impacts on the importance you place on being Chinese/Jewish?

15. Have you ever experienced discrimination in your place of residence because you are Chinese/Jewish?

Daily Activities and Identity

16. What kind of Chinese/Jewish cultural, media, sporting, entertainment materials and groups do you partake in?
    a. How frequent would you consider your involvement?
    b. Why is taking part in the above activities important to you?
    c. Do you think that all Chinese/Jewish people should partake of Chinese/Jewish materials or organisations?

17. What cultural media from PRC/Israel do you watch/read/listen to?

18. If your workplace suggested you to be the one to liaise with Chinese/Israeli business contacts, associates, clients etc. because you are Chinese/Jewish how would you feel?

Prompters: that you're the best person for the job, unsuitable, insulted, logical choice etc.

19. What are your views on speaking/learning Mandarin Chinese/Hebrew and its importance to being Chinese/Jewish?

20. What are your feelings about 'roots tourism'?

Personal connections with the homeland

21. Have you ever been to PRC/Israel? What were the reason/s for your visit/s?

22. When you visit PRC/Israel how do you feel?
    Prompters: homecoming, some connection, like a tourist, alienated etc.

23. Do you follow news/politics/business trends in PRC/Israel? Why?

24. If your knowledge of PRC/Israel was more/less how do you think your identity as a Chinese/Jewish person would change?

25. Please describe your views of the following statements about PRC/Israel. Do you agree/disagree with them? Do you think the statements are applicable to you as a Chinese/Jewish person? Why?
    a. PRC/Israel is the land of my ancestors.
    b. PRC/Israel is my real homeland.

c. PRC/Israel is a place where my relatives live currently.
d. PRC/Israel is the homeland I would like to return to someday.
e. PRC/Israel is the homeland I would like to return to if conditions there changed.
f. PRC/Israel is a country I support politically/economically/in sports as I am a Chinese/Jewish person.
g. PRC/Israel is a country I have little interest in as it has nothing to do with my life.

26. How do you think your identity as Chinese/Jewish has changed over the years? Do you think that easier access to news or opinions from PRC/Israel has had an effect on this?

Chinese/Jewish outside vs. inside homeland

27. What differences do you think there are between you as a Chinese/Jewish person and a Chinese/Jewish person living in PRC/Israel?

28. How do you think PRC/Israel defines a Chinese/Jewish person?

29. How do you think people in PRC/Israel would define you?

30. When you encounter someone from PRC/Israel how do you feel?
    Prompters: connected, kindred, like you should be connected but you aren't, no connection

Homeland policies and impacts on identity

31. If someone who was not Chinese/Jewish was making negative comments about PRC/Israel how would you feel or react?

    Prompters: personally insulted/agitated, compelled to stick up for PRC/Israel, try to see both sides of the story, not impacted personally etc.

32. How do you think the large amount of publicity PRC/Israel gets internationally affects the way you see yourself as a Chinese/Jewish person?

33. Have you heard of any issues or controversies about what makes a person Chinese/Jewish in PRC/Israel that have gained publicity? How did they impact the way you see yourself?

34. What do you know about any official policies about Chinese/Jewish identity in PRC/Israel?

35. How do you think the way your specific religious beliefs are perceived in PRC/Israel affects your identity as Chinese/Jewish?

36. How do you think the development of the internet and communications technology has impacted on the effectiveness of the promotion of what PRC/Israel defines being Chinese/Jewish?

37. How did (defining event in homeland occurring during interviewee's lifetime) impact on you/make you feel?
    a. China: Cultural Revolution, Tiananmen massacre, Beijing Olympics etc.
    b. Israel: 1967 war, Oslo accords, Intifadas etc.

Appendix 5: Interview Images

Images for Interviews – (accessed 3 January 2014 via Google Images)

Chinese New Year dinner

Retrieved from: http://www.thehoneycombers.com/singapore/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2013/01/majestic-deluxe-treasures-claypot-takeaway-set.jpg

Great Wall of China

Retrieved from: http://www.shedexpedition.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/the-up-of-the-great-wall.jpeg

China National Day

Retrieved from: http://hative.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/national-day-celebrations-tiananmen-square-psd-files-2609.jpg

Passover Seder

Retrieved from:
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b7/A_Seder_table_setting.jpg

Jerusalem/Western Wall

Retrieved from:
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/17/Westernwall2.jpg

Israel Independence Day

Retrieved from: http://cdn.timesofisrael.com/uploads/2013/04/F130411YS28.jpg

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