

GLOBALIZATION, MIGRATION AND SOCIAL
TRANSFORMATION

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Globalization, Migration and Social Transformation

Ireland in Europe and the World

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ASHGATE

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11		11
12	Theories of Transnationalism focus on the macro economic reasons that people	12
13	migrate to live in one country from another (Wallerstein 1974, Massey et al. 1993).	13
14	Within studies on transnational migration, the focus has been squarely on how	14
15	migrants “maintain a variety of ties to their home countries while they become	15
16	incorporated into the countries where they have settled” (Levitt and Jaworsky	16
17	2007: 130). In this paper, I argue that although many immigrants do have ties to	17
18	‘home’ and ‘away’ (or ‘sending’ and ‘receiving’ countries) they also have ties and	18
19	orientations, manifested in everyday transnational practices of digital media use,	19
20	beyond and between those two poles – to other ethnic diasporic communities in	20
21	the world. To unpack this, I examine here how the globalization of the economy	21
22	in Ireland and corresponding time-space compression in terms of transportation	22
23	and communication makes transnational and cosmopolitan orientations possible	23
24	for Chinese immigrants in Ireland (Vertovec 2004, 2009). I examine how the	24
25	Chinese are seen in Irish society, the portrayal of Chinese in the Irish mainstream	25
26	and ‘ethnic’ Chinese print media and then look at everyday practices and media	26
27	orientations of Chinese migrants in Ireland. I look particularly at how Chinese	27
28	migrants use digital technology in their everyday lives to maintain diasporic	28
29	connections and identities while residing in Ireland.	29
30	The Chinese population (0.4 per cent of the total population) in Ireland is	30
31	bigger proportionally than most other countries in Europe. However, Chinese	31
32	migrants in Ireland, tend not to be seen as unregulated ‘Chinese hordes’ as they are	32
33	in other European countries like Hungary (Nyiri 2005) but instead are seen by the	33
34	mainstream Irish media and even the Chinese ‘ethnic’ print media (<i>The Chinese</i>	34
35	<i>News Express</i> and <i>The Shining Emerald</i>) as migrants who are working hard in	35
36	low-wage service jobs, with little English, in order to succeed in Ireland.	36
37	The Irish media primarily portray Chinese migrants in Ireland in positive	37
38	terms highlighting ‘hard work’ and ‘industriousness’ or economic potential (as	38
39	consumers, business opportunities and as streams of revenue through international	39
40	student fees). I argue that portrayals of both Chinese people in Ireland and of	40
41	China itself cast the Chinese in Ireland as a ‘model minority’ (Chou and Feagin	41
42	2008). This image of a quite, polite, hardworking, but exploitable population	42
43	dehumanizes Chinese migrants and pits them against other migrants in Ireland.	43
44	This image in Ireland may be shifting as Chinese migration to Europe has shifted	44

1 in the last ten years with increasing migration flows that are unregulated and 1
2 associated commercially with poor working conditions and trafficking in Europe 2
3 such as the case in Morecambe Bay in the UK (Pieke 2007). This myth, however, 3
4 casts Chinese migrants as the ‘model’ for other migrants to follow, allows for 4
5 an implicit and racializing comparison between ‘deserving’ (Chinese) and 5
6 ‘undeserving’ (Nigerian) migrants in Ireland. 6

7 While the model minority is a myth, it still frames Chinese in Ireland in terms 7
8 of migration and integration. But, the model minority myth for Chinese in Ireland 8
9 is different from that in other places, predominantly the US, because this status in 9
10 Ireland is defined in terms of being a ‘good short term’ worker with a structural 10
11 context which does not encourage Chinese migrants to stay in Ireland and experience 11
12 long term integration (even if some do manage to do so). The Chinese state also 12
13 has a version of this ‘good migrant’ who works hard and sends money home to 13
14 China. But what do the Chinese migrants in Ireland think of themselves? For the 14
15 most part, the Chinese migrants in the studies reviewed below see themselves as 15
16 ‘target learning’ (King-O’Riain 2008a) as a way of investing in their own education 16
17 and human capital and as a part of the broader view of global cosmopolitans and 17
18 pioneering modernizers encouraged by the Chinese state. However, there is an 18
19 added dimension to this as they see their relation to other Chinese migrants and 19
20 the Chinese diaspora as very important. They see the Chinese in Ireland (few refer 20
21 to it as a ‘community’) and Chinese outside of Ireland as a part of this diaspora, 21
22 relate to them as this, and not just as ‘Chinese’ or as a part of the host country. 22
23 The Internet is an important part of the infrastructure, which allows this more fluid 23
24 transnational and diasporic identity construction. However, clearly their diasporic 24
25 ties are not totally free wheeling and they cannot escape the everyday lived ‘host 25
26 country effects’ which are apparent in the structural context including laws, labour 26
27 market characteristics, and the media as well as relations with earlier Chinese 27
28 migrants, racialization and politics. 28

29

30

31 **Chinese Migration in Ireland** 31

32

33 Since the 1970s, there has been a small but growing Chinese community in Ireland. 33
34 Many more settled Chinese in Ireland were originally from Hong Kong and came 34
35 to Ireland from England in the 1970s and 1980s (Yau 2007). The size and diversity 35
36 of the Chinese community in Ireland has increased dramatically and rapidly over 36
37 the past 15 years. The 2006 Census found that 16,500 Chinese were living in 37
38 Ireland in April 2006. However, many sources and community-based groups (Irish 38
39 Chinese Information Centre) consider this number to be an undercount. They feel 39
40 that the census 2006 missed many Chinese community members because some 40
41 Chinese migrants in Ireland did not know about the census due to language 41
42 barriers. Although the census was available in the Chinese language, oftentimes, 42
43 it had to be specifically ordered in some areas to receive it as such. Some also 43
44 felt that the density of housing in the city center of Dublin (where many Chinese 44

1 reside) missed counting many who live in densely populated apartments where 1
2 many have multiple, and perhaps in some cases too many occupants, to comply 2
3 with health and safety codes in their living space. They also felt that some Chinese 3
4 in Ireland have had negative experiences with the state in China and do not trust 4
5 the Irish state, do not want to be counted or have overstayed their student visas are 5
6 now here without legal status and fear being deported if they are counted. 6

7 For these reasons, they estimate the community is closer to 40,000 members 7
8 (Wang 2006, O'Leary and Li 2008, Clifford 2004). These authors base their 8
9 estimation of the Chinese community in Ireland upon estimates by the Chinese 9
10 Embassy, the number of visas issued to Chinese students – according to the GNIB 10
11 15,933 student visas went to Chinese students in 2004 (Wang 2006), and anecdotal 11
12 estimates by Chinese community based organizations in Ireland such as the 12
13 number of queries from Chinese living in Ireland at the Irish Chinese Information 13
14 Centre. While the pace of migration from China has slowed recently and some 14
15 Chinese have returned to China or moved on to other countries, they are still a 15
16 proportionally large and racially noticeable minority group in Ireland (Donohoe 16
17 2002: 9). 17

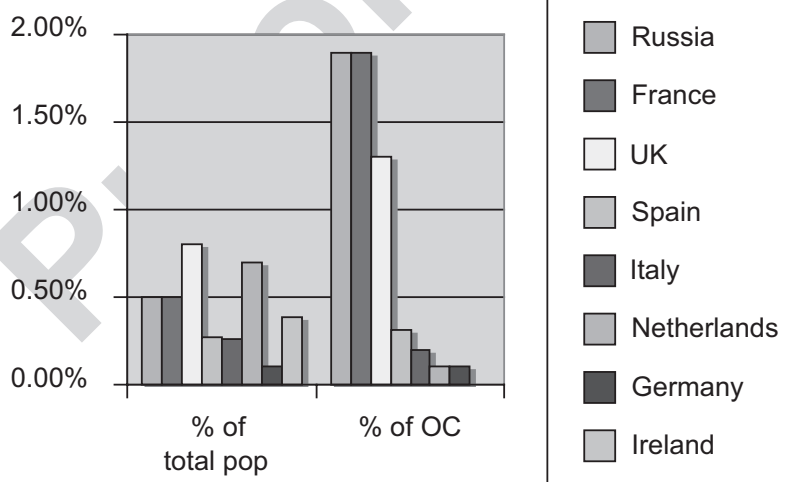
18 Chinese people living in Ireland currently tend to migrate from many different 18
19 areas of mainland China (with large groups coming from Shenyang, Shanghai, and 19
20 Beijing), have often come to Ireland as students (43 per cent) and are relatively 20
21 young (70 per cent being in their 20s) and unmarried (71 per cent). They are 21
22 primarily urban dwellers with 95 per cent living in urban areas with two thirds in 22
23 Dublin City and surrounds. Both Chinese men and women have come to Ireland 23
24 to learn English and to better their employment opportunities. Unlike Chinese 24
25 in other parts of the world, religion played a very small, if negligible, role for 25
26 them. In survey research conducted by O'Leary and Li (2008) they found that 26
27 the Chinese living in Dublin were more concerned with their immigration status 27
28 and English language competency than they were about religion (O'Leary and 28
29 Li 2008). Because Chinese students have been allowed to work part time, many 29
30 young Chinese can be seen in low wage service jobs (particularly in catering and 30
31 service/hotel industries where 51 per cent of them work) in addition to their study 31
32 (all stats from CSO 2008: 48–51). 32

33 Similarly, Feldman, Gilmartain, Loyal and Migge (2008) using 100 surveys 33
34 and one focus group (conducted in English) of Chinese living in Ireland found 34
35 that 40 of the Chinese in their survey had first arrived in Ireland 5+ years ago, 53 35
36 had third level degrees and that most of them came to Ireland for education and 36
37 training. They had the lowest income of the migrant groups studied compared 37
38 to Indian, Lithuanian, and Nigerian migrants, with 59 of the Chinese surveyed 38
39 having an income of less than 14,400 euro per year (p. 113). 70 per cent of the 39
40 Chinese in this research did not remit money home, perhaps because of the high 40
41 cost of education tuition for them (as international students) and due to their low- 41
42 income rates, but also perhaps because the Chinese migrants who come to Ireland 42
43 are the 'better off' in Chinese society unlike some migrant groups in Ireland which 43
44 are made up predominantly of refugees such as Romanians. However, the authors 44

1 found that half of the Chinese surveyed contacted family and friends using the 1
2 phone 7 or more times a month and watched both Irish/British (39 per cent) and 2
3 Chinese TV (20 per cent) daily illustrating an interest in and contact with the 3
4 Chinese diaspora and the wider world through media sources (p. 161). The primary 4
5 focus of this study was 'integration' and the Chinese were found to have 'low or 5
6 very low' integration levels versus their Nigerian (70 per cent medium or high 6
7 levels of integration) or Indian (90 per cent medium or high levels of integration) 7
8 counterparts (p. 186). 8

9 To add to the findings of the above study, Titley et al. 2010, focused on Chinese 9
10 migrants' views of themselves, not only in relation to what Ireland thought of 10
11 them and how they fit in (integration), but also in their views of Irish society, their 11
12 relationships to the global Chinese community (diaspora), and to the homeland 12
13 (China). 13

14 Like much of the world, Chinese migration to Ireland is not driven by poverty. 14
15 In fact, many of the migrants in Ireland, as in other parts of Europe, are from 15
16 the most economically advanced provinces in China and from families who can 16
17 afford to send and support studying abroad. As such, they come (as we saw in the 17
18 statistics above) from higher educational backgrounds even though they may work 18
19 in low wage service industries. Chinese in Ireland, also cited the fact that it was 19
20 easier to get a visa in Ireland (post 9/11) than in the US and that the cost of living 20
21 (relatively) was lower than other parts of Europe (Wang 2006) although they felt 21
22 that this was rapidly changing. 22



42 **Figure 15.1 Numbers of PRC nationals in European countries 2000–2001** 42

43 43
44 *Source:* Drawn from data at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/overseas_chinese 44

1 In other parts of Europe, Chinese migration is important, but statistically has 1
 2 been relatively small as a proportion of the total population compared to Ireland. 2
 3 Figure 15.1 shows the numbers of nationals from the People's Republic of China 3
 4 in 2000–2001 in Europe. 4

5 Proportionally, compared to other European countries, Ireland (with 16,500 5
 6 Chinese in 2006) has a much larger Chinese community with Chinese in Ireland 6
 7 making up 0.4 per cent of the population as opposed to 0.08 per cent in Italy, 0.05 7
 8 per cent in Germany, 0.06 per cent in Spain and 0.03 per cent in the UK. The 8
 9 speed and diversity of migrants from China in Ireland is also unique as they have 9
 10 mostly come to Ireland in the last 10 years and have come from diverse locations 10
 11 in China, not just from Zhejiang and Fujian provinces (Laczko 2003). 11

12 12

13 13

14 **The Global Chinese Diaspora** 14

15 15

16 Recent (1990s) migration from China is different from earlier waves of migration 16
 17 to Europe and Ireland with large numbers of Chinese seeing emigration away from 17
 18 China as an option through commercialization (including the use of 'agents' and 18
 19 with local Chinese government support for emigration as a form of development 19
 20 policy), the globalization of Chinese migration and rise and diversification of 20
 21 educational and professional migration from China (Pieke 2007: 85). While some 21
 22 Chinese migrants see migration as an educational and professional strategy to 22
 23 develop human capital, not all are able to find white collar jobs (because of limited 23
 24 English and lack of recognition of their Chinese credentials) and a considerable 24
 25 number end up in low-skilled, low wage work (Salaff and Chan 2006). Likewise, 25
 26 this is true for many Chinese migrants in Ireland, who when interviewed, had not 26
 27 improved their English that much, not attained high paying jobs (Feldman et. al. 27
 28 2008) and were not integrated in Irish society. In addition, many 'newly arrived 28
 29 Chinese' 'Fresh off the Boat' (FOBs) did not have much in common with earlier 29
 30 migrants and in some instance may even be in competition with co-ethnics and face 30
 31 racialization from Irish dominant society (Yau 2007). Interestingly, even settled 31
 32 Chinese in Ireland and second generation Chinese (many of whom were mixed 32
 33 race), were still heavily racialized in Ireland and assumed to be recent migrants. 33

34 Globally, Chinese students often do not return home after their studies, but 34
 35 instead continue in their studies, take up employment in their destination country 35
 36 or move on to another country. In the US, the recipient of the largest number of 36
 37 Chinese students, the return rate is 14.1 per cent, but in Europe, nearly half of the 37
 38 Chinese students return home. Perhaps this will be true in Ireland, as there is little 38
 39 provision for a 'bridge' or transition to a work visa from a student visa in Ireland 39
 40 (Laczko 2003). 40

41 The transnational orientation the Chinese migrants was not unique to Ireland 41
 42 and in fact is an example of the new wave of Chinese migration around the world, 42
 43 which has 'spawned a broad range of new institutions that are a product of the 43
 44 transnational experience itself, and therefore only partially rely on local resources 44

1 and opportunities from which new migrants groups are quite often excluded' 1
 2 (Pieke 2007: 90). Clearly, local Irish and Chinese ethnic media can shape how 2
 3 Chinese people come to cope and see themselves in Ireland, but transnational 3
 4 media also play a significant role in creating transnational practices, which not 4
 5 only encourage and enable transnational ties, but come to constitute transnational 5
 6 living in meaningful ways. 6

7 7
 8 8

9 **Irish Media Portrayals of the Chinese in Ireland** 9

10 10

11 How the mainstream media 'sees' migrant groups is important in terms of how Irish 11
 12 people form opinions about migrants and the countries they come from (Haynes, 12
 13 Devereux and Breen: 2009), how those opinions affect the daily lives of Chinese 13
 14 migrants in Ireland and how this may be in contrast to how the group sees itself. 14

15 Hungary is a good comparison for Ireland in terms of Chinese migration 15
 16 because there was a rapid inflow of Chinese to Hungary in the 1990s (as well 16
 17 as Ireland). Visa requirements became easier in Hungary because of the fall of 17
 18 the Berlin Wall. In Ireland, student visas became attractive for Chinese students 18
 19 because after 9/11, English-speaking countries like the US and UK began to make 19
 20 student visa requirements more stringent and Ireland increased its recruitment of 20
 21 Chinese students to pay international fees in Irish universities. In addition, the size 21
 22 of the Chinese communities in Hungary and Ireland are proportionally similar 22
 23 with 10,000 Chinese in Hungary by 2001 and roughly 16,500 (although believed 23
 24 to be much larger) in Ireland by 2006. 24

25 In Hungary, Pal Nyiri (2005) argues that two parallel but opposing narratives 25
 26 of the position of Chinese in Hungary were clear within media coverage. One 26
 27 discourse, produced by the Hungarian officials and media, viewed Chinese 27
 28 migrants as 'semi-criminal marginals.' The other discourse, engaged in by Chinese 28
 29 officials and Chinese ethnic media in Hungary, saw migrants as 'pioneering global 29
 30 modernizers' (p. 659). They were loyal to the state policy of emigration as a form 30
 31 of development bringing 'modernity' to China via their migration experiences and 31
 32 networks. 32

33 In Ireland, the Irish print media tend to see Chinese migrants (relative to other 33
 34 migrants) as deserving and known for their 'hard work'. In the height of the Celtic 34
 35 Tiger Economic Boom in 2004, the *Sunday Tribune* ran an article that exclaimed: 35

36 36

37 Guo Wei Li conforms to the stereotypes of the Chinese in this country. Work 37
 38 appears to be something of a passion to which the only impediment is the limited 38
 39 number of hours in the day. You thought manual labour was a Spanish musician? 39
 40 No sir, he's a Chinese immigrant. Look all around in Dublin these days, and to 40
 41 a lesser extent the state's other cities. They're a-comin, in the thousands. Buy a 41
 42 newspaper, order a cup of coffee, peruse the aisles of the supermarket, hand up 42
 43 your empty glass in your local. These days, those working at the rough end of 43
 44 the service industries all appear to be of Asian origin The estimated 35,000- 44

1 40,000 (Chinese) nationals in this country have taken over the jobs the natives 1
2 won't touch anymore ... Where once the Gaels went to the UK or USA to do that 2
3 which the native wouldn't do, now we invite the Chinese in to do that which we 3
4 deem beneath us. We've come a long way, baby (Clifford 2004: 10). 4
5 5
6 Not only were they seen as hard workers and perhaps exploitable because they 6
7 would work diligently for lower wages, they were also seen as a form of revenue 7
8 for Universities. With declining finances for universities in Ireland in 2005, 8
9 International students, but particularly Chinese students, were seen as a potential 9
10 'revenue stream' to keep Irish universities afloat and it was recognized widely 10
11 that 'Chinese students are big business, as the presence of the great and good 11
12 of the Irish education system on the high-profile trade mission shows' (Downes 12
13 2005: 12). The age-old stereotype of the Chinese migrant as a hard working 13
14 businessperson was also a way for the media to portray Chinese migrants as one- 14
15 dimensional, but contributing members of society. 'Because the Chinese tend to 15
16 be successful wherever they settle, it is likely they will become an ever-increasing 16
17 business presence in Ireland' (O'Connor 2003: 32). 17
18 The Chinese tend to be portrayed then in Irish print media as hard working 18
19 (like the Irish of yesteryear) migrants who are contributing and deserving to be 19
20 here. They are also big business (both as consumers and as streams of revenue for 20
21 universities) and worth recruiting to come to Ireland. 21
22 Chinese migrants are not framed in these media accounts in terms of what they 22
23 add to society by way of multiculturalism, global social networks or diversification, 23
24 but just as economic units, as potential economic links to China (not that many are 24
25 willing to learn to speak Chinese from them) or doing jobs Irish don't want to do. 25
26 This perpetuates an on-going framing of issue of migration in media as part 26
27 of the 'Host/newcomer' (Hickman 2007) dichotomy where the idea of 'Ireland 27
28 becoming multicultural due to immigration installs an imbalanced power relation 28
29 between a (re)imagined monocultural host and immigrants and over-determines the 29
30 moment of becoming multicultural. When this underpins responses to immigration 30
31 ... "talk of diversity" is predicated not on the acceptance of plurality but on the 31
32 notion of a "host that is being subject to diversification" (Hickman 2007: 12). 32
33 State integration policies (or lack thereof) have created what some call 'tolerant 33
34 inclusive nationals' on the one hand and 'migrants in need of integration' on the other 34
35 (Gray 2006). Chinese migrants interviewed here don't see themselves primarily in 35
36 terms of 'diversifying' Ireland or as migrants in need of integration. Instead they 36
37 see themselves as globally oriented citizens who are here to build human capital 37
38 (in terms of learning English and getting job and educational experiences) and not 38
39 as newcomers, but as locally based global dwellers. Migrants, even returning Irish 39
40 migrants, and especially Chinese migrants, challenge the home-abroad dichotomy 40
41 (see Chapter 2) and problematize the dichotomies of Host/Newcomer, Home/ 41
42 Abroad and also assumptions about what we see as global/local. 42
43 To better understand this, I next analyze the Chinese migrants assessments of 43
44 portrayals of China in the Irish print media, their perceptions of Chinese 'ethnic' 44

1 media in Ireland and their own use of digital media to overcome what they see as 1
2 the shortcomings of both. As Titley (2008) argues, we need to consider that: 2
3 3
4 ... while, functional aspects of minority media are crucially important, 4
5 imagined (ethnic minority) audiences are malleable and shaped by a variety of 5
6 pressures and reflexes, and the orientation and production of any one channel 6
7 must ultimately be understood within a transnational field of information flow, 7
8 diasporic engagement and self-presentation (Titley 2008: 42). 8
9 9

10 Chinese in Ireland present themselves, not as always in relation to other migrants 10
11 per se, or as strictly members of the local Chinese community, but globally oriented 11
12 to other overseas Chinese communities and the world at large. 12
13 In Ireland, Titley (forthcoming) argues that: 13
14 14

15 media produced by and for Chinese in Ireland were mainly evaluated in terms of 15
16 detached utility... and did not feature as central, never mind common, points of 16
17 reference... Media engagement was frequently shaped by priorities derived from 17
18 the wider, gendered experience of work and opportunity-based migration... It is 18
19 not society in Ireland or self in society in Ireland that stands as the contrapuntal 19
20 other for re-imagining the self. Instead it is a site from where their relations to 20
21 China are re-assessed (Titley forthcoming: 11). 21
22 22

23 I would add that it is also Chinese migrants' relations to other 'overseas Chinese 23
24 diasporic' members and well as other local Chinese migrants that produced a 24
25 distinct way of 'being Chinese' in Ireland in relation to the rest. The integration 25
26 discourse has examined how Chinese migrants relate to Irish society and Ireland 26
27 and Titley clearly argues that this must be placed in context where we consider how 27
28 Chinese migrants also relate to their homeland, but I add that Chinese migrants in 28
29 Ireland are also 'in the world' and orient themselves internationally as well. 29

30 Titley, Kerr and King-O'Riain (2010) found that Chinese migrants used the 30
31 Internet and computers far more than they watched TV or listened to the radio 31
32 and far more than either Nigerian or Polish migrants interviewed. This was in part 32
33 because they felt that there was nothing for them on the Irish radio and TV. They 33
34 could obtain more up to date information (news) and a wider range of programmes 34
35 in both Mandarin and English because they prioritized ready access to computers 35
36 and the Internet. Not all owned a TV or a landline phone, but almost all owned 36
37 a computer or had easy access to one via study and we found that they often 37
38 used the computer to watch TV. Most used the print media to learn about Ireland 38
39 (particularly upon first arrival) for logistical and practical purposes (jobs, housing, 39
40 etc.) but dismissed the Irish papers as parochial and poorly produced. They 40
41 felt that representations of China in Irish media were largely negative, but also 41
42 recognized the limits of Chinese media to do so because of state restrictions. The 42
43 context of Chinese migrants media use was very collective as most participants 43
44 read the newspapers, watched TV or other Chinese programming with friends 44

1 or housemates. Like their Nigerian and Polish counterparts, the report finds that 1
 2 Chinese migrants are fairly sophisticated consumers and users of media in Ireland. 2
 3 Media use is integrated across different platforms and scales of production; local, 3
 4 Irish national, home country national, diasporic, and transnational channels are 4
 5 combined in daily practice (Tittley, Kerr and King-O’Riain 2010: 107) shaped by 5
 6 language competency, cultural capital, and action orientation. Interviewees were 6
 7 equally critical of ‘ethnic’ or ‘national migrant media’ in Ireland and diasporic and 7
 8 transnational media played a more central role in all of the media users lives. 8

9 This disconnect between migrants, ‘ethnic media’ and national media fora may 9
 10 be shaped by the structural context of the host country and limit their ability to 10
 11 connect with Ireland. The structural context of the working v. student visa system 11
 12 in Ireland, means that the majority of Chinese migrants have come to Ireland on 12
 13 student visas and hence they are only allowed to work 20 hours per week during 13
 14 term time and 40 hours a week outside of the term. Their student visas must be 14
 15 renewed every 6–12 months (depending on the date of entry and type) involving 15
 16 much time and expense. When they finish with their studies, there is only a small 16
 17 chance for many to obtain a work visa and in order to do so there is an income 17
 18 requirement, which many find prohibitive. For these reasons, many of the Chinese 18
 19 migrants in Ireland see themselves as only here temporarily and their identity, 19
 20 orientation and social actions are not focused primarily upon integrating in Ireland 20
 21 for the long term. This is different from other migrants in Ireland, such as the 21
 22 Polish who, as EU members, can stay for as long as they like or for refugees and 22
 23 asylum seekers (say from Romania or Nigeria) who are in state provision until 23
 24 they are allowed to stay or deported. This is not to say that Chinese migrants don’t 24
 25 end up staying in form or another, but there initial and persisting orientation to 25
 26 Ireland is that of ‘outsider’ and ‘temporary resident.’ 26

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29 **Ethnic, Diaspora and Transnational Media** 29

30 30

31 Gillespie (1995) argues that studies of media by and for migrants is important in 31
 32 terms of understanding the expectations placed on migrants in terms of how to 32
 33 be ‘ethnic’ and on the way migrants respond to these expectations. One way to 33
 34 see this is to examine Chinese views of local ‘ethnic’ (Chinese) media in order to 34
 35 center the Chinese views of where and how they should belong in Ireland, but also 35
 36 who they are in Ireland. 36

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39 **Ethnic Newspapers in Ireland** 39

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41 Most Chinese migrants in Tittley et al. (2010) reported that they didn’t read local 41
 42 Chinese ‘ethnic’ newspapers like the *Shining Emerald* or the *Chinese Newsexpress* 42
 43 (now *Irish Chinese News*) that often. Their reading of it, when it happened, was 43
 44 casual – if they happened to be in a Chinese restaurant, they might pick it up, but 44

1 they don't buy them or read them regularly. They found they were helpful for 1
 2 practical local information (finding a job, house etc.) or if you were 'fresh off 2
 3 the boat' (FOB) – a newly arrived migrant. They found the content of the news 3
 4 in Chinese newspapers to be literally 'cut and pasted' from other sources off the 4
 5 Internet, poorly written/edited and that they could read these articles sooner and 5
 6 in a timelier manner on line. Their more meaningful links were to the Chinese 6
 7 diaspora. 7

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10 **Transnational Media and Links to China** 10

11 11
 12 Wanning (2005) argues that in particular, new 'digital' media add to rather than 12
 13 replace Chinese language media (print) in Chinese diaspora communities around 13
 14 the world to create a Chinese mediascape (p. 66), which in part determines "not 14
 15 whether I can continue to be Chinese in another country, but how Chinese or what 15
 16 kind of Chinese I want to be" (p. 68). She analyzes the relationships between 16
 17 community, commerce and cultural consumption of Chinese media where the 17
 18 meanings of 'Chineseness' are constructed to demonstrate how 'the processes of 18
 19 media production, representation and consumption are integral to the formation of 19
 20 a Chinese diasporic imagination... which is inherently transnational, and central to 20
 21 the formation of such transnational imaginary is what I refer to as the "transnational 21
 22 mediasphere" which, is a global phenomenon nevertheless inflected with local 22
 23 concerns' (Wanning 2005: 69). It is a social process that is an 'interface between 23
 24 the material – the flow of people – and the symbolic – the flow of images; a 24
 25 convergence between the private individual diasporic subject position – and the 25
 26 public – the performative and expressive aspect of such a position; and an overlap 26
 27 between the national and the nation-state with the post national and the diasporic' 27
 28 (Wanning 2005: 81). 28

29 Many of the Chinese participants in Ireland identified the Internet as the social 29
 30 technology of the Diaspora and said that they often turned to the internet for 30
 31 information, communication and entertainment. They described how they used the 31
 32 internet and the web based chat programs often, sometimes daily. They used skype 32
 33 (a digital telephony and webcam service) and QQ (a Chinese language based chat 33
 34 program on line) mainly because of the cost (free) and due to easier access as 34
 35 many said they had a computer or went to a café to use a computer to do so. 35

36 Titley et al. (2010) reported that Chinese migrants in their study used a 36
 37 computer almost every day (far more often than TV viewing) and most had access 37
 38 through their place of study, at home (or a friend's home) or at an internet café. 38
 39 Participants reported keeping up blogs, using webcams everyday to communicate 39
 40 with others (some in China and some in Ireland). They talked about using the web 40
 41 to disseminate information about themselves. Almost all of the Chinese migrants 41
 42 interviewed saw the Irish digital media as less developed than Chinese digital 42
 43 media. They were particularly disappointed in how slow the download speed 43
 44 was and that broadband availability was an issue in some areas, which made it 44

1 difficult to stream for web chat/webcams, TV programmes etc. They felt that the 1
 2 whole process of getting access to the Internet was slow and expensive in Ireland. 2
 3 They specifically mentioned that applying to Eircom to get service and installment 3
 4 was slow and complicated. This was not surprising since many Chinese migrants 4
 5 Remember hail from bigger cities in China where Internet access is better than 5
 6 much of rural or even suburban Ireland. 6

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9 **Conclusions**

10

11 Chinese migrants in Ireland use the Internet and computers far more than they read 11
 12 newspapers (in either English or Chinese), because they can get more up to date 12
 13 information faster via the internet, can access a wider range of programmes (even 13
 14 from the US/UK) in both English and Mandarin almost instantly (often before 14
 15 movies or TV programmes are shown in Ireland), and because they have ready 15
 16 access to computers and broadband service. The digital media for them is the 16
 17 social technology and the medium of the diaspora. 17

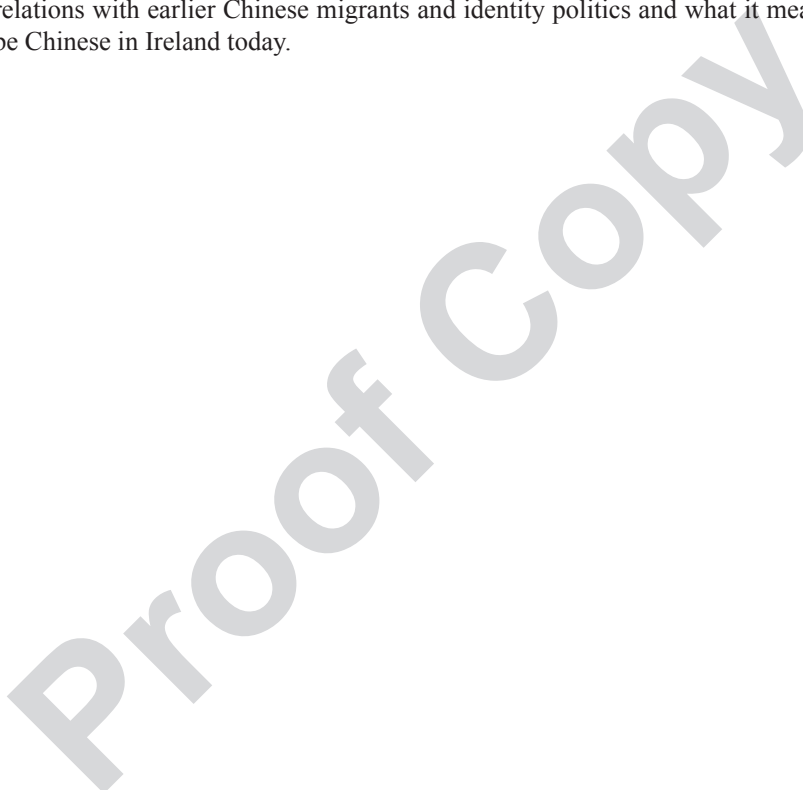
18 While participants claimed that TV and phone services were expensive, not 18
 19 all owned a TV (or paid the TV license), almost all owned a computer or had 19
 20 easy access to one (by paying fees to college or school or by paying by use in 20
 21 an internet café). Chinese migrants prioritized spending money on the computer/ 21
 22 internet as a gateway to communicating with China, within Ireland, but also with 22
 23 members of the Chinese diaspora and diasporic culture (movies in Chinese etc) 23
 24 throughout the world. 24

25 There are a proportionally large number of Chinese migrants living in Ireland, 25
 26 the 'community' is far from homogeneous (King-O'Riain 2008b) and quite visible, 26
 27 and yet, it has not been seen as in the narrative of the 'Chinese hordes' that some 27
 28 other European countries have. Likewise, the Irish representation of Chinese in the 28
 29 print media has been predominantly positive but tend to see Chinese migrants in 29
 30 Ireland in economic terms only and not as people. Chinese migrants are critical of 30
 31 these perceptions and of the portrayal of China in Irish media, but again, are clear 31
 32 that perhaps some Irish coverage was more truthful than the state controlled media 32
 33 in China. Perceptions of Chinese local 'ethnic' newspapers didn't fare much better 33
 34 and instead, Chinese migrants felt that these papers tended to be poorly produced, 34
 35 using state (embassy press releases) 'news' or recycling (remediating) news from 35
 36 Chinese papers on the Internet. They preferred to use the Internet themselves to 36
 37 seek out various news sources (including non Irish and Non Chinese sources). 37

38 We can see that these Chinese migrants, through their media practices, are 38
 39 oriented not to 'diversifying' Ireland as a 'model minority', don't relate to local 39
 40 ethnic media or see themselves as a local Irish Chinese community, but prefer 40
 41 'globally oriented' digital media for information, news, and social networking 41
 42 both within Ireland, China, and the world. 42

43 Chinese migrants in Ireland see the local Chinese community in Ireland and 43
 44 the Chinese outside of Ireland as part of a constellation of the Chinese diaspora 44

1 in which they circulate. Digital media (blogging, email, texting, web cam use, 1
2 telephone, streaming TV and radio programmes, keeping up with news etc.) use is 2
3 the social technology, which enables a fluid, diasporic connection and identity to be 3
4 maintained. The increasing availability and speed of communication technologies 4
5 in Ireland, enables Chinese in Ireland to be 'here' and 'there' and 'everywhere' 5
6 simultaneously and creates identifications, which can be moved with the ease 6
7 of a laptop. However, there are local limits to this fluid diasporic identity when 7
8 broadband speed prevents communication, work visas are not forthcoming and 8
9 living standards prohibit the use of the digital media to stay in touch. There are also 9
10 significant negotiations to be made in terms of identity in terms of racialization, 10
11 relations with earlier Chinese migrants and identity politics and what it means to 11
12 be Chinese in Ireland today. 12
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