

# Where is Hong Kong in South Australia?

A study of Hong Kong immigrants and their cultural heritage in contemporary South Australia



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For all Hong Kong immigrants in Australia and around the world

## **Abstract**

This thesis explores Hong Kong cultural heritage in South Australia and how Hong Kong immigrants maintain and transmit it in their 'new' home. It also examines non-Chinese South Australians' experience with Hong Kong cultural heritage in South Australia and its preservation in the state. The study is significant, since Hong Kong cultural heritage in South Australia, or in Australia, is under researched and a deeper understanding of it may lead to a better recognition of Hong Kong cultural heritage in both the state and the country. Nine Hong Kong immigrants and five non-Chinese South Australians participated in individual interviews. Site surveys were then conducted in Hong Kong cultural heritage places identified by Hong Kong immigrants. Eighty percent of the cultural heritage places were Hong Kong-style tea cafés or Cantonese restaurants, revealing the importance Hong Kong immigrants have placed on their food heritage. The clear emphasis on the material ephemerality of Hong Kong food heritage reflects Hong Kong immigrants' flexibility and adaptability in practising and preserving their cultural heritage in South Australia.

## **Declaration**

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate, without acknowledgement, any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due references is made in the text.

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**All unattributed figures were taken by the author.**

### **List of Acronyms**

AACC: Austral-Asian Christian Church

CH: cultural heritage

CNY: Chinese New Year

HK: Hong Kong

HKAS: HongKonger Australia Support

HKCASA: Hong Kong Cultural Association of South Australia

ICH: intangible cultural heritage

MLC: Mount Lion Café

SA: South Australia

## **Chapter 1: Hong Kong People- Richness of Identity and Cultures**

Since the dismantling of the ‘White Australia’ policy in 1972, Australia has become one of the most appealing destinations for immigrants from Asia. Based on the latest statistics from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2024), people who were born in China were the third largest overseas-born group in SA (hereafter known as SA) in 2021 (ABS 2024). Even though the data only accounted for Chinese from mainland China, and excluded Chinese from HK (hereafter known as HK), it is still an indication that Chinese immigrants are growing in number in SA. A 2023 study revealed that the number of HK-born Australians has more than doubled over the course of the past decade, from 5,662 between 2011 and 2016 to 13,030 between 2016 and 2021 (Ngan et al. 2023:5).

Nevertheless, at first sight, apart from the emblematic landmarks situated in the busiest area in the Adelaide CBD, including Chinatown (Figure 1), the Chinatown Archways (Figure 2), and the giant Buddha (Figure 3) (Glenys 2020), as well as the construction of the Buddhist temple called Nan Hai Pu Tuo Temple of Australia at Sellick’s Hill, south of the CBD (Figure 4), tangible Chinese CH (hereafter known as CH) is not visible, nor listed on the South Australian Heritage Register.



Figure 1: Chinatown in Adelaide, August 2023.



Figure 2: Chinatown Archways in Adelaide, October 2024.



Figure 3: The 18-metre tall 'Guan Yin' Buddha at Sellick's Hill, SA, October 2024



Figure 4: The Construction of the Buddhist Temple at Sellick's Hill, SA, October 2024.

Though there are many similarities between Chinese and HK CH heritage (hereafter known as HK CH), especially in terms of the traditional Chinese festivals, folk rituals and ancestor worship, the differences cannot be ignored (Cheng 2023). Given HK's unique history as a British colony for one and a half centuries (from 1841 to 1997), Cheng Pei-kai, a cultural historian, considered HK intangible cultural heritage (ICH) 'a mix of Lingnan culture and influences from British colonial rule' (Cheng 2023). Lingnan culture, also known as Cantonese culture, includes the culture which originates from South China, in the 'provinces of Guangdong, Hainan and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region' (Ji and Li 2022). The differences thus make HK heritage its own entity, separate from other Chinese cultures. HK CH is not widely known or visible in the contemporary world, however. No HK tangible CH has been listed by UNESCO as World Heritage (UNESCO World Heritage Centre nd), and, regarding ICH, only Cantonese opera was listed in the first national list of ICH in 2006, and the UNESCO's Representative List of the ICH of Humanity in 2009 (Intangible Cultural Heritage Office 2023; Intangible Cultural Heritage Office 2024). Cantonese opera is a kind of 'Chinese traditional theatre' incorporating 'singing and spoken lines delivered in the Cantonese dialect. It is a popular entertainment and art form in Cantonese-speaking regions, including China's Special Administrative Regions (SARs): HK and Macau (Intangible Cultural Heritage Office 2023).

One of the better-known, though unlisted, forms of HK/Chinese heritage worldwide is yum cha. Yum cha literally means ‘drink tea’, although HK-style yum cha emphasises not the tea that is drunk, but the food that is eaten (Tam 2004). The wide variety of snack-size food items which can be selected are called dim sum. Dim sum literally means ‘touch the heart’, probably due to the variety of choices available.

### **1.1 The significance of the thesis**

Australia’s long history of Chinese immigration and emigration throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Jupp 1998; Migration Museum (S. Aust.) 1995; Richards 2008; State Library South Australia nd; Yen 2014) has not necessarily led to better recognition of Chinese or HK heritage in the present, apart from the isolated cases shown above or historical examples elsewhere in Australia associated with historic gold fields and towns (Byrne 2024:97). HK heritage in Australia as a separate entity is non-existent, as it is subsumed under the larger label “Chinese”. Moreover, how contemporary HK immigrants relate to, or define, such heritage in the present is little known, as are the forms of tangible and intangible heritage they construct for themselves today.

Having understood that the CH of HK in SA is under researched, this study has the objective of constructing a more complete record and analysis of HK CH in SA, including how HK Chinese residents (hereafter HK residents) conceptualise their CH, what it consists of, and the varied meanings and purposes it serves.

This thesis is thus the first dedicated study of HK Chinese immigrants (hereafter HK immigrants) in SA, and the tangible and intangible CH that connects them to place, both domestically and internationally, as well as to each other. By exploring the journey of HK immigrants who settled in SA (Figure 5), this study will provide insights into the experience of HK immigrants in the mainstream culture in SA, and thus may influence the perceptions of the South Australian community by contextualising the immigrant experience and the ways in which attachments to place and community are formed, changed, shifted or broken. The overall impact of HK CH in multicultural SA will also be examined through the identification and analysis of the immigrants’ CH, as well as South Australians’ views on HK culture.

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Figure 5: Map location of Hong Kong and Adelaide.

## **1.2 Defining key terms**

### **1.2.1 Terms related to CH**

Heritage, in its simplest term, consists of tangible and intangible elements that are inherited from the past, ‘preserve[d] in the present and passe[d] on to the future’ (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014:18).

Article 1 of the World Heritage Convention defines tangible CH as monuments, groups of buildings [and] sites (UNESCO World Heritage Centre (b) nd). It refers to ‘physical artifacts’ in a society that are ‘produced, maintained, and transmitted intergenerationally’ (Reshma et al. 2023). Some examples are buildings, tools and traditional clothing (Reshma et al. 2023).

ICH is defined by UNESCO as ‘the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills’ that communities identify as part of their CH (UNESCO World Heritage Convention (a) nd). In other words, CH which does not consist of material thing and so

cannot be touched. Even though food and foodways are placed on the list of UNESCO's list of ICH (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014:201), in reality the categorisation can be problematic, as food, especially its physical remains where such exist, can also be material. For the purposes of this thesis, food heritage will be defined as an ephemeral tangible heritage which typically lasts for only a short moment (Saemmer and Dufrêne 2014:1). Saemmer and Dufrêne (2014) cited installations and ice sculptures as examples of ephemeral heritage (Saemmer and Dufrêne 2014:1), which correspond well to the fleeting nature of food. While it is possible that some elements of food will endure to become archaeological (material) artefacts, this is not the lens through which it is viewed for this thesis.

### **1.2.2 Terms related to HK immigrants**

In general, the term 'immigrant' can be used interchangeably with the term 'migrant'. According to the United Nations, 'migrant' includes long-term and short-term immigrants (Douglas and Spiegel 2019:2). For this thesis, 'immigrant' will be privileged when referring to people who move from their country or city of origin to another country. The country or city of origin of a person corresponds to their place of usual residence, unless stated otherwise. HK immigrants are therefore referred to as people who moved from HK to other countries. As revealed by Pe-Pua et al. (1996), HK immigrants in the late 1980s and 1990s who migrated as a family to Australia were largely 'astronaut' families.: those which have one member, usually the father, who returns to HK to work or run a business, leaving the other family members, including his 'parachute' children and wife, in the new country (Pe-Pua et al. 1996:2).

When the Chinese language is mentioned in this study, it means either China's official language, the Mandarin language, or the Cantonese language, which is the Chinese dialect spoken by most people from HK and the Guangdong province in China, unless stated otherwise.

For the purposes of this thesis the classification of Australians based on the ABS are as follows (Ngan and Chan 2012:13):

- (i) Immigrants who were born overseas are classified as 'first generation'.

- (ii) People who were born in Australia to at least one overseas-born parent are classified as ‘second generation’.
- (iii) People who were born in Australia to parents who were also both born in Australia are considered as long-settled Australians.

As this thesis will also discuss HK immigrants’ identity, it is necessary to examine terms that are closely related to this. Heunggongyan or Hong Konger literally means a HK person or HK people (Tam 2004). HK permanent residents refers to those who have permanent right of abode and right to work and live in HK.

Migrations of HK people to other countries led to the development of other groups of HK people:

- (i) Second-generation returnees or remigrants are HK permanent residents who also hold citizenship in countries such as Canada, Australia, the UK, or the US, and have returned to HK after living in one of the host countries for at least three years (Ngan et al. 2023:224).
- (ii) In Ngan’s previous study in 2012, she interviewed 43 multi-generational ABCs in Sydney. Long-settled ABCs were defined as people who were born in Australia with at least one parent born in Australia (Ngan and Chan 2012:7).
- (iii) Long settled Australians born to Australian-born parents of Chinese descent.

These categories clearly expose the complexity of the identity of a HK person.

### **1.3 Discussion of identity**

Identities are constructed through relational positioning, there is no objective or essential part of an individual that can be considered as a concrete identity. Identities evolve through interactions and therefore are always in a state of being reconstructed and reshaped (Ngan and Chan 2012:25).

This extract illustrates perfectly the challenge and complexity involved in defining identities. An individual’s identity may be reflected in their nationality, but it is more complicated than this, as it involves the perception of self, the perception of others, state of mind, experience, and more.

The complexity of identity as a form of knowing, being and doing will be discussed further in chapter 2, but the term ‘Chineseness’ comes into the picture when assessing whether an Australian of Chinese descent has preserved any aspects of Chinese culture, linguistically or culturally. Intrinsically linked to identity, an individual’s Chineseness is also ever-changing and dependent on the experiences of the Chinese diaspora. It is therefore not a fixed entity (Ang 1998:117 and 225; Ngan and Chan 2012:24-25). A person’s appearance and spoken language are not components which can increase his/her Chineseness, since those who look Chinese ‘do not necessarily consider themselves as ‘real’ Chinese’ (Ang 1998:119; Ang 2001:29, 35-36). The degree of Chineseness of a person should rather be based on factors ‘such as memories, emotions, desires, nostalgias, imaginations, family ties, even innocence’ (Ngan and Chan 2012:32). All these subjective factors reinforce the very personal nature of Chineseness, which cannot be easily understood by another, as it requires an individual’s own reflection to elicit it. The fact that Chineseness ‘is often forced upon informants by the wider Western society’ (Ang 1998:121), an idea which is echoed in Ngan et al.’s (2023) study, can lead to an imposed and fabricated Chinese identity, or can destabilise people and challenge their initial perception of identity. As cultural expert Ien Ang (2001) remarked, the fact that ‘I come from Australia does not seem to be an acceptable answer if you physically look Chinese or Asian’ (Ang 2001:36), a statement revealing the dilemma one can face regarding her own identity, especially if it can be easily misunderstood or oversimplified by others.

Being part of various cultures will lead to the hybridisation of an individual (Ngan et al. 2023), or a feeling of ‘in-betweenness’ (Ngan and Chan 2012). Ngan et al. (2023) concluded in their study that many second-generation HK returnees who had left Australia felt like ‘outsiders’ when they returned to HK because of the transformation of their lives and identities (Ngan et al. 2023:222). One returnee revealed that, ‘I am not a 100 percent Hongkonger but at the same time I am not a 100 percent Australian’ (Ngan et al. 2023:230). Other returnees also acknowledged the hybrid nature of their identities (Ngan et al. 2023:230-231). Since a hybrid identity implies an individual’s continuous practice of at least some components of Chinese culture in Australia, it can be considered a hurdle to an immigrant’s integration to the host society. Nevertheless,

Ngan and Chan (2012) show how hybridity can also enrich individuals' lives and consolidate one's unique identity. For instance, Doreen Cheong, a fourth generation Chinese, considered that 'both of the cultures (Chinese and Australian cultures) to which I have been exposed [are] complementary rather than mutually exclusive' (Ngan and Chan 2012:83).

As suggested by Chan et al. (2022), through migration experiences, some immigrants may identify with a global citizenship formed after experiences in different countries. It traverses 'local and national levels' and is 'deterritorialised' (Chan et al. 2022:6), revealing an identity that has no boundaries, and does not belong to any group. One returnee stated explicitly his feeling of belonging to the world: 'There are no specific cities that are my home. [...] I am from Earth, that's how I see it.' (Ngan et al. 2023).

Another concept is the sense of belonging that is crucial to one's sense of comfort and security. It is the identification of oneself 'with a particular group' in a society, which brings 'security and acceptance' (Ngan and Chan 2012:128). The sense of belonging amongst different groups of Australians of Chinese descent leads to differences in their perceptions of their Australian and Chinese identities. It is interesting to note that one's sense of belonging may even lead to interchangeable identities in different contexts. For instance, some Australians of Chinese descent 'adopt different behaviours in different contexts' and 'act different when they are with Australians or Asians' (Ngan and Chan 2012:175).

#### **1.4 Research question**

By means of interviews and surveys, this thesis will investigate the following question:

What is the cultural heritage 'footprint' of Hong Kong immigrants in contemporary South Australia?

In exploring this deceptively simple question, the thesis will explore the historical journey of HK immigrants in SA, their identities and the HK CH they have or have not decided to preserve and/or create. It will also investigate the impact of HK CH in multicultural SA through the perceptions of both HK immigrants and South Australians.

## **1.5 Outline of the thesis**

Chapter 2 explores the journey of HK immigrants in Australia with a contemporary emphasis on the 1970s and after, from their motivations to move to various aspects of their new lives. It also discusses the multifaceted identities of HK immigrants, and how CH preserved by HK immigrants in Australia connects to identity and other aspects of the immigrants' experience in new environments. Chapter 3 focuses on the methods used to collect and analyse the data, including how participants were recruited for interviews, how interviews were conducted, and the rationale for conducting surveys of physical places. Chapter 4 exposes the results of the interviews and the site surveys. Chapter 5 discusses HK CH in the South Australian context, how it is maintained by HK immigrants and its uniqueness in SA. Chapter 6 concludes the study by bringing to light key findings and providing further insights for future studies.

## **Chapter 2: From Hong Kong to South Australia: New Lives and Hong Kong Cultural Heritage in South Australia**

### **2.1 Hong Kong Immigrants in Australia**

#### **2.1.1 Immigrants' reasons to leave HK**

Recently, there has been a surge in the number of HK immigrants settling in Australia. The trend of emigration from HK is frequently considered to have a direct correlation with political changes. The first wave of HK emigration happened after the Tiananmen incident in 1989, when immigration to Australia peaked in the years 1991-1992 due to fear of political and social instabilities after the handover to China in 1997 (Dunn and Ip 2008; Pe-Pua 1996:22; Sussman 2010:1; Wu et al. 1998:406). Another wave of emigration happened more recently, from the 2010s to 2022/23, as a result of the two socio-political movements, namely the 2012-2014 Umbrella Movement and the 2019-2020 Anti-Extradition Bill Movement. There was already a total net loss of -39,800 and -23,100 HK residents prior to the Umbrella Movement in mid 2010 and mid 2012 respectively; the Movement most possibly intensified the total net loss of HK residents in late 2012 and mid 2013, with a registered -40,800 and -51,000 respectively (Census and Statistics Department of Hong Kong 2024). The Anti-Extradition Bill Movement 'concluded' with the imposition of the National Security Law (NSL) in July 2020 (Chan et al. 2022:1; Lui and Lee 2023:2) and resulted in a total net loss of "85,000 and ... 75,000 individuals in 2020 and 2021 respectively" due to emigration (Chan et al. 2022:2). These figures show a direct correlation between the massive emigration movement of HK people and major political concerns. A survey conducted by the HK Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies in 2021 showed a sharp increase in the proportion of HK citizens with an intention to emigrate, from 33% in 2017 to 42% in 2021 (Chan et al. 2022:2). Between 2011-2016 and 2016-2021 the number of HK-born Australians more than doubled, from 5662 to 13,030 (Ngan et al. 2023:5). The political changes and uncertainties in HK triggered a response from the Australian government and other Western countries like the UK and Canada: in November 2021, Australia lowered the visa requirements and restrictions for HK citizens with the specially designed 'HK Stream' pathway to permanent residency (Chan et al. 2022:2; Lui and Lee 2023:2,5).

In contrast, the study by Ngan et al. (2023) suggests that political instability is not always the reason or not the only reason for second-generation returnees or remigrants (hereafter returnees) to leave HK. Their study of 41 second-generation returnees showed that other factors, such as opportunities overseas (Ngan et al. 2023:230; Sussman 2010:26-27) and children's education and its affordability (Ngan et al. 2023:232-234), were more relevant when considering a move. This sheds some light on various HK people's motivations to leave HK, even though Ngan et al.'s study only targeted a specific group.

Other factors which led to emigration of HK people include children's education and lifestyle (Ngan et al. 2023:232-234, Pe-Pua et al. 1996:22; Sussman 2010:28), prior travelling or living experience in Australia (Chan et al. 2022:4; Wu et al. 1998:405), having friends or relatives in Australia and Australia's proximity to HK (Pe-Pua et al. 1996:23), confidence in the Australian law and legal system (Chan et al. 2022:6), new opportunities and general dissatisfaction with their home country (Lui and Lee 2023:7; Wu et al. 1998:405), and environmental concerns in the home country (Wu et al. 1998:406). Whether HK immigrants in SA have similar socio-political or economic reasons will be examined. One researcher discovered that most HK immigrants had been too focussed in their pursuit of becoming a Permanent Resident or a citizen of Australia, which may have resulted in a lack of investment in settling in, and integrating into, Australia (Pe-Pua et al. 1996:24). This can be seen with the significant number of 500,000 to 800,000 HK returnees in the 1990s (Ngan 2023:5; Sussman 2010:34).

### **2.1.2 Challenges in HK immigrants' new lives in Australia**

Leaving home is never done without thorough preparation (Pe-Pua et al. 1996:7). Many HK immigrants sold their flats in HK before coming to Australia, which mean that, upon arrival, many were wealthy enough to buy a house (Pe-Pua et al. 1996; Tam 2004:176; Wu et al. 1998:403). This does not lessen the challenges they faced when settling in a new country. Pe-Pua et al.'s (1996) research shows that, out of the 60 astronaut families interviewed, 52 per cent complained about problems with transport, 45 per cent experienced problems with the English language, and 27 per cent mentioned

social isolation. Discrimination and cultural adjustment were also mentioned (Pe-Pua et al. 1996:29). Similarly, Tam (2004) underlined the ‘serious’ problem of social isolation for the ‘typical heunggongyan’, since they did not feel comfortable communicating in English with their neighbours, or with others in Australia. Problems with transport also contributed to their feelings of ‘physical immobility’ and ‘alienation’ (Tam 2004:175-176). Interestingly, selling their property in HK did not enhance their sense of financial security, but led to a sense of displacement instead. A feeling of not belonging worsened when their children became reluctant to use the Chinese language to communicate (Tam 2004:176). Other studies reveal that challenges were experienced in the job market in Australia, where HK immigrants failed to find jobs which matched their qualifications and experience, or felt their career advancement had halted due to language barriers, lack of local knowledge and racial discrimination (Sussman 2010:27; Wu et al. 1998:410), revealing similar personal challenges experienced in both their domestic and working lives.

### **2.1.3 Adjusting and adapting into the new country**

Everyone who leaves their home and settles in a new country undergoes a period of transition and adaptation. Since the majority (78%) of the 23 HK interviewees studied by Wu et al. (1998) who had settled in Brisbane arrived for three years or less, 26.09% of them revealed that it had been “much more or generally more difficult” to settle in, with the youngest age group of 15-24 years struggling the least (Wu et al. 1998:399, 408-409). This finding can be compared to Dunn and Ip’s (2008) three factors affecting the relative success of adapting to a new country: whether the person was born in HK or Australia, their age when arriving in Australia, and the length of time spent in Australia (Dunn and Ip 2008:86). Wu et al. (1998) believe the ease in settling in of the 15–24-year age group may be due to their status as dependents, as well as their ‘more flexible approach to new situations’ (Wu et al. 1998:409). Church and community group representatives were convinced that the women, usually wives in astronaut families, needed a two year ‘adjustment period’, during which they participated in group

activities and made strong friendships to share personal problems to trusted friend(s) (Pe-Pua et al. 1996:30).

Once HK immigrants arrived in Australia, they expressed the importance of building social networks in their place of residence (Lui and Lee 2023; Tam 2004; Wu et al. 1998). Some participate in various clubs and social groups, others may simply develop friendships in their workplace or through daily encounters. The near majority (96%) of HK interviewees who relocated to Brisbane explained that they had friends from different cultural backgrounds, and 27% of them mentioned having Australians as friends (Wu et al. 1998:418-419). Similarly, HK immigrants who settled in Darwin revealed not only how close-knit the HK community there was, lending help when they first arrived, but also the fact that they could establish close friendships with people from all around the world, since Darwin is a small and multicultural society “with no clear majority of races/ethnicities” (Lui and Lee 2023:14). However, HK immigrants who settled in Melbourne and Sydney had a more difficult time in building friendships with people from other cultures (Lui and Lee 2023:14-15). A study on HK immigrants in Sydney echoes that the immigrants considered social networks as ‘their agents of adaptation’ and built them mainly among those who came from HK (Tam 2004:177). The ‘preferred’ way for HK immigrants to adapt to their new lives in Sydney was to mingle with fellow HK immigrants, since only a very few ‘mixed socially’ with non-Chinese Australians, or even with mainland Chinese immigrants. They also benefitted from the assistance and support of Chinese churches (Pe-Pua et al. 1996:34,36). There is no study on HK immigrants in SA, so this thesis will unravel the immigrants’ ways of adjusting, and how CH ties into, and arises from, this migratory experience.

#### **2.1.4 Belonging and integration**

It is only when HK immigrants have adjusted to their newfound lives that they can begin to immerse themselves in Australian life. One interviewee in Sussman’s study (Sussman 2010:2-6) revealed that, with the support of friends and employment in Sydney, she slowly adopted, and came to appreciate, Australian values and behaviours. For instance, she decided to be less concerned about saving money and more concerned with enjoying

life. Despite moving back to HK after two years due to job obligations, her experience in Sydney left a mark on her life and her perceptions on work, education, family life and values. This demonstrates discovery of an interviewee's new sense of belonging in Australia through and a certain degree of integration into selected Australian values and behaviours.

Interestingly, an ethnographic study by Tam (2004) in Sydney in the late 1990s demonstrates how HK immigrants created a sense of belonging by forming another HK in Australia. In fact, Tam (2004) observed that many places were influenced by HK-based culture: from Chinese restaurants serving HK-style yum cha, and beauty salons operated by HK immigrants, to churches that provided Cantonese services, and local public schools with significant numbers of HK children (Tam 2004:174, 177, 179). This study reveals relatively passive ways in which HK immigrants can find a sense of belonging in Australia by simply imitating their habitual past lives in HK. One incident at the Parents and Citizens Association of an unnamed school in Sydney illustrates this point clearly: the parents, who were mostly from HK, rejected a principal's suggestion to decrease the amount of homework for the benefit of students and schoolteachers, since they believed that the school, which already had a 'notoriety' amongst Australian parents for giving too much homework, was, in fact, not giving enough (Tam 2004:183-184). This highlights that the HK parents were clearly seeking to replicate the behaviour of HK schools in a local public school in Sydney, indicating an element of refusal in understanding or conforming to Australian values. This suggests that resistance to local values may also play a part in how HK immigrants create their place in Australian society, raising questions about how elements of culture and their retention to varying degrees interacts with other factors.

Some studies have also examined HK/ Chinese immigrants whose families have settled in Australia for three generations or more, bringing to light the fact that, although most of them were born and raised in Australia, they still questioned their belonging in Australia. Some of them even felt that they did not belong to any communities (Ngan et al. 2023:221). Reg Mu Sung, whose family had settled in Australia in the 1870s, felt the need to assimilate into the Australian mainstream community when he was growing

up, due to the lack of Chinese influence in an Anglo-Celtic Australia. No matter how Australian he felt, he still felt he was different to others because of his appearance (Ngan and Chan 2012:104, 110). This suggests that, despite a great degree of acculturation to the Australian culture, Australia-born HK immigrants can sometimes still feel marginalised, which leads to questioning their sense of belonging and identities (Ngan et al. 2023:221). Ang (2023) acknowledges the ‘life-long challenge’ which Chinese immigrants face in figuring out who they are and where they belong, as ‘they have unsettled identities, fully belonging in neither country’ (Ang 2023:75).

### **2.1.5 The multifaceted identities of HK immigrants**

Analysing the identity, or identities, of HK immigrants serves as an indication of the level of integration they experience in a society, as well as who they perceive themselves to be. Researchers agree that immigrants, including HK immigrants, do not have a single identity, but multiple ones. Chan et al. (2002) even go so far as to suggest that whoever identifies him or herself with a global citizenship has a greater intention to migrate to other countries (Chan et al. 2022:7), an interesting concept worth exploring. Ang (2023) shows that the key determinants which lead to whether one feels connected to their Chinese heritage are family, a sense of connection to the Chinese community in the country, and their personal interests in learning more about Chinese culture and ancestors (Ang 2023:89-100). Another, similar study (Wong 2023) underlines the heterogeneity of Chinese identities, with descendants of families who originally came from Sha Chong village and Zhong Shan village in Guangdong province. One of the interviewees, William Lee, whose mother did not want her children to have any connections with Zhong Shan village, did not feel any connections with his Chinese heritage, and so considered himself simply an Australian. On the contrary, another interviewee, Mabel Lee, whose ancestors came from the same village, maintained a strong connection with her Chinese heritage. She considered herself as ‘of Chinese heritage, born in Australia’ (Wong 2023:117-122). These studies show the complexity of the identities of Australians of Chinese descent and how connections between the past and the present help to foster and construct identity in unique ways.

Chinese people have multiple identities, within and outside of China. A Chinese person may identify themselves with more than one identity. As Wong (2023) puts it, “contemporary migrants’ identities are not static but constantly evolve and are mediated through interwoven social relations and processes in the transnational society field in a movement between home and away” (Wong 2023:108). For instance, one of Sussman’s interviewees emphasised the difference between mainland Chinese and HK identities: ‘There is a kind of cultural difference... like my grandparents [...] they are traditional. But the Hong Kongese... they are energetic, enthusiastic, and they are eager on the job and career development’ (Sussman 2010:1). This differentiation and separation from other Chinese communities is also emphasised by other HK immigrants, who said that being heunggongyan was a unique identity that ‘could not be washed off’, an identity that was built around the HK spirit (Tam 2004:181). HK spirit signifies ‘the HK-style adaptability [...] and the perseverance to put this into practice amidst unfavourable situations’ (Tam 2004:174). There is also a more complex identity, one that has gone through a process called ‘hybridisation’, in which the immigrants embrace both of their cultures and identities and accept the heterogeneity of their identities. This process, however, may also lead to a feeling of not belonging anywhere (Ngan and Chan 2012:8-9). The change in identities, if any, rarely interferes with HK immigrants’ beliefs and their will to continue maintaining their CH. Ang (2023) has observed the decrease or loss of a Chinese cultural sense in Chinese descendants may culminate in a sharp decline of Chineseness in the present and future generations. However, Ngan and Chan (2012) suggest that Chineseness should not solely be based on literacy, but also on other factors, such as ‘memories, emotions, desires, nostalgias, imaginations, family ties, even innocence’ (Ngan and Chan 2012:34-35). Also, as Ang (2001) put it, ‘if I am inescapably Chinese by descent, I am only sometimes Chinese by consent’ (Ang 2001:36), emphasising the choice of being Chinese (in terms of whether you feel or consider yourself to be) at different times, instead of it being essentialised and imposed.

## **2.2 Hong Kong Cultural Heritage and its Significance**

### **2.2.1 Preserving heritage for social and communal needs?**

Heritage is ‘perceived to hold a form of collective value’ (Harrison 2020:33). This shows how CH connects people ‘through space and time’, forging their identity as belonging to a particular group (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014:18). CH, however, is often placed and ‘managed’ not in the hands of the local community, but heritage experts (Harrison 2020:33), who apply the “heritage filter” (collection, selection and documentation) when choosing the places or objects considered worth preserving (Saemmer and Dufrière 2014:2). The CH which is supposed to represent a group, region, state or nation may, therefore, not be fully representative of the community. The identification and preservation processes also show the ‘rigidity’ and constraints of tangible CH, which tends to be seen as an immutable material culture.

### **2.2.2 Significance of CH: its social values**

Byrne, Brayshaw and Ireland (2003) reiterated this CH management approach, where heritage practitioners tend to focus on the ‘dots-on-the-map approach’ to sites and buildings for “listing” purposes (Byrne et al. 2003:3), inadvertently misrepresenting the importance they have to the people. There is often a distinct contrast between what heritage experts and the public perceive as significant CH. Indeed, most people see ‘seemingly “insignificant” places, stories, objects, images [...]’ as significant (Ireland et al. 2025:194), and so can relate more to them than ‘national narratives, structures [and] commemorations’, which are considered “grand” (Ireland et al. 2025:194). This reveals the key to a better understanding of the sites and buildings that can only be done by ‘talking to people’ (Byrne et al. 2003:3) and reflects the undeniable value of social significance. Research on social values, however, often remains limited (Byrne et al. 2003:3,7; Hung and Yau 2024:469), given that it is more complicated to research than tangible places and objects. Hung and Yau (2024)’s research provided a framework to facilitate the assessment of social values of HK CH places by considering four elements: place meaning, place identity, place attachment and place memory (Hung and Yau 2024:473-474), in order to understand the ‘ongoing real-life interactions and

relationships between people and place’ (Hung and Yau 2024:475). Although the research did not verify the degree of social significance a place may have held for the community, it stressed the importance of gauging community involvement in understanding social values (Hung and Yau 2024:479) through interviews and oral histories.

### **2.2.3 CH preservation and management: A discussion on the legislative discrepancies between China and Australia**

CH is managed and considered differently around the world, due to government policies, the degree of stakeholder involvement and its place in society. It is therefore important to understand the variations in CH policies and management between China and Australia, since it will enhance understanding of how HK and SA people perceive CH. Since HK CH management is closely linked to mainland China’s legislation and practice, this section will highlight the similarities and differences in methods and perceptions between mainland China and Australia on CH management.

The *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* (hereafter referred to as *China Principles*), the national heritage law, was promulgated in 2002 and revised in 2015 (Heritage Hong Kong 2007:9; Qian 2007:255-256). The *China Principles* is the product of heritage experts’ exchanges from China, Australia and the USA, which resulted in the adoption of preservation codes from the West, primarily Australia’s *Burra Charter* (Qian 2007:255-256).

The *China Principles* emphasise that significance assessment of a site is of ‘the highest priority in the conservation process’, which is similar to the *Burra Charter* (Qian 2007:255-256; 258). These principles, however, place a greater focus ‘on the bureaucratic framework [and] operational protocol in the conservation process’, rather than genuinely understanding the cultural significance of a site (Qian 2007:258). They also stress that intervention in the conservation process should be minimal, revealing both countries’ shared belief in preserving CH’s authenticity (Qian 2007:256-257), although this itself is a vexed question, and one that has led to arguments for the

democratisation of heritage practice so that ‘other ways of relating to old things’ are respected and valued (Byrne 2014).

Indeed, the question on authenticity has been a pivotal concern in the conservation of CH (Grimberg 2023:81). In recent years the definition has been widened considerably by recognising ‘that different cultures have different ways of understanding authenticity’, including “spirit and feeling; and other internal and external factors” (Grimberg 2023:82). Harrison (2020) has also addressed this issue by highlighting that CH preservation ‘both resources and assembles future worlds’ as it ‘actively organises and reorganises the world to which it refers’ (Harrison 2020:39), implying the continuous reinvention of authenticity in different contexts. Xu (2023) illustrates this point perfectly with the popular *fang* paintings in China, where Chinese painters ‘often imitated and reinterpreted past masters’ styles (Xu 2023:35). She argued that they are “sub-originals” rather than mere copies or imitations of past works, as they depict the inner world of the artists and other social meanings (Xu 2023:45-46). This example suggests the constant reinvention of heritage further complicates the notion of authenticity.

An expansion in the meaning of authenticity may allow people to see in a different light the flexibility in the use of the *China Principles* for government interventions. For instance, Article 18 in *China Principles* states that ‘conservation must be taken in situ’. However, it also contradicts itself by allowing relocation ‘in the face of uncontrollable natural threats’ or ‘when development of national importance is undertaken’ (Qian 2007:259-260). Moreover, authenticity of a site or a monument by preserving its original fabric can, at times, be confronted by the public and officials’ perception that ‘completeness and neatness of buildings and monuments’ is more important than preserving the original fabric of a CH (Qian 2007:262), as they prefer to replace the old with new materials.

Another major difference would be the government-led nature of the *China Principles*. China ICOMOS is under the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, an organisation which reports to the Ministry of Culture. (Qian 2007:260). In contrast, the *Burra*

*Charter* was developed independently, since Australia ICOMOS is a non-government organisation (Qian 2007:259).

Based on the above, unlike Australia, which prioritises the preservation and protection of CH (Byrne 2014), one can note that China's CH management is more centred around government initiatives and preferences. Such a centralised approach is translated into HK's CH industry. Even though the significance of CH is primarily assessed by the HK's Antiquities Advisory Board, any CH declarations made by the Board are subject to the Chief Executive's approval (Antiquities and Monuments Office 2021; So 2023). In addition to this, the Chairman of the Antiquities Advisory Board is appointed by the Chief Executive (So 2023), revealing a strong and centralised power overseeing every important CH decision in HK. This may, therefore, undermine public, or any other stakeholders', participation and involvement in CH matters.

Indeed, many consider the HK heritage industry, and the government to be responsible for the sabotage of HK CH (Byrne 2014:71). Gallagher's study (2021) argued that HK governments 'have not considered heritage preservation' in their policies until recently, as they preferred focussing on other pressing economic, social and health issues such as 'overcrowding, sanitation, development, economic gain and political survival' (Gallagher 2021). The very recent development of the CH industry in HK (Conserve and Revitalise Hong Kong Heritage 2024) implies a lack of expertise and history in preserving HK's CH by the government. One may therefore reasonably doubt the industry's efficiency, as well as the HK public's understanding and involvement in preserving and transmitting their CH.

The flexibility and adaptability in the government-led CH management in HK is clearly illustrated in the controversial demolition of the Queen's Pier (announced in 2006; Pang 2017) and the 'accidental' sinking of the iconic Jambo floating Restaurant in 2022 (Wright 2022). Despite the serious public outcry to preserve the Pier, the HK government maintained their decision to demolish it in 2007 in order to facilitate 'the construction of the Central-Wan Chai bypass' (Pang 2017), placing the government development agenda ahead of preserving CH significant to HK history, culture and its people.

This type of flexibility and adaptability toward CH management is supported by some heritage experts, especially Cornelius Holtorf. Due to the changing nature of CH, Holtorf believed that ‘the values of a heritage object may not be lost even if it is no longer physically existent’ (Holtorf 2015:409). He did not think material loss had a direct correlation to the decrease or loss in ‘social value and contemporary cultural significance’ (Holtorf 2015:411-412), since he believed that ‘the values of CH are not inherent but relative to changing social and cultural contexts in which it fulfils a function’ (Holtorf 2015:412). He argued therefore that the physical loss of CH through demolition or other actions ‘cannot undo a persistent heritage site’. It would only be lost ‘when nobody cares to remember it anymore’ (Holtorf 2015:417). By saying so, as long as the common memory of a tangible or an intangible CH still exists, its cultural significance still lives on, in spite of how its appearance, form or another aspect has changed. This perspective can also be applied to the significance of ephemeral heritage. Holtorf emphasised the celebration of CH as it is in the contemporary world, rather than how it was in the past (Holtorf 2018:648).

#### **2.2.4 HK food heritage**

When thinking of HK CH, its food culture is something that should not be overlooked. It is therefore interesting to understand what food heritage is and how it is formed. Food becomes heritage when ‘individuals collectively remember past experiences with certain meals and imagine their ancestors having similar experiences’ (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014:18). Like all heritage, it can connect people together with the same history and ‘marks [their] identity’ (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014:18) and differentiate them in a ‘multicultural milieu’ (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014:21). However, food also has an ‘affective’ side that is channelled through its taste, igniting ‘strong emotions’ among people (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014:18). This emotional connection reminds us to steer away from the ‘inclination to immobilise food culture’, as it contains stories of ‘hybrid and evolving’ diversity (Zocchi et al. 2021:10).

When one thinks of food, meals and cuisines will immediately come to mind. Meals, however, do not represent cuisines, as ‘cuisines are the culinary structures that make

meals make sense'. 'Culinary structures' may include ingredients, cooking techniques, presentations and the interaction of diners with specific food (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014:200). The kind of food heritage, or cuisines, inscribed on the UNESCO List of Intangible Heritage, feature internationally recognised 'haute traditional cuisines', 'linking elements perceived as "local" with those seen as "cosmopolitan"' (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014:201). This shows how food heritage on the global scale prioritises famous cuisines known by most people.

This kind of prioritisation, however, reflects a danger in the 'embrace of viewpoints that cannot grasp the local specificities' (Zocchi et al. 2021:10), which may result in 'blurring the identity and cultural values of the product and marginalising the role of the communities' (Zocchi et al. 2021:11). This highlights a need for participatory approaches within communities to ensure that local specificities are taken into account. The concept of 'everyday heritage' which is defined, however, as the unofficial CH closely linked to 'mundane, vernacular and "living" heritage' and the ICH, and how it is focussed in the "mindful appreciation" of the CH in everyday lives, rather than the 'democratisation' of CH (Ireland et al. 2025:197), may be applicable to the kind of HK CH in SA.

Indeed, the 150-year history of HK under British rule has impacted HK food and has given it a unique identity (Chan 2019:313). HK has long been known as a 'Food Paradise' (Pokrud 2024) or a 'Heaven of Eating and Drinking' (Cheung 2004:139) with 'a distinctive culinary landscape blending Chinese and international flavours' (Pokrud 2024). The food served in HK-style tea cafés (hereafter HK-style cafés) embodies the 'east-meets-west character', since it combines both western and Chinese options (Chan 2019:313). For instance, 'boiled coke with ginger juice' or 'yin yeung' (a combination of brewed coffee and HK-style milk tea) illustrates the mixture of Chinese and western cultures in typical HK drinks (Cheung 2013:358). The 'dominant' Chinese food in HK restaurants is Cantonese food with 'western influences' (Cheung 2013:357), a direct reflection of economic and social developments in the 1970s that led to a 'greater refinement' and taste in dishes (Cheung 2013:358) and a marker of HK people's social status (Cheung 2004:139). The very essence of the 'hybrid food cultures' in HK not

only reflects HK people's identity (Chan 2019:313; Cheung 2004:139) but also differentiates them from the mainland Chinese (Chan 2019:311).

### **2.2.5 Ephemeral heritage: How to preserve something that is short-lived?**

Since food heritage is considered as ephemeral heritage in this thesis, there are a number of aspects that need to be considered. Through his analysis on the value of safeguarding digital work, Forest (2014) questions the obsession to preserve ephemeral heritage at all in a fast-changing world (Forest 2014:2). He suggests, rather than being preoccupied with preserving it, to allow 'new ephemeral values [...] for transitory living [...] to develop' (Forest 2014:2). This method for handling ephemeral heritage embraces the inevitable changes emanating from it, while acknowledging its values, original and new, as heritage.

The same kind of sentiment is expressed in Kara Walker's artworks. Walker is an American contemporary artist who challenges this persistent notion of cultural heritage preservation with her 'increasingly large-scale sculptural practice involving fleeting and ephemeral installations' (Errol 2023:77). An example would be the already destroyed or recycled *Fons Americanus* 2019, a sculpture made of cork, metal and wood coated in Jesmonite (Errol 2023:77). Errol (2023) explains its 'long-lasting' importance lies on the 'intangible subjectivities and insights' it has generated, and the 'lived experiences that it references and a history that is more oral than it is visual' (Errol 2023:79).

This thesis will discuss the importance of the preservation of food heritage for HK people, what constitutes that heritage and how non-Chinese South Australians may interact with the 'lesser' known HK food heritage.

### **2.2.6 General perceptions on Chinese/ HK CH in SA**

General perceptions of how Chinese/HK CH is perceived connect to wider notions of multiculturalism and its nature, including whether, and to what extent, it exists in meaningful ways for individual people. Multiculturalism as a word has appeared since the 1970s in Australia (Jupp and Clyne 2011), and the South Australian government has

made key changes in the last few years to foreground the notion within the wider community (Government of South Australia 2023). For example, the *South Australian Multicultural Act 2021* ‘provides for the South Australian Multicultural Charter’. The Charter aims to ‘provide vision and guidance to South Australian agencies [and] organisations [...] as a foundation for all South Australian policy development’, which puts multiculturalism into the centre of every ‘official’ decision that is taken in SA. The Charter’s six principles emphasise not only the invaluable contribution of diversity, the importance of mutual respect, cohesion and equal opportunities, but also encourage people ‘to engage in the reciprocal exchange of knowledge and understanding of our cultural, linguistic, racial and religious diversity’ and the right to ‘preserve, express, practice and celebrate their cultural, linguistic and religious diversity’. The principles incite South Australians to be active learners of different cultures, while preserving, transmitting, and celebrating their culture(s) and diversity in SA. The 2022-2023 State Budget allocated ‘an \$16 million over four years for grants and other programs for [the] multicultural sector’ (Government of South Australia nd). The figures show that people residing in SA come from all around the world, and the state government’s financial investment and support in multicultural activities explains much in their genuine intention to promote and celebrate world cultures in SA. These initiatives are designed to enhance the representativeness of cultures and thus support individuals to preserve their CH in different forms.

Byrne (2024), however, has argued that, in spite of ‘the seemingly broad acceptance of multiculturalism in Australia’, an immutable Anglo-Australian “core” culture still exists (Byrne 2024:99). He believes that the policy of multiculturalism was only a ‘supplementary measure which saw the addition of small numbers of [non-white migrant] sites to heritage inventories’ (Byrne 2024:99), since the dominating Anglo-Australian culture has continued to prevail, after the official dismantling of ‘White Australia’. This reveals that multiculturalism is often an idealism rather than a reality.

This idealism may be reflected on the connection of immigrants with their CH. It is understood that the significance of CH lies in its utility in the present and how it may continue to hold value for future generations. Nevertheless, a certain degree of reticence

and rejection in learning about cultural heritage can be observed in some second or third generation Chinese immigrants (Liao and Huang 2020; Wang and Hamid 2022; Wei 2022; Wong 2023), and even in some multicultural families, where at least one parent is of Chinese descent (Liao and Huang 2020). A non-Chinese father, married to a Chinese wife, went so far as to reveal that he ‘never helped [his] son learn Chinese’ or do any activities related to Chinese culture ‘because [his] son is Australian’ (Liao and Huang 2020:1223). Though the results of the study remain inconclusive, they suggest a range of reactions to the diversity of cultures, or its fragility in Australia. This may eventually lead to a complete loss of Chinese culture.

Another important indication can be seen in Bulbeck’s (2004) study, where 575 respondents of mostly Australian-born students and parents, all approved of multiculturalism in Australia, with some declaring it to be a part of Australian national identity, ‘making us unique [and] special’. Their ‘multicultural tolerance’ had limits, though, as they expressed preferences about the immigrants they wished to see in Australia, as well as a multiculturalism with boundaries that were set to protect Anglo-Australian law and culture (Bulbeck 2004:356-357). Bulbeck’s findings reveal that in some Australians’ minds, even though they welcome and embrace multiculturalism in principle, the existing fear of altering Australia in unknown and unpredictable ways present a barrier in opening up to all cultures indiscriminately.

Multicultural events, however, are often instrumental for the strengthening and safeguarding of Australian understanding, appreciation and interaction with different cultures. Research based on semi-structured interviews with 15 Chinese community leaders hosting and organising the 2018 Brisbane Chinese Festival revealed their motivations to strengthen the cultural identity of Chinese immigrants, and to promote social harmony by introducing Chinese cultures to the Australian public (Yu et al. 2022). The article written by Tsai in 2016 introduced the Chinese ICH featured in Bendigo’s yearly Easter Parade. This includes the lion or dragon dance, musical and acrobatic performances (Tsai 2016:94-95). The study shows the ever-changing and adaptable nature of cultural heritage, with the omission of Chinese ‘melodic musical tradition’ in

the festival, since it was ‘neither appreciated by the non-Chinese audiences nor the second or third generation of Chinese’ (Tsai 2016:103).

The fact that multicultural events promote unity and understanding can also be seen in Lee and Huang’s 2015 study of the Moon Lantern Festival held in Adelaide in 2012. The twenty interviewees all strongly identified themselves with the values of multiculturalism (Lee and Huang 2015:206). An Australian of German origin expressed clearly how much he valued a diverse culture-friendly environment: ‘it is good to show interest in one another’s cultures and respect each other’ (Lee and Huang 2015:206).

There is a lot of goodwill expressed towards ICH in ephemeral celebratory forms, such as festivals and fun things, but not so much in material (and permanent) ways such as sites and places. A lack of visibility of Chinese tangible CH in Australia is argued by Byrne (2023) to derive from Chinese immigrants’ reluctance to demonstrate their cultural identity in a monocultural ‘White Australia’ (Byrne 2023:56-57; Byrne 2024:98). Moreover, Byrne (2024) emphasises that the lack of listing of Chinese heritage is due to the ‘colonialist logic of race in Australian history’ which ‘is structured into heritage inventories in Australia’, by only focussing on architectural styles of buildings (Byrne 2024:97). He argued that, since the buildings occupied by Chinese migrants were ‘existing residential and commercial building stock rather than construct buildings for themselves’, the focus on listing buildings according to their architectural style rather than social history prevented Chinese heritage from being seen (Byrne 2024:98). Byrne (2024) took Sydney’s Chinatown precinct and adjacent areas as an example, noting ‘only one building is listed on the State Heritage Inventory of New South Wales, primarily for its association with Chinese Australians’ (Byrne 2024:98). He acknowledged that the temples built by Chinese migrants and Chinese Australians in Australia in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries are exceptions, as many have been listed on heritage inventories, but criticised that they only represent ‘the kind of Orientalist framing of what “authentic” Chinese architecture should look like’, as he questioned the lack of ‘Chinese historical presence in particular buildings’ during ‘heritagisation’ (Byrne 2024:98). In his other work, Byrne noticed that the architecture built by Chinese migrants in Australia ‘tended to adopt the architecture of the white majority’ (Byrne

2023:56), suggesting not only the migrants' 'unwillingness to assert their own cultural identity in the built environment' (Byrne 2023:57), but also the possible coercion they might have felt to assimilate completely into the mainstream culture in Australia. This reveals the ambiguity of the kind of support given to the preservation, or the promotion, of HK CH in Australia. Croucher (2010), however, highlighted that adopting elements of the majority in tangible CH can represent 'a product of active choices' and a strategy of Native Americans at the Rancho under a more complicated colonial context (Croucher 2010:357).

As a result of their immigration to Australia, Byrne (2023a) acknowledged the mobile lifestyle of many Chinese migrants before the 1940s, which contributed to a circulatory flow of Chinese heritage between Australia and China, something he branded as 'the built heritage of the Zhongshan-Australia migration corridor' (Byrne 2023a:154). In his study, Byrne mainly documented the 'remittance houses' (Byrne 2023a:154) built in Zhongshan by Chinese migrants who had emigrated to Australia. While there may be a heritage corridor for contemporary HK immigrants, this thesis will only concern the HK tangible and intangible CH found in SA.

This research aims to further investigate HK/Chinese ICH practiced by HK immigrants, as well as possible HK/Chinese CH sites in SA that are representative of their CH. The reasons for immigrants to leave HK and their process in settling in SA will also be discussed. The degree of HK CH maintenance and extent of their integration will be examined in the South Australian context to explore the relationship between them. The thesis will also explore the dynamism of HK CH in multicultural SA, its relevance, its significance and its possible alteration in contemporary SA, and whether the change, if any, in HK CH, represents a problem or an opportunity.

## **Chapter 3: Methods**

Methods adopted for this thesis included interviews and site surveys.

### **3.1 Interviews**

The recruitment process for interviews started on 17<sup>th</sup> March 2024 and continued through October 2024. Interview participants were recruited via different channels. Recruitment flyers were distributed (see Appendix 1) at the Friends of HK Festival (Hong Kong Cultural Association of South Australia nd), a HK cultural festival organised by Hong Kong Cultural Association of South Australia (hereafter known as HKCASA). The event was held on 17<sup>th</sup> March 2024 (Sunday) from 11am to 4pm. The researcher approached people indiscriminately during the event (both people originally from HK and other South Australians) and briefly explained the project to each individual she approached. Any questions were answered spontaneously, or at a later time, through text messages and emails. The researcher also distributed flyers to various booths and HKCASA volunteers. A total of 35 flyers were distributed during the festival, although only a handful of people passed their contact details on.

After the festival and having obtained the consent of a satisfactory number of HK people, the recruitment flyer was updated in order to principally target South Australians and to explain the relevance of the study to them.

The researcher also contacted HKCASA and HongKonger Australia Support (hereafter known as HKAS), an organisation which aims to provide help and guidance to newcomers from HK, so that their members would be aware of the project and contribute to it. HKAS was eager to let fellow HK people know about the study by posting the recruitment flyer on their Instagram Story for 24 hours on 1<sup>st</sup> April 2024.

The Unley Museum was contacted about the project to widen the sample of non-HK participants. Four of the five South Australians who were interviewed were recruited through the Unley Museum.

Referrals were proven to be fundamental, as they assisted in recruiting a significant number of participants. The referrals came from participants who had already been interviewed or referrals from friends.

## **3.2 Participants' criteria (Eligibility)**

### **3.2.1 HK South Australian participants**

The selection criteria of HK participants included being of Chinese descent from HK, belonging to the first generation of HK immigrants, and having lived in SA for over one year. Even though a criterion of an intention 'to remain in the South Australian state indefinitely' was originally included, this was later deemed unnecessary, as it restricted the pool of potential participants.

### **3.2.2 Non-Chinese South Australian participants**

The targeted group of South Australian participants included anyone who was not of Chinese descent, was at least 18 years, had lived in SA for over one year, and who identified as a South Australian. While the researcher understands that living in SA for one year is not sufficient to understand the culture of the state, the criterion had been included in order to be comparable to that for HK participants.

## **3.3 The interview process**

Interviews were semi-structured, individual and carried out as informal conversations. All interviews with HK immigrants were conducted at Flinders University City Campus. South Australians were mostly interviewed at the Unley Museum, except one who was interviewed at Flinders University City Campus. The researcher believed that a conversational interview was the best approach for flexibility in acknowledging the uniqueness of each participant's experience and views. The interviews aimed to gauge HK participants' journey in SA, their reflections on the place of HK CH, and their identities. On the participants' side, they had the objective to encourage South Australians to share their knowledge about HK culture while discussing its place in the multicultural state. All interviews were carried out in accordance with approved ethics project no. 6999.

Interviews were expected to last between 30 and 45 minutes. Some interviews, however, lasted longer than expected, as some participants were eager to know the researcher's

personal view on different questions. As much as she tried to avoid answering them, some responses were necessary to keep the conversation going. Nevertheless, the researcher was mindful to keep her opinions to the minimum and share them in a way in which they would not alter the interviewees' thoughts on the topic. One interview lasted for 90 minutes, as the participant went above and beyond the topic and questions.

HK immigrants were asked 14 questions, while South Australians had 13 questions (see Appendix 2). Demographic information was collected from all participants, including their gender, age group, ethnicity, family structure and industry sector. Some additional and spontaneous questions were added in a number of interviews for clarification purposes, in order to incite to response or to understand better the points expressed by the interviewees. For a small proportion of interviews, some questions were omitted because either they had been covered or mentioned by the interviewee beforehand and the researcher deemed the answer sufficient, or because they were irrelevant according to their experience.

### **3.4 Interview recording and transcription**

All interviews were audio-recorded with both a H4n Pro recorder and an iPhone 12 (with sim cards removed and alarm function turned off), in order to ensure the interviews would be properly recorded.

All interviews were then transcribed (see Appendix 3). Every word of the recordings was transcribed, including repeated words. There were a few exceptions: foul language in one interview was not included in the script, since the researcher considered that it did not alter the meaning of the answers, but rather hindered the words of the participant. 'Filler' words, such as 'um' or 'ah', were equally excluded for the same reasons. If something was unclear, the researcher sent emails to the participant(s) to seek clarification. The Cantonese language spoken during some interviews was translated into English.

Any words that may identify the participants or that may involve the researcher's private information were deleted. Once all interviews had been transcribed, the researcher sent

them to participants for review and amendments, if deemed necessary. All personal names adopted in the results and discussion are pseudonyms. The respondents from the HK focus group were John, Peter, Jane, Olivia, Violet, Liam, Sophia, Henry and Michael. The SA focus groups consisted of James, Mary, Diana, Emma and Sam.

### **3.5 Site surveys**

The interviews revealed a series of tangible places that were identified as HK heritage sites or locales for intangible and ephemeral heritage. Each site or place was recorded using the following methods. Like a ‘typical’ archaeological site survey, photographs of each place were taken to highlight details and other visible features. If the site was a restaurant, photos of a sample of Cantonese/HK-style food served were taken, especially the food or dishes mentioned by the interviewees. In this way the dishes, their serving style, context and plating were all treated as ‘artefacts’. Faces in the photographs are blurred using the free online website Watermarkly.

### **3.6 Data analysis**

#### **3.6.1 Interview transcripts**

After having transcribed the interviews from the recording, the results from the findings were divided and categorised using the software NVivo 14, a qualitative data analysis software. Themes were identified with the questions asked and were grouped under ‘coding’ and organised into ‘codes’ with NVivo 14 for analysis purpose. Descriptive statistics were also generated through this software and Microsoft Excel to present the findings.

## Chapter 4: Hong Kong Cultural Heritage in South Australia

This chapter presents a highly summarised version of the results. For full details, see Appendix 4.

### 4.1 Demographic information of participants

Fourteen people were interviewed: nine originally from HK (hereafter known as HK participants, unless otherwise stated) and five non-Chinese South Australians (hereafter known as SA participants, unless otherwise stated) (Figure 6).

Table 1 shows the gender, age group, ethnicity, family structure and industry sector of the participants. Even though they are all from HK, the answer on their ethnicity varies.

Most HK interviewees had resided in SA for five years or less ( $\leq 5$  years), with only one who had lived there for over 30 years ( $\geq 30$  years) (Figure 7). In contrast, most SA participants had resided in SA for  $\geq 30$  years. One of them (Mary) was born in SA, and Diana moved there when she was two.

	Gender	Age group	Ethnicity	Family structure	Industry sector	HK or SA
<b>Liam</b>	male	18-26	Chinese	living with partner	marketing	HK
<b>Peter</b>	male	18-26	HK Chinese	single	Student in horticulture	HK
<b>Michael</b>	male	27-35	Chinese HK	single	manufacturing	HK
<b>John</b>	male	36-44	British Hong Kongese	single	healthcare	HK
<b>Olivia</b>	female	36-44	Hong Konger	divorced with kids	higher education	HK
<b>Sophia</b>	female	36-44	Chinese from HK	married with kids	postal and parcel services	HK

<b>Henry</b>	male	45-53	HK	married kids	no	social work	HK
<b>Jane</b>	female	54-62	Chinese	married kids	with	accounting	HK
<b>Violet</b>	female	63-71	HK Chinese	married kids	with	Land agent, property management (real estate)	HK
<b>Diana</b>	female	36-44	Australian	married kids	with	tertiary education	SA
<b>Mary</b>	female	45-53	Australian with English background	living partner	with	arts and culture	SA
<b>Sam</b>	male	63-71	Anglo- Australian	divorced kids	with	artistic creative	SA
<b>Emma</b>	female	72-80	European	single partner	with	retired education	SA
<b>James</b>	male	over 80	English	married kids	with	higher education	SA

Table 1: Demographic information of participants.

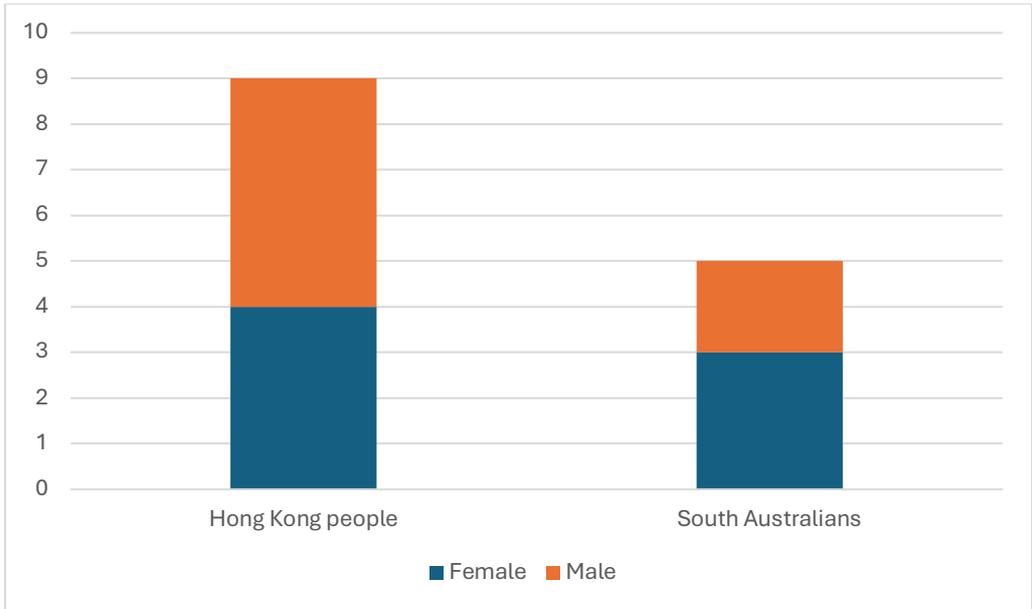


Figure 6: The number and gender of participants.

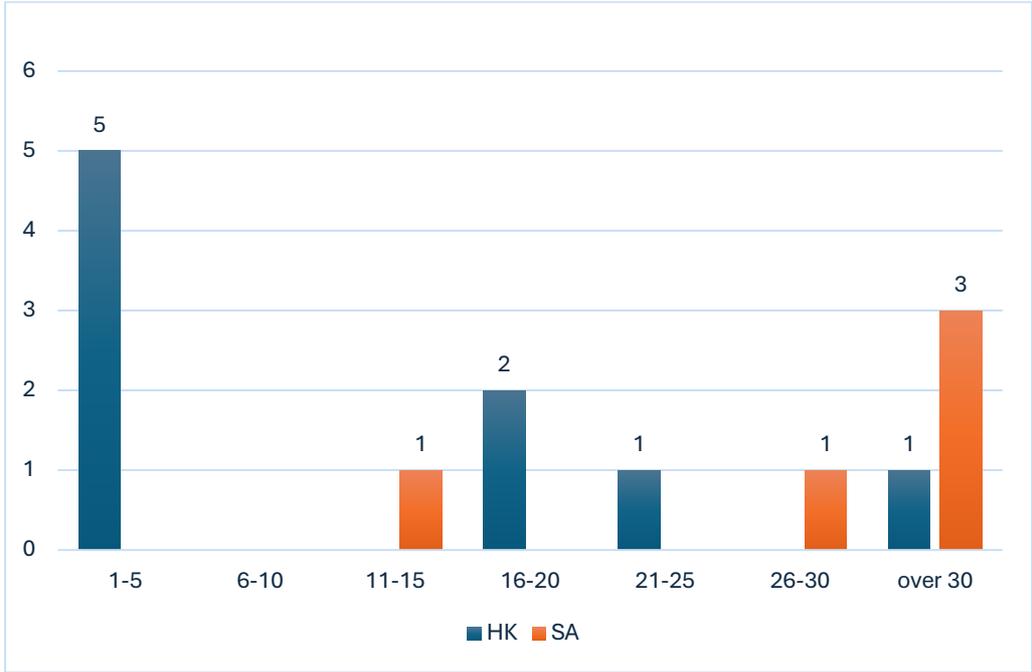


Figure 7: Years of residence of participants in SA.

## 4.2 Hong Kong people in South Australia

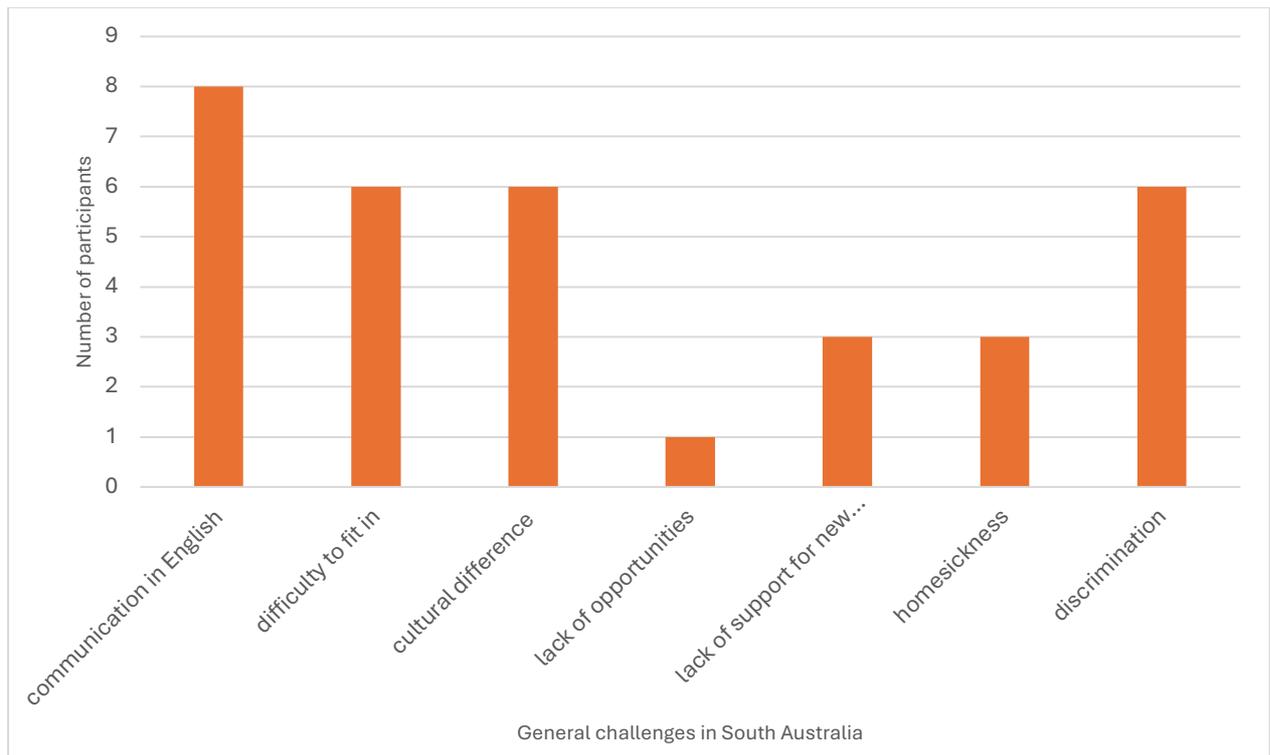


Figure 8: General challenges in SA.

Figure 8 reveals the challenges experienced by HK participants in SA. The majority (n=8) named difficulties in English, especially when they first arrived (Figure 8). Fitting in, cultural difference, discrimination and homesickness were the four challenges identified by some participants as ongoing.

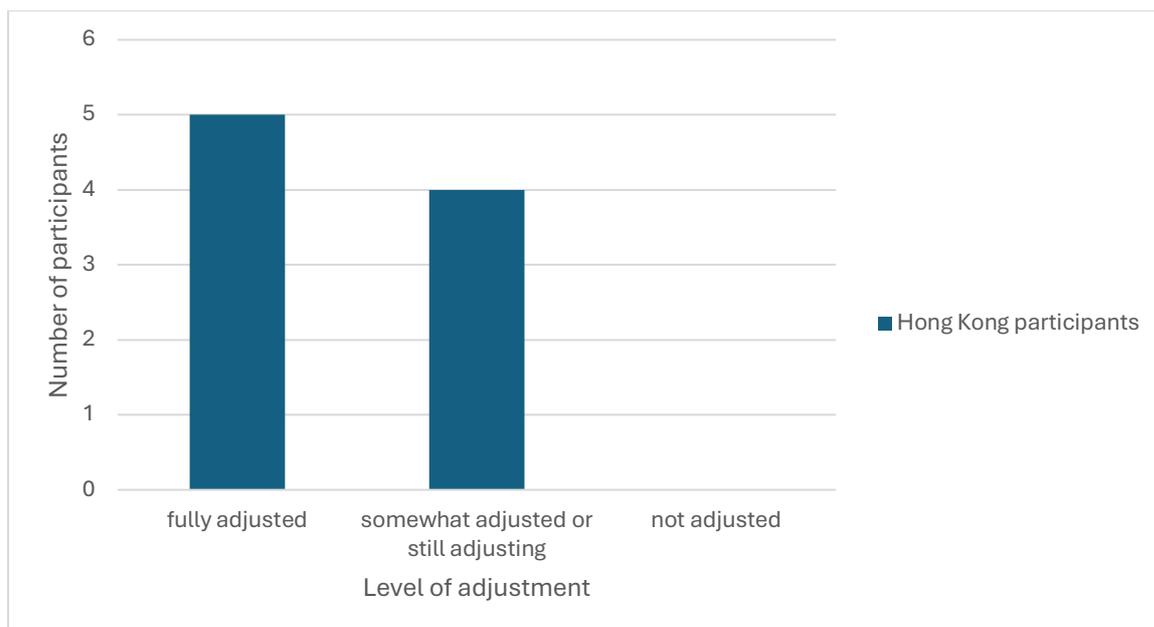


Figure 9: Level of adjustment to life in SA.

Figure 9 shows that 56% considered themselves fully adjusted to life in SA, and 44% felt that they had somewhat adjusted to it. Of the five who were fully adjusted, three had resided in SA over 19 years, and two had migrated  $\leq 5$  years. Three of those who were ‘somewhat adjusted’, had migrated  $\leq 5$  years, and one had resided in SA for  $>30$  years.

All participants had different ways of adapting to their new life (Table 2). Five relied on social networking in church, through HK associations like the Hong Kong Cultural Association in South Australia (HKCASA), or with friends. Four explained that job opportunities and work routine helped them to adapt. Four participants appropriated the Australian way of life, or an understanding of it, to feel more comfortable in their work and private lives, and three cited family commitments as a bridge to becoming more involved in Australian life.

	<b>Number of participants</b>
Social network	5
Job opportunities and work routine	4
Appropriating or understanding the Australian way of life	4

Family commitments	3
Participate in HK-related or other activities	2
Bypass perception of others	1
Draw on previous overseas experience	1
Take English lessons	1

Table 2: Ways HK people adapt to their life in SA.

Mainland China (hereafter China) has a variety of cultures. However, for the purpose of this thesis, mainland Chinese culture will be simplified and treated as a whole, based on dominant Han perspectives and values. HK and Chinese cultures may have much in common, but also differ in crucial ways. External perceptions of the two also diverged (Table 3). It is ‘the mix of Chinese culture and [...] British culture’, according to Peter that differentiates HK culture. James (SA participant) also noted the existence of a ‘mildly antagonistic’ relationship between HK and mainland Chinese due to both parties distrusting one other.

HK participants		SA participants	
HK	Mainland Chinese	HK	Mainland Chinese
Use of Cantonese language and traditional Chinese writing	Use of Mandarin language and simplified Chinese writing	‘Hong Kongese are sophisticated, businesspeople and well-educated’	Chinese from the East, who are also ‘sophisticated, businesspeople and well-educated’
‘roughly 60% of HK people’ have values based on ‘democracy, freedoms and rule of law’; ‘in line with Australian values’	They may not see the values of democracy etc. as important, as they were ‘raised in an authoritarian regime’	Strong ‘notions of service quality’	“‘notions of service quality’ far less [linked to] China culture’

Table 3: Differences between HK and Chinese cultures according to the two focus groups.

HK participants were divided on the question of whether to preserve their HK CH and transmit it to others (Figure 10). Figure 10 divides the HK participants by their years of residence. Of the six participants who considered preserving their CH important, the majority (n=4) had resided in SA  $\leq 5$  years and one had resided there for  $\geq 30$  years.

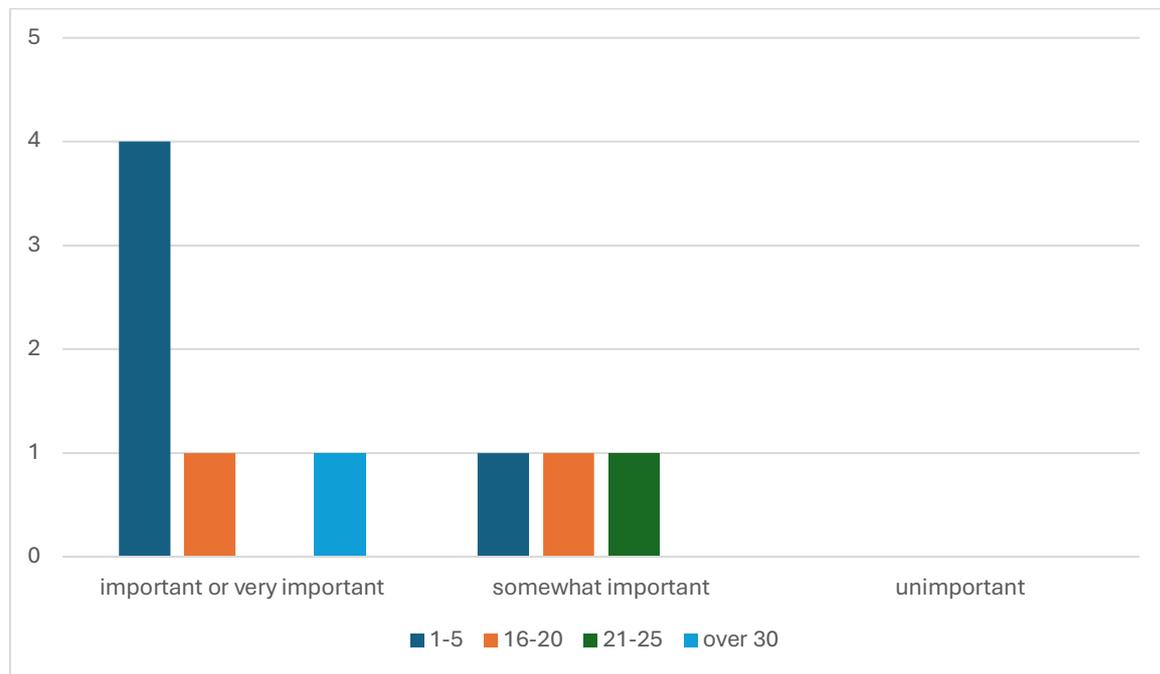


Figure 10: Level of importance to preserve CH in SA.

Henry was the only one who saw preserving CH as very important, because he believed it to be his cultural identity and his roots. Similarly, Jane, John, Peter and Violet also believed that their CH should be preserved, as it represents their identity, and that, by losing it, they would ‘lose [their] identity’. Liam said that he believed preserving it is important ‘at the moment’ but that it may change in the future if a solid community of HK people cannot be built.

Three participants considered it to be somewhat important, including Michael, who lived in SA  $\leq$  5 years (Michael). He had lived in other states for about four and a half years prior to settling in SA.

Michael and Olivia both revealed that living in Australia has made them feel differently about their CH. Michael acknowledged that preserving it would only be important if he had children in the future. He believed that it is impossible to preserve his CH, which has never existed in Australia. In contrast, Olivia felt that it was part of her ‘natural instinct’ and that she could still maintain the connection with family and ‘the wider HK community’. However, she did not believe it to be important for her children, as she ‘[wanted] them to [...] embrace [...] common Australian values’.

The underlying reasons of the difficulties in transmitting or maintaining CH are shown in Figure 121 (see Appendix 4). Four participants (Olivia, Peter, Violet, Henry) expressed the belief that non-Chinese SA were not interested in, or may not want to fully comprehend, HK CH. Peter worried that non-HK people would not genuinely understand it. Violet also explained that some of her SA friends, and her daughters, are not interested in HK culture, since the latter were brought up in Australia.

Four participants (Liam, Jane, Michael, Violet) believed it to be difficult to maintain the Cantonese language in SA. Jane felt that it was difficult to continue speaking in Cantonese with her children once they started school, as she believed that there had been obstacles for her ‘to sustain the culture’ in SA. Michael believed that the South Australian environment had not been suitable in maintaining the language, as it had required Liam effort to maintain it.

Of the three participants who mentioned issues emanating from the HK community, only Michael talked about the small number of HK immigrants in Adelaide. Liam explained the difficulty in drawing HK people together to build a stronger community amongst them due to their independent nature. Similarly, Violet voiced concerns on the ‘quietness’ of HK people, which may create barriers for people getting to know them.

Two participants mentioned the generalisation of HK culture, which created difficulty in distinguishing it from other cultures. For instance, Sophia revealed that, in some festivals, HK cultures would be combined with other Asian cultures. She felt that there was no distinct HK group, only a blended group of Chinese and Taiwanese, in SA, which resulted in her not emphasising HK culture. For Violet, HK-related festivals lacked the introduction to the background of HK. To her, ‘there is no root’ and they are only façades which do ‘not even scratch ... the surface’ of the culture, since they were all about food. Her experiences in the festivals provoked her to ask, ‘What is HK culture? Can anybody explain a bit better?’

John was the only interviewee who did not voice concerns about maintaining his CH, especially in terms of going to HK and Chinese restaurants and speaking in Cantonese. The HK participants’ perceptions and attitudes on their CH may be further understood by how they perceived themselves.

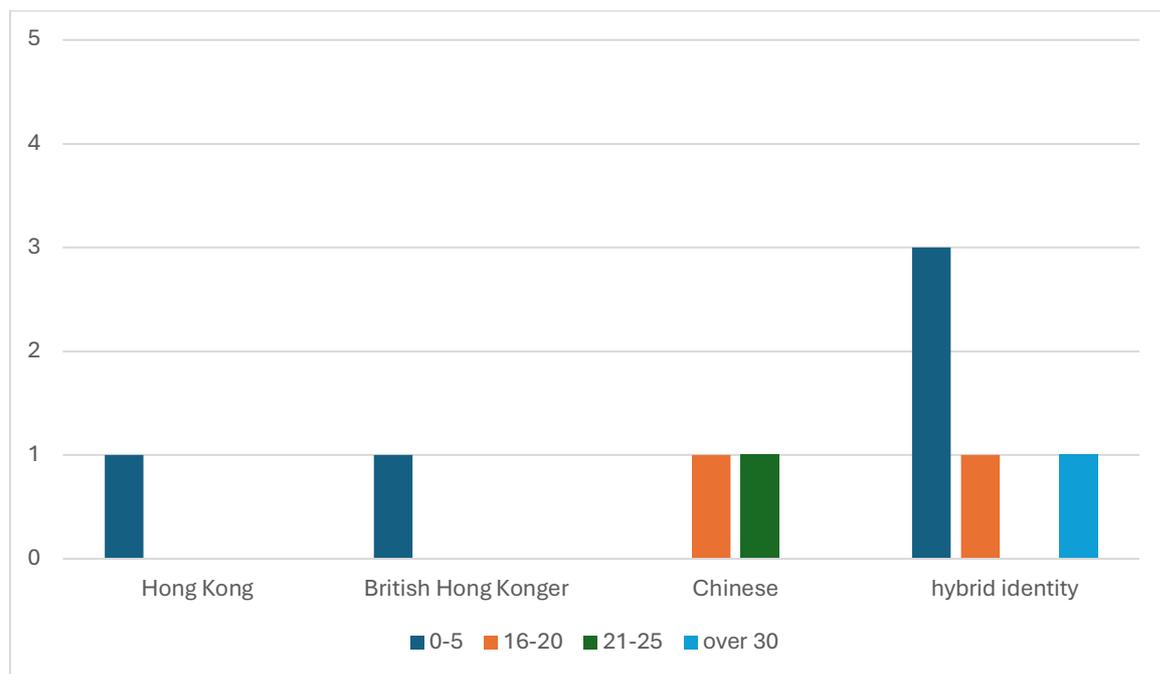


Figure 11: HK participants' identity.

Figure 11 shows the HK participants’ identity and their years of residence in SA. Five considered themselves to have more than one identity, two considered themselves Chinese, one a British Hong Konger and one a Hong Konger.

Liam and John believed that they would still consider themselves as a Hong Konger and a British Hong Konger even after becoming an Australian citizen. In contrast to John, Liam revealed that he may be ‘a bit more Australian’ as the years pass.

Two participants identified as Chinese. Sophia still felt a Chinese from HK, despite living in SA for 22 years. Jane was born in mainland China (came to HK as a teenager) and still felt rooted as Chinese. She, however, did not exclude the possibility of feeling South Australian one day, as she explained that she had built her life in SA, and hoped to live there for the rest of her life.

Henry, Michael, Peter and Violet felt that they were partly Hong Konger and partly Australian, with Henry identifying himself as a HK Australian. Michael and Peter felt 70% Hong Konger and 30% Australian. In spite of not feeling completely accepted into the Australian community, Violet considered herself ‘a mixed’: ‘more Western now’ but ‘deep inside ... valuable [Chinese] customs and the culture of HK Chinese’ remained. Olivia actually labelled herself as Australian first and foremost, but also believed her ‘bigger identity’ would be a ‘humanist’, so that ‘limiting labels’ could be avoided.

Of the six interviewees (Henry, Jane, John, Liam, Olivia, Violet) who answered the question, all of them agreed that maintaining their CH has supported them or has been beneficial for them in adapting to their life in SA. Three of them talked about the importance of preserving their own heritage and identity, while still opening themselves to Australian communities. Henry believed that doing so made him feel ‘connected with [his] culture without feeling homesick’, while both Liam and Violet evoked a balance between HK and Australian cultures when residing in SA. Violet added that she decided to ‘pick the best of both sides’, because she believed that the Chinese traditions keep her ‘grounded to [her] roots’ when she equally valued Western culture.

### **4.3 Tangible HK CH places identified by HK participants**

Table 4 shows the HK CH places identified by HK participants. Eighty percent of the named places are restaurants, with the other 20% being cultural and religious places. Sixty percent of places were only named by one participant.

Identified places	Number of participants
1. HK organisations (only HKCASA recorded)	4
2. Austral-Asian Christian Church	3
3. Mount Lion Café and its surroundings	3
4. Chinatown Adelaide South Australia	3
5. Brolly Toasties	1
6. Citi Zen Restaurant	1
7. Eastern Garden Chinese Restaurant	1
8. Kowloon Restaurant	1
9. New Oriental Pearl Restaurant	1
10. Star House Chinese Restaurant	1

Table 4: Identified HK CH sites or places in SA.

Recording of the places listed in Table 4 revealed a range of common material and other physical features (Table 5). The numbers (1-10) represent the ten HK CH places as numbered in Table 4. The corresponding photos of each feature are listed below (see Appendix 4 for the photos). As long as there were at least two places sharing the same feature, it was considered a common one.

Common features	HK CH places in SA									
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
Photos/ Posters of HK nature and skyline			71, 73, 74		86, 87, 89					
Traditional Chinese writing/ calligraphy		12, 65, 66, 67	68, 70, 75, 78	2, 80	86	13, 19	14	20, 101, 102, 103	90, 91	104

Advertising 'yum cha' sign				83		94				
The words 'Hong Kong' written			71, 72, 75, 76	80						
Chinese- style furniture/ Cantonese restaurant seatings						15, 17, 19, 95	96, 97, 98, 99, 100	101	91, 92, 93	22, 105, 106, 107
HK-style café seatings			70, 71, 72		87			20, 102, 103		
Table setting (with teapot)						23	115		24	119
Yum cha ordering sheet						116	114			117
Framed/ non-framed pictures of Chinese food and delicacies							99, 100			22, 105, 106,
Red carpet						13, 15, 17	14			

Lantern-style ceiling lights; lanterns deco.			79	81, 83		19, 95	97, 98, 99			
Live seafood tanks						19	97			21
Chinese-style partition							97, 98, 100			22, 106, 107
Chinese guardian lions				2, 16		15				
Wine storage shelves						17				18, 106
Framed Chinese floral botanical (art prints)						17			92, 93	
Red banners ('fai chun' in Cantonese)		66						102		
HK-style café seatings			70, 71, 72		87			20, 102, 103		

Table 5: Common features of HK CH places.

Most HK CH places (n=9) have traditional Chinese writing or calligraphy. Three Cantonese-style restaurants have live seafood tanks. Four share Chinese-style furniture or Chinese restaurant seatings, featuring round tables covered with white tablecloths,

and upholstered dining chairs (Figures 19, 22). All three HK-style cafés share the same kind of seatings: rectangular tables and ‘卡位’ (booth seats) with no cushions (Figures 20).

The table setting at Cantonese restaurants is similar, featuring a white bowl on a white plate, chopsticks, a napkin, a tea cup, and a tea pot (Figure 23). The table presentation at New Oriental Pearl was slightly different initially, as a glass was on the table instead of a cup (Figure 24).

There were also some places that exhibited unusual or unique elements (Table 6).

Unique features	HK CH places in SA
Australian values printed on banner	HKCASA (Figure 64)
Chinese-style roof tiles and Chinese figurines	Chinatown (Figures 82, 83)
Chinese festival decorations	Chinatown (Figure 84)
Posters of HK singers	Brolly Toasties (Figure 88)
Chinese elements at the entryway: crystal ceiling chandelier, a Chinese junk model	Citi Zen (Figure 15)
Fu, Lu and Shou statues; Chinese teapots, a jade sculpture (a pot and flowers)	Citi Zen (Figure 17)
Bird cages ceiling lights	Kowloon (Figure 20)
Mural decoration with advertising signs of traditional HK brand names	Kowloon (Figures 20, 103)

Chinese-style decoration	mural	Eastern Garden (Figure 96)
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Table 6: Unique features of HK CH places.

Traditional HK/ Chinese elements are seen in various forms: Traditional Chinese characters written on red banners (Figures 12, 102), red carpet (Figures 13, 14, 15, 17), Chinese guardian lions (Figures 15, 16), lantern and bird cages ceiling lights (Figures 19, 20), and Fu, Lu and Shou statues (Chinese gods of Fortune (Fu), Prosperity (Lu) and Longevity (Shou)) (Figure 17). Two of the restaurants contained displays of wine bottles (Figures 17, 18), showing Western influence.



Figure 12: Chinese characters 高舉十架 共建神家 (meaning: hold high the cross, together we build God's house) on red banners. AACC.



Figure 13: Entrance of Citi Zen Restaurant.  
17 April 2025.



Figure 16: one of the Chinese guardian lions at Chinatown's main entrance (Gouger Street). 14 April 2025.



Figure 14: Entrance of Eastern Garden. 21 April 2025.



Figure 17: The bar and cashier area. Citi Zen.



Figure 15: The entryway of Citi Zen.



Figure 18: Waiting area, bar and cashier area at Star House. 24 April 2025.



Figure 19: First main dining area at Citi Zen.



Figure 22: Second dining area. Star House.



Figure 20: Main dining area of Kowloon Restaurant. 23 April 2025.



Figure 23: Table presentation. Citi Zen.



Figure 21: Live seafood tanks. Star House.



Figure 24: Table presentation. New Oriental Pearl.

The significance of these places is based on the degree to which they are understood to represent authentic HK food, in taste, range and presentation. For HK people in SA they represent or ‘connect to’ (Liam) HK culture, and can cure their homesickness. John mentioned that the fact that ‘[w]e can still talk in Cantonese [and] have [...] Cantonese food outside’ of HK, 美食之都<sup>1</sup>, contributed to keeping ‘our culture and spirit’, while having food which is comforting to HK people’s taste buds.

The importance of the food represented and served in these CH places makes the places popular and valued among HK people. For instance, Olivia considered Star House as a HK CH as it serves ‘very authentic and yummy food’ and it can satisfy HK people’s high standard on food: ‘If the food is not yummy, they criticise it’. Peter and Olivia also highlighted that it was only the food that had value for them, as they did not consider the Chinese elements in the buildings to be relevant to HK culture in any way.

These places contribute to a sense of belonging shared between people with the same background and memories. The church and the HK associations provided places to gather. Restaurants, in particular, are favourable places ‘to bring [HK] people together’ (Liam) and ‘find back that feeling or memory’ of being in HK. It is through the urge to maintain their own language and culture that HK people look for a place to attempt to achieve, or to have a feeling of achieving, this (Liam).

#### **4.4 HK participants’ intangible practices and ephemeral elements in SA**

Closely connected to the tangible elements of places are the intangible practices and ephemeral heritage that give meaning to, and derive meaning from, these elements. Figure 25 reveals the ways that HK people maintain their CH.

##### **4.4.1 Festival celebrations**

The majority of participants (n=8) celebrated Chinese festivals in SA. Of all the festivals, seven mentioned Chinese New Year (or Lunar New Year), six stated the Mid-Autumn

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<sup>1</sup> The capital of gastronomy

Festival, and three named the Dragon Boat Festival. Many, however, decided to be selective in their celebrations. For instance, for Chinese New Year (CNY), Sophia decided against giving out red packets to friends, as she believed it to be a ‘waste [of] money’. Olivia only started to celebrate CNY again when her HK family moved to SA three years ago.

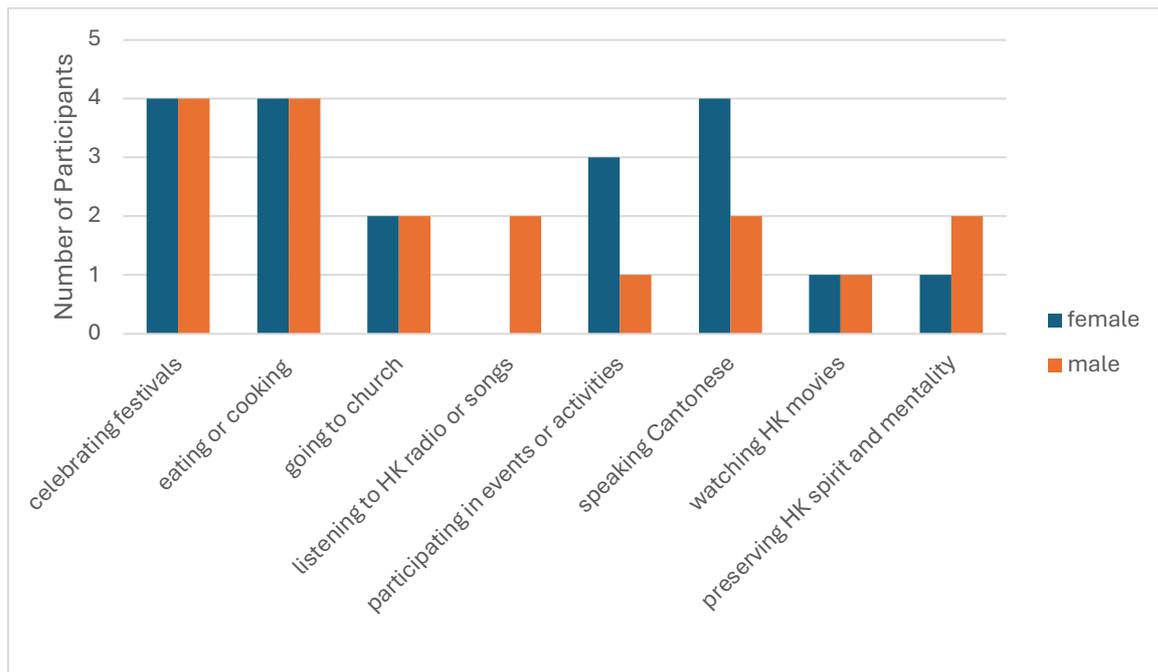


Figure 25: HK ICH practices in SA.

Peter stated that the festival decorations in Rundle Mall are ‘the only element of my cultural heritage that is popular’ in SA.

Below are the traditional festival delicacies mentioned:

1. CNY: 年糕<sup>2</sup>, 蘿蔔糕<sup>3</sup> and 湯丸<sup>4</sup> found in Asian grocery stores (John)
2. Mid-Autumn Festival: mooncakes (Jane, Michael and Sophia)
3. Dragon Boat Festival: homemade rice dumplings (Sophia and Henry)

<sup>2</sup> Literally means ‘year cake’. It is made of glutinous rice flour.

<sup>3</sup> Turnip cake

<sup>4</sup> Glutinous rice balls in sweet soup

Only Liam decided not to celebrate any Chinese festivals in Australia, as he did not feel ‘a huge connection’ with them.

#### 4.4.2 Eating and cooking HK/ Chinese food

Given the high frequency of restaurants and cafés as places of identified HK CH in SA, it is not surprising that eight participants mentioned eating or cooking HK-style or Chinese food as significant practices to maintain their CH. Four of them specifically mentioned yum cha, although, apart from ‘shiu mai’<sup>5</sup> (Figure 26), specific yum cha dishes were not named.

<b>Common features (Yum cha)</b>	Eastern Garden	Citi Zen	Star House
<b>Cooking techniques</b>			
Steaming	Figures 26, 27, 29, 30	Figure 35	Figure 38
Stir frying	Figure 28	Figure 34	Figure 36
Frying		Figures 32, 35	Figure 38
Baking	Figure 31	Figure 33	
Roasting			Figure 37

Table 7: Cooking techniques.

The cooking techniques of the food served at three Cantonese restaurants for yum cha are summarised in Table 7, showing the variety of dim sums (Figures 26-31; 32-35; 36-38) and dishes served.

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<sup>5</sup> A steamed dumpling filled with pork and shrimp.

Eastern Garden (21 April 2025):



Figure 26: Steamed stuffed tofu and 'shiu mai'.



Figure 27: Malay Cake.



Figure 28: Stir fried beef with rice noodles.



Figure 29: Dried shrimps and shallot rice rolls.



Figure 30: Sticky rice in lotus leaves.



Figure 31: Egg custard tards.

Citi Zen (17 April 2025):



Figure 32: Stuffed eggplant fish flakes.



Figure 33: Egg custard tarts.



Figure 34: Special Fried Rice.



Figure 35: Steamed prawn dumplings, stuffed eggplants with fish flakes, pan fried pork dumplings.

Star House (24 April 2025):



Figure 36: Special fried rice.



Figure 37: Crispy roasted pork.



Figure 38: Deep fried king prawn balls.

The Cantonese-style dinner at New Oriental Pearl reveals the variety of food offered, ranging from the appetisers (Figure 39), and the soup entrée (Figure 40), to the main dishes to be shared (Figures 41, 42, 43).



Figure 39: Crispy prawn crackers.



Figure 40: Seafood and tofu soup.



Figure 41: Peking-style shredded pork with pancakes.



Figure 42: Cantonese-style braised eggplant and salted fish in hot pot.



Figure 43: Poached chicken with broth and Bok Choy.

The three HK-style cafés (cha chaan teng in Cantonese) — Mount Lion Café, the Kowloon Restaurant and Brolly Toasties — included a value noodles set meal and other types of noodles (Figure 44, 46, 52), toasties (Figure 57), sandwiches (Figure 48), rolls (Figure 45) and buns (Figure 54), baked rice (Figure 55) or rice dishes (Figure 56).

Other forms of food and drink were singled out as important by specific participants. Michael and Sophia mentioned HK-style milk tea (hereafter milk tea) (Figures 45 and 53), with Michael praising the ones he could drink in Adelaide as ‘above average’. Sophia provided the names of the dishes she enjoyed at Mount Lion Café (MLC):

1. French toast (Figure 49): unlike the ones in HK, it uses crunchy peanut butter instead of smooth (Figure 50)
2. the soup of the day (Figure 51)
3. the hot lemon tea (Figure 47); Sophia remarked that HK people enjoy the bitterness of it

Mount Lion Café (13 October 2024):



Figure 44: Value set: Luncheon meat and cheese cocktail sausages, instant noodles in soup, omelette and butter bread; milk tea.



Figure 45: Onion sauce pork chop roll with lettuce.



Figure 46: Stir fried beef with rice noodles.

Mount Lion Café (20 April 2025):



Figure 47: Hot lemon tea.



Figure 48: Luncheon meat and eggs sandwich.



Figure 49: French toast.



Figure 50: Crunchy peanut butter inside.



Figure 51: Soup of the Day (ingredients: dried octopus, hairy melon, black eye beans, peanuts, dried scallop and pork bones).



Figure 52: Indomie noodles with scrambled eggs and whole chicken wing.



Figure 55: Baked pork chop cutlet with rice in tomato sauce.

Kowloon Restaurant (23 April 2025):



Figure 53: milk tea.

Brolly Toasties (4 April 2025):



Figure 56: BBQ pork and fried egg with rice and soy sauce.



Figure 54: pineapple bun with butter.



Figure 57: Breakfast toasties (bacon, cheese, eggs, hashbrown, mixed salads, tomatoes and tomato relish sauce).

Food didn't necessarily have to be consumed in a restaurant to be part of maintaining HK CH values. Five interviewees mentioned home cooking of Chinese or Cantonese food, which they cooked at least once a week. They cooked dishes such as broth, congee, boiled dumplings, steamed fish and stir fry dishes. Jane mentioned that she tried to 'cook Chinese or Cantonese food more' because she missed it.

Apart from tangible places and things, and ephemeral elements such as food and drink, several intangible practices were also identified by HK participants as important.

#### **4.4.3 Speaking Cantonese and writing traditional Chinese**

Six participants mentioned that they spoke Cantonese in their private spheres or on occasion, such as in Asian grocery stores, Chinese restaurants in Chinatown (Peter, Sophia), or in the HKCASA (Henry). Even though two of them admitted they could still speak Cantonese daily with HK roommates (John) or through text messages in traditional Chinese (Olivia), the others did not use it regularly or frequently. For instance, Liam could only speak it with family and a few friends. Similarly, Peter only used Cantonese during his visits to Chinatown. As for Sophia, she mainly spoke in Mandarin with her daughter, her Taiwanese husband and friends, who are from China and Taiwan.

#### **4.4.4 Going to church**

Four participants mentioned going to the AACC. Only one (Jane) went to church regularly on Sundays. The church was identified as a Cantonese church (Henry, Michael), with Cantonese-speaking fellowships and worship, and specific 'Hong Konger fellowships' (Henry), with '90% [of] people from HK' (Michael). Jane and Michael also revealed that different activities were organised 'to help HK people' adapt to their new lives: free workshops on wheel replacement, or providing tips on renting or buying a property in SA (Michael).

#### **4.4.5 Participating in HK-related events or activities**

Olivia, Sophia and Violet participated in HK-related events, such as the Friends of HK Festival or Christmas events. Nevertheless, Olivia and Sophia were not aware of many HK events in SA. Olivia also said that sometimes HK events were combined with mainland Chinese ones.

Liam was the only interviewee who mentioned playing mahjong. Interestingly, he did not know how to play it in HK, and was taught by HK friends in SA. He felt that it is representative of HK culture and can ‘draw HK people together’.

Three interviewees talked about preserving HK spirit and mentality as their CH:

-John: still preserves ‘the Hong Konger’s spirit of working [:] Don’t call sick until you’re very sick’.

-Peter: ‘HK people love earning money’ is the most important CH.

-Violet: HK people are ‘generous and [...] hospitable’ and ‘trustworthy’; They are doers who have ‘a flexibility to make things happen and accept the new concept frequently’, different from the South Australians’ ‘wait and see’ attitude regarding changes.

John mentioned that he listened to some Cantonese songs in SA, while Michael listened to HK radio for ten hours a day. Olivia and Michael would go to watch HK movies, Michael citing one of the movies 九龍寨城 (in English: Twilight of the Warriors: Walled In) which was in the cinema in Adelaide for only one or two days.

#### **4.5 HK CH for non-HK South Australians**

Amongst the non-Hong Kong focus group there was a range of understanding of HK CH or its lack thereof. Diana felt that not having a close friend from HK or mainland China was the reason. Sam started to learn about HK culture through his own research, especially on recent political events. As for James, despite being exposed more than the

others, he felt that he only understood ‘intellectual culture or artistic culture’, but not the rest.

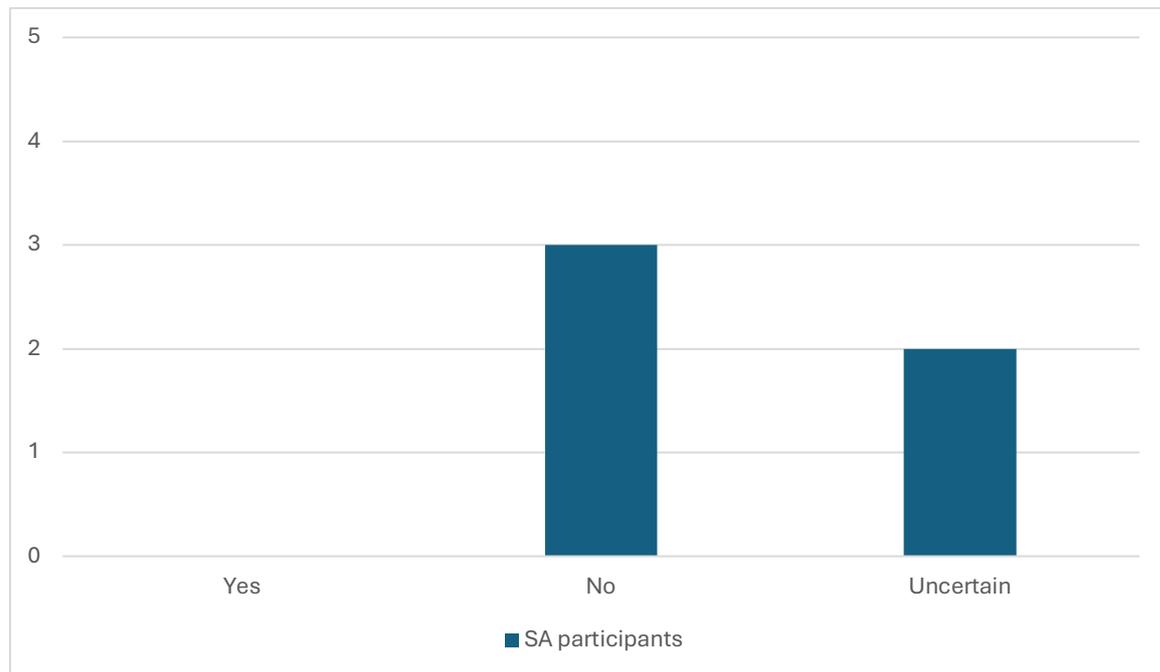


Figure 58: Is HK culture part of SA culture?

The fact that SA participants were unsure about HK CH in SA contributed to the feeling that none of them felt that HK culture was part of SA culture (Figure 58). Of the two who decided that they were unsure of it, Diana believed that Chinese culture was part of the SA culture, rather than splitting it into HK or Chinese. Interestingly, Diana perceived HK or Chinese food culture and festivals, such as Lunar New Year, as very important in SA, since she considered they are part of South Australian history and the present. Emma could not answer the question but said that HK culture ‘has its place’ in SA, just like any other.

The others believed that it was not part of SA culture because of its lack of promotion. They all believed that HK culture should be made more visible and accessible to SA communities. Mary and Sam felt that it should be more important than what it currently appears to be in SA. Sam added that an OzAsia Festival is not sufficient and that more actions are needed to ‘match the fine words in the Charter’ [i.e. South Australian Multicultural Charter]. James also believed actions would be required, even though they ‘might not fit in Chinese cultural norms’ as ‘they tend not to be self-promoting’.

All five non-HK participants mentioned restaurants when asked to identify HK or Chinese CH sites or places in SA. However, none could precisely confirm whether the restaurant(s) they named were HK-style restaurants. SA participants tend to elide HK and China, except for James, who could recognise a restaurant as being owned by a HK person by virtue of the quality of the food and service.

	SA participants
Celebrating Chinese festivals	3
Participation in HK or Chinese activities or events	2
Eating Chinese food	5
Researching about HK or Chinese cultures	1
Understanding HK people’s mentality and behaviours	2

Table 8: Experiencing HK or Chinese CH.

Table 8 summarises the ways the SA participants experienced HK CH. All participants had eaten Chinese food, with three going to Chinese restaurants in SA regularly (see Appendix 4: Figures 109-113). All of them expressed their love for Chinese food, with James putting Cantonese food into his top three choices. He added that ‘if I think of HK culture, I think of food’. James, Mary and Diana could differentiate between the Australian version of Chinese food and traditional Chinese food, and opted for authentic meals.

SA participants also mentioned participating in CNY celebrations, such as watching the Lion Dance. James also participated in ‘the food event’ organised by the HKCASA, and HK business related banquets where Cantonese food was served. Emma and James noted the business culture of HK or Chinese people, as well as their eagerness for education and learning. James also talked about ‘the idea of the “tiger mother”’, and that HK people were ‘not outdoor people’ and were not ‘dominant and pushy, [...] not trying to outdo anyone else’.

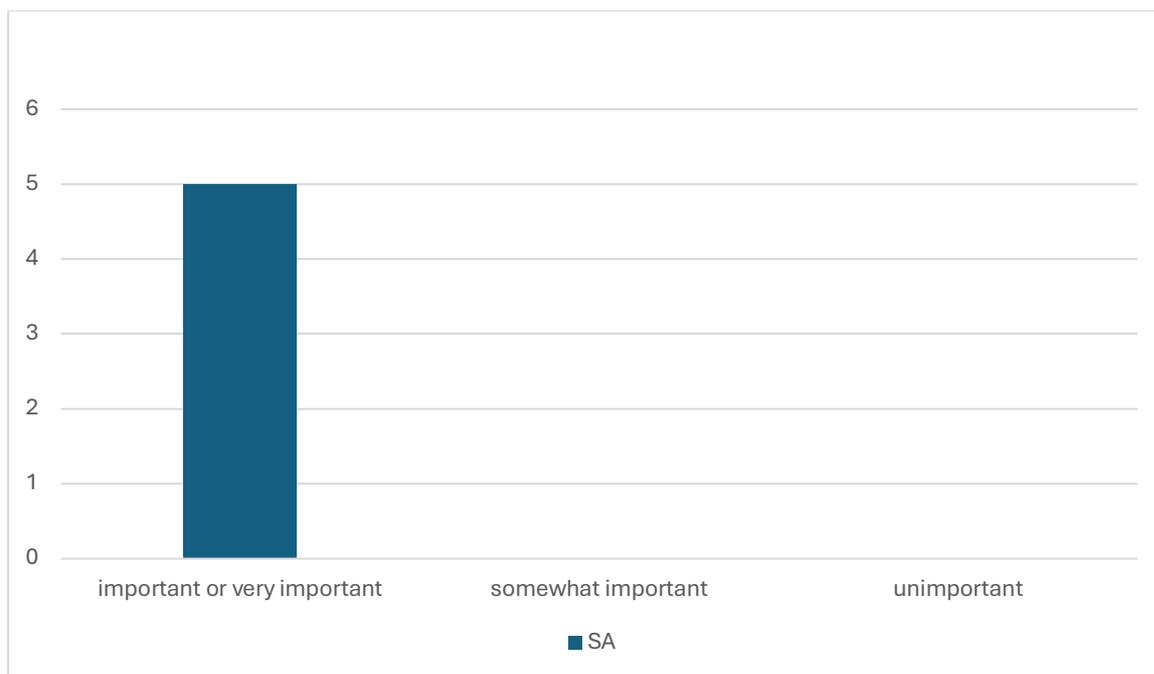


Figure 59: Importance for HK people to preserve CH in SA.

Figure 59 shows all five SA respondents believed that it is important for HK immigrants to preserve their CH in SA. Emma and Sam both thought that one’s own culture is part of one’s identity and should not be lost. Sam mentioned that it should never be ‘assimilate[d] to that and lose yourself’. Mary felt that cultures make Australia interesting and believed that ‘people should practice their culture’ and not ‘let go of [it]’.

Diana and James thought that it would only be important to preserve HK CH if HK people believed so. James emphasised that it should be ‘a self-chosen cultural identity’ which ‘you maintain... as much as you wish to do so’. Diana added that she supposed that it would be important to immigrants to maintain their CH to have connections to home, to their heritage, and so that they may be able to share it with their children.

## **Chapter 5: Hong Kong Cultural Heritage and its Ever-Changing Face in South Australia**

After seeing the presence of HK CH in SA, which has been developed and adapted into different forms, this chapter will investigate the flexibility in the practice and preservation of HK CH and how HK CH reflects this mutability.

### **5.1 Where is Hong Kong in South Australia?**

#### **5.1.1 Hidden behind ‘generalisation’ in SA**

HK and SA participants both voiced their concerns about the invisibility of HK CH in SA. This invisibility was expressed by SA participants as either unawareness or indistinguishability. Apart from James, who is married to a HK wife, the other four SA participants confirmed that they could not differentiate a HK restaurant from a Chinese one (section 4.5). SA participant Diana revealed that she did not think South Australians ever separated HK culture from Chinese culture (Appendix 4), but she believed that Chinese culture, in its most general form, was part of SA culture (section 4.5). This reveals an ongoing issue in SA, where HK CH, and other CH in other parts of China, has been hidden under the umbrella of Chinese CH. The even more general term ‘Asian’ has also been used in SA, as mentioned by Sam (SA participant) in reference to the OzAsia Festival. This observation was not limited to SA participants, as two HK participants, Sophia and Violet, also mentioned the generalisation of HK CH in SA, by either grouping HK cultures with other Asian cultures, or by completely ignoring the essence of HK CH (section 4.2). The tendency for people to elide HK and Chinese CH may be due to surface similarities, or simply because HK is a Special Administrative Region of China.

This tendency towards over-generalisation and imprecision can also be seen in the literature in relation to Chinese immigrants and their CH (Lee and Huang 2015; Liao and Huang 2020; Tsai 2016; Wang and Hamid 2022; Wei 2022; Wong 2023), with the word ‘Chinese’ attached to the identity of the people and their heritage, rather than identifying region, city or village specific cultures or traditions. While this may be due to a research focus that does not require distinctions to be drawn between Chinese communities, the acknowledgement of the diversity of Chinese CH should not be

neglected. Also, it is noteworthy to signal that the generalisation of placing HK CH under Chinese CH—or worse Asian CH—directly goes against the foundations and principles of the South Australian Multicultural Charter (section 2.2.6), as diversity and the ‘reciprocal exchange of knowledge and understanding’ amongst South Australian communities will be overlooked.

### **5.1.2 The ‘shy’ HK immigrant in SA**

The majority of HK and SA participants decided that SA is a multicultural state, but action must begin at the local government level, as well as from the HK community, so that HK CH can exist and be understood in its own way (Appendix 4). HK and SA respondents revealed a certain reticence or inactivity in promoting and transmitting HK CH to South Australians. Liam, one of the founders of a HK association in SA, pointed out the importance of building a HK community in SA to preserve HK CH. He, however, also emphasised the difficulty in building one, due to HK people’s tendency not to reach out to new people (Appendix 3). This concern is also shared by Violet, who indicated the ‘timid’, ‘subdued’ or ‘reserved’ nature of HK people, which may have contributed to their ‘quiet’ nature and the wider SA public’s incomprehension of HK CH (section 4.2). She also criticised the lack of depth of HK CH projected by the HKCASA (Appendix 3). Similarly, James commented that ‘self-promoting’ would not be in the ‘Chinese cultural norms’ (section 4.5).

This kind of passivity may be explained by HK’s highly centralised CH industry (section 2.2.3), which lacks the involvement of the HK community for inputs on CH management and its transmission. HK people’s ‘shyness’ may only be in view of their CH, as the HK parents at the Parents and Citizens Association of an unnamed school in Sydney asserted their voice and even successfully maintained the amount of homework that students at that school should do (Tam 2004:183-184). This assertiveness reinforces the choices of HK immigrants who prioritise particular domains, such as their children’s education, instead of CH promotion and transmission. In fact, apart from Henry, who elaborated on the CH transmission question, none of the others held the same conviction. Jane, who resided in SA for 19 years, even admitted to having never thought of transmitting her CH to non-Chinese SA (see Appendix 3), in spite of believing in the

importance of its preservation (section 4.2). This illustrates HK immigrants' priorities and preoccupations, and their wish to preserve their HK CH, without necessarily wanting or needing to transmit it to non-Chinese SA. This may also suggest the unwillingness of HK people to have the additional burden when they already have much to cope in SA (Appendix 3: John; Section 2.1).

## **5.2 Hong Kong cultural heritage preservation: the highly flexible and adaptable way of tackling Hong Kong cultural heritage**

With 67% of HK respondents believing in the importance of preserving HK CH, this section will investigate the way they preserve it and how this stands in contrast to SA perceptions.

### **5.2.1 SA participants' 'traditional' views on CH preservation**

'Traditional' views on CH preservation are expressed through Australia's *Burra Charter*, which influenced Australian CH policies and management in emphasising a process for assessing the cultural significance of a place and preserving elements of its authenticity (see section 2.2.3). The widening of the definition of authenticity (Grimberg 2023:82; Harrison 2020:39) has not changed Anglo-Australians' or Australians' perceptions of CH preservation, as illustrated in SA respondents' belief in the importance of HK people preserving their CH, with the majority (n=3) considering it as an innate need that should not be altered (Figure 59). This emphasis on the fixedness of CH is built upon assumptions that people should not lose their identity (indeed, that identity can be 'lost'), even as immigrants in a new country. As Diana (SA participant) believed, maintaining CH would be important for maintaining connections to 'home' (HK), such that CH should be transmitted to future generations (section 4.5). This kind of CH interpretation amongst South Australians emphasises the permanence and unchanging nature of it, and the disastrous consequences if it is altered, since a change to CH is thought to represent a tremendous and irreparable loss.

In contrast, the question on the level of importance assigned to preserving HK CH in SA was divided, with only Henry seeing it as very important (Figure 10). The years of residence in SA of HK participants did not necessarily impact on their perceptions of

the importance to preserve CH, since Violet, who has resided in SA for  $\geq 30$  years, still considered it important, whereas Michael, who moved to SA  $\leq 5$  years ago, considered it to be less important (pp.40-41). This shows a flexibility adopted by HK respondents to CH as they navigate a 'new' social context and consider its place in their new lives. The lack of conviction expressed by many (n=4) (section 4.2) to preserve it suggests HK people's uncertainties about preserving HK CH in the present or future, but this may also show their dynamism in embracing the culture they have come into, or even the mutations of HK CH as they adapt to their new lives. Michael and Olivia both expressed this idea by revealing how living in SA made them change their perspectives of CH, with Olivia emphasising that preserving it would only be important to maintaining friends and family ties, but not important to her Australian-born children (section 4.2). Interestingly, Violet revealed her impression of HK people's flexible attitude regarding change, comparing it to the South Australians' 'wait-and-see' attitude (section 4.4.5). This also echoes a belief amongst HK immigrants in their 'HK-style adaptability' and their relentless pursuit to defy the odds (Tam 2004) (section 2.1.5). This observation comes in stark contrast to Pe-Pua et al.'s (1996) study on astronaut families and Wu et al.'s (1998) study on HK immigrants in Brisbane, which identified difficulties for the majority of HK immigrants in adapting to their new lives, but is comparable to Sussman's (2010) study, in which a HK interviewee revealed adherence to Australian values and behaviours (Sussman 2010:2-6).

### **5.2.2 Difficulty of preserving HK CH in SA or an opportunity to alter it?**

All HK participants, apart from John, mentioned factors creating difficulties for preserving or transmitting HK CH in SA (see Figure 121), including a lack of interest amongst non-Chinese SA and difficulty in maintaining the Cantonese language. Nevertheless, if we consider the interview question on whether maintaining CH has supported HK people in adapting to their life in SA, 50% of those who responded highlighted the importance of not only preserving HK CH, but also opening themselves to SA culture (section 4.2). This shows HK immigrants' cultural adaptability and receptivity to change. This kind of extraordinary attitude toward changes can be

reflected in HK immigrants' ways of maintaining HK CH in SA. Chinese festivals were celebrated by many (n=8), but they were celebrated in line with HK people's beliefs. For instance, Sophia revealed that she had attempted to 'get rid of' Chinese customs, which she deemed to be unnecessary (section 4.4.1). Olivia, who had resided in SA for 20 years, only started celebrating Chinese festivals again when her HK family moved to SA a few years ago (section 4.4.1). This reveals the selectiveness of HK respondents in festival celebrations and the adaptability they accord to them, since festivals were not perceived to be customary obligations, but opportunities to be altered so that they would become more suitable to their 'changed' lifestyle in SA. This kind of flexibility is also illustrated in Tsai's (2016) study revealing the exclusion of Chinese 'melodic musical tradition' from Bendigo's yearly Easter Parade, since it was 'not appreciated' by the Chinese (Tsai 2016:103). Similarly, in the usage of the Cantonese language and traditional Chinese writing (section 4.4.3), some HK participants (n=3) chose not to use it frequently, with the four HK participants with children (Table 1) all refusing at some point to speak to their children in Cantonese (section 4.2; Appendix 3). Olivia added that it was more important to her that her children become 'full Aussies', than that they adhered to their HK and French parental origins. This is reiterated in the literature explaining second or third generation Chinese immigrants' reticence in learning Chinese CH and language, since they did not see the utility of it in Australia (Liao and Huang 2020; Wang and Hamid 2022; Wei 2022; Wong 2023). This strengthens the idea that HK immigrants in SA do not consider changes in CH to be a loss, but embrace them as a gain. This has therefore led to a more dynamic, open and flexible approach of HK immigrants in their CH, as they perceive changes as opportunities to explore new horizons in SA.

### **5.3 Hong Kong cultural heritage in South Australia: Where east-meets-west? Or a unique Hong Kong cultural heritage developed in the state?**

#### **5.3.1 HK CH places**

The lack of Chinese architectural style buildings in Australia has been discussed in literature (Byrne 2023, 2024) and was also asserted by a HK respondent (Peter), who

noted that the buildings and the architectural elements in Chinatown in Adelaide reflect merely ‘a stereotype of [...] Chinese culture’ and project only the ‘local [Australian] perspective’ of it (see Appendix 4). He cited the Chinatown Archways (Figure 2) and believed all the colours ‘red, yellow and green’ to be ‘too colourful’. This has also been argued by Byrne (2024), who considered the listed Chinese temples in Australia to represent what “Orientalist” perceives as “authentic” Chinese architecture (Byrne 2024:98).

When asked about HK CH places in SA, restaurants were named by 80% of the HK respondents and all SA respondents (sections 4.3 and 4.5). They did not name these restaurants for their architectural, historical or scientific aspects, however, but for the food they serve and, to the HK respondents, the HK-style environment they provide (Appendix 4). The interior settings of Cantonese restaurants and HK-style tea cafés (Table 5; Table 6), including the seating, furniture and table settings, and decorative elements such as traditional Chinese characters and red carpet, as well as Cantonese-speaking people gather in the same place, all contribute to HK people’s connection to their HK CH through a common and ‘familiar’ setting. This resonates with Tam’s (2004) findings of places influenced by HK-based culture in Sydney, such as restaurants serving HK-style yum cha and churches providing Cantonese services (section 2.1.4). Two Cantonese restaurants also featured displays of wine bottles (Figures 17, 18), which may hint at HK people’s goodwill in adapting to Western culture for various purposes, or suggest how Western culture has influenced HK culture.

The fact that these restaurants were seen as HK CH because of the food and the shared space provided for HK people, reveals the undeniable social significance of these places (section 4.3). This can be measured and compared with Hung and Yau’s (2024) assessment of social values of HK CH, particularly in the place meaning and place identity (Hung and Yau 2024:473-474), as seen with how HK participants’ relate to these HK CH places as an immigrant from HK and derive significance from them. These places provide occasions to speak in Cantonese and to gather with HK people who share the same culture and history. Even though CH is often managed exclusively by heritage experts (Harrison 2020:33), the visibility of HK CH places in SA is decided by HK

immigrants alone, as they confirmed the significance of these places to them as HK people, or more importantly, as HK immigrants. These restaurants, therefore, exist mainly because of the food they serve, and how they have accommodated the fastidious tastes and demands of HK people (section 4.3; Cheung 2004: 139).

### **5.3.2 HK food CH in SA: an expression of HK life in SA?**

The importance of HK food CH in SA can be translated through HK immigrants' identification of restaurants which serve 'authentic' Cantonese or HK-style meals. The literature describes food CH as 'hybrid and evolving' (Zocchi et al. 2021:10) and explains how it can channel profound emotions for people (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014:18). These emotions are also shown in the excitement of respondents when discussing HK food. As revealed by Peter, and in Chan's (2019) and Cheung's (2013) studies (section 2.2.4), the British colonisation of HK has largely impacted HK food culture. This is seen in the 'east-meets-west' type of food served in Cantonese restaurants and HK-style cafés. While this may be true in HK, and may seem to be replicated in the named HK restaurants identified as CH in SA, the food identified by participants and in surveys in this study has expanded its sphere and been transformed into HK food that exists uniquely in SA. In spite of Olivia mentioning the 'authentic' food served at Star House (section 4.3), other HK participants tended to evoke the differences between Cantonese and HK-style food (Liam, Michael, Jane, Sophia, Violet) (Appendix 4). These differences, however, do not appear to be a problem for them in terms of connecting with restaurants and cafés as CH, as seen in their acknowledgement of the food served as HK food. For instance, Sophia mentioned that she enjoyed the French toast at MLC, and appreciated its taste, even though its texture differs from the one she was used to in HK (Figures 49, 50; section 4.4.2). This reinvention of HK food is also illustrated in the breakfast toasties served at Brolly Toasties (Figure 57). These are not served in other HK-style cafés in SA, and show a unique HK immigrant transformation of the usual kind of sandwiches and pastries served in HK-style cafés (Figures 45, 48, 54); these toasties therefore convey messages about the SA lifestyle they integrated into their lives. This reinforces HK immigrants' unique identity, as the majority (n=5) of them, including three who resided in SA for  $\leq 5$  years, embraced their hybrid and ever-changing identity (Figure 11; section 4.3). What kind of food is

authentically HK is not significant, since the very nature of HK food CH has never ceased to be reinvented for a range of purposes and with a variety of meanings for HK immigrants. Holtorf (2015, 2018) has argued that changes in the form or other aspects of CH does not mean the end of it (Holtorf 2015:412; Holtorf 2018:648), but rather represents endless opportunities for its reinvention or reinterpretation. The significance of HK food CH lies in what it represents to HK people through its taste and form, and its embodiment of HK immigrants' flexibility and adaptability, as well as their 'newfound freedom' in a land feeding and fuelling them with inspirations to continue enjoying their HK food CH in their own right.

## **Chapter 6: The Hong Kong Cultural Heritage ‘Footprint’ in South Australia**

### **6.1 Between the tangible, intangible and ephemeral heritage**

In this study, HK CH in SA has been identified and discussed. It is understood that HK CH is not confined to a single type of CH, but is represented by an array of it, including tangible heritage as represented by restaurants and the AACC church, intangible heritage, as with the Cantonese language, Chinese festivals and the distinct mentality of HK people, and ephemeral heritage as epitomised by HK food. Interestingly, HK immigrants decided that it was not the ‘permanent’ CH or the ICH in SA which was the most important to them, but the ephemeral. This resonates with the concept of ‘everyday heritage’, as it represents not the officially listed CH, but the “mindful appreciation” of CH in everyday lives (Ireland 2025:197). This emphasises how the ‘ordinary’ CH actually constitutes the extraordinary in the eyes of HK immigrants. Indeed, to them, 80% of HK CH places are identified as such not for their architectural, historical or scientific significance, but because of their intangibility (i.e. the Cantonese-speaking environment they provide and their function as a location for HK people to gather) and the kind of food served, which can be recognised as HK food, as it is remembered by its ‘authentic’ taste (sections 4.3 and 5.3.2).

Site surveys in Cantonese restaurants and HK-style cafés revealed the vast variety of food served as ephemeral artefacts. These artefacts reveal the immeasurable skills and techniques used to prepare and craft the dim sum and other dishes. The literal meaning of ‘dim sum’ (touch the heart) (section 1.1) illustrates well the connection HK food CH has with HK South Australians, as it revives strong emotions and memories from their hearts. It has undoubtedly been identified as one of, if not the, most important forms of CH for HK immigrants in SA. The material ephemerality of this kind of CH may be problematic to be preserved. Nevertheless, the importance of ephemeral heritage does not lie in how it is preserved in its current form, but in the ‘intangible subjectivities and insights’ (Errol 2023:79) it may inspire, and the ‘new ephemeral values’ (Forest 2014:2) it can generate. Moreover, the ephemerality attached to HK food CH in SA, along with other HK ICH, does not represent a constraint, but an opportunity for the proactive HK immigrants to develop, expand and even change it beyond its ‘original’ forms. HK CH, in this sense, has appropriated a high degree of flexibility which coincidentally reflects

HK immigrants' hybrid and 'everchanging' identity (Figure 11), as well as an identity that is distinct from the mainland Chinese (Chan 2019:313; Table 3), as they continue to grow into their 'new' home in SA.

The impact of HK CH in SA can be considered as one that is more oriented towards a personal experience or the private sphere, and may not necessarily impact HK immigrants' future generations. This indicates that the transmission of CH does not have too much of an emphasis in HK immigrants' lives. While this may lessen non-Chinese South Australians' exposure to it, its impact, however, may have been underestimated by non-Chinese South Australian participants, given that they could not differentiate between Chinese and HK food. The relative 'invisibility' of HK CH does not mean that it is non-existent in SA, but rather that it is unconsciously incorporated into South Australian culture, as suggested by Diana's perception on the high degree of importance of HK or Chinese food CH and festivals in SA (see 4.5). This aspect demands further research of the place and influence of HK CH, or more importantly, the impact that HK food CH has on the lives of South Australians.

## **6.2 Significance and future studies**

This thesis is significant in unveiling and encouraging a better understanding of the growing HK community in SA, as well as the CH they bring into, create and transform in SA. It brings to light the unique forms of HK CH, separated from the common labelling of "Chinese", and recognises the dynamism of this heritage in the South Australian context. This study is not only a celebration of regional CH diversity, but also evidence of HK CH being maintained, practised, and transmitted in a uniquely HK immigrant way in SA. It is also significant in the wider context of South Australian multiculturalism and how people living in the same society can interact with 'lesser-known' cultures.

While this thesis presents a repository and a rare discussion of HK CH in SA, which is valuable for research on HK immigrants, CH or multiculturalism, future studies are required to further explore HK CH in the state and whether the HK CH has 'unconsciously' been incorporated into SA CH. The changing nature of HK ICH and

ephemeral heritage also demands a more vigorous approach in understanding the essence of it, and how and why it may alter in various contexts.

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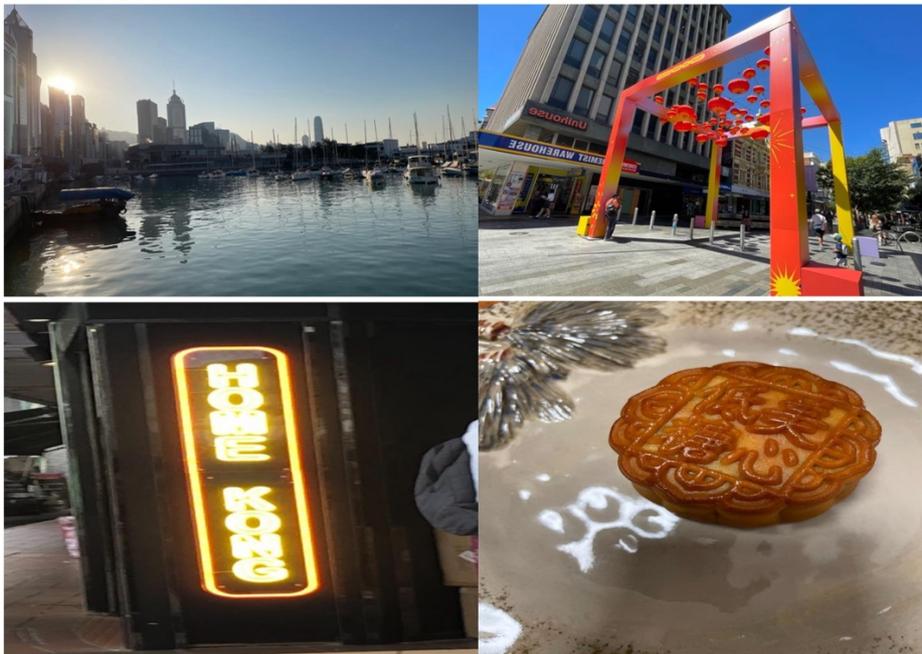
## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Flyers distributed for recruitment

1. The flyer distributed at HKCASA's Friends of Hong Kong Festival in March 2024, and HKAS:



#### Hong Kong Culture: Does it mean anything to you?



Hi! I'm Charlotte, a student studying a Masters degree in Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Management at Flinders University. My thesis will look at Hong Kong cultural heritage in South Australia. I am looking for participants who are originally from Hong Kong OR any South Australians who know a little (YES! Just a little bit will do) about Hong Kong culture to participate in individual interviews. If you are interested in participating in my research project or just want to understand more about what I'm up to, I'd LOVE to hear from you!

You can reach me via email [ho0439@flinders.edu.au](mailto:ho0439@flinders.edu.au) or phone 0493701597.

Project number 6999 pending approval by Flinders University HREC

## 2. An updated flyer placed on the concierge desk at the Unley Museum:



### Multiculturalism in South Australia: Has Hong Kong Culture Its Place?

Participants needed for a Masters research project on Hong Kong cultural heritage and multiculturalism in SA



Hi, I am Charlotte, a student pursuing a Masters degree in Archaeology and Heritage Management at Flinders University. I am looking for participants who will join individual interviews discussing about Hong Kong cultural heritage in South Australia (applicable to those who are **originally from Hong Kong**) and multiculturalism (applicable to **South Australians**).

#### South Australians

- Knowledge of Hong Kong/ Chinese culture **not required**
- Not of Chinese descent
- At least 18 years old
- Have resided in South Australia for at least 1 year

#### Potential Benefits

- Participate in the first dedicated studies of Hong Kong immigrants in South Australia
- Acquire a new dimension to understanding multiculturalism in South Australia

#### People originally from Hong Kong

- Are originally from HK
- At least 18 years old
- Have resided in South Australia for at least 1 year
- Plan to stay in SA indefinitely

#### Participation Involves

- An individual interview, preferably face-to-face. Interviews can also be conducted via Zoom or Team Meeting

#### FOR MORE INFORMATION

Please contact Charlotte at 0493701597, email [ho0439@flinders.edu.au](mailto:ho0439@flinders.edu.au)

Multiculturalism in SA  
Charlotte 0493701597  
[ho0439@flinders.edu.au](mailto:ho0439@flinders.edu.au)

Project number 6999 approved by Flinders University HREC

## Appendix 2: Questions for participants

### 1. The set of questions for Hong Kong participants:

Demographic information: age group (18-26; 27-35; 36-44; 45-53; 54-62; 63-71; 72-80; 80+); gender; ethnicity; family structure; industry sector.

### **Interview questions for Hong Kong immigrants:**

1. How long have you resided in South Australia?
2. What were your main reasons/ motivations for moving to South Australia?  
(The participants will rank six given possible reasons. If none of the above six suit them, they may write their personal reasons down and rank them in the designated place)  
(A. Hong Kong political instability/ B. education/ C. environment concerns/ D. opportunities in South Australia/ E. better lifestyle/ F. proximity of friends or relatives in South Australia/ G. others)
3. Why have you selected (reasons 1 and 2) as the main reasons? Why do you consider (reason 6) your least important reason? Any other comments?
4. General challenges you encountered/ have encountered in SA. (cultural difference; communication in English; racial discrimination; difficult to fit in with other South Australians; others)
5. Have you adapted/ adjusted to the life here? How? (social networks; participating in HK and/ or Chinese events/ festivals; occupations; others)
6. (if applicable) Have you developed a sense of belongingness in South Australia? Do you feel you have integrated into the South Australian society? Please explain your answers.
7. What is cultural heritage?
8. How important is preserving your Hong Kong/ Chinese cultural heritage while residing here in South Australia? Why?
9. What are some of the Hong Kong/ Chinese cultural heritage sites/ places in South Australia? How are they significant to you and/ or to the Hong Kong immigrants? (ready-made answers may be given to inspire responses)

Note: The place does not need to have any Hong Kong/ Chinese features or be an obvious Hong Kong/ Chinese place. As long as you feel it is significant (socially, culturally, aesthetically etc.) to you or to other Hong Kong immigrants.

10. What are the Hong Kong/ Chinese intangible cultural heritage that you are practicing? Why are they important to you? How often do you do this? Who do you do this with? Has preserving Hong Kong cultural heritage supported you in adapting to your life in SA?

Yum cha; playing mah jong; speaking Cantonese; participating in Hong Kong and/or Chinese-related events or festivals; going to Hong Kong/ Chinese churches; others

11. Do you see transmitting cultural heritage as fundamental? Who are you transmitting it to? (if the answer does not have anything to do with transmitting to South Australians) Do you think it is important to transmit it to South Australians with no Hong Kong/ Chinese heritage? Why?

12. Have you encountered any difficulties in transmitting or maintaining Hong Kong cultural heritage in South Australia? (to inspire answers: not enough support in maintaining the Chinese language; life in SA too different from that of HK; others)

13. What is multiculturalism? Do you see SA a multicultural state? Why?

14. Without taking into account of the status of your citizenship or permanent residency, do you consider yourself a Hong Konger, a South Australian or another identity? Please explain your answer.

2.The set of questions for South Australian participants:

Demographic information: age group (18-26; 27-35; 36-44; 45-53; 54-62; 63-71; 72-80; 80+); gender; ethnicity; family structure; industry sector.

**Interview questions for South Australians (those who are not of Chinese descent):**

1. Where were you born? (If not in SA) How long have you resided in South Australia?
2. What do you think multiculturalism is? Do you agree with South Australian multiculturalism? How and why do you agree or disagree with it?
3. What does it mean to be a South Australian, or an Australian in general? Do you have any other identities?
4. Do you see South Australia a multicultural state? (if applicable) How multicultural is South Australia comparing to other parts of Australia? (options will be offered to inspire answers: multicultural events; respect between communities; policies favourable to multiculturalism in SA; inclusiveness of culturally diverse backgrounds; support in the maintenance of different cultures; others)
5. Have you noticed any changes to multiculturalism in South Australia?
6. Do you know anyone of Chinese descent living in SA? Elaborate.
7. Do you think it is important for a person of Chinese descent to maintain one's cultural heritage in SA? Why?
8. Have you noticed any Hong Kong/ Chinese cultural heritage sites in South Australia? If so, what are they?
9. (if applicable) Have you participated in any Hong Kong/ Chinese multicultural events in SA or tasted Chinese food in SA? Why did you decide to attend Hong Kong/ Chinese multicultural events or activities/ taste Chinese food? (six options will be provided in which the respondent may choose the three main reasons)  
(A. curiosity; B. wish to understand/ learn about another culture; C. show support to the community; D. spousal obligation; E. encouraged by multicultural policies in SA; F. others)

10. (if applicable) What kind of activities or performances were offered during the event? Did you enjoy them? What have you learned about the Hong Kong/ Chinese culture?
11. (if applicable) What do you know about Hong Kong/ Chinese culture?
12. Do you think the Hong Kong/ Chinese cultural heritage is part of the South Australian cultural heritage? Why?
13. How important is Hong Kong/ Chinese cultural heritage in South Australia?

## Appendix 3: Interview transcriptions

### Appendix 3.1 Hong Kong participants

1. *John*: Interviewed on 11 May 2024. Interview duration: 26 minutes and 21 seconds.

Interviewer: Can you let me know your age group please?

HK 1: I'm 36 to 44.

Interviewer: So your gender is...

HK 1: Male.

Interviewer: Ethnicity?

HK 1: British Hong Kongese.

Interviewer: Family structure?

HK 1: My parents are still in Hong Kong and I have a brother who has his own family with two kids.

Interviewer: Great. How about the industry sector that you're working in?

HK 1: I work as a registered nurse.

Interviewer: Thank you for this. We will just begin with the interview questions. How long have you resided in South Australia?

HK 1: It's the 21<sup>st</sup> month I am here. I arrived 24<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

Interviewer: What were your main reasons/ motivations for moving to South Australia? So there are six options for you in which you can choose from or you can give me some other ones if none of those are suitable for you.

HK 1: Indeed the six reasons you listed, I think four of them are relevant. Education is irrelevant for me as I am already graduated with a Masters degree in 2014 and I got no relatives in South Australia before I emigrated. So first is better lifestyle. I am a wine lover and South Australia is known for producing the best wine in the whole Australia. It's just an one hour drive to Barossa Valley so I decided to select here because of better lifestyle and everyone knows that Hong Kong now is becoming another city of China even that song 願榮光歸香港<sup>6</sup> I play it now in Hong Kong I will be busted but I play it every day in my own car. And another concern is very clean, Hong Kong is too crowded, too contaminated. Opportunities in South Australia: I once thought that it will be a good place to work in but this is not relevant once I landed. Indeed, to be honest, my preferred destination is

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<sup>6</sup> A song written during the early days of the 2019 protests in Hong Kong. It is now forbidden to be played in any places in Hong Kong.

Melbourne, because they don't want emigrants until we settled so I decide to choose here which is just one hour flight to Melbourne.

Interviewer: Ok, thank you for this. So can you please let me know why have you selected 1 and 2 as the main reasons for you to move to South Australia?

HK 1: Better lifestyle is as I've just said, and because I love wine and just drive one hour to for high-quality wine and supposedly it will be less stressful and houses are more affordable. You can do nothing for 25 years for your stupid house but guess what? I pay my rent and live in a 800 ft. apartment with my roommate. That's impossible in Hong Kong. And political instability, after this stupid Covid and outbreak, now Hong Kong is becoming hardly gripped by the Chinese political party. And Apply Daily 蘋果日報<sup>7</sup> is closed. Everything that I used to enjoy are closed. Sooner or later, those people who does not support the Communist party will get in trouble. So better be earlier safe than sorry.

Interviewer: Why do you think opportunities in South Australia your least important reason?

HK 1: I am a nurse. I think it's not that difficult for me to find a job everywhere once I got the licence, the registered licence. I still remember, after three weeks of learning, landing in here, in early September last year, I started working. So it's not a major concern. But maybe next time if you find someone who doesn't work in health care, for instance, you found someone working in F&B, or Accounting. I'm not sure if you know Hugo Siu. That guy he tried for four years before getting his preferred job. I don't think, this province, which is agricultural-based, is suitable for Hong Kongers. But others like Sydney or Melbourne, there are more business opportunities will be better.

Interviewer: Can you let me know what are your general challenges that you've encountered or that you encountered once you landed here in South Australia? [showing him the options from the interview questions paper] Here you can see some of the options to inspire your answers. Cultural differences, communication in English, racial discrimination, difficult to fit in with other South Australians, or some other reasons?

HK 1: Cultural difference, I didn't expect that there're so many Indians here. Indians, Nepalese. But I'm getting used to it as I have been living here 21 months. But still, sometimes their hygiene is less than satisfactory. That may cause some problem. Communication in English, not too bad. Although my accent and some... I know in Hong Kong we were not properly taught for the pronunciation, that could cause some problems at times, especially if you work in a multicultural workforce: Vietnamese, Indians, and also Australians, and those people from other Asian countries, may find it difficult to understand your accent. Racial discrimination, not anymore. Guess what? I read the visa conditions. If you are hostile to a certain part of the Australian community, they can deport you. So fortunately, this is not a thing that I have witnessed frequently as I thought, except there are some elderly White Australians, they are still a bit stubborn. Or some less educated White they are still holding those outdated thoughts before the 70s: Chinese people are here to

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<sup>7</sup> Apple Daily was a popular newspaper in Hong Kong. It ceased its operations in 2021.

invade their country. Difficult to fit in with other South Australians, I usually hang out with Hong Kongers. So I only work with them. In my general life, I am still quite Chinese. I go to Chinese supermarkets. Seldom hang out with South Australians. But there are some Hong Kong people. Those are the guys I hang out with.

Interviewer: So do you think you have already adapted to life here? How have you adapted to life here?

HK 1: Social networking and as I said, there are telegram groups and also some Instagram groups that are organised by Hong Kongers. And sometimes there are some activities, and Chinese and Hong Kongese in the city, in the downtown. So it's the 21<sup>st</sup> month and getting adjusted here, although winter is coming and it can be quite boring. The city, sooner or later, I think after we finished the interview, the sun will set. And after Tasting Australia, the city is completed closed. Adjusting to the life here, generally speaking, Hong Kongers' bad habits: go to work, sleep, go to work like a mad dog, go home, sleep, and then work like a mad dog, go home, sleep, go on vacation. That's how I start getting adjusted to the life here, by looking at the Coles and Woolies. When will there be any discount items and... I think I'm quite adjusted, but look, this winter is coming and we get boring so I'm not sure, I have three months to go only, for my permanent residency, so maybe I will go to Melbourne, maybe better place for me.

Interviewer: So how important is preserving your Hong Kong/ Chinese cultural heritage while residing here in South Australia?

HK 1: Because it is part of our identity. First and foremost, I'm Hong Kongese. If we lose our cultural heritage, we lose our identity. But we are only a very small minority, to be honest, in this stage, so I also keep some Chinese cultural heritage. For instance, in February, was Lunar New Year, although is summer, I'm still having some Chinese food, and go to some activities in China town, to somewhat celebrate it.

Interviewer: What are some of the Hong Kong cultural heritage sites/ places in South Australia that you've noticed? So these places they don't have to be like 'obvious' ones, say, Chinatown. If you feel Chinatown is representative to your Hong Kong cultural heritage, then of course you can say it. Are there any places that you feel like home?

HK 1: Let me check. I think there's something on Facebook. There is an organisation in South Australia, the Hong Kong Cultural Association in South Australia. They occasionally organise some interesting activities, and we could enjoy Hong Kong food. But they are here and there, so we are not sure when they will organise activities. And another thing is, I follow on Instagram some of the restaurants, run by Hong Kongers. And they do have some Hong Kongese food for us. So these are some places where we keep our heritage. And at least, this food is more suitable to how we used to have, to taste. I don't mean the South Australian food is not good enough, it's very good. But in other days, I still want to have some Hong Kongese food.

Interviewer: What are the Chinese or Hong Kong-style restaurants that you go to?

HK 1: There is one in Unley, Brolly, and in Chinese is 再聚<sup>8</sup>, something like that. And there are some Chinese and rice noodle shops just around the city. And close to my house, in five minutes drive, there is also another Hong Kong-style Chinese restaurant: 玉庭軒<sup>9</sup>, in Magill Road.

Interviewer: So you feel that, the most important heritage places or sites are Chinese restaurants?

HK 1: Yes, food. And also during those significant festivals, those Chinese Lunar New Year, you can find something in those shops, 年糕<sup>10</sup> or 蘿蔔糕<sup>11</sup>, or 湯丸<sup>12</sup>, something like that. It is quite impossible to build a... In my car, I do have a British Hong Kong flag, but it's not likely that, we are minority here, to put a British Hong Kong flag in front of your house.

Interviewer: How do you think those places are significant to the Hong Kong people in general? Why do you think they are significant?

HK 1: They cure our homesickness. We can still talk in Cantonese, have some sort of Cantonese food outside, because Hong Kong used to be 美食之都<sup>13</sup>, but now it's nothing. So it's somewhat keep our culture and spirit. There're now, after the Covid, more than the physical premises, I think the online groups are just like, the one I show you just now, are quite interesting. The activities they organise. I think in March, I was there for a Hong Kong Festival, it was so crowded, so many people. And also, there are some self-help groups. We are just chitchatting about life in Adelaide. Because we are outside, in Cantonese the phrase, 遠親不如近鄰<sup>14</sup>, maybe these online friends they can help you for some immediate concerns.

Interviewer: I know that you've already mentioned about having Chinese food and even talking in Cantonese with your friends. What are some other Hong Kong intangible cultural heritage that you're practising? Maybe some festivals that you celebrate?

HK 1: I do practise. I saw some 粽<sup>15</sup> in Chinatown. Most likely is about the traditional festivals and as I have said, I am against the Communist party. I do play that song in my car occasionally, that could be my cultural heritage. The most important thing, I still keep the Hong Konger's spirit of working. Don't call sick until you're very sick. Unless those Indians, Nepalese, even Australians, they disappear from work on weekdays.

Interviewer: How often do you speak in Cantonese or have Chinese food?

HK 1: Speak Cantonese, my roommate is also Hong Konger, so daily basis. Chinese food, if my roommate is not cooking, I can only cook simple Chinese dish. So you can say it's at least

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<sup>8</sup> Literally means to get together again, or reunion

<sup>9</sup> New Oriental Pearl Restaurant at 615 Magill Road, Magill SA 5072.

<sup>10</sup> Literally means 'Year Cake', it is a traditional Chinese New Year delicacy made of sugar and glutinous rice flour

<sup>11</sup> Turnip cake

<sup>12</sup> Glutinous balls in soup

<sup>13</sup> City of Gourmet Food

<sup>14</sup> A Chinese saying which means it is better to have close neighbours than distant relatives

<sup>15</sup> Rice dumplings

two to three times per week. And after this interview, I may go for a early dinner, because I'm going to have two tastings in a roll in Tasting Australia, I don't want to get drunk, although I am not driving today.

Interviewer: So you usually do this [speak in Cantonese and have Chinese food] with your Hong Kong roommate and also your friends?

HK 1: Yes.

Interviewer: So do you think preserving Hong Kong cultural heritage has supported you in adapting to your life in South Australia?

HK 1: Definitely, definitely. Hong Kongers when they're outside, they're helpful in most cases. And in those telegram groups I just showed you, they can answer 90% of the questions you have in your life. They have car mechanics, doctors, gardeners, and they have driving instructors in their in those groups. So there will be Hong Kongers who will be ready to help you here.

Interviewer: Do you play mahjong?

HK 1: I have no idea. I don't know how to play mahjong at all. Listen to some Cantonese song, maybe you can say. And I was once Christian, I felt disappointed about the religion, so I am not going to church.

Interviewer: So do you see transmitting your cultural heritage as something that's fundamental to you?

HK1: Yes definitely. It's part of our identity.

Interviewer: Who do you transmit it to?

HK 1: Oh, I think it's absolutely a future thing. Once I get settled for my PR, or buy my own house, maybe my offsprings, or my nephews 侄仔侄女<sup>16</sup>, they are coming to Australia maybe in one year. Although some may think that my son only speaks English, some stupid people may think that's superior, our language our culture is still part of us.

Interviewer: So apart from transmitting it to your offsprings or your nephews, do you think it is important to transmit to other South Australians with no Hong Kong heritage?

HK 1: At least let them know we are from Hong Kong, not China. We are different from Mainland China. This is what we want them to know.

Interviewer: So have you tried in letting them know about Hong Kong culture?

HK 1: Yes. Everytime they think, 'Are you Chinese?' 'No, I am Hong Kongese.' It's a bit different from China, although technically, unfortunately, it's part of China.

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<sup>16</sup> Nieces and nephews

Interviewer: Have you encountered any difficulties in transmitting or maintaining Hong Kong cultural heritage in South Australia?

HK 1: Life is a bit different. Versus if you compare to Melbourne or Sydney or even Perth, it's much harder to find Hong Kongese restaurants and Chinese restaurants, but it's not too bad. So far, if you are willing to go to see them, it's easy. In support in maintaining Chinese language, I think it's enough. Look, in Central Market, China town, we can see lots of Chinese. It's not too bad for me.

Interviewer: So do you see, or consider, South Australia a multicultural state?

HK 1: Definitely. We got Vietnamese in Flinton, northwest of the city. And then we got loads of Indians everywhere, Aboriginals, White, everywhere. I just walked from the City Library to here for this interview. I see White people, Black people, Yellow, Indians. I was in a Spanish Club just now, this morning. Certainly, it's a multicultural state. So far, because I want to strive for my PR, rather than entertaining myself, invest myself here. When I got PR, maybe more time to spend on these cultural things.

Interviewer: So you talked about different ethnicities that you encountered. Apart from the ethnicities, do you feel that it is really multicultural at its heart? Are people accepting it? Or are they forced into accepting it by the State government?

HK 1: Partially. Could be partially forced. Because now you've got to be tolerant 額外包容<sup>17</sup>, to values that are a bit different from the traditional Chinese values, just like LGBT, sexual orientations etc. Because now discrimination could be worse than murdering in some states.

Interviewer: So without taking into account of the status of your citizenship, do you consider yourself a Hong Konger, a South Australian, or do you have some other identities?

HK 1: British Hong Konger. Hong Konger that was born before 1997. I'm ethnically Chinese, but not Chinese.

Interviewer: Can you explain why you are a British Hong Konger?

HK 1: I was born in the last days of the British colonial stage. We enjoyed high quality of education, we have freedom to express, everything was affordable. But now the stupid Chinese CCP come and destroy and take everything from us. Freedom, lifestyle, that was not their promise with the British in 1984. So I'm not Chinese. And unfortunately, I don't want to raise this, but facts are facts, too many Chinese are doing disgusting things, here and there. Fortunately, not in this state. But their name is too bad in the whole world. And South Australia, after 21 months of living here, I may be going to Victoria if I got permanent residency. That's a place more suitable for me, because first it also got some good wine regions, and, as I said, much deeper Chinese heritage. After those Chinese immigrants went to San Francisco for the gold mines, Melbourne was another city that the Chinese founded.

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<sup>17</sup> To be extra tolerant

And you can easily go to Cantonese yumcha in the downtown. Many restaurants are there. Because my palette is very very very Chinese, I think I will enjoy my life better there.

Interviewer: So do you think you will feel Australian one day?

HK 1: Maybe never. It's just a change of the... Because I don't want to be under the Chinese Communist Party rule only. I may change to Australian. But I'll still proudly say that I'm British Hong Konger.

Interviewer: Do you think you'd like to add anything, or any other remarks or comments on Hong Kong cultural heritage?

HK 1: I still cannot see a strong cultural heritage in this state. But if you go to Sydney, indeed it's just like a little Hong Kong. You got 海味<sup>18</sup>, Hong Kongese, not Cantonese, restaurant. That's much more interesting than here. But now we are just a minority. And the house prices are getting crazy. So this is an interesting research topic. If this is in Victoria, in Melbourne, less interesting, because there're many many many more Hong Kongers. It's interesting, it's definitely a knowledge gap.

Interviewer: Thank you. That's why I'm doing this. Thank you for your time.

HK 1: No worries. Good luck.

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<sup>18</sup> seafood

2. *Peter*: Interviewed on 15 May 2025. Interview duration: 41 minutes 03 seconds.

Interviewer: I'll just get some demographic information from you first. So, what's your age group?

HK 2: My age group is 18-26.

Interviewer: Okay. Thank you. Your gender is male. Your ethnicity?

HK 2: My ethnicity is Chinese. Hong Kong Chinese.

Interviewer: Your family structure?

HK 2: What do you mean?

Interviewer: Are you currently living by yourself? Or...

HK 2: Oh, I'm currently living by myself in a share house.

Interviewer: So, your industry sector...you're still a student right?

HK 2: Yes, I'm still a student.

Interviewer: What's your field?

HK 2: My field is in studying horticulture.

Interviewer: How long have you resided in South Australia?

HK 2: I've been here for four years. Just shortly before the Covid pandemic. The outbreak of the pandemic.

Interviewer: As you can see here, I've got a few options for you. Can you please rank your main reasons or motivations for moving to South Australia? If none of these suit you, feel free to add other relevant options.

HK 2: So for the ranking, first of all, of course is education. 'cause I got an offer from here, so that's why I came here. And secondly, I think the rank is about better lifestyle. Because it's more quiet than a busy city like Hong Kong. And also compare to other cities in Australia, Adelaide has a lower cost of living. And the third reason I think is about the opportunities in South Australia. 'cause I'm studying horticulture so I know it's a big industry here. And I think also I don't have any issues in option F, it's not applicable. A [Hong Kong political instability], not really. I think the fourth one is the environment concerns, as much less population. I like quiet places.

Interviewer: Can you tell me why have you put better lifestyle as your second option?

HK 2: 'cause when I applied the institute here, I heard that Adelaide was one of the top 10 most liveable city in the world. Yes, I know that Melbourne is also...I forgot whether it was Melbourne or Sydney on the list, but because compare as I mention, compare the cost of living, Adelaide is cheaper, and also less entertainment that would interrupt my studies. And

also one of the reasons I think here is less Chinese-speaking population so I can chat English to practice my English language.

Interviewer: Interesting. So why do you consider the environment concerns as your least important reason for moving to South Australia?

HK 2: Oh, 'cause actually the education, environment concerns, opportunity, and lifestyle, I consider all of them are very important to me. But compare to environment concern, 'cause ...Actually opportunities and environment concern are the same level. But because my priority is want to stay here to make a living after graduation, so I just list opportunities as number 3. So environment concerns...I mean for me is not as important as the opportunities. That's why I list as number 4. The least concern.

Interviewer: So, what are your general challenges that you encountered since your arrival in South Australia or in Adelaide?

HK 2: 'cause I came just before the outbreak of the pandemic, the biggest challenge is that I never realise I would stay here for the whole pandemic, for the whole four years. Actually, the last time I back home, like since I come here in May 2019, when I came back home is already late 2023, last December. Well, this is one of the accidents in our life, it's not expected. And the other challenge, I think is about the communication skills. It's not about the language barrier. I mean I know English. But because I think here is a quiet place, I think here is not a busy society, so when I chat with others, I feel like others are very calm, or sometimes late reply. And for myself I, because my background is like in Hong Kong, a busy city, so we need to communicate a bit fast. The speed of communication. And the other issue is of course the accent, the Australian accent. And the language, some use of terms. I think those are the biggest challenge for me.

Interviewer: Do you mean it was a little bit hard to follow the accent, like to understand it?

HK 2: Yes, it is. You know, some terms are like, short terms. Some words they use short terms.

Interviewer: Yes, like abbreviations. How about cultural difference? Racial discrimination? Have you encountered any of these?

HK 2: Racial discrimination...yes, I encountered a bit but I don't really care them, just some drunken people on the street. But most of them are friendly, I can say.

Interviewer: Did you find it a bit hard or difficult to fit in with other South Australians in general?

HK 2: Maybe sometimes. 'Cause the major I study, most of them international students. And study is my main life and duty. Yes, probably. Most of my friends are international students. I chat with some locals in my work and I think that's it, yes.

Interviewer: Thank you. So you've been here for around four years now. So do you think you've already adapted or adjusted into the life here?

HK 2: Well, I mean if I want to live here for a long time I must adapt it. But I think for me, still okay, but I think there's still some improvement for that.

Interviewer: So you feel you are partially adapted to it? And that you could use a few more experiences or a few more years, probably, to get yourself even more adapted into the life in South Australia?

HK 2: Yes.

Interviewer: Can you tell me how have you adjusted to the life here? Was it by different social networks? Or by participating in some Hong Kong-related festivals? Or was it due to your occupation, or studies? How did you manage to feel more adjusted to the life here?

HK 2: Let me think about this really... 'cause it's been a long time already, it's a long journey. I guess for me it's like searching things to do in Adelaide on the internet. And I know how's the culture here is. And so I think for me is like chatting with some people, because most people here, the strangers, are friendly. So just like when I go to the café sometimes some elderly chat with me. And I told him that I'm an international student, so they'll just chat with me about the local culture here. And one thing is that, I, the house I live it has an owner. The owner is a local here. So, she is from England, but she moved here like more than thirty years ago, so she would know the local culture here. So sometimes she invites her friends to the house. And then I just chat with them. So I know how the way it is. And one of the good things that my house owner...like last month, it has the ANZAC day. Then my house owner usually do the dawn service, like wake up, in respect to those lost souls. I just follow them and this is the biggest Australian culture. So that's how I learn from her. This is one of the examples. But there's a lot, like some minor details of the lifestyle. I also learn from her and her friends.

Interviewer: So it's really by chatting with locals that you've adjusted or adapted to the life here?

HK 2: I think it's more like going to school, learning the theory, but of course to adapt it by actions, I think it's gonna take me for maybe few more years.

Interviewer: To you, what is cultural heritage?

HK 2: Cultural heritage...

Interviewer: How can you define it?

HK 2: Cultural heritage...

Interviewer: So cultural heritage is like what we inherited from our past generations or our ancestors. Everyone has their own definition of cultural heritage. I'll just give you some examples. So there're tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Tangible heritage can be some building structures, or like Chinatown, which could be part of your cultural heritage if you consider it like home. And there're also the intangible ones, for example speaking in Cantonese, or celebrating festivals, or eating Chinese food. To you, what's the definition of it?

HK 2: I think as you say is my growing background. Since my growing background is in Hong Kong, but for me, I also like reading history. I'm a history-lover. Not in my major, just for my hobbies. And I like the Chinese culture: the architecture, the things ... But I think if you say about my own culture heritage, I think it's about the Hong Kong culture. And Hong Kong culture, I think one of the significance is the mix of Chinese culture and Western, especially British culture. So, I think for me, is about the way of thinking, like you know, many Hong Kong people love earning money. I think it's the most important cultural heritage, yes mentality. Because I think culture is from the Latin develop of soul? So I think it's the most important thing. And I think another important is about the Chinese food, yes Hong Kong food, because it is the most famous cuisine all over the world. So this is cultural heritage. And for my own hobby, I like study Chinese architecture, 'cause it feels a bit unique. It's a wooden structure, but I think this is out of my cultural heritage if you really talk about my own cultural heritage. But of course for the locals here I'm a Chinese, so I like the Chinese culture, so I think it is also my cultural heritage, based on their perspective.

Interviewer: How important to you is preserving your own Hong Kong cultural heritage while you're residing here in South Australia?

HK 2: Of course I think it's important to me, 'cause I think it's my identity. But for me I won't really share with the others, 'cause maybe they will be interested in it. But if I explain with them, they might don't really understand what exactly is that, so mostly I just watch Youtube, just have Chinese food by myself, enjoy the Chinese tea by myself. That's it. But I mean I'm not really a person who likes to spread my own culture to others.

Interviewer: Interesting. So we'll come back to transmitting culture to others. Since you've been here for four years, can you tell me what are some of the Hong Kong or Chinese cultural heritage sites or places in South Australia? As long as it is significant to you, or that it is representative to the Hong Kong community, then you can consider it as a place of Hong Kong or Chinese cultural heritage for Hong Kong people, or Chinese people in general. So can you think of any heritage sites in South Australia?

HK 2: I think one important heritage is not exactly a site or a location? Could be any culture? One of them is the Lunar New Year. 'cause the Chinese festival is the only element of my cultural heritage that is popular here. Like in Rundle Mall, during the Lunar New Year, or the Mid-Autumn Festival, they will decorate the whole street for the Rundle Mall. Of course it's for business purpose, but also I think this is the only way to spread my cultural heritage. And also as I mentioned, the Chinese-speaking population, or the Chinese immigrants here is not very much as Melbourne and Sydney, so this is the only element I know in South Australia. The Hong Kong community is not really strong.

Interviewer: Okay. So you've emphasised the Lunar New Year as the most significant Chinese festival in South Australia. But do you feel like there's a place or a site which is representative of Hong Kong or Chinese culture? It can be a restaurant, or Chinatown, or a place in Chinatown, or a site which Hong Kong people gather in? It can be a virtual site or a physical site.

HK 2: The first thing which appeared in my mind is of course Chinatown. As I said the community is not very strong, so I think in South Australia, Chinatown can represent the Hong Kong community. And the second one I know is called the...I have joined one of the associations is called South Australia Hong Kong Association. I joined it because I was finding new friends. I worked and celebrated the Lunar New Year, and then I just joined it. But afterwards I didn't follow them anymore. I'm not sure about how big the organisation is. But I know there's a lot of the residents here, from Hong Kong or with Hong Kong heritage, they joined it.

Interviewer: Chinatown is obviously significant to you and you feel that it is significant to the Hong Kong population. Can you explain a bit more about the reason why it is significant? Do you feel like you're returning home when you're in Chinatown?

HK 2: Actually, not really. But I like Chinese food. So sometimes I go there to dine in restaurants with some friends, and also buy some food and snacks in grocery stores. But the other thing, if you talk about Chinatown, I mean I feel like some of the buildings look to have some Chinese elements, but it's not exactly like my hometown. It's more like a stereotype of a Chinese culture. Like the Chinese gate, it looks beautiful but it does not look like a place in Hong Kong or in China. And especially those red, yellow and green, looks too colourful. But because as I said, this is the local perspective and maybe other overseas residents outside of the Chinese cultural sphere. But I think it is okay to keep it, although I think it doesn't really look like in my hometown, but it's one of the representatives of the Chinese culture, so I understand it.

Interviewer: So you've already mentioned sometimes you drink some Chinese tea, and maybe have some Chinese food, but what are some of the Hong Kong intangible cultural heritage that you're practicing? For example, the language, or festivals. You told me that you celebrated the Lunar New Year. How about the other festivals? Do you speak Cantonese regularly?

HK 2: For language as an example, Cantonese, 'cause I don't really have many Hong Kong or Chinese friends here, so most of the time here I speak English. But just like you know my friend, she's another language speaker. Mostly I speak Chinese is when I go to the Chinatown, like grocery store or those things. But because many of them speak Mandarin, so interestingly, my second most spoken language is Mandarin. But if you talk about Cantonese, I think the only time that I speak a lot was when I was working in a Chinese restaurant. Many of the cooks are Cantonese speakers. I think that's the only time I speak a lot.

Interviewer: So are you still working in a Chinese restaurant?

HK 2: No, not anymore. But the interesting thing is the owner is a second generation Chinese. So he also spoke English most of the time. He is an Australian-born Chinese. An ABC.

Interviewer: So does he know how to speak Cantonese?

HK 2: A little bit. He grew up here.

Interviewer: So why do you think it is important for you to preserve your cultural heritage? So you don't really speak in Cantonese, but sometimes you still do so with some Cantonese speakers...

HK 2: Most of the time I do it with my friends in Hong Kong, and also chatting with my parents, my family.

Interviewer: So it's more in the private sphere you still practice your cultural heritage?

HK 2: Yes, that's right.

Interviewer: You told me you don't see transmitting your cultural heritage as fundamental?

HK 2: What do you mean?

Interviewer: Do you think you should transmit/ share your cultural heritage to other people. Do you do that?

HK 2: If the other feel interested in it, yes.

Interviewer: Have you done this before, in these few years since your arrival in South Australia?

HK 2: Of course I've done it, especially on certain festivals, like on the Lunar New Year, I buy some traditional food, like the rice cake, and I share it in my share house. But seems like they don't really interested in the food, because they think it might be a bit too sweet. But that's fair enough, my owner is kind of old so can't eat too much sweet food. I recalled it and I've shared it once. I have some friends here and we've been to some Chinese restaurants and surprisingly my friends fell in love with it, with the Chinese food. And then everytime I said 'Where do we go?', 'Let's go to Chinatown.' He's an overseas student, not living here so, not growing up here.

Interviewer: So he's an international student who came here and who's living here in South Australia, He's never tried Chinese food before?

HK 2: A little bit. But I think it's mixed with his local elements.

Interviewer: So you're transmitting it without consciously transmitting it. So if people are interested in Hong Kong culture, you'll share it with others.

HK 2: Yes.

Interviewer: Have you encountered any difficulties in transmitting or in maintaining Hong Kong cultural heritage in South Australia? Any barriers? Any moments when you felt not at ease in transmitting your cultural heritage in South Australia?

HK 2: I guess no. Let me recall...

Interviewer: Let me inspire you with some possible answers. For example, not enough support in maintaining your Chinese language? Or life in South Australia being too different from that in Hong Kong?

HK 2: Yes, that for sure.

Interviewer: So you encountered some difficulties to some extent?

HK 2: Yes. Let me think of all these. Mostly about my daily life. You know there're some tea, it's called tea restaurants 茶餐廳<sup>19</sup> in Cantonese in Hong Kong. Back in Hong Kong I used to go there a lot. And also some yum cha. But when I came here, I mostly make myself sandwich or pasta, and based on the currency is more expensive for yum cha than in Hong Kong, so I think for my living habits, like eating habits, like eating and diet, those things have changed when I came here.

Interviewer: Now let's move on to the multiculturalism aspect. So in a general way, multiculturalism is about different people of different cultures living together harmoniously, reaching different goals and contributing in different ways in a common society. Do you see South Australia as a multicultural state?

HK 2: I can say yes it is multicultural. But if you say live harmony, I can say maybe, I can feel like there may be...because Australia is still a young country, and I think they open for the immigration all over the world for only a few decades, right? So I think there might still be a barrier between different minorities. 'cause I know some Indian friends and some Pakistani friends, and I know I'm their only foreigner friend. Like they have their own community. I know it's a good thing to have a strong community. But it feels like building castles with each other, just like have a barrier with the local people. I mean some of my friends are like this. I know it's a multicultural society, but I feel like people are not really completely break the ice.

Interviewer: So they're not merging together...

HK 2: Yes.

Interviewer: So they're like separate components of the society. Different communities living together, but are they really interacting together?

HK 2: Among different communities and different cultures. But that's understandable, 'cause as I mentioned the Australian government just opened it for a few decades. And cultural exchange is a lot. It's a long journey. At least a few generations.

Interviewer. Very interesting. So without taking into account the status of your citizenship or your permanent residency, do you consider yourself a Hong Konger, a South Australian, or do you have another identity?

HK 2: I still consider myself a Hong Konger. But because I tried to adapt the local culture, because I think that's the way of surviving here. And I think if I live here longer, long enough, I think I might consider myself Australian. I think I'm more into Hong Konger, because my growing environment is in Hong Kong. And I know like a child, is like an empty bowl, so can put more things. Since I came here when I was around 20, so I think my bowl is

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<sup>19</sup> Hong Kong style tea cafés

full already. But like my mindset I mean. My mindset might be 70% Hong Kong 30% Australian.

Interviewer: So does that mean you're becoming an Australian?

HK 2: Yes. One of the reasons I think is based on my parents and my own personality. I tried to adjust my personality into easy-going, many Aussies are like that. And also my parents told me like they encouraged me to live like...there's an idiom 'live in Rome if you were in Rome'. They encouraged me to make some local friends here, and also adapt to living style here.

Interviewer: Basically you're trying to integrate into the society?

HK 2: Yes, integrating...

Interviewer: Do you have any other comments to add?

HK 2: That's an interesting topic really.

Interviewer: Thank you very much for your time, I appreciate it.

3. *Jane*: Interviewed on 25 May 2025; Interview duration: 44 minutes and 20 seconds.

Interviewer: Thank you for coming here. I'll just collect some demographic information from you first. What is your age group please?

HK 3: I'll be in this group.

Interviewer: Okay. So 54-62 years.

HK 3: Yes.

Interviewer: How about your ethnicity?

HK 3: What is that?

Interviewer: Are you Chinese? Or something else?

HK 3: Chinese.

Interviewer: How about your family structure? Are you living alone? Or are you living with a partner? Children?

HK 3: I'm living with my family. I have a husband and two girls.

Interviewer: How about your industry sector?

HK 3: I'm an accountant. The Accounting industry.

Interviewer: We'll just go through some questions together. How long have you resided in South Australia?

HK 3: 19 years now.

Interviewer: What were your main reasons or motivations for moving here to South Australia? So you can rank among these reasons, or you can add any relevant reasons.

HK 3: At that time, I came here for education. When I moved to South Australia, it was for education.

Interviewer: Okay, so that's your main motivation.

HK 3: Yes. I think maybe the other one is better lifestyle.

Interviewer: Any other reasons that are suitable?

HK 3: Maybe like the environment concerns.

Interviewer: What are the other reasons or motivations that are irrelevant to you?

HK 3: A., Hong Kong political instability. Yes, I think that's the one.

Interviewer: Can you tell me why have you selected better lifestyle as your second reason?

HK 3: Hong Kong is very crowded and very busy, that's why I don't like. That's why I chose something, a city like South Australia, compared to other cities in Australia, it's still like Adelaide, rather than Sydney or Melbourne, because it's more quiet and more relax compared to other cities. Obviously compare to Hong Kong, much much better.

Interviewer: So you feel like, in Adelaide, you have a better lifestyle since it's less crowded?

HK 3: Yes.

Interviewer: Any other reasons related to better lifestyle? Maybe the weather, the people...

HK 3: At that time when I left in 2005, I didn't consider about the weather. But now I really like it as well. Of course in Hong Kong, when I look back, it's so humid, I don't like it. I think generally the people here is quite friendly, from my experience so far. Mainly the stress from the environment in Hong Kong, I think, this is the main reason I don't want to have that, so I chose to leave the place to come here.

Interviewer: Why do you consider Hong Kong political instability as the least relevant reason for you when you were deciding to move to South Australia?

HK 3: Because I didn't really concern about the political side. For me, it's quite stable in Hong Kong, even though China took over from the previous British government. For me, I don't think it's a reason that concerns me.

Interviewer: Can you talk about the general challenges you encountered, or you've encountered, in South Australia? Let me give you some ideas. The challenges could include cultural difference, communication in English, racial discrimination, difficulty to fit in with other South Australians, or some other reasons.

HK 3: I think first when I finished my study it was difficult to find a job. Also the language is very challenging to speak in a different language. Yes, also need to adapt the culture here. You are away from the family, so it take a long time...because in Hong Kong I hardly speak English but then come here you need to speak English all the time. So it's very...you miss all the friends, family over there when I first came.

Interviewer: So you had a hard time adjusting to the distance?

HK 3: Yes.

Interviewer: Do you think you've adjusted or adapted to the life here?

HK 3: Yes, I certainly do.

Interviewer: Can you tell me how did you adapt to the life here? Was it with social network, or by participating in some Hong Kong/ Chinese related festivals and events, or your occupation, or anything else?

HK3: I think having a family make me feel much better than I have like, all the commitments with the family so I had to attend those things. Also I go to church with the family most Sundays. Then, for work, need to attend the activity or my professional work need to attend those seminar or study so have to go to that, for the children they need to go to different activities, or have to attend for church. The network is mainly the family and the church. I don't have many many Chinese friends though. I feel like I need to have more like I can speak my own language to communicate with them, I don't need to speak English. If I can find more Chinese/ Hong Kongese to speak the language then I can speak.

Interviewer: I think there're more and more Hong Kong people around?

HK 3: Yes, there're more but I don't have many opportunities to communicate or to have a network with them at the moment.

Interviewer: So it's really with family commitments, your job, school activities, you've started adjusting to the life here in South Australia?

HK 3: Yes.

Interviewer: Cultural heritage, in the most general sense, is about the heritage you've inherited from your ancestors. For example, as Hong Kong people, we like to celebrate the Mid-Autumn festival, Chinese New Year, all these festivals. And we also like to speak in Cantonese, or do all kinds of Chinese-related activities, like having dim sum at the weekend. This is cultural heritage in the most general sense. Can you tell me what does cultural heritage mean to you?

HK 3: It's a bit hard...I know even though I am Chinese, after I come to Australia for many years, I feel like I only change. In Chinese New Year, normally you do certain things when we were in China or in Hong Kong, but when I came here I feel like I don't need to do all these things already. When Chinese New Year you give red packet to children or relatives, or have reunion dinner, something like that, I feel like I don't do much now. Maybe when my

parents are here, I might need to do something, because feel like I need to do something. Otherwise, even though my in-laws they're Chinese, but they came here for like more than forty years, they don't have that culture already. So gradually I feel like it's...

Interviewer: Not sustained?

HK 3: Yes, I think so. But I, Mid-Autumn festival, I still like to eat mooncakes. I feel like I change already, didn't sustain the culture for something because I have been living here, the environment, the people or the culture, I don't really follow that much anymore.

Interviewer: So you've already mentioned something about preserving your Hong Kong cultural heritage, but I'll still ask this question. How important for you is preserving Hong Kong cultural heritage while you're residing here in South Australia?

HK 3: How important? How do I answer this question? I think for identity-wise, I'm still Chinese. I think I should continue to carry on those culture, those heritage, even though I combine Australian culture, so that I can still remember I am Chinese or I am from Hong Kong.

Interviewer: So it's really for your identity that you feel like you should still preserve some of the cultures?

HK 3: Yes.

Interviewer: So does that mean it is important for you to preserve your Hong Kong culture?

HK 3: Yes.

Interviewer: What are some of the Hong Kong cultural heritage that you're still practising at the moment? They can include the festivals, the language, or the food culture, or anything else.

HK 3: I think food that we eat and how we cook the food, also some of the festivals that we still celebrate and how to relate to your families and friends. So I think it's still important to practise that that way.

Interviewer: What are some of the festivals that you still celebrate with your family and friends?

HK 3: Like Mid-Autumn festival, and in Hong Kong normally you'll give mooncake or we have some fruit and the mooncake and, because my parents are not here, but I have some other relatives here, so I normally go and visit them and bring mooncake to celebrate with them and with my family. And also Chinese New Year, it's quite an important time for the family.

Interviewer: So do you still give lai see to the little ones and relatives?

HK 3: Yes. And you know in Chinese New Year normally you'll greet your relatives, you need to contact them and say all the congratulations and we still do that.

Interviewer: So it's important for you to continue practising your cultural heritage, how often do you do this? So apart from festivals, which are going to be practised annually, how about the other cultural heritage aspects that you're still practising? Say, speaking in Cantonese, or cooking Chinese food, how often do you do those things?

HK 3: Speaking Chinese to my children is a bit challenging. Like I tried to, but I do it very badly now. When my daughter was born, I speak Cantonese to her all the time. But then after she goes to childcare or school, I changed, I speak English to them, rather than Chinese. My mom will complain, my parents complain that I didn't speak Chinese to them, so now I need to get them to learn some Chinese. I send them to Chinese classes to learn Chinese, but they think it's at home the environment there, I don't speak to them this, doesn't really help to continue with their Chinese speaking. Because my husband can't speak Chinese, so I have to speak English to him as well. So for me, it's hardly Chinese speaking or Cantonese speaking at home.

Interviewer: Right, it's really because of the environment actually.

HK 3: Yes.

Interviewer: So you speak Cantonese to your kids. How about with other people? Do you speak Cantonese mostly to people back in Hong Kong or with relatives and friends here?

HK 3: As I mentioned before, I don't have many friends that speak Cantonese, so I mainly speak English most of the time.

Interviewer: Has preserving your Hong Kong cultural heritage supported you in adapting to your life here in South Australia? Has speaking in Cantonese, cooking Cantonese food, celebrating Cantonese or Chinese festivals supported you in adapting to your life here?

HK 3: When I came as like a student, I lived with a family, and I had to eat Australian food at that time, and then they cook for us, so I don't need to cook. I have to eat all these things. But then eventually I moved out, then I can cook the things that I normally eat. Now when we cook, I still try to cook Chinese or Cantonese food more than Australian food, yes I still cook that, obviously I miss the Cantonese food. For the yumcha or things like that, but it's still not the same right? But feel like if you go to yumcha and then you can eat those things, it just feels like you have something to satisfy you. Yes, but it's totally different. So different.

Interviewer: So can we say that cooking Cantonese food supported you in adapting your life here? Or has it refrained you from this? Has it limited you in getting used to your life here?

HK 3: I think I adapted quite well. I still can do the things that I do, the food that I cook in Hong Kong, and then I can still try to do similar things, like all those things, and as well as like cooking Australian food and adapt to the food we eat here, like eating pizzas, or pasta. I think I adapted well for both things, like for Hong Kong culture, what we normally do. For me, in Australia, we seldom go out. In Hong Kong we eat out a lot. Maybe that one has changed. Did I answer your question?

Interviewer: Yes, you did, thanks. I know you go to church on Sundays. What kind of community does your church have? Is it a mixed community of Hong Kong...?

HK 3: Oh no, it's a small community. Like a combination of Australian, mainly Chinese background church, with Malaysian Chinese, but not really Hong Kong Chinese.

Interviewer: So is there a support network in the church?

HK 3: Yes.

Interviewer: So we've just talked about intangible heritage, meaning heritage we cannot touch, like the language, the festivals etc. So we will now move on to some tangible ones. What are some of the Hong Kong cultural heritage sites or places that you see here, that you've discovered here in South Australia? Are there any sites or places which make you feel like home? Ones that are representative of your own culture?

HK 3: Maybe Chinatown. Chinatown you can find Chinese food. No other places.

Interviewer: So why do you feel like Chinatown represents the Hong Kong culture? Why do you feel that it is close to home?

HK 3: I can buy the things that I normally can eat in Hong Kong or Chinese. Things I like to eat like red bean or something, say, making ginger trotters, and all these things. It's the place where I can go and get these things.

Interviewer: Apart from this, do you think the decorations (in Chinatown) are representative of the Hong Kong culture?

HK 3: Yes. During the Chinese New Year, Chinatown will have some decorations and celebrations about Chinese New Year. And also, maybe Mid-Autumn festival, they'll have the lanterns. I think one thing is the OzAsia festival, you heard they have all those things decorated. We normally go to there as well.

Interviewer: Do you see transmitting cultural heritage as fundamental to you? Do you feel like you have to transmit your cultural heritage to your kids or to other South Australians?

HK 3: Can you say again?

Interviewer: Do you see transmitting your Hong Kong cultural heritage to other people as fundamental, as very important?

HK 3: I don't think I really did transmitting Hong Kong cultural heritage things to South Australians. No I don't think I did.

Interviewer: Maybe you haven't transmitted it, even though you have in some way, indirectly, when you have Chinese food with some Australians. But why do you think it is not that important to transmit your own cultural heritage to others?

HK 3: Because I have never thought about that. I don't think I pay attention or think about that. To transmit those culture or heritage to South Australians, no I haven't.

Interviewer: Have you encountered any difficulties in transmitting or maintaining your Hong Kong cultural heritage here? As you mentioned, you talked about the difference in the environment. You feel like it could be a little hard to sustain your Hong Kong cultural heritage here in South Australia. Do you have anything you'd like to add here? Have you encountered any real difficulties or challenges in transmitting?

HK 3: I think mainly at home because my husband often says that 'Oh you Hong Kongese or Chinese do things really quick'. We tend to do things quick. And then, what else? It's just like I can see the difference when Hong Kong people they think very fast and do things very quick; but here maybe it's too slow. And then maybe it will make me become slower as well. But I guess, for myself, I'm still not sure whether it's the cultural things that, I still do the things as I used to, or have the discipline to do the things that I stick to the schedule or on time. I really like that kind of things. I don't like here is like it's very slow and then just too relaxed sometimes.

Interviewer: You'd like to transmit, to preserve, to maintain your cultural heritage, and you feel that you encountered some obstructions. Have you experienced that in South Australia? Perhaps this could happen if you feel you don't have enough support here, or you feel like not enough support in maintaining the language, the festivals, the culture, or maybe it could be that the life here in South Australia is too different from Hong Kong?

HK 3: Yes, I think it's so different. I don't think there's enough support or obviously there's an obstacle to sustain the culture here.

Interviewer: What is multiculturalism to you? We're always saying that South Australia is a multicultural state, and multiculturalism due to the number of people of different ethnicities, different backgrounds living here? What does it mean to you?

HK 3: I feel like this one is quite, in this country it will be harmonised right? Because we have different people from different countries in the world. But we adapt and all the people coming from different cultures and still live peacefully or harmoniously, I like that. What can I say? I like that multicultural background. I think that this country, let us like Chinese, Indian, or British, or New Zealand, or people from different places to come to one place but still live very peacefully. For me, it's still like we can still cooperate and do things in a different way but we still adapt and everyone still enjoys the place.

Interviewer: Do you feel this state is an egalitarian state? A state in which you've got equal opportunities for everyone? No matter the ethnicity of a person, where they are from?

HK 3: For me I feel like it. But for my family or for my husband and my father-in-law, they have a strong feeling that is discrimination being Chinese. But for me I don't feel like it. I feel like I'm still being treated equally.

Interviewer: But why do they have this strong feeling?

HK 3: They have encountered those issues at work. So for them, they feel very strong being Chinese as, actually, Australians discriminate Chinese. But for me, I didn't have that experience. Lucky.

Interviewer: But this is very interesting to know there is a disparity in this level. So do you see South Australia as a multicultural state?

HK 3: Yes.

Interviewer: Why? Why do you feel it is multicultural?

HK 3: They even have the festival, I mean, multicultural festival, they have a community, having the activities. Also like the language that we learn.

Interviewer: You mean the language from language schools?

HK 3: Yes.

Interviewer: So there're many different languages offered?

HK 3: Yes.

Interviewer: Without taking into account the status of your citizenship, or your permanent residency, do you consider yourself a Hong Konger, a South Australian, or something else?

HK 3: I think I will still think I am Chinese.

Interviewer: Would you say you're Chinese from Hong Kong, or would you simply say you're Chinese?

HK 3: I'll simply say Chinese.

Interviewer: Can you just explain your answer? Why do you feel like you're Chinese?

HK 3: Because I was born in China, and then I grew up in China, and I came from Hong Kong. I think I spent like my childhood in China, and then teenager is in Hong Kong. But I still think I'm Chinese, because most of my relatives, and my friends, and my brother and my relationship with the people is still very strong in this sense. Those are habits, or the memories is still Chinese.

Interviewer: Interesting. Do you think one day, you'll consider yourself a South Australian? Or a mixed of Chinese and South Australian?

HK 3: Maybe one day I'll think I'm a South Australian, but it's very hard to say I'm South Australian. I don't think I'll have that kind of saying that I'm a South Australian.

Interviewer: Why not? If South Australia is a multicultural state, and quite representative of your Chinese or your Hong Kong cultural heritage, does it mean that maybe it has a bit of your identity as well? So maybe one day, would you consider yourself a South Australian?

HK 3: Yes, maybe. I first came to South Australia, I didn't go to other states, so I chose to come to South Australia. And I have been living here...yes, I could say I'm South Australian. I have my education here, my work, and my family, and hopefully the rest of my life will be in South Australia.

Interviewer: So that's it for me. Do you have any other comments you'd like to add?

HK 3: I think maybe there's more I don't know whether you know any Hong Kong cultural activities happening here.

Interviewer: Well, there's like the Hong Kong Cultural Association of South Australia. It's pretty new, and they offer sometimes some Hong Kong festivals and activities. I think they are engaged in uniting Hong Kong people, Chinese people together, and just enjoy different kinds of festivals. Go check it out. Thank you very much for your time.

4. *Olivia*: Interviewed on 31 May 2024. Interview duration: 44 minutes and 28 seconds.

Interviewer: I'll just start with some demographic information with you. Can you tell me your age group please?

HK 4: It will be 36-44.

Interviewer: Gender, female?

HK 4: Yes.

Interviewer: Your ethnicity?

HK 4: I'll usually call myself a Hong Konger.

Interviewer: How about your family structure? Are you living with a partner? With family?

HK 4: I'm a single parent household. I've got a partner, but we don't live together because he's got his own children also.

Interviewer: How about your industry sector?

HK 4: Higher education.

Interviewer: How long have you resided here in South Australia?

HK 4: 20 years, exactly. I arrived in 2004 and now it's 2024.

Interviewer: What were your main reasons or motivations to come here to South Australia?

HK 4: It's education. I came to pursue a university degree, and I obtained a Bachelor for Arts in 2006 in UniSA.

Interviewer: Ok, so what were your other reasons? I can see that you ranked 2 for proximity of friends or relatives in South Australia, 3 for better lifestyle, 4 for opportunities in South Australia, 5 for Hong Kong political instability, and the last for environment concerns. So can I understand a bit more about your main reasons? So education you've already explained to me. What about the proximity of friends or relatives in South Australia?

HK 4: So basically when I finished high school, I got one or two friends who came to Adelaide, and so I'm 'Oh, I've never heard of this place...Adelaide?' I heard Melbourne and

Sydney so I kind of googled it and got an interest in it. And then they said it's very affordable, so it's really their influence, you know.

Interviewer: How about better lifestyle?

HK 4: Better lifestyle, of course, you know, there's more space, it's more clean and compare to Hong Kong, it seems okay: Blue sky, lots of grass, clean, beautiful beaches, so you know, quite attractive.

Interviewer: Why were the last three reasons the least appropriate to you? Including opportunities in South Australia, political instability and environment concerns.

HK 4: I didn't think too far, beyond the higher education at that time. So whether the local employment opportunity, what is it like? It wasn't really...you know I was so young, in my first degree, I wasn't even thinking about those things. So, and then, political instability, it was pretty stable, 20 years ago in Hong Kong, so I wasn't really concerned at all. And then lastly, environment concerns, it's not my area of interests I guess. Maybe for some people, especially the young ones nowadays, but at that time, 20 years ago, in my ear, it wasn't really a topic. So it wasn't current at that time.

Interviewer: So can you tell me about the general challenges that you encountered here in South Australia? Like in the first few years?

HK 4: The first few years was a big adjustment. So first few years, everything's different right? Power structure, power distance, you know. From Hong Kong, you respect your teachers, and elderly people a lot. When I came here, it's not like that. So I have to adjust. You know, we don't call the teacher 'Mister' or 'Professor' or so, we just call first name. So I was like 'Oh my god, that's so confronting.' But that's an adjustment. Language as well. Even though we learn English in Hong Kong, we don't really speak it right? Very much, you know, with the locals. So even though I've got a good foundation in reading, writing and, you know, quite good in listening and speaking as well. But still it's not like the locals here. So I remember in the first few months, I had to write down 'Okay, prepare go to the post office. Okay, write down the sentences. What am I gonna say?' So it was like this. It was a big change. It was quite anxious. I felt quite anxious in the beginning. And then I studied uni, I got exposed to academics, other students from other cultures. We all had to speak English. So slowly and then you go shopping, slowly you get used to it. And the initial challenge is, because the culture is very different right? I feel like Hong Kong people sentiments are very delicate, while the Aussies are more like, less delicate. So if you are not used to that culture, you feel like people are a bit rude, but that's the cultural difference rather than they're actually rude. Now looking back, 20 years on. So I don't think initially they were the main challenges. That's pretty much it. I never thought about issues like racism, it's never my area of focus.

Interviewer: But have you encountered any?

HK 4: I remember when I first, few years here, when I was still a student, when the sun was very shiny and bright, I had my umbrella. And then someone yelled from the truck, say 'It's

not raining.' I still remember that. But I wouldn't consider that racism now 20 years on, it was just like it was odd at that time. Now it's more common, because of skin cancer, people say 'Yes that's the right thing to do'. But probably not 20 years ago. So I hardly consider that racism, and that's what I meant by we are very delicate in our sentiment. When people do that, 'Oh, they're so rude', but 20 years on, you know, they just want to express their amusement.

Interviewer: Yes, maybe they just find it funny.

HK 4: Yes, that's right. That's the difference right? The understanding of the local culture is very different in the beginning.

Interviewer: How about was it difficult to fit in with other South Australians?

HK 4: It is always a challenge because we didn't come to attend high school here. So people's network right? Oh, I met you in uni, we went to the same high school, instantly they got friends. So here, we've got to, you know, make a lot of efforts. For example, you know, in class, you try to talk to people or I had to make a lot of effort to chitchatting, so out of the comfort zone. I think as foreigners, like at the beginning, I would have to try really really hard to break in some groups. Yes, I think it was quite hard initially.

Interviewer: Yes, to blend in?

HK 4: To blend in and you sort of have to understand what they're interested in as well. It's very different. The small talks. What do they like to talk about? TV shows, I didn't know anything at that time. So...but that's a learning journey.

Interviewer: Yes, it's great. So this question may sound a bit strange to you, because it's been already 20 years for you. Have you adapted or adjusted to your life here?

HK 4: I think I have adapted really really well, over time. I think the first five years was the most challenging time. People are so rude. It's so boring here. That's very common. There's nothing to do. At night, where do I go? Nowhere. Then, after five years, I started to think 'Oh that's nice. It's very quiet' And then we went back to Hong Kong, 'Oh that's so crowded, it's so horrible.' Actually we were rude too but in a very different way. So, and then slowly appreciate the Australian style of living is, you know, we help strangers, while in Hong Kong we didn't help strangers. The strangers, you know, stay away. We only have our family in Hong Kong, while here we like to help random strangers. So I kind of appreciate the change and start to really grow into it.

Interviewer: Interesting.

HK 4: Yes, really, okay, I like that, I like that. I grow into it quite well.

Interviewer: Amazing. So can you tell me how have you adjusted into the lifestyle here?

HK 4: Ok, I think ...ok you finish first.

Interviewer: Yea, I'll just give you some options or some ways you may use to answer the question, but yes you can answer whatever you want.

HK 4: Go freely.

Interviewer: So was it like because of social networks, or in your participation in like some Hong Kong or Chinese cultural festivals, or your occupations, or any other reasons. How have you adapted yourself?

HK 4: I think number 1 is through work. And number 2 will be, like remember I marry to a French husband?

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 4: But he was still born here.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: So still he's got his network pretty Aussie. High school friends Aussies right? So, but I think number 1 reason is occupation. So I started working at um Adelaide uni, that was my first job. And then you know through the interacting with the locals, reporting to Australian people, I start to get to know what they like and how they socialise, what they want to talk about, and what's acceptable and what's not, and then I got transfer into a big department that is very Australian. That's the most Australian office throughout the university. And that department is the Alumni office.

Interviewer: Oh ok.

HK 4: So if I, I guess if I had stayed in the Student Services, I probably wouldn't have that learning as I would you know, if I didn't work in the Alumni office. So the Alumni office you know is completely Aussie. I was more like the odd one out.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 4: And then Alumni service at Adelaide uni was there were a lot of them were very old school, old people who are very prominent in the society. So you've got to learn to how to recognise them and interact with them, and engage them. That was the job of an Alumni officer.

Interviewer: Right yes.

HK 4: And then you know I learned about Australia Day honours, and then we have to research into who they are, whether they are the alumni and how to congratulate them and then engage them. So I think that's a very Australian process. You learn about you know the system, Australian honours, and you know, how you know they like to be engaged.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 4: So I think that learning piece, I'm very lucky, you know, not many Hong Kongers in South Australia do not have that, and will take much much longer time, may not even get there without the experience.

Interviewer: Yes, to really understand.

HK 4: Yea, what makes them tick the locals. And the locals, I guess more from our high society, because they are graduate from many years ago. They're high achievers, you know. They've got professional jobs. They're doctors, lawyers, you know, influencers.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 4: So more that cohort I understand a lot. And the politics behind it, and the ego behind it.

Interviewer: Ok, very interesting indeed.

HK 4: Yea. So that's the main reason right? That's the occupation. And then the second one is when I married to the French husband, so his network of friends is full of other Europeans, or um you know just local Aussies. So you know through interactions you know family to family, social gatherings, you know. French people they like long parties. So I had a lot of that. They don't have quick dinner like Hong Kong people right? Ok finish, ok goodbye right? It's long goodbyes, it's a lot talking about philosophies and footy, and all sorts of you know. So I was quite exposed to that environment yea.

Interviewer: Very nice. Um so what is cultural heritage to you? What does that mean to you cultural heritage?

HK 4: First it will be language. I think that is a large part of it. I think language and culture to me is very intertwined you know. You can't learn just one and not the other. When you learn French, you have to learn French culture. You understand how they appreciate, what they appreciate through the language. So I think language is a big part. And culture is more like the traditions. So in Hong Kong we celebrate Mid-Autumn Festival, Lunar New Year and um, what I learned in high school, 孔子<sup>20</sup>.

Interviewer: Confucius right?

HK 4: Yea Confucius. A lot of that. So respect the elderly and all that kind of politeness. Um yea, so I think for me that's culture. Your festivals that's important in your culture, the language and the traditions. The red packets, um, perspectives as well, quite unique. Each culture see the world differently and do things differently, and eventually they all work. Yea doesn't matter is the Hong Kong way or the Aussie way, eventually you got different pathway you know, you can still get there.

Interviewer: Yea. This is the interesting part of culture for sure. So how important to you is preserving your Hong Kong cultural heritage while residing here in South Australia? Is it important to you?

HK 4: I think is somewhat important, because that's my natural instinct, mother tongue is Cantonese. I don't have to focus to listen to radio while English I still have to focus because is second language. Um and also maintaining the family, the connexion with my parents, my brother, and the wider Hong Kong community. So I think it's somewhat important. I wouldn't

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<sup>20</sup> Confucius

say it's extremely important. You know some people like the French right, extremely important, children have to speak their language and celebrate you know, and follow the traditions. I'm not like this, I'm not. I'm quite happy for my children to be full Aussies.

Interviewer: Right ok.

HK 4: You know as their main identity. And then of course yea, they know that their mom is from Hong Kong, their dad's from France. Cool, that's fine. But we're here.

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 4: I want them to more embrace the you know, common Australian values more important to me than they embrace Hong Kong values or French values.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: Yea. Everybody is so different, isn't it?

Interviewer: Yea. And it's interesting. I mean yea, everyone can do their own way and everything will still work.

HK 4: Yea.

Interviewer: What are some of the Hong Kong cultural heritage sites, Hong Kong or Chinese cultural heritage sites or places in South Australia that you've noticed?

HK 4: Cultural heritage sites?

Interviewer: Sites or places. So like physical places. Well it can be anything like, as long you feel like it is significant to you and it is significant to the wider Hong Kong community, then it can be classified or categorised as like a Hong Kong cultural heritage place.

HK 4: Apart from like Chinatown with all the food, I don't think there's a lot of stuff that are particular Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: Do you know any? Maybe I just couldn't think of any.

Interviewer: Not really. That's why I'm asking you.

HK 4: So even Chinatown is not very Hong Kong, it's more China right? But then you do have authentic Chi-, Cantonese food in Chinatown, quite a lot of them. And when you go there and speak in Cantonese, you'll probably be understood by half of the people there at least. Hong Kong. Do we have anything in the last few years established? We got is a physical place you're after?

Interviewer: Yup. A place basically, or a site. It can be let's say like within a church, or yea in a restaurant. A restaurant that you feel like is really serving, well it doesn't have to like serving authentic, like real authentic Hong Kong food, but it can be like a place in which you can gather with Hong Kong friends, and you feel like ok it's kind of like home. Like I'm back to Hong Kong in some way.

HK 4: I think Star House restaurant is very Hong Kong. It's very popular among Hong Kong people, it's very yummy and very authentic. Hong Kong people are very picky. If the food is not yummy, they criticise it. Everybody is happy with Star House. Actually I feel yea yea, there is this place in Croydon.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: So there is a very, not very upmarket shopping mall, shopping centre. It's not even a shopping centre. It's more like a you know you can have Asian grocery store 順發超級市場 (Thuan Phat Supermarket at Croydon Park).

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: And then surrounding it, is called Mount Lion Café, is more like a Hong Kong café. And then next to the Mount Lion café, the same complex, there is a bakery. It's like traditional Hong Kong bakery. They got 雞尾包<sup>21</sup>, 菠蘿包<sup>22</sup>.

Interviewer: Yum.

HK 4: Yea so a lot of Hong Kong people hang out there. A lot.

Interviewer: Ok, very interesting.

HK 4: So they got bakery, they got Hong Kong café, like 豬扒飯<sup>23</sup> that type, and then you got the Asian grocery. So that is I think, apart from Chinatown, I think that's probably the second place outside Chinatown that Hong Kong people just gather there. Yea.

Interviewer: Ok, very nice. Ok, 'cause I'm really looking for some places which Hong Kong people like to be in there or feel like comfortable in there, and feel like home. So yea, it is a place worth exploring for me.

HK 4: Yea. They will hang out there. My parents and my brother and his family always hang out there, because it's affordable you have a cheap lunch you know, 焗豬扒飯<sup>24</sup> all these 茶餐廳<sup>25</sup>, yea. Affordable.

Interviewer: Interesting.

HK 4: Yea.

Interviewer: So what are some of the other Hong Kong cultural heritage, ok so now I'm talking about intangible ones, so ones that we cannot touch or feel. So what are some of the Hong Kong intangible cultural heritage that you're practising still here in South Australia? So are you still speaking Cantonese? Or do you go for yumcha with friends?

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<sup>21</sup> Hong Kong style cocktail bun

<sup>22</sup> Pineapple bun

<sup>23</sup> Pork chop rice

<sup>24</sup> Baked pork chop rice

<sup>25</sup> Tea restaurant: a traditional Hong Kong style diner

HK 4: Yea so when there are Hong Kong movies on cinema, I will go make a trip, will go to cinema to see those movies especially. I will gather for dinner with my family during Lunar New Year, and my parents will give me red packets, what else? They hang out in Chinatown a lot, because they go to church every Sunday, I don't. So I'm the black sheep in the family. So I you know not that part is not so big for me. So it will be like, ok someone's birthday, we go to Chinatown Hong Kong-style restaurant for dinner. For me it's not like a regular Sunday thing. Yea sometimes go to Hong Kong cultural events you know, like the Hong Kong Cultural Association organising the Friends of Hong Kong Festival. When that aligns with my schedule, I would still like to go. Yea.

Interviewer: Yea. But there're not many festivals or events at the moment right?

HK 4: No, there may be once or twice a year. There may be Christmas something Christmas, yea.

Interviewer: Ok. And so you'll just participate in those cultural events as well?

HK 4: Yea, if my time aligns. Because I've got two teenage boys and they don't like, you know, teenage boys going with parents to those places, super boring. So sometimes I don't go because they don't go.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: So it's kind of neutralised because the boys are very Aussie you know lifestyle, so that prevents me from actively participating. It's different story when people got Hong Kong husband.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 4: It would be like their weekend entertainment. It's to gather around, you know, playing mah-jong with other families. So it's very different.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: You know, depends on who your partner is, and there will be an important determine on how diluted the Hong Kong culture will be, or how united they are still.

Interviewer: How often do you practise those heritage? Like let's say speaking in Cantonese. Ok so participating in cultural events, it may be like once or twice a year?

HK 4: Mm...

Interviewer: It could be, according to your schedule of course. It really depends. But how about your speaking in Cantonese? Do you do that often?

HK 4: I would say weekly with my parents, and brother and sister-in-law. When we got a family chat group, so I type in English and then press translate, and then it come to proper you know, traditional Chinese writing. It's not colloquial, it's kind of awkward, because Hong Kong people they don't do, you know. So that's almost daily, you know. It's the connexion with my family help me, you know, maintain writing or speaking, but not on the phone, we

don't speak on the phone anyway with our family. It's a bit, you know, it's more on mobile texting.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 4: So you know that'll be daily, you know, communicating with family. I speak with my children in English.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: And I sometimes cook Cantonese food. So I will cook chicken congee, I'll boil some dumplings, yea. Maybe once a week.

Interviewer: Ok, cool.

HK 4: Yea so, speaking, practising, anything else that I should be talking about?

Interviewer: Yea how about the festivals? Like Hong Kong-style festivals? For example let's say the Mid-Autumn Festival, the Lunar New Year, do you practise that? Like do you, let's say, have mooncakes for your Mid-Autumn Festival, do you have dumplings for...

HK 4: Yea, I think it's because my family moved here about three years ago.

Interviewer: Ok.

HKK 4: So I become more, a little bit more join back to Hong Kong culture. Well before they moved here, 17 years I'm by myself with a foreign partner, I was quite detached from the Hong Kong culture because my husband you know isn't speaking Cantonese with the kids, at work is all English, so I was very detached for many years.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: Only in the last three years, they're all here and they're all hanging out in Chinatown or something, and suddenly we'll have Lunar New Year that we'll gather together.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 4: So it's more only recently. I never participated in more Chinese combined/ Hong Kong events, especially after 2019, it's kind of scary. You know I feel like there's a psychological trauma, you don't know whether those people have the same values or not, so it's kind of scary for me. I'll use the word scary to go to the mainstream Chinatown street party and all that. Who are the organisers? What are their affiliations? So I'll decided, doesn't matter my family here or not. Yea I think this attitude is rather common, you know, among a lot of Hong Kong people now, post-2019. It's scary. Yea, so it's very scary.

Interviewer: Ok, so apart from speaking um Cantonese with your parents, your brother and sister-in-law, how about with your kids? Do you speak with them in Cantonese?

HK 4: Not at all.

Interviewer: No.

HK 4: Not at all. Not at all. It's because I'm always the one working, you know all these years since they were born, so I'm not like your mom like the main carer at home. You got the contact time to do it daily basis. So my ex-husband was more like at home more, so my children you know more focussed on English and French, rather than Cantonese. So they...and also I feel like there's a, a little bit of trauma associated with, you know, your own culture I feel. I feel. Especially what happened in the last few years. Sometimes it's good to just be detached and live a very simple Australian life.

Interviewer: Yea, ok. So basically, I know it's been a while for you already, but has preserving your Hong Kong cultural heritage supported you in any way in adapting to your life here in South Australia?

HK 4: So supporting Hong Kong culture has helped me adapted to my life here? Do you count values as culture?

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 4: Yup. So in that sense it is very beneficial right? If I come from mainland China, I wouldn't be as adaptive, in the beginning right, even for now, people can be 20 years on and still feel wow that's weird the Aussie culture I don't I don't agree with the way they do things right? So but coming from Hong Kong background, we got very similar systems, you know, just minus the last few years. It's more like a rule of law, and we understand that the government is not above the law, so you sort of it's very clear and clean policies in bureaucracies, the same in Hong Kong you know. It's not about, you know, sometimes who you know, we got a process and we just need to follow. So that kind of rule-based spirit for me is very comfortable. A policy is a policy, it's not about who your mom is right? So I quite like that. So when I came here, even though people's mannerism may be different, how the system is run I feel very comfortable right from the beginning.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 4: So in that sense, and also press freedom, we were quite used to it right? So you know, it's only the last few years changed, but large part of my initial settling here is based on those values, hey it's the same here.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 4: You can criticise so and so and you'll be ok.

Interviewer: Yea. Ok. Do you see transmitting cultural heritage as fundamental? Of course you've already explained a little bit to me, but you can just elaborate your answer. Do you see like transmitting cultural heritage to your loved ones or strangers...

HK 4: I won't say crucial, but I would say beneficial.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: I would say beneficial. It's not crucial you know, because I think the main thing for me is the Australian way of doing things right? For me that's number one. It's beneficial because

it will be important for my children, for my partner, you know, or work people to understand that hey that's another perspective. If combined with the Australian way, it can be more intelligent. Rather than just one way of doing things, we've got two. And if you've got three, super intelligent. I think it will actually collective problem-solving and creative solutions to have more cultures in one person.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 4: I do believe that, very beneficial.

Interviewer: It's important. So, do you think it's important to transmit it to South Australians then? So you told me that it is beneficial, since it's a great way to share your cultural backgrounds or different cultural ideas also to different people of different cultures, 'cause it could be a way to build different things and also basically use your different backgrounds to achieve different possibilities, let's say. But do you think it's important to transmit it to South Australians who have no Hong Kong background?

HK 4: I think it will be the same word, beneficial. I think it will be beneficial for South Australians because you know, people in South Australia are not like those in Sydney. They're very cosmopolitan, they're very worldly, those people. You kind of communicate with them more easily from a global background. Hong Kong background is very global. But in South Australia it may be more difficult to communicate with people who've never left the state. And there are a lot of more those people here than in the Eastern, you know, states.

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 4: So if we can a little bit and then they kind of uplift the, you know, South Australia to become more worldly, more welcoming, and be more sophisticated. I think it's beneficial.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: Yea.

Interviewer: Have you encountered any difficulties in transmitting your own Hong Kong cultural heritage here in South Australia?

HK 4: It will be certain level, because it depends on whether people are curious and interested. If they're not, you know, you know, then of course it will be difficult. They will we will just not understand each other. But I think we have progressed so much in the last 20 years. I think people are very opened to different cultures. They are very accepting of different people coming from different political, religious backgrounds. I feel like you know, maybe because I work in a place that is university, we got a lot of international, you know, students. So in the workplace is very opened to different cultures, so I've never been in another industry. Some industry I imagine will be less open. Defence, I guess, will be less opened than university if I have to take a guess right? It's more Aussie, full-blown Aussie.

Interviewer: Yes, yea.

HK 4: Protect Australia that kind of background, and mindset. So from where my environment where I work, where I'm exposed to, I think people are very opened. They open to, you know, people from Muslim background. They open to people from Hong Kong or Chinese background. And they would be quite patient to hear you out, to see where you coming from, and why do you think like that.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: So that's more like my world.

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 4: In the last 20 years.

Interviewer: What is multiculturalism to you?

HK 4: Multiculturalism is, you know, all these different cultures coming to Australia, and appreciate each other's culture. So I can appreciate Australian culture, equally as much as I appreciate Middle East culture, or you know, African culture. And that appreciation and tolerance, getting along in harmony is for me multiculturalism.

Interviewer: Ok. Do you see South Australia as a multicultural state?

HK 4: I think we're getting very multicultural.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: So we've got all these community organisations. Hong Kong, we got Hong Kong Cultural Association, only because of 2019. Before people were not interested in community development. Hong Kong people only interested in finance and enterprise right? So we suddenly got that, and we've got so many, you know, probably a few hundred multicultural organisations from different cultures. And the locals do participate in festivals: Thai Festival, Philippino Festival, Hong Kong Friends Festival.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 4: So I think we're pretty multicultural. And the government, you know, got a Minister of Multiculturalism. So the investment is there. And then the good will is there. But, if I have to run the government, I probably wouldn't brand it as multiculturalism.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: I don't know how this word is used, but I'm not sure whether the community understands the meaning. So I would probably say Department of Integration, not multiculturalism.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: If I had to run the government. So I would like all the cultures to come here to integrate well, with the Australian culture, while preserving their cultural heritage at home.

So I worry that this multiculturalism is that everybody insisting on their culture, and then suddenly we got conflict in the community, which is what I'm starting to see.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 4: So I feel like the current political state of multiculturalism is not on the right trajectory, but that's only my personal opinion.

Interviewer: Yup.

HK 4: I would like to see a Department of Integration, and how we promote in all to different communities the Australian spirit. And uniting every culture to embrace as in one flag, one Australia. And then we appreciate everything else too.

Interviewer: Interesting. So it's very interesting in the way that you said you'd like to have a Department of Integration. So you mean basically people having their own cultures, and they're still embracing their own cultures, but they still abide to the Australian spirit?

HK 4: First and foremost.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: So we're all Australians first and foremost, and then we're very unique too, because I come from Hong Kong, and you come from Africa. What's your way of doing things? We want to learn about each other, but we will unite together, you know, under the big brand we are Australians. And we integrate, we embrace our values and how we do things in this country. I think that will be a more united country, rather than ok I'm from Palestine and you're from Israel, Hong Kong and China, ok Greek and Turkey.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: You know, I feel like there're a lot of conflict right, under multiculturalism, encouraging people to promote, to embrace their culture is good, but we're not uniting those in one thing.

Interviewer: So you see different fractions of different groups basically?

HK 4: Absolutely, yea yea. And also you know, sometimes it's not people's fault. It's never our fault. It's the great power at the top what they're doing, and then people say oh I'll support this because this is my country, I'll support that that's my country, that's normal. So it's never the normal people in the community's fault, but it's the great power, you know creating the unity that we identify with something, we've got to support that group. So I think that's a risk for harmony.

Interviewer: Right. Without taking into account of your status of your citizenship or your permanent residency, do you consider yourself a Hong Konger, a South Australian, or do you have another identity?

HK 4: Ok, that's a very good question. I like that. So I think first and foremost I would say Australian.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: If you want to dig deeper, where do you come from? I would say Aussie Hong Konger right? We don't use Chinese anymore unfortunately a lot of us. In the 2022 census, we got a movement, ethnicity, there's no Hong Konger right? There's only Chinese, so we tick others, and then write down Hong Konger. Nationally, if we believe in democracy, that's what we do.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: So first and foremost, Australian. Dig deeper, Aussie Hong Konger. But that's not the end of it. I think I tend not to be labelled by ok, you're French Australian, Hong Kong Australian, it's still a label, so it's quite limiting. So I would, probably my bigger identity is, I'm a humanist. It's a lot greater than whatever label combined. Ok, I work in uni and I'm from Hong Kong. You know, there're all kind of labels, limiting labels. But I think we're much bigger than that.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 4: You know, in terms of connecting to another human being.

Interviewer: So would you say that ok, so South Australia obviously is a very multicultural state to you, sorry I was really engaged in your thoughts...

HK 4: It's fascinating isn't it to chat with new people?

Interviewer: It is very interesting.

HK 4: Everybody thinking so differently right?

Interviewer: Yes. I really like your idea of humanist. So you feel like, it should trespass the global territories right? So our identity should be like an identity that belongs basically to the world, to all human beings, instead of having boundaries of different territories or different groups of people? So do you feel like people should identify themselves as humanist as well?

HK 4: I think they should not identify themselves as, there's no 'should'. Everyone is different. I really respect you know some people strongly identify themselves to their culture. I respect that, because you know, that's how they were programmed from birth. If you were born in Middle East, you're Muslim to dying. And you're not. Does that mean they're all wrong? No. That's how they were programmed, and that's how you were programmed in a different location, with different parents, and how they were programmed. French is important right? And you know, to a certain degree how local people are programmed right? You gotta be supporting you know patriotic Australian. Some people are programmed like this. I see through all of the programming. I want to get rid of all of the programming, all the labels. And I just want to get to know you as a being. You know, you tell me I am from Hong Kong, you got a French mom and Hong Kong dad, I think you're so much more than your programming. But not many people can see through and dismantle how we were programmed from day one. So I think I have transcended.

Interviewer: Very insightful. So that's all for me for my questions. Do you have anything you'd like to add? About culture, about identities or South Australia?

HK 4: I think we covered quite a lot. Yea, yea, and why is it important in SA as well. I think that's a very unique project, I think it's, I'm keen to keep up-to-date the outcome.

Interviewer: Of course, definitely.

HK 4: Yea, I'm excited. When do you finish?

Interviewer: It's gonna be due next year.

HK 4: Yea. I think your result outcome will be very interested by the government, you know. They're working on the multiculturalism piece, and on social cohesion.

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 4: That may have some impact on, you know, future policy, if they have that insight.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 4: As if they listen to people like this.

Interviewer: So that's why I like talking to people, who have a lot of different insights, comments and outlook of the world, or you know, of South Australia in general. So that's why I'm undertaking this project and hopefully there'll be some interesting outcome.

HK 4: That's lovely. Well, well done.

Interviewer: Thank you very much.

*Violet*: Interviewed on 31 May 2024. Interview duration: 1 hour and 30 minutes.

Interviewer: Was it like one of your reasons for moving here to South Australia?

HK 5: For my children, yea. For my children and for myself. When I was a teenager I always fancy about Western lifestyle when I see the Western movie in Hong Kong. And I always like to explore and it just so happened that I have the opportunity so I moved over here.

Interviewer: Ok. Was it like because of education or...?

HK 5: No lifestyle.

Interviewer: It's just because of lifestyle, ok.

HK 5: Yes yes.

Interviewer: Right, ok. So would you say that you'd rank better lifestyle as number one for you as your first motivation? Or do you have other motivations?

HK 5: Well I had a very good lifestyle in Hong Kong, but I think for the children education, maybe more flexible, a bit more exploratory. And more in advance. Not because Hong Kong education is no good. It's quite the opposite. Yes, but for these few reasons I just let them to have a chance, have a second lifestyle different than Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Right, ok. How about opportunities in South Australia? Would that be also one of your reasons for moving here to South Australia?

HK 5: No. The reason I moved here is because I know a friend very well in Hong Kong, and she was the only friend that I know of in Australia. That's the reason. And she's an English-Australian. And her husband at that time was a captain pilot of Hong Kong Cathay Pacific Airline.

Interviewer: Oh ok.

HK 5: So we engaged very well. Our children went to the same kindergarten, that's how I met her. And we talked about it: If you're interested, come to Australia, you must stay with me. So that was first a start. So I did.

Interviewer: Ok. So it was really because of a friend basically?

HK 5: Yea, yes yes.

Interviewer: Oh, alright. Interesting.

HK 5: Yes, sort of. Sort of. But the instrument of heading to that direction is I like to taste the Western lifestyle, rather than the Asian lifestyle or culture. Yes.

Interviewer: Ok. That sounds good. So why do you consider the other reasons less appropriate? Like let's say the political instability, or the environment concerns that maybe you could have in Hong Kong, like why are they less appropriate to you?

HK 5: I don't concern the politics, because I'm just a quiet citizen. I just enjoy in with my own environment. And I had a very nice house, even that I don't have to move. But I just want to taste a different lifestyle. I had my own adventure spirit in me, so that's why, yea. So that's why I take...

Interviewer: You gave it a shot.

HK 5: Yea yea. I make a change of it.

Interviewer: Ok, very interesting. So we'll just go back a bit. I'll just ask for some of the demographic information from you. So can you tell me the age group that you're in at the moment?

HK 5: Mm I think I have a all different age group. I have the age group from 40 to 75.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 5: And from old to young, yes yes. I got a good friend who's a, even now is in the job with uni, and she is a Business Coordinator in the uni. So yea.

Interviewer: Right yea, cool. What would you say? What's your ethnicity?

HK 5: In between. I think I'm more Western now, than the East yea. Oriental spirit is still there, but you have to adapt to the culture where you belong. Side by side, living every day. And you can't actually wind the clock backward is that is not on, for my own, not belief, it's my own lifestyle, and the connexions. I'm married to an English man, so I can't actually to be so much of a Chinese, a Hong Kong Chinese. But deep inside, I still remained. The valuable of customs, and the culture of Hong Kong Chinese.

Interviewer: Ok. So can you tell me how long have you resided here in South Australia?

HK 5: Thirty more years.

Interviewer: So what were the general challenges you encountered when you arrived here in South Australia?

HK 5: First of all, there were no facilities to cater for new migrants, particular from the other countries. The second language is not easy, there is no channel. And it's not like the Hong Kong Cultural Association at the moment now, it's really benefit for all these newcomers. Even they can't speak English, or maybe some of them can speak but not fluent, they still can find a ground. Whereas when I was here the first, no facilities and I'm so glad and grateful the organiser can give us some big help to the newcomers.

Interviewer: Ok. So apart from having no facilities or any government help as a newcomer here in South Australia, do you have any other difficulties in South Australia? Let's say anything you've encountered, like the cultural difference that you felt, or language difficulties, or was it difficult to fit in with other South Australians?

HK 5: I would say that I might be a different case, because my children when they were in Hong Kong, they literally went into international schools, that's the way I met my friend in South Australia at first. And also I communicate with them in, at home is in English, so basically it's not so hard for me to adapt into the Western environment. The other thing is I later discovered my own value here it is still difficult to find my ground, and you have to prove even beyond the others' judgement. So let's say oh yea you're Hong Kong Chinese, you're particular you're female even worse. I'm not kidding. One of the professors from the university, I don't want to name him, and I say 'what do you see the Hong Kong, not even Hong Kong, what do you see Asian woman value in Australia', 'Oh they're not that noticeable'. Ok, that really put me down. I was face-to-face talk to him about it. That's how he gave me the impression of, in general, of South Australian, and I taste it and I feel it. I live with it. That's good enough evidence.

Interviewer: Yea, it is. What an experience that you had.

HK 5: Yes. I have to prove, even though that I joined the Rotary, um they're very active, professional organisation. Adelaide Rotary is the number, the biggest number two in the whole Australia. So I'm one of the members. But I can see that if I want to stand up, that will be hard. If I want to say something, that even harder. If I want to uh, object something, that is no way I can do it. Then I would be blacklist, or somehow it's not...

Interviewer: Because they consider you as an Asian face?

HK 5: Yes.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 5: And, and if I want to, not because they won't let me to sound out, but I have to be careful, be more diplomatic.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 5: Maybe the White can say whatever they they want from their head, but I have to be really careful, I'll be guarded. And I'll guard it as well.

Interviewer: Ok. So I'd say, well, so how have you adapted or adjusted to life here in South Australia?

HK 5: That is very good question. I challenge myself all the time. To believe my own abilities, and I'm quite capable. I'm a strong person that is one thing. You need to believe yourself but you cannot be yourself, and that is a fantasy thinking. If you think you can be yourself, it's nonsense. No way. You can be yourself in certain way to suit into that kind of environment, but not complete, because we are the minority, and cannot be so naïve to not believe that. Once you believe it, then you can work backward to know where you stand, and to go forward from that spot. To go forward to enhance and improve. And that is my experience.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 5: And to be brave. Not to be so aggressive or to be so loud. But it needs to be more gentle, not noticeable. To prove you are capable.

Interviewer: Ok. Do you feel like if you were um, if people don't see you as an Asian, do you feel that, in that case, you would be louder? You would feel like more yourself?

HK 5: Yes, yes. I run my business in Hong Kong. I'm a business person. I used to be, 'cause I'm semi-retired. And I run my news agent in Eastern suburb. Do you know where is Arkaba Hotel?

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 5: That Foodland. I run my news agent before that chemist. King took over my shop. And they bought the list for me. And they convert into chemist. So I run the news agent close to six years. And from that onward, I don't think I have any gap from not understanding the Western culture, or the manner, or the mindset, how they think. Before you open the conversation, I already know how to answer you questions, as fluent as the Western. There is no gap at all. That's how I learn, from, as a travel agent, deal with the airline, to news agent, and then to bank agent. I engage with the real estate. So I present myself very well, but unfortunately because of the culture and the, the culture of the real estate, it will be really hard for me to break through. Reason is I'm an Asian. Secondly, Hong Kong Asian is not like Vietnamese. They settled much earlier than us. So their culture's well-known whereas Hong

Kong Chinese is unknown. Besides that, we're so quiet. It's a ridiculously quiet. So that needs to be changed in any form. And I learn from all these business contact and exercise my right and my intelligent, I got in to business quite successfully, but not as successful in the way as I expected in real estate. Reason is the locals, let's say local owners, we call vendor wants to sell the house, they have to place the trust in you. But I'm an Asian, and Hong Kong Asian, they don't know me. They don't know the culture of Hong Kong. People let alone to put their lifetime saving to give it to me to sell for them. That is a big big barrier. I can't break through. Not because I can't sell, I still can sell over million dollars home, when they trust me. I sold one of the million dollar homes in Jeff Court North Adelaide, and the owner was judge of Adelaide, South Adelaide. And the wife, also is a lawyer, top lawyer, so they, the two of them, asked me to sell their house. The reason why they placed their trust in me, because they have the employee who was the administrator is Asian girl. And because of that. So I was so thankful as well as fearful, because if anything have gone wrong, they can take me to the court.

Interviewer: Right, literally.

HK 5: That was so scary, so scary yes. So I, I actually make a mark in my career, but it's a hard hard call for my to stay any longer, particularly after so many things happening in Hong Kong. It affected our brand. It's not because it's not a good brand, it's controversial figure, it's no good. Whether you're good or bad, once you stand, well the brand under the spotlight, that would be a challenge.

Interviewer: So are you still working as a Real Estate agent?

HK 5: No. I hurt my nerve in my throat so I had to resign. So I can't talk. In the past, in the last three years, I want to get better from last year. Otherwise, I can't even talk like this. I held a conference of 68 Hong Kong Chinese for Hong Kong Cultural Association when it was a Covid. And Janet and Lok asked me to be one of the keynote speakers which I did. And they even asked me to do a second time. My voice and throat was still not healed, it hurts. I just say that sorry I couldn't do that. I regret about it but I couldn't help. Yes.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 5: If last message year 2021, yea that was the time, 2022. If you asked me to have an interview, I would not be able to do. No.

Interviewer: But it's great that you've just recovered your voice and everything.

HK 5: Oh it recurrent three times. So, yea that is my experience. You think that you belong, by all means I don't see myself as Asian anymore. I see myself as just like others. But others are seeing us is still different. We're living into our own fantasy, but that is a good fantasy otherwise you can't live.

Interviewer: So you think like being like other South Australians is a fantasy to you?

HK 5: Other South Australians in what way?

Interviewer: Like because you see yourself as a South Australian

HK 5: Yes

Interviewer: But you just told me that the others they don't see you like them, that's a part of them right? A part of the community let's say. Why do you feel like they're maybe carrying another lens when they're seeing you?

HK 5: Absolutely. I would say that some would accept me, but in general it's not. So let's say if I meet ten people or 20, there maybe one or two will accept me. Or maybe a 100 people or 50 people, there may be one or two, but maybe none. I would say it's a subconscious, conscious bias.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 5: And definitely it's there.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 5: Particular for the age group, above 50 something all the way up, they hold their old school belief and they are, they haven't got a chance to literally embrace themselves openly with other nationalities. Whereas your age group is no problem at all. Under 50, I don't think there will be as hard as what I'm experiencing. You will be more welcome. For now. It's your future. If it's now is working, there will be no no no gap.

Interviewer: So you think it's growing, it's changing right?

HK 5: Yea, yes yes.

Interviewer: The society is changing, their perceptions on different things?

HK 5: Yes yes. I can see that because you learn in uni, you learn in primary school, they already have multicultural systems in school. The only thing that I would concern is parents. But I would talk about it a little bit later.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 5: I put a note and hopefully that helps.

Interviewer: Ok, we'll talk about that after. So what is cultural heritage to you?

HK 5: I'm purely Chinese, but I believe I'm a mixed Chinese. It's not purely purely Chinese because my father he was not, he was not a pure Chinese to me. My grandmother literally is a mixed, like a Central Asian, so like Kazakhstan, Urumqi, what do you say? Xinjiang?

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 5: Yes. But it's even more, close to further. So literally I don't think I have a pure blood as Han, or Ching. Put in this way, um. But for the essence of my belief, I still believe I'm a Chinese. Hong Kong Chinese. 'cause I haven't had any chance to go beyond Hong Kong when I was a little child, until I came here.

Interviewer: How important for you is preserving your own Hong Kong cultural heritage?

HK 5: Importantly, it's very difficult, because there is no support. There is no regulation. There is no acknowledgement. It's a very raw, the Hong Kong culture in Aus, in South Australia. It might be more in Sydney, maybe more in Brisbane, because we're so quiet. And let alone, the Hong Kong Cultural Association what they project is not a culture to me, not enough. Even that the Asian culture, what is that the display, not only the Hong Kong, but the Aussie Asian Festival, it's so disappointing. I would see, if you run a display festival for multicultural, you need to have a history to support individual, you need to have a speaker, you need to have a performance, you need to have a slide, non-stop display. There is none, there's only food. I can go in any food court to have all these cultural food. It means nothing. You haven't got into the root. There is no root. It's a façade, and not even scratch from the surface. It's very disappointing.

Interviewer: Yea, it's 90% about food.

HK 5: Yea, absolutely. You can't say food, through the food, you understand the culture. You watch so many cook shows, do you know the real culture? No. You may only know the food, Chinese food is like that. Vietnamese food is like that. That's it.

Interviewer: Do you want to say that when going to a Hong Kong festival, we're looking for the encounters, we're looking for culture exchanges, we're looking for maybe some more migrant stories, or some more things that are more relatable?

HK 5: Yes.

Interviewer: I think this is what you want to say?

HK 5: Yes yes, exactly what you say that is I experienced the last time where they have the cultural display in one of the places in city, at the back of townhall, the city townhall, uh it's expressed a bit more depths. From where we were, into now today Hong Kong, and it's also demonstrate the history partially. But by all means, Hong Kong cultures is very, I can't say it's deep. It's not like Taiwanese, not like Taiwan, not like um Mainland China. Our culture is mainly commerce. It's a commercial hub. To be honest. So if you scratch a bit deeper, what is the Hong Kong culture? Can anybody explain a bit better?

Interviewer: It's something to look forward to. Maybe, by asking you some more questions, maybe you could let me know what's your perception of Hong Kong culture.

HK 5: I think I came from a old school of Hong Kong culture. Hong Kong culture to me is vibrant, but I can't see the depth. I believe still holding the majority of the belief of Hong Kong people, still very family-orientated, very business-orientated, and also good heart, generous, hugely generous to people in general. And also it to some extent, forgiveness is much much greater. So if you make a mistake, it's ok we'll forgive you. But other than that, yes hard-working. So maybe that's Hong Kong culture. Oh just keep flicking my eyes, the nerve, well it happen, I mean yea. So that maybe, but for the deeper level, I don't know. I haven't sensed it yet. It's not like Europe. Europe has a greater culture. They've gone through the war, we haven't gone through the war. Like Australia, is so young. Easy-going. Easy come, easy go Australian, 'cause they're, their lives is so blessed in time and so comfortable,

so individual, so independent, there was no challenge until now, after the Covid. So Hong Kong is keep, it was going so well all the way through, from the time when I was a child up to when I leave.

Interviewer: Ok. What are some of the Hong Kong cultural heritage places or sites that you've noticed here in South Australia? It can be anything. It can be like churches, restaurants that you feel like ok it's a part of Hong Kong, or just like a park, or anywhere Hong Kong people gather? Have you noticed any?

HK 5: Yes. Well if I say from the food, to the specific iconic buildings, or statues, no. The food now most of the restaurants is hold by China Chinese. The food culture in the way is so different than I had in Hong Kong. I can taste it more Hong Kong style in Sydney or Melbourne. Australia used to be the one in um Gouger Street, Ding Hao, they used to be a Hong Kong Chinese. And the next one would be Empress, is Malaysian Chinese, in um on Greenhill Road, opposite Burnside, Toorak Gardens. But there is not many Hong Kong, um Hong Kong restaurant here that I recognise is so really deeply believe that that is my kind of restaurant.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 5: No, as a Hongker.

Interviewer: Ok. Or do you have any other places that you feel like have Hong Kong features in?

HK 5: No, no, do you?

Interviewer: Not now. That's why I'm investigating.

HK 5: That's why I actually answered you quite earlier, Hong Kong culture is so shallow. Nobody knows. They know Vietnamese, they know Greek, they know Italian, but they don't know Hong Kong. Hong Kong people are a bit more I'm not so sure they're timid or subdue or reserved, any of this combining into the person of us, as a Hong Kong person. I think it's all mixed into one. The parents are not outgoing. Subsequently influence the children. And when they grow older, they can't even present themselves as a part of Australian, because they lock into the past with their parents' influence. And that is all I can see. Unless the parents live overseas or have education here, early on, then it will be different. If they are new migrant bring the child six years old or five years old, that will be difficult. They need to learn. That's what I want to say. The parents need to learn.

Interviewer: They have to learn the culture, like the South Australian culture?

HK 5: Absolutely. Otherwise you give a hard time to the next generation. That is my vision. And it's real, because I see some of my friends. Full-time house wife, bringing up three sons. And the sons is in university studying medical. But the manner, the way they eat, the way they dress, the way they act, is still influenced by the parents.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 5: And the parents stuck in the house. Stuck with Chinese culture, or even more smaller Chinese circles. Not even joining associations like Hong Kong Cultural Association.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 5: Or any other associations. Just stay there. They have the small group. And most of the Chinese are like this. It is so sad.

Interviewer: They're not mixing into the society?

HK 5: No.

Interviewer: Or into different communities. They're just staying on their own?

HK 5: Yes. Not because they're not successful. They're quite achiever. But in the way we're in, we're kind of not there in the public eyes. We're not there. We're just a part of ethnic group, not even a group. We're just the dust, spreading around but not prominently be noticeable like Indians.

Interviewer: Ok. So what are the Hong Kong cultural heritage that you're still practising here in South Australia? It can be like speaking in Cantonese, yum cha, participating in Hong Kong related festivals, going to Hong Kong community groups, churches, whatever.

HK 5: I don't go to church. I will go to yum cha to regain a little bit of my culture through the food. Remember the good food in Hong Kong. Feeling that I'm back to my culture through the food. Festival I would go to one or two the Hong Kong Cultural Association's festival. Participation no.

Interviewer: Ok, ok. Do you still practice like, for example, let's say, it's Lunar New Year, do you still practice the traditions of this festival? Let's say giving red packets to kids.

HK 5: Yes, I do, that is a part of...

Interviewer: Or cooking Chinese food?

HK 5: Yes cooking Chinese food. Yes.

Interviewer: What kind of Chinese food do you cook then?

HK 5: Very simple. Or maybe just steamed fish, or stir fry. I think I have 20% of Chinese food in my daily cooking, and then the rest of it it's a mixed.

Interviewer: Ok, ok. Why do you think are they important to you? Why do you think cooking Chinese food, participating in festivals, why are these activities of preserving and maintaining your cultural heritage, why are they important to you?

HK 5: Important is I was not brought up here. I would still highly regard the Chinese tradition is a good value to keep us believe and contain ourselves, be more grounded to our roots as a Chinese. I also value the Western custom. But at the same time, there is so much advantage to be a Chinese, to contain my belief in adapt to the Western culture and mix together. I live in two worlds.

Interviewer: Interesting.

HK 5: I pick the best of both sides.

Interviewer: That's very clever. So who do you usually share your cultural heritage with?

HK 5: Oh with my two good old lady friends. So when I talk to them, they sound like when I was in Hong Kong. They're old Hong Kong ladies and my best friend. I can see the Hong Kong people they highly value friendships, whereas Australian not. They're warm, but they're not close. They're friendly, but they keep distance.

Interviewer: Interesting.

HK 5: My generation not yours. You might be, you might haven't experienced what I experienced. It's a different age group.

Interviewer: Yea, society's changing all the time. So we'll see.

HK 5: Absolutely. It needs to be.

Interviewer: Yea. So basically you are, do you think like transmitting your own cultural heritage from Hong Kong is it fundamental to transmit it to others?

HK 5: I can't say that. Fundamental comes from the willingness of the other person preparing to understand, preparing the time to accept who you are, or wanting to know more about me as a person. I have a few friends. But in general they're not interested.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 5: Because we're not loud enough. Go back to where I belong, the beginning to talk to you. We're just coming new migrants in the way that only the last fifteen years, more Hong Kong Chinese are coming through. They went to Canada more than in Australia.

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 5: Because Australia is hard to come in.

Interviewer: Yup.

HK 5: So we're we're very unknown. We need to do a lot of work.

Interviewer: So do you still transmit your cultural heritage to your loved ones? Ok so your South Australian friends, so they're not really interested in Hong Kong culture so that's why you're not transmitting it to them. But how about other people? Like to close families?

HK 5: No, they're not interested.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 5: 'cause my two girls were brought up here.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 5: And they had the Western influence. I can only to be a Chinese mom to them, but in a certain way and limited way, most of the time, they will still like Chinese food, they will still like the lucky money.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 5: But they don't know too much of Chinese culture. That is part of my living circumstances. I don't have any Chinese family here, other than myself. It's a disadvantage, but they have the relatives in Sydney, that they can actually share the kind of culture periodically, but not grounded.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 5: I can share my culture with my husband.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 5: And he understand.

Interviewer: And does he like that?

HK 5: Yes, he loves.

Interviewer: Does he initiate any conversations about your culture, your Hong Kong culture?

HK 5: Yes. He knows Hong Kong culture very well, 'cause he travel there more than 20 times. And he has lots and lots of good friends. As I say that, Hong Kong people are very generous, and also hospitable. That is one of our trademark. And trustworthy. Yes.

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 5: I keep saying, I keep promoting, if you work with Hongker, you're safe. You can sleep at night. That is our spirit.

Interviewer: Right. Yea. The Hong Kong spirit and the Hong Kong mentality.

HK 5: Yes. Hong Kong mentality, yes.

Interviewer: So has preserving Hong Kong cultural heritage, has it supported you in adapting to your life here in South Australia? So I'm really talking about back then, like about 25 or 30 years ago, when you've just arrived here. Has it supported you? Has it made you feel more comfortable, easier to adapt to life here in South Australia? Or has it been a barrier?

HK 5: No. I would say people have a fantasy to think I have money, I have the skills, and then I can transform myself from a Asian background, immersed with Western culture. I don't think that works. We stand individually, no matter how much you, we want to. Our age group, it's so difficult. Their old school mentality is in their blood. And don't even try. You can be pleasant. I'm talking about myself. I can be pleasant. I would say that I can be pleasantly mixed with other groups, the local Australian, but I also in the same time in the same mind, that I know that I'm different. And just accept it. You will never ever be so completely accepted by the local Australian. I got friends from Syria, American, and to the

extent, other nationalities, they said the same thing like me. South Australians are so guarded. They're friendly but not close.

Interviewer: But are they friendly like among themselves? Do you think if you're like let's say, if you were born here, do you think you'll have another perception?

HK 5: If I were born here of course. I already have my own circle of friends. From little child, up to teenager, up to adult.

Interviewer: So you think there's a different kind of treatment South Australians give to other people?

HK 5: Yes, yes.

Interviewer: Ok, like locally born.

HK 5: Locally born is different, but it's back to where we just discussed in the past. Locally born is still based on the parenting. That's the essence of from the upbringing by the parents. If the parents are not westernised enough, that is a chaotic. You create the two worlds. When the child wants to go out, and the parents stop their children and then there's the conflict right from the beginning when they step into teenager, because they see so different. And it's no good. And the Hong Kong Chinese parents need to have a study group to talk about what are they facing, in future, what will the challenge be with the children who actually merging into western world and then the parents still holding the Chinese belief, it's ridiculous. It's not because they're wrong, nor the child.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 5: But it's a fundamental issue.

Interviewer: It has to be talked about and discussed about among the family.

HK 5: They need to have a study group, a workshop, to make them understand, to make them create an environment at home. Let alone to suspect, yea you can't do that and you can't do that. This and I experience the difficulty of my friends who share with me. And the son punched the mother, because of the mobile phone.

Interviewer: Because she didn't let him?

HK 5: Yes. And they're Chinese. Hong Kong Chinese.

Interviewer: And the thing is, with mobile phones, if you see your parents and everyone using it, obviously you want to use it. If your parents don't use it that much, then obviously you're not as interested let's say?

HK 5: Well maybe different, maybe the peer group. The peer group you engage, everybody has Instagram or Facebook, and you don't have, you're out.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 5: Yea so your interest is more to your peer group than back home, and you create the battle, and that is real. It's not only emerging, it's literally happening everywhere.

Interviewer: Communication is key really.

HK 5: Unfortunately, the Chinese they don't know how to communicate in the way the children want to. They never listen. By all means if you study or you start some workshop for some Chinese migrant parents, they need to know what's outside their zone. They're too comfortable.

Interviewer: Living in their own world.

HK 5: Yes, creating difficulties for both parties.

Interviewer: Yes. So have you encountered, I know you've already mentioned a bit about that, but have you encountered any difficulties in like transmitting your cultural heritage, or maintaining it in South Australia?

HK 5: I don't have difficulty to maintain my culture, which I bring it up frequently to talk, to the peer group. I would say the Hong Kong people are very trustworthy, are very generous. You can trust them. Other than that, what is my culture to be honest? As a Hong Kong people, in Hong Kong most of the heritage buildings demolished, you only see is the temple or what is that, the the particular separate one of the village, I can't even remember the name of it. And that was our culture. Or religion belief is um Buddhist. What is our culture? We already bind in with the British colonial system. We are half half. For me to see the significant culture is me as Chinese, but that doesn't transform the deeper culture beyond me. I don't see that. Whereas Vietnam has the whole country still remain, so Vietnamese. Japan, see all those display, is so Japanese culture, very heavy. They don't accept, you spend money is ok, wherever you come from, more than welcome, but you want to live there, no way they'll accept it from outsider. They all have a problem. And the two significant people I know they marry to Japanese girls, the Australian husbands. They all have to come back. Japanese don't like outside. Foreigns. They really protect their cultures very well. And so as Indians. Indian has a rich culture, 'cause even the Indian has been colonised by British for so many years, but not as change of face as we are in Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Do you think Hong Kong people are, is it because Hong Kong people are more adaptable to different situations?

HK 5: Yes. Hong Kong is a doer, and also Hong Kong people has a flexibility to make things happen and accept the new concept frequently. Whereas the South Australia quite the opposite. You want to change things, wait and see. Wait and see. It takes a long time.

Interviewer: Ok. What is multiculturalism to you?

HK 5: I would say multiculturalism is I would, I'm happy to embrace it because it makes me feel more, I'm not the only one, I mix up with the other cultural newcomers here, or maybe the culture mix together, you have this I have that, so you're not alone. Other than that, also

they I can learn something from them and reach my thinking and give me some examples that I need to know a bit more. Knowing others' culture is good. And I accept that?

Interviewer: So you agree with multiculturalism here in South Australia?

HK 5: Absolutely, yes. Otherwise it will be so narrow thinking. You can only hear your own voice, but not others.

Interviewer: Yes. And do you see South Australia as a multicultural state?

HK 5: At the moment is.

Interviewer: Right, why is that?

HK 5: Because I can see the food. The food translates the differences and the development of newcomers from all over the world, particularly Indian, they're just so bold. If I give you some examples. So we walk alongside the Torrens River. Every night all I see is Indian. Very occasionally I would see a few Asian by chance. I only, we only connect with one Vietnamese couple, they walk along the river every night. But other than that, Indians. They're bold, they are, well I don't think they're, I can't use the word, they are so westernised. They want to be westernised themselves. Whereas the Chinese is still hold back. It's a fear. I would say it's a fear. Chinese language barrier. The old generation will never ever adapt. The new generation influenced by their parents also become so awkward in some manners, I will remember one of the person in a party. It is very vital for you to look, the person who has a kind of a party performance, accept the award, and so on so forth. And she brought the daughter, who is 25 26 years old. I don't know how old that daughter since they move to Australia. But they both Hong Kong...

Interviewer: Hong Kong people.

HK 5: Yea migrants. The parents sitting there and the girl sit there in the western setting have lunch. When we have our lunch, the girl doesn't talk and from the dessert time, we have a cheese platter. The girl just hold the cheese platter in front of herself, not passing, which others keep passing. So the lack of mannerism by why? Parenting. I notice I feel embarrassed, because I'm part of you and you haven't taught your daughter how to behave in the general setting. Why? You're a business person. I don't want to name who.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 5: But it's stunning. Now implying to the Chinese culture people that I know, I don't have to go any further, 'cause I don't see them anywhere. And it's confirmed what I see, I believe they need to change. Fundamentally change. And they need to learn like me.

Interviewer: Do you think that they still have to keep their culture though?

HK 5: Yes, the culture is respect elders, concern about others, care for each other. But Hong Kong people are not care for each other anymore, unless you're very very close friend. It's not their culture. It's not our culture. You look after your own.

Interviewer: It's more egotistical and individualist?

HK 5: Individual. That's why the Hong Kong people are not all together, not like Vietnamese. Vietnamese are much much closer to each other. Family, friends, so that is our barrier, hurdles. How do you change the mindset? It's by giving them examples. If you really run a workshop, I'd like to be in, because I bring in all this hurdles which I experienced, and I learn I hear I see, which is not there. Am I the first one pointing out?

Interviewer: Yup, yes. For now yes. I've already interviewed a number of Hong Kong immigrants, but yea. You're the first one telling me about this and it's a very new perspective which is really interesting to explore.

HK 5: Yes. That's what I see the Asian children, they're intelligent with the book, with the words, but not intelligent engaging with people. That is very difficult for them to climb the ladder. Indian is very good with people. They're so good, they're sizing immediately who is important, what am I going to do the next. They actually have the plan. Quietly working all the way up. Most of the CEOs in the world are Indian. I think for the survey my friend sent it to me, Apple, Google, you name it, all these top IT firm many of them CEOs are Indians. But Indians are very clever. They're above us. Language is already one factor, whereas Hong Kong Chinese, I don't see any parents can speak fluent English. Not many. I might give you some sad stories about Hong Kong people.

Interviewer: Some sad stories?

HK 5: Yes yes yes. 'cause I came here earlier than many of them.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 5: So I joined the Malaysian Association, Hong Kong Business Association, Chinese Chamber of Commerce. So I know the the background of some of the Chinese how to establish themselves to be known. That is through that kind of association, keep doing some sort of event. It's inviting the West and the East altogether, but not like Hong Kong Cultural Association, just hire a small room in the suburb some sort of run down Chinese restaurant. No way. Malaysian hire a big proper Chinese restaurant, and a lot of Western go there, to join them for particular event, a festival. So it's a 50/50. Now I don't see Hong Kong people can do that. They still haven't stepped out of their belief is Hokka food, the Western don't gel with that. You need to have a comfortable venue, a decent presentation to attract the West. No way you can get, the Hong Kong people just stuck, five or six tables, you can't actually present yourself as what culture? I don't see the culture. As I say all along.

Interviewer: You think it's because of their presentation skills?

HK 5: Yes. Yes. Presentation skills, communication skills, not knowing enough of the West, they only know themselves, that's a disadvantage. And if they humbly to believe and not egotistic, to think I have money, I am intelligent enough, I think I'm good enough to be who I am. We live side by side with them, with the West. You cannot close your eyes ignore them. You give your, not you, but the old people they can stuck in the room and not knowing too much, that's enough. But the new generation how could they develop themselves comfortably. I give you a very good example, Hong Kong Wing Wah you know?

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 5: My husband is the supervisor of the Wing Wah boss. Their two sons, himself the boss of the Wing Wah, all graduate Doctoral in Canada. The father of the old Wing Wah asked the son go back to Hong Kong take over the business, so he did.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 5: When he was in Hong Kong, he also studied PhD with my husband. And he because he wants to learn more, and he's a learner, even finished the PhD, now he's learning church PhD, another PhD, so it's never stopped. But the son have engineer. In Canada you finished four years graduate, you need to have another degree to go for the PhD, or go for your professional career. So finish four years, and then another degree, and then come here for medical, because of my husband. If it's not because of him here, the son of Wing Wah boss will not come to South Australia. Now he's a very western young man. He went to bodybuilding to do the gym. The muscles, and tall, and literally it's westernised himself.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 5: And I see most of the Chinese men they're so small, they're like a little boy rather than a man. So that is also a disadvantage. The image, presentation, connections, communications. But that is also fundamental to help the young one develop themselves when they still have chance.

Interviewer: It's very interesting what you've just said, um about how Hong Kong people sometimes putting themselves in a disadvantaged position?

HK 5: But they don't even know. As I mentioned that, if you really have time, I doubt it until you finish this one, engage with one of the organisations, the Hong Kong Cultural Association, get them to get a study group. And get the people like me, in-between, to give them some really background learning for the oldies, not for the young ones. They don't know at all, and they refused to know.

Interviewer: I don't think they refuse to know. It's just they don't have the support?

HK 5: Some of them. Yea, just like me, when I early come here, there is no government support, so as here. It's not just giving them...Hong Kong Association give them a comfort entry but not penetrating into the root. That needs to well-established in time. But you need the foundation and the platform to help them. There is no platform to understand how.

Interviewer: Do you think there's one now?

HK 5: Where?

Interviewer: The Multicultural Committee Association in South Australia?

HK 5: No. They're not western enough in my own judgement. I might be wrong. But communicating with the others there is also a way. It's still stuck with their concept and the culture.

Interviewer: Maybe because they don't reach out?

HK 5: Yes.

Interviewer: And they don't know where to reach out as well?

HK 5: Yes. The newcomer needs to know what is in front of them. They actually didn't notice that. And good and the bad, they need to know both.

Interviewer: Right, that's a very good idea, worth exploring.

HK 5: Yes. You might be the pioneer to change. And it needs to be someone like you.

Interviewer: If that happens, I'll invite you to come along.

HK 5: Yes, I'm happy to do so 'cause I experienced it and I don't want the new generation to have the same experience like me. It's painful.

Interviewer: Obviously you see South Australia as a multicultural state. So do you it's a state that's multicultural superficially or is it really multicultural at heart?

HK 5: Superficially.

Interviewer: Ok, why's that?

HK 5: I see, well I don't see too many Afri, how do you use the word? When I see around in the general café, I only see White. Not Black. Really some of the Chinese, Asian face, but not many. Now the Black is not there, for some reason. Of course, Aboriginal I don't see them at all in public place. I feel sad for them; they always stuck in dark corner every night when I pass. And they say so loud, they argue whatsoever, and they drink, but they never come to Chinese restaurants, Indian restaurants, I don't think so. The multicultural in South Australia is a façade. The the reason why I can actually share with you, we bring our own behaviour, we bring our own belief, we think we will be accepted, but we did so different behaviour, different concept, different mindset. We also demonstrate within whoever we contact. And the local haven't learnt their lessons about others. Government let them come in, let us come in. It's almost like a forest finding our way to go out. The local people friendly but not close. Don't come too close, that's enough, even that I can still say it now, after 30 more years. That is the culture of Australia or South Australian. Easy come easy go. Don't go any deeper. The Australian has a young culture, hasn't got the history to support to think further. Yea, and that is one thing. It's the local do not accept it. So no matter what you say, multicultural yes, on the surface. But they all scatter around individually...

Interviewer: In different groups?

HK 5: In different groups. Now if without my husband, I don't think I would be invited to one of the Western local Australian home have a dinner. How scary?

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 5: Even I speak well, I have Western manner, I dress well, I present myself well, you are still different. I am still different in their eyes. How scary?

Interviewer: But do you see an improvement?

HK 5: No, no. In my age group, no. So therefore, I joined the association or joined the Rotary Club, I want to blend in, to believe I belong. But that is a fantasy. After you walk away from that group, you're not connections. Maybe that is particular group I engage, but I might have to find different types of groups, which is created by Australian. Maybe Lion Group, I haven't stayed long enough with them. Or maybe different in Sydney, Melbourne, they're more open, accept all kinds of people, inviting them to dinner at their home. That is a real test. If you're invited by Western, local Western Australian, to their home, without any other connections, with the local or the White, then you're successful.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 5: And you're accepted. But I haven't found one. If it's not because of my husband, I don't think I will be one to be accepted as who I am.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 5: And I don't want the Hong Kong next generation to be like me, 30 years down the track and still walking the same road.

Interviewer: But I think you're pretty successful. You're integrated and you feel well here in South Australia?

HK 5: I only feel well on the surface, not in the deeper level. I don't think they value Asian as much as they value the local as a White. In old generation. I don't mean your generation will be totally different. You earn the trust, you earn the connections, since when you were young in school. You know, they know. You know them, they know you. It's a different concept.

Interviewer: Yup. Last question. Without taking into account of the status of your citizenship, or permanent residency, do you consider yourself a Hong Konger, a South Australian, or do you have another identity?

HK 5: Both. Yes. I don't, it's interesting that how much I feel myself as Australian, or how much I feel I'm still Hong Kong person. American, maybe he is not, oh how to use the word? He's the introvert. It's different. Maybe other Americans will be different. But I know, from few people from all over the world, Italian is not born here, she doesn't feel she belong even she married to Australian. And she's young girl like you. She's not old. Interesting. She has an accent when she speak. Now I have my accent. I'm not pure Australian speaking with the tone, so colloquial, that way I might belong a bit more, but I couldn't. No, I don't feel I'm fully Australian. Even that, I don't think it is always there that I'm Australian or I'm Hong Kong person, I don't think about it.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 5: But definitely if I, if you come to the question like what you just asked, I don't think I'm pure Australian. I'm still a mixed.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 5: Until I feel I belong. It's interesting, without my husband, my life maybe more centralised with Asian, 'cause there is no, I haven't actually experienced through my husband's contact all his friends come to the party, will literally generously to invite me, except they're not Australian. So American, Syrian couple, and English and Sweden, these four people are from outside. They accept me who I am. But not Australian Australian. No. I can forget about it, and I don't want to try anymore.

Interviewer: This is interesting.

HK 5: Well I've been here so many years, and I have to emphasise it's my age group. They have a problem to accept.

Interviewer: Interesting.

HK 5: Have you thought about interview the local Australian?

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 5: Born in Australia with Australian parents, not English parents. Then you will find. You will be interesting yes, and also in the same time very meaningful.

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 5: What I see is if you really go for what your direction, you will help someone change their future for better.

Interviewer: Yea, I hope.

HK 5: That may be.

Interviewer: Thank you for saying this, and thank you for your support. This is really what I want to achieve. Yea my aim. And I just hope to let people here understand a little bit more about Hong Kong culture as well. To show them that Hong Kong people are of different profiles, different occupations, and everyone coming here they've got different motivations and reasons. Why they're here, why they want to establish themselves here. So yea it's, there's also another side, questioning about multiculturalism, which is also interesting.

HK 5: Thank you.

*Liam*: Interviewed on 1 June 2024. Interview duration: 51 minutes 42 seconds.

Interviewer: Alright, so I'll just start off with some demographic information from you first. So can you tell me your age group please?

HK 6: 18 to 26.

Interviewer: Ok. So gender, male. Ethnicity?

HK 6: Uh...

Interviewer: Your ethnicity, would you say you're Chinese...?

HK 6: Chinese, yea. A bit hard to define, but Chinese, yea.

Interviewer: Ok, sure. How about your family structure? Are you living by yourself? Are you living with a partner?

HK 6: I'm living with my girlfriend at the moment. And my family is still in Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Ok, sure. How about your industry sector?

HK 6: I am working as a like marketing position in a local non-profit organisation.

Interviewer : I see. Alright. So how long have you resided in South Australia?

HK 6: I have been in South Australia for more than four years right now, it's closing number five. Yea. And I came here I think mid-2019, and I straight come after I graduate from my high school, and came here for study.

Interviewer: Ok, cool. So I think you've just mentioned one of your main reasons for moving here to South Australia, which is for education. But do you have any other relevant reasons for coming here?

HK 6: Yea, I think, to elaborate a bit more, it's like the main reason is definitely study. In terms of study, I think I can have more opportunity compare to Hong Kong and I can study the things that I really want in Australia. And also, apart from study, I think the living environment and the whole living style is something that I'm interested in, would like to explore by that time. And, yea it's like so, from what I heard before I came here, it's like so different to Hong Kong and it sounds something I'm interested. And also like in the long-term point of view I think I have a better future and I can actually develop my life here, so I think that's the reasons.

Interviewer: I see, interesting ones. So how about the other reasons? Do you think Hong Kong political instability could account for one of your reasons as well?

HK 6: Definitely.

Interviewer: Would it be like your main reason or would it be like a secondary one?

HK 6: I don't think it's a main reason for my current stage of life. But like, I personally would like to think a bit further away and, when I think of like if I want to build my own family, have my own child, I think, by like the situation right now, I think like definitely gonna have a better and more clear future in South Australia rather than, well not South Australia, but in Australia, rather than in Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Right. Why not in South Australia?

HK 6: I just thought that I wanted to limit the opportunity of exploring other, 'cause I have travelled to Melbourne and Perth, and I personally really like Perth as well. I think it's a bit of mix of Melbourne and Adelaide. So, I feel like I like Adelaide but it's just sometimes Adelaide can be a bit boring so yea.

Interviewer: So you're just exploring around?

HK 6: Yea like, I think overall Australia is very, like in different state have different lifestyles, you can say. And yea definitely throughout the past few years I'm always interested to explore what kind of things Australia can offer, and so far it has been pretty good.

Interviewer: Nice. So you've mentioned all of these things, how about proximity of friends like, did you have any friends before coming to Australia?

HK 6: Yea. I do, I do. Before I come to Australia, I think if you use percentage, in Hong Kong I think I have 80% like Hong Kong local people, and for the rest 20% like from other countries of Asia, maybe like Taiwanese, Japanese. Really, really kind of like difficult to know Western world.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 6: Yea, but after coming here, it's like everything change, but I really enjoy it.

Interviewer: Ok, cool. So can you tell me a little bit about, what are some of your least important reasons out of this list, or you can even add in some of your own, when you considered coming here to South Australia?

HK 6: I guess, environment concerns. And this would be the less concern I have. I personally don't really, like hate of Hong Kong environment. I love like the crowded like sometimes as I say, sometimes I feel Adelaide is a bit boring, even though I personally like a bit slower lifestyle, but I still enjoy the fast-paced lifestyle of Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Yea, the dynamism.

HK 6: Yea, I like, you can meet a lot of people in a day, and that part is definitely something I enjoy, so I don't think environment is the biggest concern I have when moving here.

Interviewer: Right. What are some of your challenges, like general challenges, that you encountered, you know, after moving here in South Australia?

HK 6: Yea, I think separated to two stages, because I have came here for a few years right now. I would say like study-wise, most struggling is definitely language.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 6: In Hong Kong I think like in general, Hong Kong people they have like a ok English level, as I think most of the people is ok with normal communicating. But when you, like in terms of study, you need to have like group assignment, you need to actually work with people, even though outside of classroom, you will be like come out and have meetings. And those kind of things, for my first two years, it actually quite challenging to me. And the way I find it helpful for myself, it's like actually really know people of different nationality, especially like also include South Australians. And actually communicating with them and try to understand their way to communicate.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 6: Because I felt, recently I also have a chat with my colleagues like from my current workplace, and we find a lot of difference from the way we communicate as well. So yea language is definitely a part of it. And after graduate, I think cultures is also very different in a way. It's also part of like related to communications. When in Australia we usually say, how are you, how was your weekend, something like that, but in Hong Kong, I personally I never know anyone who actually do that. And, yea that's a bit of cultural difference. And that is something, I would not say challenge, but it's definitely like something like need to adapt and learn from them.

Interviewer: Right. Ok, very good. So apart from cultural difference and maybe some communication or let's say adjustment to English, how about some of the other factors like, have you encountered any racial discrimination that you found really affected you or anything like that in South Australia?

HK 6: I think, yes, I would say definitely yes. For me personally, I like sport and I play so many other sport, team sport, especially when I am in uni for my three years, I played soccer, and in the soccer team, most of the people is local Australians. Disclaimer, I'm not saying every Australian have a bit of bias on nationality, but I think part of it is still like, they have concerns over international students, as I don't think it's like they based on the nationality and have so-called racist, but like it's more like they don't feel you a part of them. And also a bit related to communication and also the cultural difference, is like they will find you a bit hard to fit into them.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 6: And sometimes that exclusive is also, I personally find it challenging and also especially like, of course most of the Australians I know is like they're very opened and like welcomed international students. But like part of them they will a bit keep it to themselves and sometimes like, probably 5% of the people I know, is they will so-called do racist actions.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 6: I think it's so hard to determine what is racist action, but like it's just the feeling, not feeling comfortable around them, so I think that's my experience.

Interviewer: Ok. So do you feel like sometimes it is a bit difficult to fit in with other South Australians?

HK 6: Yes, I would say yes. Even though I have come here for four years, closing to five, I think there're something is different, like, I feel like it's so hard to describe by word, but like even though, I currently am working, my full-time is working in basically 80% or 90% is Australians my company, they're super friendly, they're super welcome me to their team, but sometimes you'll feel hard to fit in, even though like daily conversation, even though they welcome, but like sometimes you'll find it like not feeling comfortable to get in that conversation. But yea, I think that, something I find challenging and currently still learning how to fit in.

Interviewer: Yea, still adapting to all these changes.

HK 6: Yes.

Interviewer: So can you tell me like have you adapted or are you still adapting? Have you adapted to this life in South Australia?

HK 6: I think yes. My lifestyle is definitely so much different compare to I in Hong Kong. In Hong Kong we are more likely spend time focussing on studies, work and, we rarely have time to like socials. And I actually do, even though like small things like going out, exercises, playing sport, even hang out with friends, I think those kind of things is still possible like, but I feel it's still limited in Hong Kong. And it's also not like what we taught by our parents in school that we should spend that time to do it. And it's so different to Australia, I came here and I think I slowly adapt to it. To now, I think it's completely changed.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 6: Yea but I really enjoy like, like the main difference that I find out is actually Australia is so like, you work nine-to-five, and after five, it's like literally cut off, like no more work, and that is something I really enjoy because you can really do, maybe so-called work-life balance, you can actually have personally plans after five, and then you can still have your own life after work. So yea, I think that's a big difference and I really enjoy it.

Interviewer: Yea, it's a big plus too.

HK 6: Yes, yes, definitely.

Interviewer: So can you tell me how have you adapted or how are you still adapting let's say, to the life here?

HK 6: Mm?

Interviewer: Is it really by social interactions or by I don't know like, participating in some communities like groups, or activities, or in some other festivals, multicultural ones or any ones, or are there any other ways?

HK 6: Yea. I yea it's also a bit like same thing with what I said before. Like it's a bit hard to describe, a way that I have that one can do the same thing and then they can fit in, I don't think it works that way. I think, because I'm not like an actual third person and I'm not, I don't go to pub and like make friends, but I think that I have the mentality that I really want to fit in to the community, I really want to, because I think I can, currently it's hard to determine everything in the future, but I think currently I have plan in Australia and I really want to fit in to the community, so I will learn their way of, even the communicating, working, their lifestyles, like everything being Australian, and, but at the same time I won't be like, try to be them, because I know fundamentally it's different. But I will also have that mindset of I need to learn and try to fit in, rather than excluding myself. If I, I personally feel like if you don't have the mentality of trying to fit in, then what's the point being here? Yea.

Interviewer: Very good point. And so you prefer basically integration rather than assimilation, is that right?

HK 6: Yup.

Interviewer: Cool. Ok, so what is cultural heritage to you? In your own words.

HK 6: I think it's like when time pass, the things that left, even though when time flies and things that left over, I think that kind of things is like, the things we so-called heritage. And, it's something of like how people in the future get to know about that culture. I think it's like hard to describe what is that, but like, because there are so many things in current, modern world, every second we have something new, and, but after 20 years, things that have left and when after 20 years, people have learnt about 2024, and the things that left off is, I think is culture I guess.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 6: Yea.

Interviewer: So it's really something that you inherit?

HK 6: Yea.

Interviewer: From past generations?

HK 6: Yea.

Interviewer: So how important is it to preserve or to maintain your Hong Kong cultural heritage while residing here in South Australia?

HK 6: You say how important right?

Interviewer: Yes, how important.

HK 6: I think it's still important, but it's so hard to put it on a scale and say how important is it. I think as, like as I say, I identify myself as a Hong Konger so-call, because as I say I think especially in terms of our generation, like we're called first generation immigrant to a new country, I think we still have like a strong Hong Kong foundation in us, and I think that's what make me feel like I, I don't want to say responsibility but I feel like it'll be great if we can like keep up some Hong Kong culture, Hong Kong styles of lifestyles. Like a Hong Kong community, I think it'll be something great, because it's, I feel like if I imagine after 20 years and no one trying to do that, I think this culture is gonna be not exist anymore. Because like, in fact that we are living in other country and I think like Hong Kong culture in terms of like, it definitely have it and people trying to keep them up, otherwise I think as I say, time pass things will just be left over by that time, and yea, it's just, yea.

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 6: Yea, I guess that's why it's important.

Interviewer: Ok, I'll ask you about whether you should pass on your heritage afterwards. So, what are some of the Hong Kong cultural heritage places or sites that you've noticed here in South Australia? So it doesn't have to be like 'obvious' places, it can simply be a room, let's say where Hong Kong people they use to gather; or say a church, a Hong Kong church, in which people like to be in on Sundays together, you know, listening to sermons and everything. So it can be anything.

HK 6: Yup.

Interviewer: But I need a place or a site.

HK 6: Yes. I think first thing come into my mind is Hong Kong restaurant in Australia. I think that is something that can really draw Hong Kong people living in Australia together, especially we have a very unique food culture in Hong Kong, and it's something that you'll never find in Australia. And when come of like Hong Kong style, I think to define it, I think Hong Kong and Chinese have slightly different styles of food. And I think, Hong Kong style restaurant is a place that like you can really draw attention of Hong Kong people in Australia. And what that is a place that they can actually be together. And yea, I think that's the first thing in my mind. And I think, second thing, rather than a site, I think is more like potentially is a club, a Hong Kong club in different uni. I think that is also a place that can really bring Hong Kong people together. But I personally observe that I think Hong Kong is so different to Australian. Australian is more like they like social lifestyles, and they like to like make new friends and they just so easy to be together, but Hong Kong people I observe over the past few years, we are pretty comfortable in our own group of friends, rather than we go out and make some new Hong Kong friends. I think that is a observation that I have and I think that makes it difficult to maintain the Hong Kong community in Australia.

Interviewer: Right, very interesting thought here. So can you tell me what are some of the physical Hong Kong restaurants, what are those places that you've mentioned? That Hong Kong people gather?

HK 6: I think, one example that I think of is Kowloon Restaurant in Chinatown. That is the place I first knew when I came here, it's also recommend by a Hong Kong friend that I have when I studying my first year here. I think it's because of that connexion you can really draw Hong Kong people into that community and you can really like make friends in Hong Kong people in those kind of environment, because I feel like it's a bit hard like if we don't have any place like that, I think Hong Kong community in Australia is so hard to be together in a way. If you ask me to think of any other site that can actually draw Hong Kong people, I would say is pretty hard. I think like restaurant is definitely the top of my list that can really bring people together.

Interviewer: That make sense.

HK 6: Yea.

Interviewer: So you've already talked about, you know, the food culture, let's say Hong Kong cuisine drawing people together into Hong Kong restaurants in South Australia, can you tell me how are they significant to the Hong Kong community in general?

HK 6: I think it's about the share memory that we have. I think I can only say this kind of things on behalf of myself. I think after I came here definitely I will miss the things in Hong Kong, even though I enjoy Australia, I will still miss the food, miss the people, miss the language, it's something that I find really want to maintain, I don't want to like just give up the language or give up the culture. And when you have that realise I think you will try to find a place, or somethings to like try to achieve those kind of things back. Even though not like fully achieve in Hong Kong, but like you can get a sense of it and I think this kind of restaurant or club or community that I say I think you can really find back that feeling or memory that you can have a sense of like you're still in Hong Kong and you still hanging out with Hong Kong friends. And you can actually speaking the language Cantonese that with the people around you, I think that is why this kind of places is so important.

Interviewer: Right. So what are the Hong Kong or Chinese intangible cultural heritage that you're still practising at the moment? So the intangible ones are those things that you cannot touch or you cannot see, so it can be the language, festivals, or some other cultures.

HK 6: I think as you said language and some like culture days we will still be doing at the moment. I think I personally don't see the culture days is very like, Chinese festivals is very important for me. Personally, I don't really celebrate them.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 6: Even though Chinese New Year you can, like I personally see a group of my Hong Kong friends they will still be celebrating and hang out on those kind of days, in terms of Chinese New Year and all other like Chinese Hong Kong culture days. But I personally find language is something that I really want to keep into me, I think it's something, even though I have kid in the future, I would still want them to know. I think that is something that I really want to pass on and don't want to be like just loss in the ability throughout time. I personally came here to say, almost five years, and when you surrounding with Australians and you speak in English every day, even my partner right now I speak English with her, it's you'll lost a lot of time actually speaking Cantonese, and that is something I personally trying to, like actually speak in Cantonese with my friends, trying to maintain that friendship to also keep that language continue because it's a very unfortunate fact that at the moment I can only speak Cantonese to a few of my friends and also my family, but other than that there's just no other opportunity that I can keep that language going. But it's something that I definitely want to, I will keep doing and I will try my best to pass it on.

Interviewer: Right. But why don't you think the Hong Kong festivals, like Lunar New Year or Dragon Boat Festival, why aren't they that important to you?

HK 6: I think it's a very, I think it's really personal, I don't, I don't think it's about Australia anymore, it's about my personal. I don't feel a huge connexion to those kind of festival.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 6: I am a person that really trying to study those kind of story background, and after I know brief background of those kind of story, I just don't really connected in a way. But in Hong Kong I still celebrate with my family, it's kind of like a tradition. But when coming to Australia, you don't have someone or like people that, like it's not a thing that you have to do anymore, it's more like optional, you choose to do that with your friends and hang out on those days, but especially in a Western world they don't have something similar, and it will make that festival sense kind of also become like less connected to the people in here. I think that's why I feel those kind of festival is not that connected to me in a way.

Interviewer: Ok. So can you tell me, yea, so how often do you speak in Cantonese?

HK 6: Um...

Interviewer: It's not a regular thing?

HK 6: Not really regular, but I would say still, I try to do that every day. I don't think it's possible to do it every day in terms of my current lifestyle, it is, as I say I work in a full Australian company which no one uses Cantonese. And I am close with my family but I'm, we will not be like, sometimes it's just too busy to connect with them, and I just not every day but I think at the moment, I still use it at least five days a week.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 6: Yea I think at the moment it's still something I want to do and keep doing in the future, but it's definitely sad to see, what if like 10 years later and I'm not using Cantonese at all, that is something will be pretty sad.

Interviewer So has preserving your Hong Kong cultural heritage supported you in adapting your life here in South Australia?

HK 6: It's very deep.

Interviewer: This question I know it's tough.

HK 6: Yea. I think it's very tricky, I think yes, but like it's so hard to put it in an explanation, because I know, I feel like it's a very personal thing, I don't think it's everyone. I know some people from Hong Kong they come to Australia can fully adapted to Australian environment, their lifestyles, but I personally, I feel like it's preventing but it's so hard to put it, I don't think in the bad way, is it something that I want to keep into myself, I think they are valuable, for me personally, and yea I think there's a balance of like, even though as I said I still try to fit in to Australia community, but at the same time I also want to keep the Hong Kong culture in myself.

Interviewer: Do you think it's going to be a hurdle for you?

HK 6: Yea it's just, it's so hard because you like it's not something you will be so calculated to be balanced, but it's a very fine line of you trying to fit in at the same time keeping your own culture. Because as I say I think it's very optional and depends on the person, I think my

personal observation is, the more younger you got, and they will be less connected to the Hong Kong culture. I think it's also related to the connection with the culture. And I think like I know different age group of Hong Kong people in Australia and you can clearly see the difference in them. Even though the personality of the choice of their lifestyle coming here, I think you can see the difference in a way. Um

Interviewer: Can you name some of the differences like between a 50-year-old person and a 20-year-old person coming here to South Australia?

HK 6: Yes I think for older people that I know, I don't think they think of like need to maintaining Hong Kong culture, but it's just in their lifestyle they have to do those kind of things, for example like Chinese-style of morning tea, it's something that old people have to do it every week. But, and also like they hang out with other Hong Kong people, Hong Kong friends in here, I think it's something just in their life. It's not something that they trying, give effort to maintain. But in terms of younger generation, I think they also kind of like exploring Australian culture in a way they don't think or they don't see Hong Kong culture is something that is really important that you need to keep it. And also I think that, for younger generation they more easy to adapt to new environment and I personally observation is you can really see the difference between older and younger, and yea.

Interviewer: This is very interesting. Have you done any of like yum cha or playing mahjong or like participated in Hong Kong related festivals or churches, like have you done any of those sort of activities?

HK 6: Yes, I do. I do yum cha and also mahjong quite often. It's actually quite interesting, it's something that I not been doing in Hong Kong, when I'm, because I came here when I was 18 years old, and when I'm in Hong Kong, yum cha is something I do with family, but is not something I enjoy or something that 'let's go yum cha today', I would never say something like that. And I didn't even know how to play mahjong before coming here.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 6: Yea. So, it's something, I feel like those kind of things is also a way to draw Hong Kong people together. It's something I know when like the first two years I came here, and I know a bunch of Hong Kong friends by that time, and it's something they taught me, and I, after I learn it, I feel oh that's very interesting and it's very, it's something that we can really represent ourself, it's something not in other countries as well. So yea personally I think this kind of things is also part of the culture, it's very valuable in a way, and it's something that if we lost them in the future, it's definitely a shame.

Interviewer: Yea. So, do you see transmitting your Hong Kong cultural heritage as fundamental?

HK 6: Yes, at the moment. I think it may change in the future. I think it's so hard to say I will keep maintaining it forever, but I think it's something that I'm trying to do. To be honest, I don't think it's easy to do in a way. It's also back to the points that I think Hong Kong people culture is more like keep it to themselves and also multiple small groups of friends, I think

that is a really really big part of challenge that I find in, especially I working in union community of Hong Kong people in Australia. That is something I find really challenging, and I think I personally want to maintain it, but it's also the hard fact that you need to acknowledge is hard. The longer you stay here, the more things that you learn from here, and it just the part of you of Hong Kong culture is gonna be reducing, even though you're trying so hard to maintain it. But yea it's something that I'm trying to keep it to myself, at the moment, but I also don't want to be fully promised that say after 30 years, 40 years I will still be doing yum cha mahjong every day, I don't think it's realistic to make those kind of promises.

Interviewer: Right, but do you think it's important to transmit, so to just let people know about your Hong Kong cultural heritage?

HK 6: I think it's also, I think yes, but it's challenging. In terms of, like if you stand in the point of Australian, they, unless they're very interested in international culture, otherwise I don't see any reason they would be, like trying to know and understand our culture. I think it's like in the Australian point of view, I don't see any reason they have to know about us, or they must know about us. In the Hong Kong point of view in Australia, I think we should, I think we should raise our awareness of the Hong Kong culture, the Hong Kong community in Australia. I think I don't think it's like a practice of ourself, I think we are quite different in a way. I don't think Hong Kong people have a strong image, in a way, to project to other commu-, Australia community. But I think it's something that we should do, but it's hard to do.

Interviewer: Yea. Do you see yourself in the future, transmitting your own cultural heritage to your children?

HK 6: Yes, as I say, language.

Interviewer: Is it important to you?

HK 6: I think it's important. I think, it's something that I would like to pass on. But as I say the challenging part would be, in terms of if you stand, if my child point of view, after they learn Cantonese, even though myself at my age I also find it difficult to apply Cantonese or speak in Cantonese with other people, by that time my child will be find it more challenging to using that language. The potential will have very less number of friends that can speak Cantonese, and it's just something I would like to do, but I don't think it's easy to do, unless we can really build a Hong Kong community in Australia. But for the situation right now, I don't think it's realistic of like asking my child to you must learn that, because I feel like it's not reasonable, I think it's something that I would like to pass it to them, but I don't see how they can use it in their life. Like...

Interviewer: Speak to you?

HK 6: Yea they can always speak to me and my family, but if we don't have like a strong community built by that time, I don't see that it's realistic for them to actually learn it. So yea that part will be very challenging.

Interviewer: Ok. I know you've talked about this already. But concretely, can you tell me a little bit about the difficulties that you feel in maintaining your Hong Kong cultural heritage here in South Australia? Is it not having enough support in maintaining it here in South Australia, or is it because the life here is too different, or are there any other reasons?

HK 6: I think I say similar before, but I personally, I think the main reason is about the culture. It's very different. As a Hong Konger I think we are pretty independent in a way, and we, as I say the, my observation is like they're really comfortable and happy to be in a small group of friends, rather than an actual community, I think that is top of my list. And I think second will be, I don't think it's lack of support, but it's, I don't see any like platform that can really draw people together. I know there're some organisations that are trying to do that, even though myself is trying to do that, but I think those kind of platforms at the moment is still not able to affect the whole community in Hong Kong. Not too sure is it about support. I think there are lots of different factors affecting the situation right now. I think the main reason is about, the first reason I said. The second is even though those kind of platforms is appear, but for them it's also so hard to maintain it, back to the first reason, it's so hard to draw people together. Because you can't really force people to be open up to others, so it's something really, you cannot be like practice to do it, you just need to be provided and wait for the people that interested to gather. I think that is very very challenging, when I trying to build that community. Yea.

Interviewer: So, what is multiculturalism to you?

HK 6: Personally, I think it's a community or a person trying to understand or learn other culture. Yup and that's my understanding.

Interviewer: So, do you mean let's say here in South Australia, so do you think that multiculturalism is only about learning different cultures, or is there more to that?

HK 6: I think the first step is learning, and after that accepting. I think accepting is more, is more an important part. In terms of like, for example like workplace, I very luckily my supervisor in my current job is a person that likes different culture, and I think he is the perfect example of learning and then accepting and really letting culture in themselves as well. In terms like of a bigger picture, I don't think it's something that in everyone at the moment, I think that it's something that's still slowly expanding in Australia. So that's my observation.

Interviewer: Ok. So, do you see South Australia as a multicultural state? You can talk about different facades too, if you wish to.

HK 6: I think it's really depends on what point of you you want to answer this question. I think as an international student, observation is yes, there're so many different cultures in South Australia, we have so many nationalities in the State, but in terms of Australian point of view, it's only my observation I can't really speak on them, but I think most of the Australian community I don't think they are, I think they're still in the step of learning, but I would not say the majority of them is accepting. I think especially South Australia is like slowly developing at the moment, and immigrant and also international student coming to

study I think is a thing that really recently, within 20 years, it's not something that, compare to like Sydney, it's not like we've been there for like 50, 60 years, it's not something that they get used to it. Because I talked to so many Australian friends about, regarding that, and for their parents probably, even though like daily style is so much different to now, when they go on the street they won't see many international students, potentially 30 years ago. And that's something we slowly expanding in a way, affecting the community so, yea. Yea as I said, I think they are still trying to acknowledge and learning that there are so many other culture in the state, but I think it's slowly moving into accepting, really I think part of the Australian community is definitely trying to accept it, but it's also, I won't say fully accepting at the moment.

Interviewer: Nice. So, without taking into account of your status of your citizenship or your permanent residency etc., do you consider yourself as Hong Konger, South Australian, or do you feel you've got any other identities?

HK 6: I think at the moment, Hong Konger. As I say in the previous, I think fundamentally is different compare to Australian, even though in the future I get the citizenship in terms of passport I definitely Australian, but I will identify myself as a Hong Konger. I think it's definitely I'm trying to fit in to the Australian community, but the more fit in to the community, you have more stronger sense of view that we are not the same, like you have to acknowledge that even how hard you try, unless you were born here. But I think it's just different, like even though you stay here for 10 years 20 years, yea it's just different. I won't say, even though I get my citizenship, I don't think I would say I am an Australian. Yea.

Interviewer: Ok. But do you think if you stay here, I don't know, like for a really long time, like let's say 20 years or 30 years, do you think you may start to feel a little bit of Australian? Like in the long term? Would that be a possibility?

HK 6: I think so, yea I think so because as I say when you live here longer the part of you as an Australian is a bit more, but in terms of now, no, I identify myself as a Hong Konger.

Interviewer: Ok, wonderful. Thank you very much. That's the end of my questions. But you've got any other comments you'd like to add, feel free to do so.

HK 6: Not at the moment. No.

Interviewer: You're alright? Thank you then.

*Sophia*: Interviewed on 4 June 2024. Interview duration: 49 minutes and 32 seconds.

Interviewer: Ok, alright, so thank you for being here. I'll just start off by asking you some really basic demographic information. So can I know your age group please?

HK 7: 36 to 44.

Interviewer: Ok. Gender female. Ethnicity?

HK 7: Female.

Interviewer: Yes. Can I know your ethnicity please?

HK 7: That means?

Interviewer: Do you consider yourself Chinese, or any other...?

HK 7: Chinese from Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Ok, Chinese from Hong Kong. What's your family structure? Are you living on your own? Do you have a partner? Are you living with your family? Do you have any kids?

HK 7: Yes, so I am married with a person from Taiwan, have a kid she's now 4 years old.

Interviewer: Yes. What's your industry sector please?

HK 7: Now it's Australia Post.

Interviewer: Ok, so may I know how long have you resided here in South Australia?

HK 7: I came here in 2002, so 22 years now.

Interviewer: Yup. Can I know what were your main reasons or motivations for moving here into South Australia?

HK 7: Firstly I failed my studies in Hong Kong. So for better education, my family decide to send me to Australia. I chose to stay in South Australia because it's more like remote from other main city at that time, because South Australia at that time is still considered as a regional area, yea. So instead of like big cities, Sydney or Melbourne, I prefer live in South Australia. But I didn't decide to go to Tasmania because it's too remote.

Interviewer: I see. Ok. So basically your main reasons would be education and probably maybe a better lifestyle?

HK 7: Yea.

Interviewer: May I know why do you consider here, South Australia, could provide a better lifestyle for you, compare to Hong Kong?

HK 7: It's much quieter.

Interviewer: Or other states? Much quieter ok.

HK 7: Yea. Much quieter but it's still easy like, it's still accessibility to everything or grocery stuff like that. Everything very close but not too busy at that time. Yea. It's not far away, you still can find like shopping mall and stuff like that, Asian grocery. You can still find Asian grocery, but it's not as busy as in Sydney or in Melbourne.

Interviewer: Right. Ok. May I know are there any other reasons for you to stay here in South Australia, apart from education or a better lifestyle?

HK 7: Like are you saying the time when I decided to stay? Like after I've been here and decide to stay?

Interviewer: Yes, that's right.

HK 7: I just so get used to it, and I don't think I can cope in Hong Kong, I'm too used to the lifestyle here, too slow, yea. It's like loading all the time.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 7: And Hong Kong is just very fast-paced and I really enjoy the slow pace here.

Interviewer: To take the time.

HK 7: Yup.

Interviewer: Ok cool. Can I know why are the other reasons, let's say political instability, environment concerns, opportunities in South Australia, not your main reasons or your main concerns?

HK 7: No not really, I just feel like easier to stay here, yea, I think.

Interviewer: Right, ok. What are the general challenges that you've encountered here in South Australia? So since arriving and being settled here in South Australia?

HK 7: Not really, I just so used to it. When I first came here, I was in language school, so I had a lot of friends from the same area, so from Hong Kong, yea, and we were always together and yea. Not really. After language school, then study, then graduate then got a job, and just continue, it's quite smooth yea.

Interviewer: Ok. But have you encountered any challenges, I don't know, like cultural difference at first. Did you feel like there was a cultural shock for you, let's say?

HK 7: No, no.

Interviewer: You've adapted pretty well like right away?

HK 7: Yea.

Interviewer: Ok. How about communication in English? Was it challenging for you at first?

HK 7: At first, yes. But then, I just feel like sometimes my English is not good enough to exercise my work, both verbally and in written, yea. But then but I still got a job, I still working. There was yea, but now, because now I work in Australia Post I don't really need to use English as much when I was in reception or at the counter, so yea.

Interviewer: Interesting. No worries, it's ok. You can feel free to express yourself, it's alright.

HK 7: It's not, just personally think that I got really strong accent, Hong Kong accent, and sometimes I mispronounce some words as well, so for people that, when I first came here, because is people from South Australia they don't really have so much opportunity to connect or see people from overseas. So at that time, at the beginning, when I first came here, they always have problem to understand my English. But then I feel like now it's more, people

understand me easier, I think not, my English is improving as well, but then at the same time I think they expose to more multicultural people, yea I can see a lot of immigrants compare to like 20 years ago, when I first came here.

Interviewer: Interesting. So there's like a change that you see?

HK 7: Yea.

Interviewer: The diversity of people?

HK 7: Yea I think they, they are, people from local and especially people old age, they find it so difficult to understand people from overseas, but now I think they're just used to. It's just like people from everywhere come here.

Interviewer: Yea, that's right. Have you encountered, do you feel like it was a little bit difficult to fit in with other South Australians when you first came here?

HK 7: Yes. I don't have any connections, I don't know how to get in touch with people from South Australia. So I always have with my friends, they're from Hong Kong or from Asia when we, yea, when we study together at that time.

Interviewer: Right. How about now?

HK 7: Same yea. I have friend from South Australia, but it's so different when you can still contact or I mean Facebook, we keep in touch in Facebook, but it's not like going out. Like hey come on, let's going out for tea or coffee. No, it's hard. It's not, but you can still do it with people from my own country but I don't think I can, I can't do it with people from South Australia, like local people.

Interviewer: Yes. How about racial discrimination? Have you encountered any of that and did it bother you?

HK 7: I always got comment when I was working at the desk. So I was in hospitality, I worked in a five-star hotel at the desk, at the reception. Because of my accent, or they always come to me and just attack me. And because they will write comments like the lady that couldn't speak English or the lady with a strong accent, something like that, and make a complaint. So obviously I was the only one there. So even though 'cause when you work in the reception, you always deal with a lot of complaints from and, which is I can see that it's nothing I can do about it. Normally that how I'm gonna explain to it, they're not happy about it because I think firstly I'm not English speaker as my first language, and I easily got attacked compare to my colleague. Yes. And same and I was at the desk, like it's a sales rental officer, a car rental, which is the same, deal with a lot of complaints. I was easily got attacked all the time. Yea, but nothing I can do about it, yea.

Interviewer: Right. It's probably because you were really exposed to, you know, angry people? Most of the time maybe?

HK 7: I think I can believe it is the same situation, if it's another person to deal with that um person, probably they don't get frustrated or angry as much as I dealing with them, yea.

Interviewer: Ok. You think because they believed or they saw as an Asian person speaking to them, rather than as local South Australian? Is it because of that?

HK 7: I think they see me as an Asian first, probably not, but once I start speaking, once I start speaking, they get on, yes, 'cause they know that even though you have an Asian looking, you may be born here. But once I start like saying or speaking with a very strong accent, and then they'll try to attack me at that time, because they know that they can take advantage of me not expressing myself very well, and they can just keep going and going and going, because I can't really like stop like this, or try to argue with them, it's really hard for me.

Interviewer: I understand. So have you adapted or adjusted to your life here?

HK 7: Yea.

Interviewer: Alright, how have you adapted yourself? Can you tell me was it because of your social interactions, social connexions with people which that help you in adapting yourself in South Australia? Or by joining different Hong Kong cultural festivals? Or other reasons?

HK 7: I think my life in South Australia, my life in Australia is so different, is can be divided in two parts: which is before I had my child, and after my child. So before I had my child, even though I got married, which is the same I always stay with um a Chinese, because it's really hard to find people from Hong Kong here anymore. When I was studying uni or Master, we always have a as a group we get along really well with people from Hong Kong, but then because it's so quiet here so boring so they all left. Not many people from Hong Kong stayed, choose to stay at that time, before that politics thing people try to get out, but then I always have a group of people from China and Taiwan, they're always here so before I had my daughter, we always gathered like connect with this group of people. Then after I had my daughter, so find a lot of activities from local community, and it's multicultural group, so not only people from Asia, or then you'll get to see a lot of locals with their kids and stuff, so then it's more like blended in even more. Before I had my daughter, I don't mind that I always stay in Chinese group. This is like I still survive in South Australia, I still able to, like if I need, I can still do my own thing. I don't have problem to call SA Water or .... to deal with my stuff it's still ok. But for social, I used to love to stay in my Asian group, or people from China, or Chinese. Yea.

Interviewer: Very well. So do you think by remaining in this close knitted group of people, of Asian or your friends let's say, did that help you basically to adapt yourself here in South Australia? Can you say that it helped you? Or do you have any other factors which made you feel like, ok South Australia is now my home?

HK 7: It is now my home, yea yea.

Interviewer: But how has it transitioned, like from being a newcomer here in South Australia, to now being really established here in South Australia?

HK 7: Because I think because it's so smooth after I graduate, like even though when I was studying, I was doing some casual or part-time jobs. So once I graduate, I got a full-time job

straight away, so there's no need for me to stop everything here, and went back to Hong Kong. So I just continue stay here because it's so stable, and I personally I'm the person that doesn't like change, so I just follow the flow, how do I say?

Interviewer: Yea, go with the flow?

HK 7: Yea go with the flow, and then now I'm yea.

Interviewer: And then now you're established and you feel comfortable here?

HK 7: Yea, yea.

Interviewer: Very nice. So what is cultural heritage to you?

HK 7: I'm Chinese, yea.

Interviewer: But what is that? What is cultural heritage? What does that mean to you cultural heritage?

HK 7: The look, definitely the look, and our language, festival, our cuisine food, and not really about the custom anymore, but yea I think the food, we always talk about the food. Yea, food and festival. I think it's the main thing about the the...

Interviewer: Cultural heritage?

HK 7: Yes.

Interviewer: Very nice. How important is it for you to preserve your own Hong Kong cultural heritage?

HK 7: Actually, I try to get rid of it myself.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 7: Some I don't think we should keep it. Like in Chinese New Year, we have to give out the red pockets, I say to all my friends, don't do it, just waste money don't do it. You give it to me, I give it to you, I just no need, I don't think it's necessary. Sometimes, you know it's just something to do with your face. 面子<sup>26</sup>. Yea you just have to do it. But I say to my friends, no don't do it, I got my kid. I see your kid and I'm not gonna give him red pocket so don't give my daughter red pocket, yea, something like that. I don't think it's necessary. There's another way we can celebrate Chinese New Year. It's important I know, but yea. But other thing like Dragon Festival? Dragon Boat Festival.

Interviewer: Dragon Boat Festival.

HK 7: And we make the 粽<sup>27</sup>

Interviewer: Dumplings?

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<sup>26</sup> Literally means face; it means one's reputation

<sup>27</sup> Rice dumpling

HK 7: Yea the rice dumplings. That is good, that's yummy, just very good. Yea.

Interviewer: So that's something that you'll do, you'll make?

HK 7: I will make but I'll eat from my friend. My friend just gave me two. It was yummy. This is a thing I wanna keep. I think it's mainly about food. Anything that talk about money I don't like it.

Interviewer: Right. That's an interesting thought.

HK 7: Yea, and also I will, like, last week we went to a café, Hong Kong café, a newly opened one, and I took my friends there from Taiwan with their kids and we were all together. And I said hey, like this is so Chinese, so Hong Kong, and I told them the food that about Hong Kong you know, French toast.

Interviewer: Oh yes. 西多士<sup>28</sup>

HK 7: Yea, 西多<sup>28</sup> ABOVE. 花生西多士<sup>29</sup>. They don't have it in Taiwan. So I was like, it's exchange yea.

Interviewer: This is a sort of a cultural exchange that you had with your friends?

HK 7: Yes. It's hard, like it's Hong Kong café 茶餐廳<sup>30</sup>, it's not Hong Kong restaurant, that's different. Hong Kong restaurant is more like the restaurant in Chinatown, like it's different. Hong Kong café is French toast, 沙嗲牛肉麵<sup>31</sup>, right it's different. Yea it's so Hong Kong. Like 焗豬扒飯<sup>32</sup>.

Interviewer: Where did you have that?

HK 7: Newly opened, the one they Hong Kong, 有一間香港麵包店, 好細間嘅, 隔離開左間香港茶餐廳<sup>33</sup>, opposite of, if you know the 順發 Asian grocery<sup>34</sup> on Day's Road, it's just...

Interviewer: Over there, ok. In that sector, I see what you mean.

HK 7: Like right at the corner, like right at the back corner.

Interviewer: Yea. Very nice. I think I'd like to try that too.

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<sup>28</sup> French toast

<sup>29</sup> French toast with peanut butter

<sup>30</sup> Hong Kong local cafés

<sup>31</sup> Beef satay noodles

<sup>32</sup> Baked pork chop rice

<sup>33</sup> There is a Hong Kong bakery, it's very small, next to it there is a Hong Kong local café

<sup>34</sup> Thuan Phat Supermarket on 113 Days Road, Croydon Park

HK 7: Yea, I can say to my husband because my husband went back Hong Kong a few times with me together. Every time we were in Hong Kong, he was like let's go to have French toast.

Interviewer: Yea, so yummy.

HK 7: Yea.

Interviewer: And of course if we can enjoy French toast here, then of course it's a go-to.

HK 7: It's so different the French toast here. 仲有靚湯啊<sup>35</sup>.

Interviewer: Really? Oh yum.

HK 7: 仲有靚湯佢話節瓜魷魚乾，係節瓜魷魚唔知咩湯，唔忘得咗。係佢過啲，佢叫靚湯，係例湯，你可以加 4 蚊有多碗湯咁樣囉<sup>36</sup>.

Interviewer: 係咪 Mount Lion 啊<sup>37</sup> ?

HK 7: 啊好似係呀<sup>38</sup>。

Interviewer: Mount Lion Café.

HK 7: 係呀係呀係呀，有個獅子呀，係呀<sup>39</sup>。

Interviewer: I know this one.

HK 7: 你有冇去過呀<sup>40</sup> ?

Interviewer: 有<sup>41</sup>.

HK 7: 鍾唔鍾意呀<sup>42</sup> ?

Interviewer: 但我冇去食佢哋西多士<sup>43</sup>。

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<sup>35</sup> There is even delicious soup

<sup>36</sup> There is even delicious soup called zucchini and dried squid soup, it's zucchini and dried squid and something, I've forgotten. It's what they called delicious soup, it's actually daily soup offered in local Hong Kong cafés or restaurants. You can add four dollars for an additional bowl of soup.

<sup>37</sup> Is it Mount Lion?

<sup>38</sup> Yes, it sounds like it.

<sup>39</sup> Yes yes yes, there's a lion, yes.

<sup>40</sup> Have you been there before?

<sup>41</sup> Yes

<sup>42</sup> Do you like it?

<sup>43</sup> But I haven't tried their French toasts.

HK 7: 啊，你要食呀<sup>44</sup>.

Interviewer: 佢有過嗰魔鬼雞翼<sup>45</sup>。

HK 7: 好唔好食呀？過啲係香港野來嘅咩？<sup>46</sup>

Interviewer: 呢排香港人好鍾意食辣嘢。呢十年係咁。<sup>47</sup>

HK 7: 哦，我鍾意食辣嘢，我好鍾意食過啲麻辣湯。過陣時未有麻辣湯係呢度<sup>48</sup>。

Interviewer: 哦係<sup>49</sup>。

HK 7: 好鍾意食過陣時，因為我同中國人一齊住，係佢介紹我麻辣湯，嘩，好食到不得了啊。跟住越來越多，好開心。<sup>50</sup>

Interviewer: Yea, that's really cool.

HK 7: Yea. Try it's really good. 但係 the peanut butter 係粒粒來嘅，唔係 smooth peanut butter.<sup>51</sup>

Interviewer: Oh.

HK 7: 應該係 smooth 嘅。係粒粒來嘅，佢有花生粒係入。<sup>52</sup> But it tastes exactly the same. Yea. It's just the texture is different. Mm.

Interviewer: Ok, cool. I'll try it. I'll go for the toast next time. Yea, I'll go for the French toast.

HK 7: 唔好點鴛鴦<sup>53</sup>

Interviewer: 過個唔得啊？<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Oh, you have to try.

<sup>45</sup> They've got a dish called devil's chicken wings (spicy chicken wings).

<sup>46</sup> Do they taste good? They're dishes from Hong Kong (doubtful tone)?

<sup>47</sup> Hong Kong people like having spicy dishes these days. It's been like this over the past ten years or so.

<sup>48</sup> Oh, I love having spicy food. I love having those Sichuan pepper spicy soup. There wasn't any Sichuan pepper spicy soup here before.

<sup>49</sup> Right

<sup>50</sup> I loved having it before, because I was living with mainland Chinese people, and they introduced me Sichuan pepper spicy soup. Wow, it was so delicious. Then, there are more and more places serving Sichuan pepper spicy soup, I'm really glad about this.

<sup>51</sup> But it's chunky peanut butter, not the smooth peanut butter

<sup>52</sup> It should be smooth. It's chunky peanut butter, there're peanut pieces in it.

<sup>53</sup> Don't order 'yin yang' (a popular Hong Kong drink which combines black milk tea with black coffee)

<sup>54</sup> Oh, it isn't good?

HK 7: 我 friend 點鴛鴦，啲咖啡唔係好濃，似奶茶多啲。<sup>55</sup> 跟住我另外個 friend order lemon tea，因為台灣人飲檸檬茶，同我哋香港人好澀嘍，係好澀嘍，係要澀先好飲嘍。<sup>56</sup> 跟住我個 friend 落左兩包糖，真係好澀啊。佢話好苦囉。<sup>57</sup>

Interviewer: Yes. So apart from enjoying the food, that you know, so you're obviously preserving this cultural side, this Hong Kong side, in yourself, in your life, what else? Would you speak in Cantonese to anyone here? Do you do that often?

HK 7: Not really, mainly Mandarin.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 7: Yea, because I've got lots of friends from China and Taiwan, and not Hong Kong. Yea and so I instead of speaking Cantonese, usually I speak is easier to speak in Mandarin.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 7: But if I see people from Hong Kong, I will speak Cantonese.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 7: But because you speak to me in English, so I speak to you in English.

Interviewer: We can then speak in Cantonese together afterwards.

HK 7: Or we have people from Vietnam, they can speak Cantonese.

Interviewer: Oh really?

HK 7: Yea, so then we we, I usually will speak to them in Cantonese as well.

Interviewer: They really speak in Cantonese?

HK 7: Yea, some of them, 華橋<sup>58</sup>, they're Vietnamese-Chinese. But they are, yea, even, I'll try I always use Cantonese when I in, like Hong Kong Café if I know, or Asian grocery, I know they can speak Cantonese then I, instead of speaking in English, I will just opt to Cantonese, yea.

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 7: Or when I order bubble tea, I'll say in Cantonese yea. I love Coco, but not Gong Cha.

Interviewer: Ok.

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<sup>55</sup> My friend ordered 'yin yang', the coffee isn't strong enough, so it tasted more like milk tea.

<sup>56</sup> Then another friend ordered lemon tea. Taiwanese and Hong Kong people drinking lemon tea, they like it to be very bitter. It has to be bitter for it to taste good.

<sup>57</sup> Then my friend added two packets of sugar in it, it was very bitter. She said it was very bitter.

<sup>58</sup> Overseas Chinese

HK 7: Xi Fu Tang<sup>59</sup>, that's so nice.

Interviewer: Which one?

HK 7: 幸福堂<sup>59</sup>

Interviewer: Right.

HK 7: Yea, they got the ice-cream too. Last time I bought, like we went there, with the kids, like all other families together, and my goodness so good.

Interviewer: It's amazing I know. 幸福堂<sup>59</sup> is really nice.

HK 7: Yea, I tried it once before in Hong Kong, it was good yea.

Interviewer: Have you noticed any Hong Kong cultural heritage sites or places here in South Australia?

HK 7: Oh, Chinatown.

Interviewer: Yea, Chinatown. But are there like any places that you feel like, well it doesn't have to be like grand, it can be just a small place, just like let's say a room in which Hong Kong people they gather, that you feel like it's significant to Hong Kong people?

HK 7: Yum cha.

Interviewer: Yum cha places? Like restaurants?

HK 7: Yes.

Interviewer: Ok. What are the names of those places that you feel like, ok it's really Hong Kong-style?

HK 7: Eastern Garden 帝苑<sup>60</sup> or Citi Zen 一品軒<sup>61</sup>. I don't know where they move now, but yea. These two definitely. And then the other places is more like people from China have their 飲茶<sup>62</sup> over there. But I find 帝苑<sup>60</sup> and Citi Zen, and what else? Hong Kong... Sometimes I do find some like temple thing, but it's more like cross with Vietnamese.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 7: Yes, 'cause Vietnamese when Vietnamese actually got very similar culture like Hong Kong and China, they, you cannot really separate them when it comes to festival and stuff. So

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<sup>59</sup> A bubble tea shop at Rundle Mall

<sup>60</sup> Eastern Garden at 15/185 The Parade, Norwood

<sup>61</sup> Citi Zen at 401 King William Street, Adelaide

<sup>62</sup> Yumcha: literally means drink tea

in Chinese New Year, they do, they still do like fire crackers stuff like that yea. So when you go to the Vietnamese temple, it's more like 去咗黃大仙咁樣, 係燒香嘍嘛<sup>63</sup>, still 燒香<sup>64</sup>, yea.

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 7: Yea, and then 又可以求籤 yea. 有人解籤又求.<sup>65</sup> They write in, instead of write in um simplified Chinese, they will use...

Interviewer: Traditional Chinese?

HK 7: Yes.

Interviewer: Really? Like which temple have you noticed that?

HK 7: Many temples in Regency.

Interviewer: Oh really?

HK 7: Yes, a lot of temples over there. I don't know which one I went, but last time my husband took me over there, yea yea. And it's Chinese, yea. 真係寫中文嘍 係繁體字嘍嘍.<sup>66</sup>

Interviewer: Really interesting right?

HK 7: Yea.

Interviewer: It could be something to dig into.

HK 7: I think it's normal. 'cause if they're 越南華僑嘅話其實都係講廣東話<sup>67</sup>.

Interviewer: Yea, but traditional Chinese writing.

HK 7: Yes, yes. I tell you, this is the one, I really need to tell you this one. When you say traditional, 我哋香港睇中醫<sup>68</sup>, so I went to Hong Kong to see a Chinese doctor, so they have a prescription that write in Chinese, write in Chinese traditional Chinese, with 一兩二兩三兩, 嗰啲幾多錢 幾多錢<sup>69</sup> you know. Hanson Road there's a Vietnamese doctor she can read traditional Chinese, she can understand the measurement of that old Asian...

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 7: Yea, I tried to get my prescription here, the Chinese medicine here from Chinatown, they can't do it. Firstly they cannot read traditional Chinese, secondly they don't understand,

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<sup>63</sup> It's as if you're in Wong Tai Sin (a district located in Kowloon, Hong Kong), we burn incense there

<sup>64</sup> Burn incense

<sup>65</sup> You can draw a fortune stick. Someone draws a fortune stick and interpret the meaning of it.

<sup>66</sup> It's really Chinese writing. It's traditional Chinese writing.

<sup>67</sup> Overseas Chinese from Vietnam actually speak in Cantonese.

<sup>68</sup> We go to see traditional Chinese medicine doctors in Hong Kong.

<sup>69</sup> Traditional Chinese way of counting

一錢兩錢<sup>69</sup> it's all use gram, this is the main problem at that time. Because I say I just got to Chinatown and I realise I can't do it, I couldn't do it, because they didn't understand.

Interviewer: It's a Vietnamese doctor who can do this?

HK 7: Yes.

Interviewer: Interesting.

HK 7: 南北行<sup>70</sup>，但係真係越南人嚟㗎，講越南話㗎<sup>71</sup>。But I think it's a mix, maybe she is like really, got the Chinese background yea.

Interviewer: Yea, maybe.

HK 7: The shop, her shop is called 南北行<sup>70</sup>，喺 Hanson Road<sup>72</sup>。

Interviewer: Right, 我好似見過<sup>73</sup>。

HK 7: 因為我住嗰度㗎嘛。我唔知點解我走咗去 Chinatown. 南北行隔離嗰度個 Asian grocery, 個媽媽係福建。福建定潮州呀？又係識講廣東話㗎。又係越南人嚟㗎。都係講潮州話㗎<sup>74</sup>。

Interviewer: 姐係又講潮州話，又識講廣東話<sup>75</sup>？

HK 7: 係呀係呀，同埋佢哋係越南<sup>76</sup>。

Interviewer : It's really interesting. I didn't know that we've got a, I know that we share the culture, the kind of culture with Vietnamese people, but I didn't know that it was that close.

HK 7: Yea, because of their background. 'cause I think long long time ago, lots of Chinese people moved to Vietnam.

Interviewer: Interesting. Thank you for letting me know.

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<sup>70</sup> Nam Bac Duong Chinese Herbal Medicine and Acupuncture Centre on 5/66-72 Hanson Road, Woodville Gardens.

<sup>71</sup> But she's really a Vietnamese, and she speaks in Cantonese.

<sup>72</sup> It's on Hanson Road.

<sup>73</sup> I think I've seen it.

<sup>74</sup> Because I live there. I don't know why I went to Chinatown. Next to Nam Bac Duong Chinese Herbal Medicine there's an Asian grocery, and the mother is from Fujian (a Chinese province). Fujian or Chiuchow (another Chinese province)? She also speaks in Cantonese. She's a Vietnamese and she speaks in Cantonese.

<sup>75</sup> So she speaks in both the chiuchow dialect and Cantonese?

<sup>76</sup> Yes yes, and they're from Vietnam.

HK 7: I think that's another way I feel it's so easy to settle because I'm just surrounded by very similar culture. Even though it's not like Hong Kong Hong Kong.

Interviewer: But we still feel the similarity?

HK 7: If you really want to feel Hong Kong, you go to Norwood la.

Interviewer: Norwood? Ok, why's that?

HK 7: Yea, Norwood. There's a lot of Chinese, or people from Hong Kong they stay there.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 7: Yea, that's why it's easy for me, yea.

Interviewer: What are like some of the Hong Kong intangible cultural heritage that you're practising? So I know you're still practising festivals, Hong Kong festivals, sometimes you speak in Cantonese as well, but apart from the let's say Chinese New Year, Lunar New Year or the Dragon Boat Festival, do you still celebrate some other Hong Kong related festivals?

HK 7: Yea, the Moon Festival.

Interviewer: Mid-Autumn?

HK 7: Mid-Autumn Festival. Yea mooncake. Maybe it's all about food. Yea that's another one that I, but unfortunately we cannot do the candles anymore, not even in Hong Kong. Yea, 細個成日煲蠟。咁你以前會知㗎嘛，有煲蠟，係啦，哩度冇嘅。<sup>77</sup>

Interviewer : Yup.

HK 7 : 不過而家香港都唔可以嘅。Mooncake 囉係呀。咁你去 Asian grocery 嗰啲哩度可以買到嘅。冇咁好食啦，係呀<sup>78</sup>。

Interviewer: Right. We can't find everything here unfortunately.

HK 7: Similar.

Interviewer: So do you cook Chinese food?

HK 7: I can't cook. I can, but just not very good. Usually my husband do, usually my husband does all the cooking.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 7: But if it's simple thing, I can still do it.

Interviewer: Ok.

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<sup>77</sup> When I was little I always boiled wax. So you know in the past, there was wax boiling. There's no wax boiling here.

<sup>78</sup> But you can't do this in Hong Kong anymore. And there's mooncake, yes. You can buy mooncake at Asian grocery stores here, but they taste less good, yes.

HK 7: 可以煲湯嘅<sup>79</sup>.

Interviewer: Right, right. That's nice.

HK 7: Yea.

Interviewer: So why do you think your cultural heritage is important to you? Why is it important to you? Like why do you think that you have to preserve, let's say, continue celebrating Hong Kong related festivals? Continue talking in Cantonese when you see people from Hong Kong or from Guangdong Province?

HK 7: I think it's easier. It's easier right?

Interviewer: Ok, it's just for this?

HK 7: When I see Hong Kong I speak in Cantonese I think it's much easier right? Like you can express yourself more accurately. But the festival I think is, is fun, and it's good to share. Yea.

Interviewer: Who do you share it with then? The festivals?

HK 7: I share it with our own group of people. But if I go out, like we go out a lot with community groups, then they share to uh, some like the community I usually go they also celebrate like festival of around the world. So if it's like close to Chinese New Year, they'll try to do something about Chinese New Year, like maybe make dumplings, 'cause people from China they do dumplings in Chinese New Year. So then at that time, you'll share your festival to other people. Sometime, maybe not us, like me or my friend try to hold this event, but it's actually from other people, people from other country, they, for the community things, then they have this events then. We belong to this group so we attend that and then we talk about.

Interviewer: It's a unity thing?

HK 7: Yes.

Interviewer: To enhance let's say cultural unity?

HK 7: Yea, 'cause even though they're doing something related to Hong Kong thing, you know that you can turn, you'll find time to see and say, yea very interesting that's from Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Ok. So do you share any Hong Kong cultural heritage with your daughter?

HK 7: Yes, I think, yes. Mooncake festival, Mid-Autumn Festival, so like, Chinese New Year we still give her some red pockets just within our own family, and tell her like, because it's Chinese New Year, so give you this red pocket. Yea just for the good luck and stuff. Dragon Boat, not yet, but she actually knows about it from her childcare, and I think now is kindy, yea.

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<sup>79</sup> I can make Chinese soup.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 7: I'm pretty sure they're gonna celebrate or talk about this.

Interviewer: Interesting. And do you speak Cantonese with her?

HK 7: I do, but I just automatically change to Mandarin all the time.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 7: 'cause yea. But she can understand both. Like even I speak to her in Cantonese, she can understand.

Interviewer: Do you think it is important for her to know Cantonese?

HK 7: I think the more language it's better for her. So it doesn't matter if it's Cantonese or...

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 7: 'cause Cantonese and Mandarin they're very similar. So if you can't speak Cantonese, if you say in Mandarin, people will who couldn't, who can't understand Cantonese can pick up easily. Yea.

Interviewer: Very nice. How about do you go to any Hong Kong related festivals or events here in South Australia? Have you been to like, I don't know, Hong Kong festival here? Or an event?

HK 7: There was one before I heard. My friend ask me to go but I was overseas so...

Interviewer: Was that the Hong Kong Friends Festival?

HK 7: Yea, but I was away for six weeks so. But that not much actually I can say, not much, festival or event that held by people from Hong Kong. It can be I, maybe because I not in their connexions that's why I didn't know, I don't know, or maybe just not many.

Interviewer: Yea. You're not too aware of that?

HK 7: Yea, yea. And sometimes they combine, like from China together, yea.

Interviewer: Do you see like transmitting your cultural heritage from Hong Kong as fundamental? As important. Do you think it's important to transmit your own Hong Kong cultural heritage to other people here in South Australia?

HK 7: Transmit?

Interviewer: Transmit 係傳. 你覺得應唔應該去傳你嘅文化遺產俾其他人? 姐係可以係任何嘅南澳人啦, 一啲唔識香港或者係中國傳統嘅人<sup>80</sup>?

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<sup>80</sup> Do you think you should transmit your cultural heritage to others? So transmitting to other South Australians who don't know anything about Hong Kong or Chinese cultures?

HK 7 : I usually don't proactively promote but if it's in the conversation or they ask, I'll let them know, and I'll tell them. But I'm not the one that proactively promote Hong Kong, Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 'cause it's so blended in here. 'cause I've been here for so long, it's more like instead of saying I'm from, I'm Hong Kong people. Like when people ask me like where I am, I would say I'm Chinese from Hong Kong. But then, to me myself, I feel like it's more blended in Asian group, or if you're more specific, it's more like Chinese and Taiwan together, yea so, I don't really try to emphasise particular Hong Kong culture in here.

Interviewer: Right. But do you think it is important for people here to be aware of the Hong Kong culture?

HK 7: I think it's very hard for them to understand as well, 'cause they'll confuse like Taiwan, Hong Kong and China, like we're all Chinese. They'll consider we're all Chinese and the most questions that I asked from a person that firstly know me as a Hong Konger, said 'Oh, Hong Kong is China, what do you think?' or, 'What do you think like, 香港而家變成點樣呀<sup>81</sup> ? Do you think it's good? Good thing or bad thing?' All the time, I was like 'Sorry I haven't been there for a long time. Like I've moved here for a long time and I'm not a political person' so yea I can say obvious see things is changing, yea but yea.

Interviewer: What do you see changing?

HK 7: It's, all I can say it's different from what I was in Hong Kong. It's different from what I was studying when I was in Hong Kong, 'cause yea, it's not the same anymore. It's not the what I study when I was in Hong Kong, like you got the freedom and stuff like that. And now I know they're changing texts in the book so it's no longer available. It's no longer exist in Hong Kong. And the main reason is because I move here already, I know that I'll no longer go back Hong Kong in the future. If I do go oversea, I may choose to go to Taiwan to retire, but definitely not to Hong Kong, so I'm more like just, yea.

Interviewer: Yea, ok.

HK 7: 'cause it's too dramatic right now.

Interviewer: Right. So have you encountered any difficulties in maintaining your Hong Kong cultural heritage here?

HK 7: No.

Interviewer: You feel like you can maintain it as you wish?

HK 7: Yes, it's not hard. It's not like a religion or anything, it's just culture, so and I can see more people from Hong Kong decide to come here in South Australia, they will be make it more, make it easier than old time.

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<sup>81</sup> How is Hong Kong now?

Interviewer: Yea, to maintain it. That's true. What is multiculturalism to you? What does that mean to you, multiculturalism?

HK 7: People from over the world with different cultures, so it's not only like people from South Australia. I actually do see a lot of people even though they are Western, they're actually not South Australian. They could be English, they could be American, or European, and also people Asia, from Asia, not only Chinese, can be Cambodian, Nepal, these are my colleagues. I was amazed, like 'wow, Nepal'. Cambodian and Vietnamese like, they're multicultural yea.

Interviewer: Yea. Do you see South Australia as a multicultural state?

HK 7: Absolutely.

Interviewer: Absolutely?

HK 7: Absolutely. So many. Yea.

Interviewer: But why, like why do you see it as a multicultural state? Is it because of the people, because basically it has people from all over the world living here?

HK 7: Yes.

Interviewer: Or is there any other reasons that you feel like it is multicultural?

HK 7: You can see the suburbs in South Australia, or in Australia. You know that in suburb mainly is Italian the suburb, Chinese the suburb, Vietnamese the suburb, Indian the suburb, 阿富汗<sup>82</sup>.

Interviewer: Afghanistan.

HK 7: Yes, Afghanistan. You know that, so it's multicultural.

Interviewer: Ok. But do you feel like it is multicultural only on the face of it? On the surface of it?

HK 7: There're restaurants over the street in Regency, there're Vietnamese, you can see all the pho on the street. And then if you go to Italian suburb, you can see all the pasta on the street. And if you go to 阿富汗<sup>82</sup>.

Interviewer: Afghanistan.

HK 7: Afghanistan, sorry I can't pronounce it, because all the kebab?

Interviewer: Yea kebabs.

HK 7: Yea kebabs

Interviewer: All over the place?

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<sup>82</sup> Afghanistan

HK 7: Yea over there, and you can get lemon very cheap over there, compare to other suburb.

Interviewer: But apart from having all these communities, like from what I've just heard from you, they're pretty, there're districts, they're defined right? So we can say this is the Chinese district, this is the Italian district, this is the Afghanistan district etc. But do you feel like they're all separate groups, do they mingle together? Is there any, do you think they all blend in together?

HK 7: Not really, they're obviously separate, because of the culture, the way, and also because of food, you know, it's very hard. You cannot have curry every day, but people from India they can have curry every day. So you find Indian restaurants over there, whole street yea, and then Vietnamese you ask them to eat pasta all the time, no they have pho. So that's why it's so separate and then their grocery their cuisine is so different. So they tend to, tend to like have a group so they set up their own community there, their own network there. So to make thing easier for them for shopping, for, to maintain their language as well. They share their culture, no not share, they still within the group even though it's multicultural country here. It's very hard for us to blend in. Majority people, majority people I think they still stick in their own group.

Interviewer: Right. How about South Australians? How do you see them? Do they like to mingle with other groups of people?

HK 7: They're very friendly. You mean people from South Australia?

Interviewer: Yea. People from South Australia do they like to mingle with other people from the rest of the world? Let's say Americans, French, Chinese...

HK 7: Aussie people right? Yea they will, I think they very interested with people from other countries, they interested, they love to learn more about other people culture and something like that. They got exposed. I think they, and they accept and they will find out more if they're interested and. I do have another lady I went to a workshop, she is, I don't know her background, but to me she is Australian. And she is so into African culture. And she actually went to workshop with African network. And she also teach African dance and she especially went to Africa to learn, and now she is a performer to teach African dance. So you do find a lot of people that from here, they appreciate, they find it interesting, they love to know more other people from other culture.

Interviewer: Very interesting. I like your example.

HK 7: From other country to know more their culture.

Interviewer: Yea, ok. Without taking into account of your like citizenship or permanent residency, do you consider yourself as a Hong Konger, as a South Australian, or do you have any other identity?

HK 7: To me, my soul, I always believe I am Chinese from Hong Kong. But then in documentation, yes, that will be South Australian, like Australian.

Interviewer: But do you feel in your heart, do you feel like you are South Australian, like at least a little bit?

HK 7: No.

Interviewer: No, not at all?

HK 7: I always think I am Chinese from Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 7: Maybe my daughter will think she's South Australian, but for me I always think I am Chinese yea.

Interviewer: Do you think it can change?

HK 7: Nah, no. I'm really Chinese, Chinese.

Interviewer: You're Chinese at heart, and you stay Chinese?

HK 7: Yea.

Interviewer: So that's it for me, I don't know whether you have any comments you'd like to add here in the discussion?

HK 7: No.

Interviewer: No, you're alright? Ok. So thank you very much for your time, and I'll just stop the recording now, yea.

HK 7: Thank you.

Interviewer: Thank you so much.

*Henry*: Interviewed on 14 June 2024. Interview duration: 53 minutes and 26 seconds.

Interviewer: So I'll just ask you for some demographic information first. Can you please tell me your age group please?

HK 8: Alright, all in English, right?

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 8: So sure. Ok, 45 to 53.

Interviewer: Ok. You're male. Ethnicity?

HK 8: Ok, Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Hong Kong.

HK 8: I would not say Chinese, I would say Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Ok, thanks for the precision. How about your family structure?

HK 8: What do you mean?

Interviewer: Are you living alone? Are you living with a partner, with children?

HK 8: Yea, living with my wife and my dog, who migrated from Hong Kong together five years ago. No, nearly five years ago.

Interviewer: Very nice. What's its name?

HK 8: Oh, Lego.

Interviewer: Ok. What's your industry sector please?

HK 8: Social work.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 8: Or disability now, ok? Social work or disability.

Interviewer: Right, alright, ok. So how long have you resided here in South Australia?

HK 8: Five years. Yea. Since June 2019.

Interviewer: Ok, so exactly five years ago.

HK 8: Yes.

Interviewer: Can I know what were your main reasons or motivations for moving here to South Australia?

HK 8: Ok alright, so there are two or three in simple. I think the push factors are political, so and I can tell, you may be aware that Hong Kong has been changing dramatically, I mean from a self-autonomous city to a city where a two system has been I would say lost, and the basic freedoms democracy and rule of law has been seriously eroded. Not only I mean this year or last year, but I think it has been ongoing. In simple, political reason has been our main reasons. Of course there are also, these are the push factors, the pull factors is that I think we love Australia, I mean the lifestyles, good quality of living and good, well I would say, maybe less hectic, less stressful in work or living, and also I think it is a good time for my wife to live in a less stressful environment, and because of her health reasons. Yea.

Interviewer: I see.

HK 8: In short she is a cancer survivor. And of course she's now recovered, so and I think she doesn't want to work or live in a very stressful environment. Yes.

Interviewer: Yup. So are there any other reasons, or are there reasons from this list that it doesn't relate to you, or it isn't relevant to your motivations in coming here?

HK 8: Well I think B and F are not that relevant in my circumstances, so you know I'm not a young graduate, so I have completed my education. So and even though my sister is living in Australia, but that's not the reason why I'm here. Yes.

Interviewer: Right, interesting. So may I know what are the general challenges that you've encountered here in South Australia, since your arrival?

HK 8: To be honest, there's nothing much, but I'm grateful for that. It's not because um you know, I overlook any challenges. In short, I would say in conclusion, I don't face any huge hurdles in settling in Australia. Of course if you ask me to highlight one or two, I would say there are some little challenges at the beginning, but it's not very significant. Would you still like me to share?

Interviewer: Yes please.

HK 8: Ok, alright. Well, maybe at work level, I would say in my first job, although I am able to communicate in English, in written form or verbally, but I would say my English is not fluent enough in professional setting, in my first job. Although it doesn't affect my work, so, but I expected I could be more fluent, my accent could be more Aussie, but I realise that this is not the case. So you know, in my age maybe, if I'm a much younger, maybe easier to change my accent or fluency, but I think somehow I mean we cannot expect a lot of change in English fluency or accent. So, but because I would be more able to understand some idioms or improve my listening skills gradually, but I think this is a minor hurdle at work, at the beginning. It's especially my first job, so this is my third job, so and. The second thing is, well I don't see any cultural differences between my values, or my lifestyle with the Australian values and lifestyles. But on the contrary, I feel a little bit differences. I feel of some cultural shock I would say. When I was taking part in some protests in Australia, because, of course there is freedom of assembly here, freedom of speech here, I appreciate, but I felt that I was, we were bullied by, not by mainstream locals, but by some nationalist Chinese, so here. And quite a few times, we felt bullied, and I don't know how much you're familiar with the Hong Kong politics in these few years, so, but of course things have changed after Covid, after the government has become more firm in counter attacking those uncivilised behaviours. They not only bullied us, but they also bullied some media as well, because at that time, the Australian-China relationship was quite close, until Covid hit, until the Liberal government suggest that to investigate the origin of the Covid, and then the CCP retaliated, and then the whole atmosphere changed. That's why those nationalist Chinese were not there to do those uncivilised things, I mean they become. Anyway, so, that's the... In short, that's the only cultural shock I encountered. But other than that, I think, but it doesn't affect my life here.

Interviewer: Right. May I know what was the protest about?

HK 8: Well the protest is about supporting Hong Kong democracy during the social movement in Hong Kong, yes. I think, are you familiar with this background?

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 8: Ok, so I don't need to explain much then, yes. Ok.

Interviewer: So in your work setting, you explained that you had some problems because of your English...

HK 8: I would not say problems.

Interviewer: Some issues?

HK 8: Not issues. Not even issues. I'd say I could have expected better, but it was not an issue for me.

Interviewer: Why do you feel like there was a kind of thing that happened in your work setting? Is it because of your colleagues, or is it because of yourself, you feel like 'Ok, I'm not speaking English in that Aussie accent?' Is it just because of that?

HK 8: There's one of the thing, I'm the only one Asian. No I'm not the only one, there are two actually, but I think I'm, I was working in the mainstream setting where there are one or two Asians, and I think it's a social work setting or a disability setting, you know, communicating with people not only with a disability, but also we have a lot of professional exchange with colleagues, and other specialists, so, and, obviously I can tell I'm a new migrant, so speaking of the language fluency. But of course I think people are ok, they are not, I'm not saying anyone has, racist, I don't think so. But I would say, maybe I expected myself to be more fluent, but in fact it is not the case, I mean maybe when I was 20 maybe easier, maybe.

Interviewer: So it's just basically your personal expectation, is that right?

HK 8: Yea, I would think so. Yes, yes.

Interviewer: Ok. So have you adapted or adjusted to the life here in South Australia?

HK 8: Of course. Have I adapted? Yes, of course. Yes I feel I'm settled well, in short. I'm grateful yea, I would say so. Because as I mentioned, Australia is not very new to me, or living overseas is not new to me. I lived overseas when I was in uni, I studied ok in Canada for five and a half years.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 8: Plus I travelled to every state in Australia before migration. I love travelling so, that's why Australia is not new to me. And yea, and plus it didn't take me long to find a job, and because before migration, I think the main concern is how easy or how challenging to find a social worker job, so well, it took me only three or four weeks to find a job. So, while I was, because at the beginning I didn't intend to find a job, I took a diploma course in TAFE of English proficiency, you know to help myself to settle down or to improve my English proficiency, and I also, because for the settlement it take some time, so I don't rush to find a job, and where I can study and volunteer at the same time. By the time it's approaching graduation, and then I started to look for jobs. So and in three weeks' time I found a job, and I would say go to delay my reporting, delay my commencement of work, until I graduated. So it was pretty smooth, so and, yea and then for the following two jobs, I was grateful or lucky enough to have my job changed in one interview. I have my three jobs so far, and only three interviews. So grateful, gracefully. So and in job-wise, I have not such difficulty, so in other wise, in other things, well I get my friends, I get acquainted with, of course initially more

Hong Kong friends, from my protest network, from my church network, and where I get what I feel supported by like minded friends. Also I have been able to volunteered through my association, Hong Kong Cultural Association in South Australia, where I can not only know friends, but also assist others with the new settlement, and also do some advocacy work, as a means to pay back to Hong Kong community and Australian communities. Yea I don't complaint. So yes.

Interviewer: Ok. So I think you've explained that really well. So I don't have anything to add here. May I know, to you, what does cultural heritage mean?

HK 8: Well to me it's more like my roots, my cultural identity and my language, my home city, a lot of things mix together. In particular, ok my cultural identity is I'm a Hong Konger. Well now I can say I'm a Hong Kong Australian. I become citizen gratefully early this year. So and my mother tongue is Cantonese, I write traditional Chinese. So I would not say I'm a Chinese, I would say I'm a Hong Konger or Hong Kong Australian. So, yea, this is my identity.

Interviewer: Yea, we'll come back to your identity after. So how important to you is preserving your Hong Kong cultural heritage while residing here in South Australia?

HK 8: Well, this is important, because this is where I come from, this is my cultural identity. We're living in a multicultural society, that's why it is very common and not very difficult to preserve our cultural identity. But at the same time, we have to integrate into the local society. So that's why I perceive a multicultural society should be able to achieve both aims. Yes so how important? I would say very important. You know this is my roots, although I am a so-called Australian now, I'm not a so-called, I'm an Australian now, but I would not forget about my roots, so yea. Yes.

Interviewer: Very well.

HK 8: Not only forget, but I would like to promote as well. Yes, and I think part of the missions in our association, Hong Kong Cultural Association of South Australia, is to promote Hong Kong cultures and Hong Kong identity.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 8: So while actively participating into local society.

Interviewer: Very well. What are some of the Hong Kong cultural heritage sites or places that you've noticed here in South Australia?

HK 8: Well I don't find any Hong Kong cultural heritage here, well, strictly speaking. Although there is a Chinatown here, but I don't feel that it's very, I don't feel very much affiliated with Chinatown image. But of course there are Hong Kong places I will hang around, like some cafes or restaurants or Cantonese-speaking church I went, so...

Interviewer: Do you have the names of those places that you feel, like ok those are Hong Kong places, or significant places for Hong Kong people to hang around?

HK 8: Yea, the church I go sometimes, there's a Cantonese-speaking church called, in Cantonese called 澳亞基督教會, in English called AACCC, Australia Australian Christian Church, something like that. You can google AACCC ok? Although the church has both Hong Kong and Chinese congregation, but they have Cantonese-speaking fellowships and worship. Although I don't go to their Sunday fellowship anymore, I still go to their Hong Konger fellowship. Like tonight, I have to attend a fellowship tonight, so. Of course, also in recent years, there're some new emerging Hong Kong café, of course they're not called Hong Kong cafés, but we know that their owners are from Hong Kong, so like the Mount Lion, I don't know whether you've been there.

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 8: Yes, ok. Or two or three cafés run by new business migrants from Hong Kong. So yea I sometimes go there.

Interviewer: Very nice. How are they significant to you? How are these places significant to you? Let's say 澳亞基督教會 or Mount Lion Café? How are they significant to Hong Kong people?

HK 8: One more ok, I forgot to name ourselves, ok. Hong Kong Cultural Association of South Australia.

Interviewer: Right, yes.

HK 8: Ok, yes, that's very important.

Interviewer: So how are they significant to Hong Kong people?

HK 8: Well I think at least, there's where people will feel a sense of belongings as Hong Kongers, and that's where they can share with each other with common backgrounds, same language, Cantonese, traditional Chinese and we understand each other's background, especially the recent background, I mean the political situations, I think we have a lot of like-minded friends who can freely share about why we come here, and our ongoing concerns about our home city, and our families and relatives and close friends back home, so. Of course I think is that's where people will feel resonate with, because from my work place, in my first and second work place, people may not understand why you're here, and people may understand why you concern so much about, our culture and our identity, some people may think we are Chinese, so and some people may think I'm a Korean even though I keep working with him for over a year. So one funny joke is that, I worked with that Aboriginals in the last agency. I have a close colleague who known for over a year, we talk a lot about work, we talk about dogs, because we have a fur child, and she thought I was a South Korean, I was so disappointed ok. I say I was not a South Korean, I was a North Korean. And then she said, yes yes you're from North Korea. You can see so funny. Yes yes. Because he only heard there's a concentration camp.

Interviewer: Right, ok.

HK 8: And I said, yes yes yes I'm from North Korea ok. Yes yes. And later on I corrected her. Of course I'm not a Hong Konger ok. Anyway, you can understand some people have naivety about where we are from. But I don't say many people are like this, this is a very exceptional funny cases ok. But of course some people understand briefly about what's happened to Hong Kong five years back, and why I'm here, but of course they're not, but although they understand, they're not keen to talk further about your cultures and yes so, that's why now I moved on from a Aboriginal company to a company now I work with people with disability, with migrants and refugees background. That's why I, that's where I changed, I moved on on purpose. That's why I felt more resonance with.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 8: Anyway, going back to your question, how important, yes it's important yes.

Interviewer: So yes. I understand based on what you've just said, how significant they are. So what are the Hong Kong intangible cultural heritage that you're practising actually?

HK 8: Other than the language I mentioned, Cantonese or traditional Chinese, I think the values, I think most of the Hong Kongers, I won't say a 100(%), roughly 60%, by vote, would support democracy, freedoms, rule of law, these universal values. Equality, social justice and I think this is very important, because I feel this is also in line with Australian values, that's why in our association, I don't know you have noticed, our t-shirt, do you remember what is that at the back?

Interviewer: I remember like Aussie Hong Konger, something like that?

HK 8: Something like that, Aussie Hong Konger loves Australian values.

Interviewer: Right, oh, ok.

HK 8: That's why we like the highlights that we have, a lot in common those core values. Close close core values or similar universal values

Interviewer: Right.

HK 8: We share with each other. I think this is something different from Mainland Chinese in general. So I don't think they see these core values are highly important, or especially they were raised in, in my opinion, is an authoritarian regime where a lot of media are being censored, or in my opinion, is being brainwashed by a propaganda or by the state media propaganda. So that's why they also, that's why we were bullied, because they don't resonate, they don't agree with what we are fighting for. They don't understand what, why freedoms are, democracy is so important to us. They don't understand why we left all things behind to start something new. To me I'm lucky. But I can understand not everyone are so smooth in their resettlement journey, and because I'm a social worker, I would like to understand their plights and their challenges new migrants would face. So through my volunteering in our association, we can touch through a lot of new migrants. Ok I understand not everyone is as smooth as they expected or I am, so even they are few minority of them would struggle, they even have mental health issues, so that's why, why I'm sharing this ok, am I off topic?

Interviewer: No you're not. You're talking about the shared values and...

HK 8: Oh right the shared values. I'm just talking about my topic so it's ok. Yea, because maybe I'm not young, so I go through a lot and plus I have some advantage because say I got a driving licence, I know some have to learn a new licence. Well actually my wife had to start from scratch and I can understand her struggles in driving at the beginning, so and say some may have to buy a very expensive flat, not a house, and some new migrants may have a hard time finding a rental place, so luckily, I don't have to. Of course at the beginning I have to find some dog-friendly rental places, relatively not easy, but I'm grateful or lucky that we were able to buy a house before Covid.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 8: So I understand the property prices vary significantly. I think it has 40% of increase, so that's why I feel I have been lucky.

Interviewer: Yea. I think you are really lucky to have that, to be here before Covid let's say.

HK 8: Yea.

Interviewer: And to settle down and everything.

HK 8: Yea, that's right, yea. That's true. Plus I don't have a child. I don't have children. I have a dog of course, and um I don't have a huge financial burden, as some people may have if they have a big family.

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 8: Although the veterinary cost expenses cost us, but I would say I don't have those burdens.

Interviewer: Right. Thank you for sharing all these things. So apart from the Cantonese and also the values Hong Kong people share among themselves, do you also have Chinese or Hong Kongese food often, Cantonese food let's say yea it should be Cantonese food often, or do you join in any Hong Kong-style festivals, or anything like that? Do you still do that here?

HK 8: Yea.

Interviewer: Like in South Australia?

HK 8: Yea, I would love to. When I dining out, I would try not to eat Chinese food.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 8: So I'll try any ethnic or cultural food, so, say, any actually, because I know a lot of friends or colleagues with cult background, so I always ask them where will be the best cultural food we have then I will try.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 8: So not only the typical Thai, Japanese, Indian, and I will also try Uighurs, Afghan, Lebanese and Vietnamese etc. yea. Local Aussie yes.

Interviewer: Very nice. So do you still celebrate Hong Kong style festivals here?

HK 8: Yes, well sort of, yea yea I will still celebrate briefly for Lunar New Year. Not Chinese New Year, Lunar New Year ok?

Interviewer: Yea, ok.

HK 8: And Mid-Autumn Festival. So say last week we had ...

Interviewer: The Dragon Boat?

HK 8: Yea the Dragon Boat. My wife would make some dumplings. At home my wife loves to make Hong Kong or Chinese food more. But of course sometimes I ask her to make more spaghetti and not only Chinese food but, yea I'm open to all food, yes.

Interviewer: Ok, very nice. So who do you usually speak in Cantonese with, or who do you usually celebrate like Hong Kong-style festivals with?

HK 8: Well my friends, my family, and our association, we also organised, say, some festive celebrations like, coming you're welcome to join our Mid-Autumn Festival.

Interviewer: Mid-Autumn Festival ok.

HK 8: And yea, Mid-Autumn Festival yes, what else? We never had a Lunar New Year celebration yet. Normally we have a celebration during Christmas.

Interviewer: So has preserving your Hong Kong cultural heritage been beneficial or supported you in adapting to your life here?

HK 8: I'm sorry I wasn't following, can you say again?

Interviewer: Sure.

HK 8: It's just my mind think of something else.

Interviewer: No worries at all. Has preserving your Hong Kong cultural heritage supported you in adapting your life here in South Australia? Like speaking in Cantonese, celebrating festivals...

HK 8: Yea, but supported my integration? Supported my integration...

Interviewer: Or has it been beneficial?

HK 8: Well, ok, I'll say yes. I'll still say yes, at least I would feel still connected with my culture without feeling homesick. I think it's still important you know because integration is not only one way by interacting with locals, learning English, also preserve our identity, so I will say yes of course. Yes.

Interviewer: Ok very nice. Do you see transmitting your own Hong Kong cultural heritage as something that's fundamental to you?

HK 8: Transmitting...

Interviewer: Transmitting is like sharing it.

HK 8: Yea, yea of course. Well I will say so, because I think we're not living in a very, how should I say, in other words, we live in multicultural society. I think it's also important for the mainstream society to understand, respect or even appreciate each other, I mean with cultural backgrounds. That's why this is important to me, I'll be happy to share with others, which means a lot to me.

Interviewer: Right, ok.

HK 8: So of course that's why, I would not hide my identity at work, or anywhere I meet, I would love to tell I'm a Hong Konger or Hong Kong Australian. So yea even my work now, I move on from a, it doesn't mean I don't like working with Aboriginals, I like because I like working with the disadvantaged groups, but I feel that I resonate more with who I am and the people that I feel resonate with. That's why I moved on from one company to another company. Even though I pay less, so yea.

Interviewer: Yes. It's just your will.

HK 8: Yea, my will and also my preference and find it more meaningful, yes, because while I can feel this rewarding and meaningful, not rewarding, it's meaningful to work with Aboriginal communities or local Aussie in my first job, but I cannot speak for them, somehow. And, but now somehow I can speak for them as a migrant or, with Hong Kongers, with so-called refugees mentality, or as a diaspora.

Interviewer: I see. So have you transmitted it to anyone? Like have you transmitted your cultural heritage to anyone? Like up to this point?

HK 8: Well as an association, of course we always promote about our culture in local society, say I'm a...Ok one example is that I've been a committee band member. So I don't know whether you've noticed um that we have a committee band called Pub?

Interviewer: Last time yea, I think at the festival I saw someone playing with the guitar and...

HK 8: Ah yea yea yea. Yes, I'm one of the singers.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 8: So that's why we always sing, not always, most of the time we sing Cantonese songs, so and, not only so-called Cantonese love songs, but always we choose some songs with migrant or diaspora meaning, or about, talking about our heritage, or what happened to Hong Kong, so as a diaspora. So and yea we, normally we share our culture through our Cantonese pop songs and informally I'm happy to share my Hong Kong food with my friends, my local friends. If they're interested, I'm happy to bring them to a, to a Cantonese cuisines, I mean to a restaurant with Cantonese cuisines, or food, so if they're interested like today, I talked to my two colleagues during lunch. I shared about what happened in Hong Kong. Of course not only I share about what happened, sometimes I also enquire their, because they are from Amenia and Albania, so they're also the minorities, so I also get to know about their backgrounds as well. So yea.

Interviewer: That's really interesting. Have you encountered any difficulties in transmitting or in maintaining your Hong Kong cultural heritage here?

HK 8: Well, not much, except some examples I've just quoted. Some of my colleagues were not very keen in knowing about our background. So even for those who're very familiar with each other, as I mentioned you know, she can think I'm from North Korea or South Korea. And um because I'm the one who doesn't want to talk a lot if people are not interested in my topic, you know I only talk if they're interested. I'm not those person who keep talking a lot our, and if people are not keen. Some people are good at that, but I'm not that kind of person.

Interviewer: Sellers?

HK 8: Yea yea so, yea I would say there're still people who are not very keen, or not familiar with, but I think it's understood. Is it say the same? Yea in general, I would say for those who're middle-aged or above they are more familiar with our backgrounds and situations. For the younger generations, I don't think they are. For the ones I know, they're not very keen in knowing about that, or even they have no knowledge about that.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 8: From my network of course, I cannot say everyone.

Interviewer: Yea. So what is multiculturalism to you? What does that mean to you?

HK 8: Well as I mentioned, I think it's a society where we can, we not only have to integrate into the local society by fitting in or contributing to the society, but at the same time we can preserve our cultural identity where people can feel respected with each other about their cultural background, their history, their cultures. But I think multiculturalism is different from interculturalism, and maybe in some well, I think in Australia people call themselves more multiculturalism not interculturalism, but I think sometimes interculturalism has more interactions: not only promoting your own language, but also it's very important for each other to interact and understand each others. So...

Interviewer: So you don't think Australia is doing that?

HK 8: Well I would say it's ok. I would say it's ok and ... but of course I think it's already better than I think United States. So I think United States are more melting pot. But of course it depends on which State. So and, but I know some people from other cultural groups, they are very keen in promoting that not only multicultural society, but intercultural society. Interculturalism you know. So I think that's a good idea you know.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 8: So I think for people would not only understand the superficial respect, but people would really keen to understand each other. I mean to appreciate and understand each other. But maybe I expect too much. But I think it's ok, so.

Interviewer: Yea. It's still acceptable?

HK 8: Yea yes. At least I don't see a lot of, I don't see obvious racism.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 8: Of course it happens. I'm not surprised it happens subtly or implicitly, but I don't see South Australians are racist in general. So I don't face obvious racist, racism you know in my, in my network.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 8: Yea. Or in my encounters, yes. Of course there're one or two sometimes I feel like racist, but it's not like very, very...

Interviewer: Explicit?

HK 8: Explicit or offensive. Maybe I'm lucky, but I know some people have different opinions.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 8: Yea.

Interviewer: So do you see South Australia as a multicultural state?

HK 8: Well in general I would say yes. Of course may not be as multicultural as in Melbourne. Oh well that's my impression as a traveller.

Interviewer: Yup.

HK 8: So and in terms of food, or in terms of ethnicity of, here people are more scattered. So in Sydney or Melbourne, I mean there are many ethnic area. You know people will hang around and think this is a Chinese city, this is an Italian suburb ok. It doesn't mean it is good, but at least I can see differences you know. But, but in saying that, I don't know it's hot topic. I don't like the idea of Chinatown to be honest.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 8: So, or like Italian town. I think it's best to, for example maybe especially in Chinatown, the older generation has a theory of getting affiliated with each other, but in the older generation, they only hang around in Chinatown. So and they don't go out or to integrate fully. So those older generation only work in grocery store, or restaurants, or some factories. I think the newer generations have to forget about, not forget about, not not you know, or forget about this own segregation, which is segregation you know. Self-segregation I mean, or I think we have to promote our cultures or scatter around so that society will become more inclusive, culturally inclusive. That's why I don't like hanging around in Chinatown, so, although there're some good restaurants there, although my new workplace is very near Chinatown.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 8: So other than work I don't hang around there.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 8: So yes. But of course if there're some good restaurants I still go, but I don't go there on purpose you know.

Interviewer: So do you mean usually people of different ethnic groups they only stay together? Is that your impression and you know they're not sharing, influencing other people to know about their culture? Like they're all scattered into different groups, is that what you mean?

HK 8: I think it's naturally it'll happen, say for the older migrants, as I mentioned in Melbourne Sydney they have a lot of ethnic suburbs, so, here we can still say in Kilburn you'll see a lot of Afghan, South Asians etc. Well to some extent it is good, at least they can get supported with each other, say I would like to try South Asian, Afghan food, I can go there. But I think if people are too segregated you know, they would not reach out to the local society, or the local society have a lesser chance to know them. So that's why I don't promote this kind of enclosed suburbs. So, and I will not hang around in Chinatown that's why.

Interviewer: Right. So without taking into account of your status of your citizenship or your Permanent Residency or anything like that, do you consider yourself, ok I know you've already answered me that but I'll still ask you this, do you consider yourself a Hong Konger, a South Australian or do you have another identity of your own?

HK 8: Well as mentioned I would call either myself a Hong Kong Australian formally, or Australian Hong Konger. Either one of them yes.

Interviewer: Ok. Why's that?

HK 8: Especially after getting the citizenship. Yea so.

Interviewer: Is it because of your citizenship? Or is it because you feel like immersing really into the South Australian culture?

HK 8: I think is both. One about, firstly I think yea, I become I am officially an Australian. Also you know as I mentioned, I support integration, I support inclusion, so I also share with the Australian values, I like living here, so that's why I think it's common, it's natural for me to say that.

Interviewer: Very nice.

HK 8: Yea.

Interviewer: So yea, so that's it for me. I don't know whether you've got any other comments, or anything you'd like to add.

HK 8: Yea well ok one minor thing. I just talked about how it sounds like a very easy journey um. Of course sometimes there are some not very ok, other than the one I mentioned, of course occasionally there are very few moments of homesick, so especially when I missed about my close relatives who raise me up. So and she passed away one or two years ago, I was not able to return to Hong Kong to say goodbye to her. Of course this is the saddening part, and this is the regrets I cannot do much you know, so yea. So yea, but of course as a

migrant, sometimes you'll face these problems. You know say some people will be able to go back home easily, so, but I don't want to risk going back home. That's why this is the regret that I, I have to accept it.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 8: Yea.

Interviewer: Right, so thank you very much for everything that you've shared. And yes, so that's it for me, I'll stop the recording now.

HK 8: Yea, sure.

*Michael*: Interviewed on 3 August 2024. Interview duration: 1 hour 8 minutes and 41 seconds.

Interviewer: So I'll just ask you for some demographic information.

HK 9: Yup.

Interviewer: So can I know your age group please?

HK 9: Ok, it's 27 to 35.

Interviewer: Ok. So what's your, so gender is male.

HK 9: Yup.

Interviewer: Ethnicity?

HK 9: Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Hong Kong, ok. Would you say you're Chinese Hong Kong or Hong Kongese?

HK 9: Chinese Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Ok, Chinese Hong Kong then. What's your family structure? So it's like are you living with a partner? Are you living on your own? Do you have any kids?

HK 9: Not in Australia, just living by myself, but I got parents, mother and dad, in Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 9: Yea. I also got a sister in Sydney.

Interviewer: Ok. So what's your industry sector please?

HK 9: My career? Ah it's manufacturing.

Interviewer: Ok, manufacturing.

HK 9: Yea, yea.

Interviewer: So may I know how long have you resided in South Australia?

HK 9: Two and a half years.

Interviewer: Two and a half years, ok. So I think it's easier for you this way, I'll show you the options. So what were your main reasons or your motivations for moving to South Australia?

HK 9: Basically just the job offer.

Interviewer: Right, so it's just like job opportunities.

HK 9: Yea, yea.

Interviewer: Do you have any other reasons apart from that one?

HK 9: As long as where the job offer is, I'm happy to live there.

Interviewer: Ok, sure. That makes sense.

HK 9: In Australia it's not easy to living by yourself, so it has to be a job, even two jobs.

Interviewer: Yes, yes. But do you have any other motivations, like apart from, you know, the job opportunity, which you know, kind of push you to South Australia or like in Australia in general?

HK 9: Ok, the weather yea, because the weather is very nice. I'm from Hong Kong. Hong Kong is very humid. In Australia, especially in South Australia, in Adelaide, is dry, very dry weather, yea. But for me it's ok. I like dry yea. Clothes can dry out.

Interviewer: I know. In a few hours' time, it's already dried.

HK 9: Yes.

Interviewer: Any other ones? How about like education, political instability, better lifestyle?

HK 9: Yup, probably the lifestyle. Because I used to live in Sydney and Canberra.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: In Sydney is, I think it's the same as busy as Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Right. Ok.

HK 9: So not really enjoy it. Ok, in terms of the commute to the workplace, just maybe 10 kilometres, you need to spend one hour to drive, even though you driving your own car. It took one hour, and you also pay the toll for the M2 yea.

Interviewer: I see.

HK 9: And the toll already cost you one hour salary. Yea, so it doesn't make sense to living in Sydney. Then I also, then I moved to Canberra, yea. Canberra is ok, I lived there four years. But to me, it's quiet and it's not close to the beach. The closest one is two hours away to the

Batemans Bay, so in Adelaide, I think it's just the balance of Sydney and Canberra. It's just 10 minutes to the beach and also not as quiet as Canberra, but not too busy as Sydney. So I think at Adelaide is quite good balance, in this one, yea.

Interviewer: Interesting, very well. Ok, so can you tell me why have you selected job opportunities as your main reason to move to South Adelaide?

HK 9: Yea, because my role is the mechanical design engineer.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: So it's part of the manufacturing. So in Sydney it's difficult to find this kind of job. Sydney I think is more finance and account, these industries. And in Canberra, more government, public servant related, yup. So in Adelaide, I think in the past 50 years, Adelaide is quite a lot of industrial area. Now in the Northern suburbs, like Gepps Cross, there's still also many factories still running. Yup, so, I think that's also the reason why I got the job opportunity.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 9: So even I'm from Canberra, but my employer still keen to hire me I'm from interstate yea. Yup. I'm not sure are they really can't find any potential candidate here, or they just find me I'm suit, I can fit this position, then they just let me here. But yea I think that's the reason I got the job because the environment in Adelaide is more industry-based. Yea.

Interviewer: Ok. So you talked about the weather, and you talked also about the lifestyle, how about the others? Are they irrelevant to you? Like when you were thinking to move to South Australia or into Australia in general?

HK 9: Yea for the education, because I only did a TAFE from Canberra, so not too sure the education aspect. But I know the, the uni Adelaide is quite high-ranking in, the world ranking university, yup. Environment concerns? Is it for the weather?

Interviewer: Environment concerns is like, you know in Hong Kong, it's quite crowded, reputable for its really small living spaces. So was it part of your motivation or part of your reason when you decided to move to South Australia or to Australia?

HK 9: Yes, it's still kind of. Yea.

Interviewer: How about Hong Kong political instability? At that time?

HK 9: Hong Kong political instability...yea, ok to be frankly, I came to Australia seven years back, so it was like 2017. By that time, Hong Kong still kind of stable in terms of the political issue. Yea but after 2019, maybe it had bigger concern for that because the protests. Yea.

Interviewer: So it didn't really bother you, it wasn't really a concern or reason for you to move here?

HK 9: Yea I moved to Australia basically not too close to relevant to political reason. Yea. On the other hand, I more concern about the affordability for the property.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 9: Yea. Because the Hong Kong property all is high up top of the world, yea. Yea it's unreasonable price, so I, I just want to make the move to come to a country which if you get a proper job you will be able to find a home. I think Australia able to provide this reason and also the way also I like it, so yea.

Interviewer: Ok. Very nice. How about proximity of friends or relatives? Do you have any friends or relatives here, or like was it a reason for you to move here to South Australia?

HK 9: I actually have more friends in Canberra because I lived there for four years. So but the interesting thing is after I moved to South Australia, I also met one of the friend that I already knew her in Canberra, so she also make the move to Adelaide, yea. But we didn't...

Interviewer: You didn't talk in advance? Discussed about?

HK 9: Yea yea, talked in advance. Yea yea discussed about. We just come here when we met.

Interviewer: Ok that's good. We like this.

HK 9: Coincidence.

Interviewer: Yea. Alright, very good. Let's just move on to the general challenges that you might have encountered here in South Australia. So can you tell me, what kind of challenges have you encountered in South Australia?

HK 9: Mm?

Interviewer: When you moved to South Australia.

HK 9: Yea. The biggest thing is renting a house, or renting a place to live. To find a share house is easy, but if you want to take the whole unit or the house, that so many competition. Yea. Every listing, that you probably compete with over 200 applications. Yea. So even you got a full-time job, you got a clear record for your renting history, even you're able to provide the funds for all the bonds and weekly rent, it's still hard because 90% of the potential candidate they are the same. So it's just like a lucky draw.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 9: Yea.

Interviewer: Right. So that's one of the challenges that you had.

HK 9: Yes, that's one of the challenges. The others, this one not just in Adelaide, maybe in all states. Yup, maybe the language. Because I can't speak too fluent English so for functional level like you go to restaurant ordering food is fine, but when you meet new friends, you chatting each other, the first step is ok. It's just where you're from, what is your job, thing. But when we go further topic, go deeper, and then about the culture and even their, how to say. Ok because the Aussie they born in Australia, they watch Australian cartoon, and for most Hong Kong people, we watch Japanese cartoon, so it's already so much different. So not much topic is overlapping.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 9: Yea. So one of is language issue, and the other thing is the culture. The culture means how we brought up, yea. Some family they moved to Australia and also brought their kids when they were just six years old, seven years old, so it's ok. But when the kids are like teenage years old, the teenage kids, they don't have any issue about the language, but I observe in school they still spend the time play with the like for the Chinese group, and still Chinese group, and for the Aussie, so they play in different groups.

Interviewer: Oh really? Separately?

HK 9: Separately. But not just the language barrier, because they're in the same school, yea they have, either way they have good English, yea, but they just can't blend with each other. Yea, that's what my observation.

Interviewer: Oh, ok. That's an interesting one.

HK 9: Yea, ok, I go too far. It's just about me is it? Ok what was the question again?

Interviewer: Oh like the general challenges in South Australia.

HK 9: Oh yea, yea. Particularly in South Australia?

Interviewer: Did you have any difficulties to fit in with other South Australians? Or did you face any discriminations? Or anything like that?

HK 9: In terms of discrimination, I think it happens all states, not particular in Adelaide.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: If you walk down the street, some people suddenly shout next to your ear. You never know what he's shouting, but just shouting, yea. If you go on a public transport, tram or trains, yes, something still yelling you, with no reason. Yea, I, for the very first time, you feel scared but from the time being you already get used to it. It's been like this, no matter how many years, even when I'm getting older, when I become 50 or 60 years old, I think it still happen. It just what my understanding is the legacy from their parents. Ok, if a child are brought up by, how to say, let me organise...

Interviewer: No worries.

HK 9: Ok, a child is like this paper, white paper. What you nurturing is from the parents. So why most teenage they do this kind of act, like yelling to different coloured skin people? Maybe, I'm not sure, maybe someone tell something at home. I don't believe the teenage were self-taught this thing. I don't think they born to yelling to different skin, different colours skin people. Maybe they were been taught at home, like the Asian blah blah blah, the black people blah blah blah. I'm not sure. But I don't believe the teenage were self-taught. It's from the family I believe.

Interviewer: So does it happen to you often? And does it bother you?

HK 9: In the first few times, when I first came Australia seven years back, it is. Yes you'll feel scared. Now, I'm ok, because I know it's their, it's not their culture, it's just their style. It's part of the experience in Australia. But some people also tell me they're not doing this in a motivation, maybe they just want to know you by making this face. Yea. They're trying to open up the, we call the pick-up line. Yea.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: The, yea, if they don't doing differently, they can't draw your attention, yea. Maybe they just want to talk to you. Yea.

Interviewer: Let's just think of it this way.

HK 9: Yea, so that's yea.

Interviewer: Does it happen more frequently in Sydney, or Canberra, than in South Australia? Or is it kind of like the same?

HK 9: If in the big city, Adelaide, Canberra, Sydney, it's just the same probability. But if you go to some regional area, I'm not sure you heard of the town called Wagga Wagga, so if travel like six hours away from big city, I think the probability will go up.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: But it's understandable yea. If I were them, I may also not too welcome for people come to my place, which is a place not for tourism, not for travel, there's nothing to see. It's just their home. Yea so it's different. In Melbourne, you go to the Twelve Apostles to fly a helicopter, it's fine you can't see racist or discrimination there, because the tourists is even more than the locals.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 9: Yea, so, yea, so if one day you go road trip, go to some regional, try to behave yourself, or just stay away from locals.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 9: Yea, that's the tip.

Interviewer: So do you think you've adapted or adjusted to the life here in South Australia?

HK 9: I would just say I understand more, but we, not we, I, I'm the first generation of the immigrants. So if I have my son or daughter, they will be the next generation. Maybe they have less issue. But for the first generation immigrant, I don't believe we can adapt. We just have more understand of compassion, understand their culture, why do they do this to me, or...

Interviewer: Be empathetic you mean?

HK 9: Yup, empathetic. Yea, but we, it's just like I just said, we not brought up here, we watch different cartoon, watch different TV shows, inside joke we never understand, yea so

we can't adapt or blend with Australian. We just try to understand. But we still have different lifestyle with them, I believe. Even I'll be living there for the rest of my life, until 80s, I don't believe I will, yea, how to say, blend with their culture.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: Maybe just understand their culture.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: What were you trying to...I cross your train of thought.

Interviewer: Yea. Because I was just thinking, so if you understand their culture, then probably you've adjusted yourself?

HK 9: Yea. Yea, I adjust, yea, I adjust. And one thing I know Adelaide different from other state, they always proud of they chosen to be here, they're not forced to be here. Yea, and I can see Adelaide people trying to stand out more, like you can find, what's the shop again? It's IGA? Not IGA, uh, what's the different one? Uh the other one from the IGA? Not Coles, Woolies...

Interviewer: Drakes?

HK 9: Drakes, yea, and also the other one, that I just forgot. Ok yea, ok. All those stores only in Adelaide. Yea, and at least my colleagues prefer to go to Drakes and the other one, instead of Coles and Woolies, because they want to support the local business.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 9: Yea that's interesting. Yea and even though in terms of the job opportunities and average salary is not high, but for those Adelaide people, they still proud to be here. Yup. I didn't see they have so much initiative to find a job interstate. If their family, the previous generation already here, they happy keep staying here.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 9: Maybe only people go for interstate, they're immigrants.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 9: Yea, they're originally from India. But if they granddad or daddy is from Adelaide, they happy to be here. Even the same job in Sydney they offer them 50% more salary, but they still want...

Interviewer: Prefer?

HK 9: They still prefer to be here. Yea. But for immigrant, I don't think that's the case. Immigrant just follow the money.

Interviewer: Right, yes. So basically you've adjusted to your life here. So do you think you've adjusted it mostly because of your job, or because of your social network that you've got, you know the social support that you have, or is it because you've participated in some

festivals or some support groups or anything like that? How have you concretely adjusted yourself to your life here?

HK 9: Ok most of the information from my colleagues, yea. Because my colleagues the average age, they are 50 to 60, yea they're a lot older than me, so they have more, they can tell me more about how was Adelaide like in the past 50 years. And the interesting is, some of them were actually born in the UK, but they came here maybe 6 years old.

Interviewer: Righ, when they were kids.

HK 9: Yea, but they never thought to going back to UK.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: Yea, they already consider this is their home. Yea. My supervisor and he also the same case. Oh sorry, what was the question?

Interviewer: No it's ok. Like how have you concretely adjusted to your life here?

HK 9: Concretely adjust my life...

Interviewer: Was it because of your past experience maybe that you had already in Sydney or in Canberra?

HK 9: You mean, what helps me to adjust?

Interviewer: Yea, exactly. Like how did you start to feel that you've adjusted and settled in, and you're more comfortable in the society?

HK 9: Just like you said, I have some more hang out, yea. Yea, just like I said, I I sometimes I will hang out with Aussie or even some other immigrants from India or from France, but I, the most enjoyment is still from Hong Kong people, yea.

Interviewer: Because you share the same culture and the same language, and you just feel like ok...?

HK 9: Yea particularly for the inside joke, yea I think, the most interesting conversation is about people each other can understand each other yea. If just always chatting where you're from, what's your job, it's so boring yea.

Interviewer: Yea, definitely.

HK 9: Yea, so the social network is fine but I don't need too much social, yea.

Interviewer: Sure thing. What is cultural heritage for you? So cultural heritage in Chinese is 文化遺產 right. So what is that to you? What does that mean to you?

HK 9: It means the previous generation legacy from them. Not just physically building, maybe food, maybe some festival. So we need to pass it on to next generation as well. Yea yea that's my understanding.

Interviewer: Very nice. So how important is it for you to preserve your own Hong Kong cultural heritage while you're residing here in South Australia?

HK 9: For example, the Mid-Autumn Festival, yea.

Interviewer: Which is coming.

HK 9: Yea it's coming, even the mooncake is crazy expensive before the festival. Yea the price will be just one-third or even the quarter of the price after the festival, but yea I still get one and enjoy some Hong Kong friends. Yea that's it. And when I was living in Canberra, they still organise a festival, particular for Mid-Autumn festival. Yea. Maybe the local council are aware this is a big thing to Chinese or some. Yea not just Chinese because I know Vietnamese they also celebrate Mid-Autumn Festival. Yea. I think even Korean not sure.

Interviewer: Yea there're many Asian communities...

HK 9: Yea. So that's the interesting thing. But in Adelaide, I came here two years, still not recognised any local council organising this. But that's ok, we can just enjoy the mooncake with friends. But in Canberra they build some rides, like a theme park.

Interviewer: Oh like a carnival or something.

HK 9: Yea a carnival.

Interviewer: That's cool.

HK 9: Yea. And also some workshop to write the Chinese words.

Interviewer: Calligraphy?

HK 9: Yup, calligraphy.

Interviewer: That's so cool.

HK 9: Yea.

Interviewer: So is it important to preserve your own cultural heritage when you're residing here, like living here?

HK 9: In terms of preservation, ok, if I have next generation, I have sons and daughters, I think it's important because they may confuse are they Australian or are they Hong Konger, yea. But for me, I don't really have big intentionally to preserve, because here is Australia, you can't preserve because it never exist in. So if it wasn't exist, how you preserve? For me why I still eating the mooncake is just maybe killing homesick, that's pretty much the reason I do this. But if I have next generation, I'll let them know uh your parents' culture is part of them. Yea, yea.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: Yea I think they're going to face so many challenge if, in terms of language, they have no issue, they are brought here, they're native speaker. But they may confuse their identity. This is the part I, ok I'm still single luckily, but that is the part I don't think how to educate

them. I believe they will enjoy the Australian cartoon, Australian food more than like cha chaan teng (Hong Kong-style tea café), yea if they brought up here. They enjoy McDonald's Macca's more than satay beef noodles. It's gonna to be like this. Yea. Just live with it, yea.

Interviewer: So what are some of the Hong Kong or Chinese cultural heritage sites or places that you've noticed here in South Australia?

HK 9: There's a suburb, I need to check my Google Map.

Interviewer: Sure.

HK 9: In Chinese New Year, Lunar New Year, um there's a fireworks, it's a temple close to Saint Claire, the North East, I'll just type the temple and see...It's a Chinese temple, it's a Buddha, Buddha...

Interviewer: It's Buddhist?

HK 9: Buddhist temple yup. Yup, that one. Zhulin Buddhist Association of South Australia.

Interviewer: Right, I'll write that down.

HK 9: So the fireworks, yea. It's on the first or second Lunar New Year, yea.

Interviewer: Thank you.

HK 9: So I I went there and 99% people going there, they are Asian. Even Malay, or some other South Asian countries people, they still go to there to see the fireworks. It's even more 'wow' factor than seeing the New Year Eve firework in next to here, SkyCity yea, because it's very close and you can smell the smoke yea.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: So many ...yea you should go if you never go there. So this Lunar New Year you can...

Interviewer: Sure, yea in the coming one.

HK 9: Yea. But I'm not Buddhist, Buddhism, but I just go there to see the firework.

Interviewer: Enjoy the fireworks. How about that structure that we see here in that picture. Do you think it is distinctive of your own culture heritage or your own culture?

HK 9: Yea I think when everyone sees this side, they already understand that it's from China. So yea yea it's quite distinctive.

Interviewer: Ok, thank you.

HK 9: Oh no worries.

Interviewer: So how is it to you, so how is this place, so this Zhulin Buddhist Association temple, how is this place significant to you or to other Hong Kong immigrants in general?

HK 9: I don't think there's any relevant to Hong Kong people.

Interviewer: Ok. So it's just basically for the firework, that it could be...

HK 9: Maybe for Buddhism, people can have religion in Buddhism. At least from my social circle, nobody go there weekly, no. Yea.

Interviewer: So are there any other places that Hong Kong people love to go to?

HK 9: Yea, the church in Chinatown.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: Yea, it's called, just a second...I've been there just one or two times, I'm not a weekly Christian.

Interviewer: Yea, it's quite a commitment let's say.

HK 9: Yea.

Interviewer: And you've got to wake up really early right for the church service?

HK 9: Not too early but it's on Sunday 11 o'clock.

Interviewer: Oh that's fine.

HK 9: Should be that one, yup.

Interviewer: Sure. It's called Austral-Asian Christian Church.

HK 9: Yea.

Interviewer: Ok thank you.

HK 9: The Chinese name called 澳亞<sup>83</sup>. I believe you've heard of 澳亞<sup>83</sup>, yea.

Interviewer: Yea. Ok, so...

HK 9: I think 90% people from Hong Kong yea. So in the Sunday service, over 90% of people are from Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Ok. So you think that's a place that's pretty significant right to Hong Kong people?

HK 9: Yes, yes. If you want to know more Hong Kong people, just go there Sunday 11am. I can't do it.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: Yea if you need more interviewee, just go there.

Interviewer: Ok. Do you know why people go there?

HK 9: Why people go there?

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<sup>83</sup> Austral-Asian Christian Church at 294/300 Morphett St, Adelaide.

Interviewer: Why Hong Kong people go there? Why is it important for them to go there?

HK 9: Just like I said... important, yea of course they go there for many reasons. Yes. The main reason is because they're Christian, they need to go to Sunday service every week.

Interviewer: Yup.

HK 9: And for the other reason, maybe they, what I know is most newbie, new arrival, yea, people from Hong Kong new arrival they also would like to go there to know more Hong Kong people.

Interviewer: Oh right.

HK 9: If you just want to know more Hong Kong people, I think that's the best place you can you can know more Hong Kong people yea.

Interviewer: Ok. Do you know whether there's a kind of church support group in there?

HK 9: Other than this?

Interviewer: No, like within this church, is there kind of like a support system, a support group, or whether the priest basically helps newcomers or welcome them?

HK 9: Yea. So apart from the Sunday service, they also will organise different activities. For example I attend a wheel replacement. So if you have a tire puncture flat tire, you need the spare tire from the boots, so they got a free class yea class for free. You just register and you know there's a trade qualified mechanic to teach you how to do replace the spare wheel. Yea, so they do many things to help Hong Kong people to try to adapt the life in Australia.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: Yea, and also for just like I said the biggest challenge, is the renting. So they also got some tips or even if you want to buy a property, so also got some people have experience, they already went through all the hectics all the worst experience, so they share so you can try to avoid them yea.

Interviewer: Yea, you don't have to start from scratch then.

HK 9: Yea.

Interviewer: Yea at least you got some experienced people you know to help you out.

HK 9: Yea they not just Sunday service, but also many different activities.

Interviewer: That's a good place then. So what are the Hong Kong cultural heritage that you're still practising? So what I mean by this is, are you still speaking in Cantonese, are you still cooking Chinese food, if you've cooked Chinese food before, are you still participating Chinese festivals or still celebrating them, well in which I believe you are still in some festivals at least.

HK 9: Yea Hong Kong festivals.

Interviewer: So you can just talk a little bit about that.

HK 9: Ok I listened to the Hong Kong radio every day, even in the office, don't tell my boss yea. Almost ten hours a day, so my English didn't improve too well, because, yea. And I also cook, not many because I'm too lazy, so usually I'll buy the ready-to-eat food from Coles and Woolies.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: Yea so it's just heating up that's it, yea.

Interviewer: That's practical.

HK 9: And sometimes I, ok if I want to go have some Hong Kong food, there's a restaurant called Kowloon Restaurant in Chinatown, yea so I visit there at least almost once a week.

Interviewer: Oh really?

HK 9: Yea on weekend, yea. And for movies, so there're some Hong Kong movies will have limited showtime in Adelaide, which is good. Like the previous one Kowloon City, 九龍寨城<sup>84</sup>.

Interviewer: They've got it in Adelaide? Ok.

HK 9: Yea. But not as many showtime as Sydney and Melbourne, so if you recognise there's a showtime, you don't think just go. If you don't go you think oh maybe tomorrow, it's gone. It's just maybe one or two days.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: Yea.

Interviewer: It's limited edition then.

HK 9: Yea. That already it just last for one or two days, not even one week.

Interviewer: Surprising, but that's a good tip.

HK 9: Yea, but at least they have.

Interviewer: How about yum cha, playing mahjong? Do you do these things?

HK 9: Oh yum cha yea. Yum cha I may go once or twice a month.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: Yea, because but always need to go as a group.

Interviewer: Ok.

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<sup>84</sup> A Hong Kong martial arts film in 2024 called Twilight of the Warriors: Walled In.

HK 9: Yea, if you go by yourself, you can't eat too many different choices. Yea because the yum cha like dim sum you have four pieces dim... siu mai<sup>85</sup>, so when you finish it, you can't order yea.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: So always need to go as a group.

Interviewer: What kind of restaurants do you usually go to?

HK 9: Kowloon.

Interviewer: Kowloon Restaurant.

HK 9: Kowloon Restaurant I go there. Last night I went to Italian restaurant. Ok, that's also I want to share something about the food culture in Australia.

Interviewer: Definitely.

HK 9: Italian food in Australia I think is their prime food. Yea they may go to Italian restaurant for some special occasions. Yea even Australia. For like us, cha chaan teng is like our everyday food, we for Aussie they may go a pub food, or go to club, or go to the burrito yea. You know burrito?

Interviewer: Yea Mexican food.

HK 9: Yea, but if they said oh tonight I'm going to Italian restaurant, it means it's a special occasion. That's not their everyday food.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: So yea if, but you, ok so I thought it's like a fancy thing when I first try Italian food, but it's not. It's just still pasta, pizza something yea. Not even a rib, not American rib, yea yea. So even everyday food they got ribs, but if you go to Italian restaurant, it's all carbohydrates. Yea, but you still spend double the price. You spend maybe 60, 70 dollars for carbohydrates. So that is something I wow. Yea that's one interesting I wanna share.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: Ok, what was your question again?

Interviewer: It's ok. So who do you usually share your culture with? Like for example having Chinese food, do you share it among your Cantonese friends, Chinese friends, or do you share dim sum with some other South Australian friends?

HK 9: What's the group of people to go to yum cha?

Interviewer: Yes.

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<sup>85</sup> A popular steamed dim sum with pork, shrimp and Chinese mushroom.

HK 9: Still Hong Kong people or Chinese people yea. Am I ever go there with my colleagues? We tried to make a time but didn't work it out yea. I got Colombian colleagues, France colleagues, Brazilian colleagues, Indian, so there's one time they said they also interested to yum cha, tried to make up a time, but um it never happened and it's already been one year, so I don't think it'll happen.

Interviewer: Ok. So do you see transmitting your cultural heritage as something that's fundamental to you? Like transmitting to your friends.

HK 9: Introduce my culture?

Interviewer: Yes.

HK 9: Yea but I don't do it like, I may do it when there's a chance, not do it too intentionally yea. Ok what's the chance, for example if there's a news like lately we got the Olympic Games, yes. They are surprised Hong Kong got gold medals. Why is not China got gold medals? So they thought because Hong Kong is already part of China after 1997 so they don't understand why Hong Kong still got a separate team, so that's a chance you can introduce the reason, but if you if nothing happen you just starting talk in this topic, I think it's very weird, yea very awkward.

Interviewer: Ok. So do you think it is still an important opportunity for you, like if you've got the chance to transmit it or to introduce it to your colleagues or to other South Australian friends? Do you think it is pretty important for you to do that? I don't say will you treat it as a mission, but will you feel it's...

HK 9: Like an ambassador?

Interviewer: Will you feel that it's still important to you that they know?

HK 9: Of course, yea. I think we also kind of ambassador, yea. But yea try to do it casually, you're not brainwashing them. But just let them know more information, because if they ask the question, so may it means they they keen to know it, and they don't have this background information, they just tell as much as you know and from your background knowledge yea. I'm not sure if I check it immediately on Google map before letting them know, not just talking some guess.

Interviewer: Yea definitely. Ok, yea well I'll still ask you this.

HK 9: It's ok.

Interviewer: Have you encountered any difficulties when you're trying to transmit it, introduce it, or to maintain your own culture here?

HK 9: Maintain my own culture?

Interviewer: Like do you feel like is there any, is there enough support for you in maintaining for example the Cantonese language, is there enough support for you? Do you think it is a society which permits you to be yourself?

HK 9: Yea, ok. I can give you example. I know in San Francisco, they got a Cantonese association. They have a regular free classes for people to learn Cantonese, not Mandarin.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: Yea, especially Cantonese. 'cause in San Francisco, I think 1970s there's a lot of people from Hong Kong immigrate there, so the population in the San Francisco Chinatown, the Cantonese speaker is even more than Mandarin speaker in San Francisco Chinatown. So that environment even encourage American they also want to learn more. So that is the atmosphere. But I don't find in Adelaide, yea. But that's understandable, because it from the history um they uh was it called gold-picking? Yea 舊金山<sup>86</sup>, yea because by that time there's a lot of uh maybe Guangzhou because Cantonese not just from Hong Kong, it's also the language from Guangzhou, they travel to and picking the gold yea.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 9: Yea so in Adelaide I don't think we can do it, because the Cantonese speaker not too many. But compare to Canberra, Adelaide we already got more Hong Kong people. In Canberra just disaster.

Interviewer: Yea, ok.

HK 9: In terms of Cantonese speaker. You hardly to hear even you're in Chinatown. No actually in Canberra there's no Chinatown. Yea there's no Chinatown in Canberra.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: But it got, there's a suburb called Dickson, it's got some more Chinese food and restaurant, but they don't have a particular place call Chinatown. Yea so even you walk down Dickson, you can't hear Cantonese, just Mandarin. So the funny thing is when you hear people speaking Cantonese, you'll just come to introduce each other, because it's rare very rare can meet people speaking Cantonese.

Interviewer: Whereas here we got a lot of Cantonese speakers.

HK 9: Yea but in Adelaide you don't do this because it's already many Cantonese speaker. So if you do this, you're weird. You're awkward. But in Canberra you do this, ok no one find you awkward or suspicious.

Interviewer: Yea. So what's multiculturalism to you?

HK 9: Mm?

Interviewer: If you just put it in your own words.

HK 9: I think Australia is already is a multiculturalism country, yea, because we got so many immigrants, yea. So what does it mean to me?

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<sup>86</sup> It refers to San Francisco in the United States.

Interviewer: Yea. So we're always talking about multiculturalism here in South Australia or even in Australia in general. So what does that mean?

HK 9: It means respect, it means yea just like I said we brought up our own culture, so we got so many different belief, different inside joke, different food style, different skin colour, different language, everything is different. But if we didn't respect to each other, it can be a bad thing, it can be a very bad thing yea. People will, how to say, you have to be nice. Ok, even though you don't like their culture, and you don't respect them, there'll be a fight. And especially Australia, we got so many different people, if they don't respect each other, are they fighting all day? Are they? Yea yea so we have to, we have to respect to other culture. So our office just like I told you, we got Brazilian, Indian, Colombian, yea, a lot of people. Even, what is the place, anyway. I think we got at least 30 different culture people in our office, because our office our company is um French company, so it's not a local company, so we have people around the world.

Interviewer: So it's very multicultural right?

HK 9: Yea, very multicultural. I think there's also a advantage I working in this office, because I heard of some other people, uh he's from Hong Kong I'm not too sure, but he works in a local company, so maybe he's the only one Asian yea. Yea but that ok, my friend didn't find too, ok no discrimination, but he always a kind of a spotlight, yea. For me I'm not a spotlight. So if you don't want too much attention, yea.

Interviewer: Better choose a multicultural working environment?

HK 9: Yea I mean, yea you'll face this thing if you work in a local company. Yea that's the thing. But they can't discriminate you, it's against the law. Yea.

Interviewer: Ok. Is it against the working law or is it against a law that is...

HK 9: Australia.

Interviewer: Government?

HK 9: Racism, discrimination is not allowed in the work place and even on the street, people who shout at you, saying go home whatever, is also against the law but people still do that, yea. And yea. I know this word is quite offensive, ching chong, you heard of it?

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 9: That you can sue them, yea, it's committed to crime if any people say this word to you. Like the black people you can't say the word starting from the 'n', that's also against the law. But ok, so now I kind of understand why people, like teenagers, screaming in that of saying ching because they not trying to committed to crime, but also can tease you. Yea, that's at least my understanding.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 9: I'm not sure the reason behind they do this, but it's my understanding.

Interviewer: Yea, it's your guess then.

HK 9: Yea I'm guessing, I'm guessing.

Interviewer: So do you see South Australia as a multicultural state?

HK 9: Yea.

Interviewer: Ok, why's that?

HK 9: Why's that?

Interviewer: So apart from having people of different cultures living here, like in your workplace you've got like 30 different nationals working in the same environment in the same workplace, so apart from that, do you see South Australia is multicultural?

HK 9: Yea we got so many festivals. We got Japanese festival, we got Thai festival, we also got Lunar New Year street party, yea I'm not sure you join the street party last year. So even the Premier of the SA he will do a speech on the stage. Yea, so it means the even the Premier of South Australia he also consider Lunar New Year a big festival.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 9: So yea it's multicultural. Just like I said, as long as you respect the other people's culture, it's a multicultural city.

Interviewer: Do you think it is, like really genuinely multicultural? Or is it just on the surface?

HK 9: Genuinely. At least they do this yea. At least the Premier walk up on the stage to do this. I can't tell if he force to go on the stage or he's happy to go on the stage. But at least he do his speech, say something yea, say Happy Chinese New Year to everyone. Yea at least they do this. I can't guess their...

Interviewer: Their intentions?

HK 9: Yea their intentions.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: But not all countries do that.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 9: What I know is most European country like they don't really welcome to, because I think that is the history like Spain, France, thousand thousand years ago, same people. It's not a country for immigrants. But Australia, it was Aboriginal island, that's why we got another week. Yea. So even Australian they are also immigrant, but they build this country, yea. So I think we have more acceptable for multicultural. So being here I already feel blessed. So I come here alone. So I still need some time in the first or second year to try to adapt the culture but it's ok. But if, I think if by myself to migrate or move to European country, I don't think I can survive even one year.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 9: So Australia is multicultural, is acceptable. I know people still have a different perspective for Asian or whatever country, different colour skin, I understand, is the nature for seeing people different from you. So imagine when we're little, in the classroom, if you see somebody different you, you don't want to play with him or her. I think it's the human nature. But in the level of discrimination in Australia is not as, as high as European country.

Interviewer: Right.

HK 9: But I never been to Europe, I just learnt it from the news.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: Maybe one day I go here, I'll have different.

Interviewer: Another point of view?

HK 9: Yea. You never know until you visit there. Yea yea. It's just the feeling of, the romantic feeling yea.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 9: Even when visiting is different yea.

Interviewer: Yea. So without taking into account of the status of your citizenship or your permanent residency or anything like that, do you consider yourself a Hong Konger, a South Australian, or do you feel like you've got another identity? So how do you see yourself?

HK 9: Ok so I can give an example, when I watch Olympic Games, ok I watch Olympic Games many years, not just this year yup. So before I come to Australia, maybe I only focus on Hong Kong team, but now I also will applause for the Australian win the swimming. Yea I know, just like I said before, I know I never blend with this culture, I try to understand or adapt the culture, but I can tell my identity is now is maybe 70, 30. Yea 70 Hong Kong, 30 Australian.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: Yea.

Interviewer: Why do you think so? Like why do you feel...

HK 9: Because I still feeling glad when Australia winning, yea so I'm not sure you watch the match for 200 metres women's swimming.

Interviewer: Yea.

HK 9: So the Australian got the gold and silver.

Interviewer: Titmus right? O'Callaghan?

HK 9: Yea.

Interviewer: Hong Kong's Haughey.

HK 9: Yea, so even can't beat them, I'm still happy for both of them. I think it's something I consider my identity 70-30 yea. But I still got 70 Hong Kong.

Interviewer: Ok, very interesting.

HK 9: Yea.

Interviewer: Thank you for that. So I'm done with my questions.

HK 9: OK great.

Interviewer: So unless you've got anything to add?

HK 9: All good yea, that's pretty much.

Interviewer: Yea I think we've talked about a lot of things already.

HK 9: I just remember the grocery store. It starts from 'R' I think. Ok I still can't remember.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: If you go to, well I can check up the Google Map.

Interviewer: Yes of course.

HK 9: I can let you jot down on your note. Romeo Foodland.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: Romeo Foodland and Drake only you can find in South Australia. I think it's a family owned business. That's it.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. I've just got one more question for you.

HK 9: Oh yea.

Interviewer: All of a sudden I remember the question.

HK 9: Ok what's the last question?

Interviewer: So it's like in Kowloon Restaurant, what do you usually eat there? What's your favourite dish?

HK 9: My favourite dish. There's no favourite dish. I only go there for the milk tea.

Interviewer: Ok.

HK 9: Yea to be honest, in Adelaide, you can't find a good Hong Kong restaurant, cha chaan teng. No. Maybe in Melbourne, but not in Adelaide. In Adelaide, it's just fair, you can't find one an excellent or good. But the milk tea is above the average. Or maybe milk tea you can say it is Hong Kong-style milk tea, or it is not Hong Kong-style milk tea. Yea.

Interviewer: We can taste it right? From the first sip, ok that's Hong Kong.

HK 9: Yea, if they do it correctly, that is correct. There's no good or excellent. That's it.

Interviewer: Right. Ok, so thank you very much for your time. I'll stop the recording.

HK 9: Yea no worries.

## Appendix 3.2: non-Chinese South Australian participants

*James*: Interviewed on 21 May 2025. Interview duration: 48 minutes and 1 second.

Interviewer: I'll start with some demographic information first. So what's your age group?

SA 1: Over 80 years old

Interviewer: Gender is male. What's your ethnicity?

SA 1: English.

Interviewer: What's your family structure? Are you living with a partner or alone?

SA 1: Married. Children grown up and left home.

Interviewer: Industry sector?

SA 1: Higher education.

Interviewer: How long have you resided in South Australia?

SA 1: Since 1988. But I came before in '83, '84, and '85, along association with South Australia and Adelaide.

Interviewer: What do you think multiculturalism is?

SA 1: I'm sure academically, if I read the literature, I'm gonna come up with a multiple range of definitions and angles. But if I were to look at it simply, it's people from various cultures from anywhere being able to live together in reasonable harmony. And common interests, being in Australia, and having diverse backgrounds. That's my understanding of it. At its best, it's harmonious. At its worst, it's full of conflict. Luckily here, it's mostly harmonious.

Interviewer: Can you differentiate between South Australian multiculturalism and multiculturalism in other Australian states, or in other countries?

SA 1: I have a sort of view that, Australia is pretty much the same wherever you go. There's greater or lesser population density, and you see and feel more. Like I was in Sydney the other week, and you feel that China is there. If you go to Melbourne, Greece and Italy are there. It's more to do with population density, but it looks as if from outside that Australia has achieved something quite remarkable, that people from diverse cultures live here with reasonable harmony wherever you go in Australia. By that I mean, the main urban centers. I'm not so sure what it's like in regional Australia. That's a distinction I'd like to make. Here's the next point though: In my travels, I've been very aware of what is like to be a minority and to be the receiving end of active discrimination. The best example would be Malaysia, where many Chinese people that I know there, even though they are hugely successful as business people, feel left out of the major political decision-making, which is in

the hands of the Malay. So they feel relatively disadvantaged. Whereas here I don't think anyone goes around feeling relatively disadvantaged or seriously disadvantaged.

Interviewer: Based on what you've just said, I'm sure you agree with this multiculturalism in South Australia.

SA 1: Yes. An excellent idea, the only way forward. There can't be White Australia, it wouldn't exist, it wouldn't survive, it wouldn't adapt, it doesn't have enough talent, it can't generate enough population to be self-sustaining. It has to expand through migration and that's always been understood, since the 1960s. Took a long time to get there, but White Australia up until I think in late '60s was a dominant mode of discourse. But since then, reality has beaten and we have to open up.

Interviewer: What does it mean to you to be a South Australian or an Australian in general?

SA 1: Very good. Coming from England, two things: a very strong sense of history and culture, British culture, English culture. That's one thing. It's a proud history and it's something that you can reflect upon, mostly with pleasure, although there's a dark colonial side I haven't looked at too much. But the other thing is if you come from England, your first thought is social class. Social class is still a dominant factor in people's lives, and in a way it defines them. Whereas here, it's relatively classless. It's a rough and ready egalitarian society. It's not a sophisticated one. But class doesn't get in the way of who you are and how you relate to people. But it doesn't mean to say it's not there. It's certainly there. Economic class is there, but cultural class isn't such a big thing. So there's a difference. The weight of history doesn't bear on me here as it would do back in England. I'm more free in mind, body, spirit. I think I'd say that.

Interviewer: Do you think you have any other identities? Apart from being an Australian, or South Australian?

SA 1: Yes, I would have to say. I can't escape and would have no reason to deny my British heritage. It's a big factor, particularly in how I interpret things, to some extent in humour, to some extent still an interest in British culture. So I'm not free of my past, but it doesn't weigh heavily on me. So I live comfortably with it and I feel pretty well. An Australian friend said to me a couple of years ago, 'Well you're more Australian now than British.' And I thought, that's a compliment. As a matter of fact, this year I got the order of Australia medal. And I think if I wanted to prove how Australian I've become, I reckon that's a pretty good proof, in the eyes of others. I've done something significant to be qualified as an Australian. I'd like to look at it that way. But it's not either or, it's both. It's multidimensional.

Interviewer: I know you've already mentioned about that, but do you see South Australia as a multicultural state?

SA 1: Yes. Like any other, not dominated by, you don't feel that is everywhere. It sort of, seems to mix and mingle very comfortably with each other. It doesn't have that kind of hint of antagonism. If you go to Sydney, the people who buy the houses are the Chinese. And others can't get in, and they're feeling this. All other people are feeling that one group now

has a relative advantage because they have more purchase power. Others are being left out because they can't compete. And that's government decision, that brought people in, cashed up, knowing for well, or they should have expected, that that would have an impact on the housing market and it certainly has. There are ways in which government policy can aggravate the situation, it isn't all smooth plain sailing if they do things that in a sense give one cultural group an economic or political advantage over others, people are going to feel it. At some point they might resent it. But in South Australia, it hasn't happened yet. Whether it will, I can't predict for now. Probably not, there is a kind of culture of consensus here, which I think is part and parso of the political culture of South Australia. I like it that way. It's kind of British, but without the class antagonism. It doesn't have that raw feeling that you can get in New South Wales. Yes, that's a generalisation I'd have to research it to be sure that I'm saying that right thing. But for now, off the top, yes.

Interviewer: So you've just compared South Australia to New South Wales. How about other parts of Australia in general? How multicultural is South Australia when compared to, say, Queensland?

SA 1: Depends where you go. If you go to the smaller regional towns of Queensland, there may be more tension...It's a territory of Pauline Hanson and people with quite strong feelings about a White Australia, and they're intolerant. Whether that manifest itself in personal resentment and attack, I doubt it. It's just it's sort of a political thing. But whether it manifests in other ways, I'm not so sure about that. But I wouldn't feel comfortable living in a red neck area of Queensland, or anywhere for that matter, knowing full well that usually meant an intolerance of people from other cultures, particularly Asian cultures. That would spoil my idealised vision of Australia. And it might be closer to the reality than I like to admit, but it depends where you live. If you live, like I do, in urban intellectual, in part in Adelaide, you don't feel it. But if I live in other parts of South Australia, or Adelaide, let alone Queensland, depending on the socio-economic conditions, I might feel there's more antagonism that meets the eye. So you must draw the attention that, I have the idealised view of it, and I don't necessarily know the full realities and it's not because I'm blind to them, it's just that I haven't lived them.

Interviewer: It's just your personal perceptions on things.

SA 1: Yes, based on experience. I mean, when I think back, I cannot think of an incident when anyone has been rude to me. No one's called me a pom in a derogatory sense. They might have done it in a humorous sense which I enjoy. But no one has made me feel that I belong to a group that they don't like here. I haven't had that experience. That's the real test if people tell you I was made to feel that I was not welcome, not accepted, then my lofty idealised vision falls apart, fairly easily. So I'm not quite sure of my own ideal here, there's maybe a lot more underground than I can see because I don't look. I don't have to, I'm not researching it.

Interviewer: I'm the one who has to do it.

SA 1: Yes, you're the one.

Interviewer: So you've been here for quite a while already...

SA 1: Yes, more time here than anywhere else.

Interviewer: Have you noticed any changes to multiculturalism here in South Australia?

SA 1: Yes, insofar there's a great predominance of people from ethnic cultures other than the British, other than the White, there's more people from Asia, it's more tangible, more visible, but not antagonistic, it seems to blend in over the years. That's probably not as important as the other observation I make. If you look at North Terrace all the way down the knowledge economy has been very firmly planted on the River Torrens. All these buildings, the one we're in, and you go down to the universities down the road, the knowledge economy it's been the biggest transformation I've seen. When I first came here, the manufacturing base was dissolving, there was a little mini crisis about it when things shut down. And at the end of the day, had to be seen to be worrying about it, and that's all gone. What's quietly replaced it, it's the knowledge economy and it's very firmly embedded here. And it means that there's a big demand for high skill labour. Whether the Asian groups are supplying that, their children will be, almost certainly your generation and succeeding generations are the knowledge economy of the future. And what you can probably assume culturally is their parents can work it out. If you're to survive here and live well, you better do well at the education, you better get a professional knowledge-based job, and then your future is better than being a bus driver or a brekkie, as the saying goes. Multiculturalism, I think means adding value to the economy, because at least the children are going to achieve. For instance, I have a student from North Africa, he's done his PhD, he's done very well, but he can't get a really suitable job. But his children are all ambitious, they want to be medics, they see their future in terms of profession. And hopefully, the education that they get prepares them for that and they get what they worked hard for, and they are not prevented from getting that. That's significant. I don't think there are barriers directed to prevent people from Asia or any other cultural groups to have a fair-go and get a fair opportunity. That's what I like about it. There is no active discrimination. Depends who you ask, the women might say no there is. I just don't see it. Anyway.

Interviewer: Do you know anyone of Chinese descent living here in South Australia?

SA 1: Yes. Quite a number. Mostly professional class, as you'd expect. My neighbour is a plastic surgeon from Vietnam, his wife is from Hong Kong. Most of my neighbours are Chinese, Vietnamese, Indian, so I certainly do. I have been working with people from other cultures for thirty or more years, they're spread all over the world, but have a base here of people who come from other countries: China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Iran, you name it. But I'm a bit different from the rest, I'm a bit at the extreme end of my multicultural experience because it's through higher education, that makes me kind of a special case, probably in relation to the majority of the people who don't have those opportunities that I've had.

Interviewer: Do you think it is important for a person of Chinese Hong Kong descent to maintain their own cultural heritage in South Australia?

SA 1: Well if it's important to them it is. But it doesn't have to be prescribed by anyone else. It has to be a self-chosen cultural identity and you maintain it as much as you wish to do so, no one should tell you how much you have to do it, and no one should criticise you for doing so. You are free to pursue your cultural roots and respect them. Why wouldn't we? In aboriginal culture it goes on all the time. Respecting the land, the people past, present and future. Everyone should have the same entitlement. Of course they should. No one should tell them otherwise. That's the important thing. We cannot afford to have a government of any kind saying you can't do this. That would destroy our notion of democracy. So we can't have it. We have to keep it open. People should be free to pursue their religious choices, their cultural preferences, things that interest and make them tick and give them identity, they should be free. That's the difference. When you go to countries that are not free, then you know the difference. It's huge.

Interviewer: Have you noticed any Hong Kong cultural heritage sites here in South Australia?

SA 1: Restaurants. You can usually tell if the owners are from Hong Kong. Not only the food, but also the notion of service. I now could make a distinction between Cantonese owned managed restaurant, and Mainland Chinese, and Chinese Malaysian. There're subtle differences and they're not always flattering. On the whole, notions of service quality are strongly linked to Hong Kong culture, far less so in China culture, and not the same in Malaysian Chinese culture. Those are the differences I have observed in my many years here. So in the end, you go to a Cantonese restaurant, because the food is good, the service is good, and you can trust. Now I'm saying that because my Cantonese wife does not have trust. It's a big factor and it's well worth exploring. Trust between these groups, who look alike but they're not alike. There's a lot of shades of difference which can be mildly antagonistic. And it's all to do with trust. I caused a huge stir once with a presentation that I made to Chinese government officials who came here. They weren't senior, they were kind of junior. And I said, the biggest problem we have with you is we don't trust you. I did it provocatively to stir them up. And it caused a huge stir. They didn't like it. But I was observing something that many people have observed: that Chinese culture is not to be trusted in our dealings and many Chinese people have actually confirmed that. They say they have these struggles with each other as who to trust. So trust is a huge factor in a cultural relationship. I live with one and trust comes up daily as a factor in how my wife relates to other groups besides her own. She would have natural trust in Hong Kong Chinese, and she'd say as part of the British influence, their business is trust-worthy. She doesn't believe the same thing applies with Mainland Chinese. And a lot of, in confidence, a lot of my Chinese students have shared that feeling too. I won't go into that.

Interviewer: It is interesting.

SA 1: Yes, it's real and it's well worth probing how they see each other. They look alike, as it were, we know they don't, but they don't necessarily think alike, or behave alike.

Interviewer: Apart from Hong Kong Cantonese restaurants, have you noticed some other sites in South Australia?

SA 1: I think the huge emphasis placed on education of their children is something you can't ignore. The idea of the 'tiger mother', relentlessly pursuing the education of their children at all costs, because they know the imperative. The children may not. So the children get drilled very early on into doing well at school, and you can't not do well at school. If you want to tease anyone, you'd say to a young woman, 'Have your parents decided who you're going to marry yet? Is it going to be a doctor, or a lawyer, or worst still, an accountant?' And you can always stir them up. That's certainly one, the cultural weight plays on educational performance. The other thing I think I can observe about Hong Kong Chinese. On the whole they're not outdoor people. You don't see them walking around at night, enjoying the outdoors. They're more indoor, and I can compare that with the Indians. The Indians are always outdoors. They always seem to be. So it's an indoor culture and I can understand why. If you live in Hong Kong, where are you going to be outdoors? So it's not an outdoor culture and they bring it here. Obviously there's going to be lots of exceptions. And schooling makes all that difference. The children start to play sport in a way that they can't play sport back in Hong Kong. I remember once I was asking a Chinese Indonesian what did she do at the weekend. I was doing research there. She said, 'I go for a walk.' I said, 'Oh, that's interesting. You walk?' She said, 'Oh, yes yes. I go to the shopping mall and I walk for two hours.' I said, 'That's not walking.' 'Oh no, that's walking, and I get my driver to pick me up and then go home.' So that was her idea of walking. Outdoor, it's just so hot and humid and it's not very pleasant. It's a pleasure to meet Asian people who love the outdoors. I haven't met too many. One of my students in Hong Kong, we would go walking in the New Territories. We'd go walking in the hills and we'd be rare exception. It wouldn't be too many of us. We headed to ourselves there. Mongkok, just down there, I've never seen so many people in all my life, but just up there, not so far away. Mount Lions...

Interviewer: Was it the Lion Rock?

SA 1: Yes, that's it. I've been up there with Rex in the past. We found lots of nice walks. From Yuen Long, we could go from there, on a little bus, and then next thing is, we're walking, you know. And look across there's Mainland China. As a side story, I got to know quite a number of people in the Hong Kong Police because one of my students was a Hong Kong Policeman. Then I met someone from the rural police. And I said, 'What? Rural police? What are you talking about? How many staff do you have?' 'Oh, five hundred.' 'Five hundred?' 'Yes, we have the New Territories and it's a huge area, relatively speaking.' And I said, 'Why do you need so many people?' 'People coming from the Mainland smuggling.' 'Oh, I never knew that.' It's quite an interesting insight into Chinese culture, Hong Kong culture that I didn't know existed. But he was very strong about it. And I said, 'Can I come with you next time I visit? Can I hitch a ride? Can you take me up into...' 'Yes.' It didn't happen because I didn't get to see him again.

Interviewer: Have you participated in any Hong Kong multicultural events in South Australia?

SA 1: Yes. Cultural... The food event where I bumped into you. Occasionally, I think I've gone to a musical event. But most of all, when I've met with Hong Kong people it would be a

function of a Hong Kong business association. That was my way into Hong Kong culture. Usually business-related activities, and there will be a big dinner and you know and it'll all be very Chinese, very Cantonese. And occasionally when children were born, I've been invited to some things there. And very remotely, Chinese Christian culture. I know they exist, they are around and, because one of my students was active Christian. Through him, I kind of fringe that other culture. And the other group that I had some dealings with were those who were new migrants seeking a foothold and looking for work and looking for opportunity. They were a group, but they were a very loose group. They had one thing in common: they didn't form into an association, but there were, in a sense, making that transition from Hong Kong to here, and of course finding work was an important thing. Then they discovered, in a sense, what little is done by government to actually help them. You're pretty much on your own. That's my impression. You can seek some help but there isn't a system as far as I could understand, where people from Hong Kong or people from any culture can go to, what you might call, a labour exchange and offer their services and someone would help you find a job. I don't think that exists so you're pretty much on your own and so you band together and support each other. So I've had those fringe experiences, you know, family, church, business-type activity, occasionally what you might call almost pure culture. And the best time of that of course is Chinese New Year. That's when you see it, the Lion Dance and any number of those, I think that's good. But, you know, anything more than that I wouldn't say I've understood intellectual culture, or artistic culture, there I haven't seen much evidence of that. I've seen people enjoying their life and enjoying their wealth, enjoying being here and being successful, but not in a kind of continuation of Chinese or Hong Kong culture. Not very much anyway. It's kind of to us, White people you could say, is to be discovered. It's there, but it's kind of not on the surface. You have to probe to find it. You need connection. Guan xi<sup>87</sup>.

Interviewer: So obviously you've tasted Cantonese food multiple times. Do you enjoy it?

SA 1: Yes, very much. It's probably in terms of choice of food anywhere in the world, I would put Cantonese up there, along with Thai and Japanese. In terms of that which was different and interesting, and the Thai was spicy, the Japanese was clever, skillful, the Cantonese seem to be all a bit together.

Interview: What's your favourite Cantonese dish?

SA 1: Usually fish dishes. But I don't have strong memory...I mean I've had the whole range of Cantonese food. Would I say there was a favourite? No. I'm incline to sort of 'Oh, let's have this and let's have that.' It's all pretty good. There's something I won't eat. I cannot stand chicken feet, doesn't do anything for me. The big difference of course, here, compared with Hong Kong, the quality is strikingly different. The real stuff is in Hong Kong. Here is kind of blended to suit Western taste and it is a bit compromised. But it's okay, you know. They have to make a living. And they can't cater just for Cantonese taste. The one exception, there's a place in Kanzi in Sydney where I can go, and it's like being in Hong Kong. It's

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<sup>87</sup> Relationship or connection in Mandarin pinyin.

absolutely terrific. Fish mostly, and that's really first-class. Whenever I'm there, I try to get people to meet me there or go there.

Interviewer: What's the name of the restaurant?

SA 1: I forgot the name. It's in Kanzi. If you go, let me know. And I can probably get my wife to tell you anyway.

Interviewer: Ok. What kind of activities or performances were offered in the Hong Kong cultural festivals you attended in South Australia?

SA 1: One of my students was the owner of a vast Hong Kong karaoke chain in Hong Kong, but I can't say I'm a karaoke lover. I can't think of any event that I've been to which is distinctly Hong Kong cultural music. I mean there's Chinese opera, but it's not particularly Cantonese, as far as I know.

Interviewer: There could be Cantonese operas too.

SA 1: Yes, I know, but I haven't gone to it. I don't know if I would, seems to be a bit of a big ask for me to sit there for that amount of time. My wife can do it. She can sing Chinese opera. Sort of, you know. I mean what I'm really trying to say is, I know Hong Kong people, worked with them, like them, enjoy them, you know they're good people. I know their business culture pretty well, I know their work ethic pretty well, I know their thirst for education and learning, all those sort of things. They're aspects of that culture, but I haven't been immersed in it, like as if there was nothing else. I dipped in, but I wouldn't say that I've lived Hong Kong culture. I've had little taste of it. But if I think of Hong Kong culture, I think of food. That's the first and foremost.

Interviewer: So do you think the Hong Kong cultural heritage is part of South Australian cultural heritage?

SA 1: Not especially. I mean it would take some leadership of considerables, significants, to bring it more to public attention. But I don't think that's the Hong Kong way. They tend to quietly get on with it, rather than advertise themselves, and they're not so much into self promotion. So I wouldn't expect to be hit between the eyes with Hong Kong culture. Whereas, you know, if I was back in the UK, Scottish culture, Welsh culture, Irish culture, would be there, very easily accessible through music, in particular. And you'd have no mistake about it, and it's distinctly different. But here, it tends not to make itself known too obviously. That would require something else which might not fit in Chinese cultural norms. You know, they tend not to be self-promoting.

Interviewer: But if we consider South Australia as a multicultural state, should we consider all other cultures as part of South Australian cultural heritage? Or are they still not part of the 'mainstream' culture?

SA 1: It's a difficult question to answer. Ideally, and I underline that word, wherever you're from, you should feel at home here. You should feel equal, respected, and valued, for whatever your contribution. And you don't have to lose your identity in the process of being

Australian. So I like that idea that everyone's welcome, everyone's free to be themselves, and to continue with their cultural heritage, but become Australian at the same time, whatever that means. No one prescribes what that is, thank goodness. So as long we keep that kind of open level playing field, acceptance, then we're okay. I wouldn't want one group to dominate another, and I suspect that's partly the reason why the aboriginal voice to parliament didn't get to go in. Why should they? We know they're 65,000 years of cultural heritage etc. We know they're the most conspicuous disadvantaged. But in the society we've created, no one group should be given special treatment and special leverage. And I think people saw that. Whether it's true or not I don't know, no one's investigated it. But that's my suspicion. Therefore, if I follow my own logic, I'd say we welcome everyone, including the Brits, we're all equal here, we're all Australian, but how you are Australian is up to you, but you don't have to lose your roots. You don't have to cut them off. And why should you? Who is to tell us what's the best to model? But that's not true in other societies. It makes me appreciate what's here and we need to keep on reiterating the importance of that: the open society 'cause it has lots of enemies. But we must keep protecting it. Whereas other closed societies, you don't want to be there, including China. I wouldn't want to live in China.

Interviewer: Ok. Do you have any other comments or anything you'd like to add here?

SA 1: I think I've covered it. Look, to repeat my point, first of all, I'm married to Hong Kong Cantonese, knowing through her friends something about that culture. I've had great privilege of working closely with a number of them, to get their PhDs; and with long learning journeys like that, three or more years, you get to know the culture they're representing. And I've been to Hong Kong many many times, so I'm very familiar with the culture. And of course, I'm only too happy for it to continue. It's only enriched my life. Therefore, I have every reason to support it, in whatever way and form it takes. They're not people who're dominant and pushy, they're not trying to outdo anyone else. I rather like that. Other groups will be much more pushy than the Hong Kong. The Hong Kong quietly slip around and get on with it. That's what I like.

Interviewer: Could that be part of the Hong Kong spirit?

SA 1: Yes, I think we call it that. But as for cultural identity, I'm not strongly enough in it, or I haven't seen enough of it, to say that it is a very distinctive form. But it comes out in the way people behave, but it's quietly stated, it's not in your face. You wouldn't mistake them. Yes, I think that's it.

Interviewer: Thank you very much for your time.

*Mary*: Interviewed on 5 June 2024. Interview duration: 28 minutes and 59 seconds.

Interviewer: I'll just start with some demographic information from you. Can you please tell me your age group please?

SA 2: I am 45-53.

Interviewer: What's your ethnicity?

SA 2: How am I to describe that? English background, I guess? Australian English background. Third generation Australian, fourth, fifth, something like that.

Interviewer: What's your family structure? Do you have a partner? Or are you living alone?

SA 2: I have a partner, no children. I am in a family of two older brothers.

Interviewer: Your industry sector?

SA 2: Arts and culture.

Interviewer: I'll just start with a simple question. How long have you resided in South Australia?

SA 2: Since 1979, no 1981.

Interviewer: What do you think multiculturalism is?

SA 2: My personal view of what multiculturalism is a society or community that is made up of people with different ethnicities, and different backgrounds, languages, traditions and beliefs, and acceptance of those across the board.

Interviewer: Do you agree with what's happening here in South Australia? With the South Australian multiculturalism?

SA 2: Would you mind enlightening me as to exactly what we're talking about? What is happening?

Interviewer: So here in South Australia, the South Australian government implement different charters or policies to help support multiculturalism in South Australia. So what do you think about this?

SA 2: Yes, I think we should encourage multiculturalism definitely. I think it enriches our society, our culture. I think there should be...I know it's probably more federal government, I think our federal government goes through waves of pursuing one culture at a time, one country at a time for immigration. But I think that we should be pursuing all countries, so that we actually do have multiculturalism, rather than a lot of people coming from one sector, or one cultural background at a time. I think it would be better that we have a consistent flow of people from all different backgrounds.

Interviewer: So what do you mean by the government pursuing one country at a time?

SA 2: Well, I don't know, I'm not well-versed in politics, it's not an area of interest for me particularly, but I would say that it appears that over the last 20 years, there're noticeable influxes of people from one particular country or culture for a period and then that changes. And then it seems there is an influx of people from another cultural background. I don't know why that is, and I'm not sure whether it's driven my policies, but that's an assumption. But I

have worked with, or had people in the museum that have been new migrants and have said that they would pursue to immigrate to this country. That's an assumption that I've made. As I said, my view is that we should be opened to anybody from any culture coming in, and what we should be pursuing is a really nice spread, an even spread of people from all different cultures.

Interviewer: Based on what you've just said, you agree with multiculturalism here?

SA 2: Definitely.

Interviewer: So what does it mean to you to be a South Australian? Or an Australian in general?

SA 2: Yes, okay. Personally, to be Australian means that I come from a country that's safe. I live in a place that's safe. That's probably foremost in my mind, because my partner comes from another country that's not safe. It also means that I feel like I'm part of a multicultural country. This country began as a Western society from immigration. The only people that are naturally South Australian are the Indigenous people. So to be South Australian for me, or Australian, means that we are multicultural across the board. I love being part of this country, I think we have a really fantastic lifestyle, I think we embrace lots of different attitudes and traditions, beliefs, cultures. I'd like to see us embrace more around Indigenous history and background, but I think it's really important that we continue to have that freedom, and I think that's probably the most important thing about this country.

Interviewer: So apart from being South Australian, do you have any other identities?

SA 2: No. Australian. South Australian. I grew up in the Northern Territory so if I was going to draw a long bow, probably, that was part of my background as well.

Interviewer: Do you see South Australia as a multicultural state at the moment?

SA 2: Definitely. There are people from all parts of the world in this country. The majority of the people I am friends with, socialise with, are from other countries, or their parents are from countries. I live in Glenelg and it is not uncommon for me hear other languages spoken on the street and same thing when I'm in CBD in Adelaide. I hear a lot of languages. As I said my partner is from, is not from Australia. He is a citizen now, but he's a new migrant, and so we're exposed regularly to other people that are new migrants. And we're seeing people in the last ten years who were not born here. So yes, absolutely, I think we have a huge diversity of cultures in this state, and particularly, I think, personally, and without knowing any statistics around it, I certainly think that has ramped up over the last, probably pre-Covid, and I think it fell away a little bit during Covid, that's certainly in the lead up to Covid I think that was really ramping up, and now immigration was probably more intense than in past years, I think.

Interviewer: So you know something about the Northern Territory as well. So how multicultural is South Australia when compared to the Northern Territory or other parts that you know in Australia?

SA 2: I guess it's hard to say. I grew up in the Northern Territory in the '70s and the majority of the people in my class in primary school were new migrants. So I think the Northern Territory in that way has a much longer history of immigration than perhaps South Australia does. I think it was absolutely common in Darwin in the '70s for people to have not been born in Australia, or for their parents to have not been born in Australia. How that compares to other cities? I don't know, I haven't lived in those other cities. And it's very hard to say, because when you're a tourist in other cities, you're in the tourist area, so it's hard to know whether people that are not speaking English, or people seemingly from other backgrounds, whether they're tourists or they're residents, it's hard to know. Sorry, I don't really know. The only thing that I would say comparatively is, when I travelled to Melbourne, a lot of the signs are in Chinese so that suggests to me there's a large Chinese population. That's the only reason, otherwise why would they have signs of a different language? Otherwise I don't know. I imagine that we're similar. I know, because my partner is not from Australia. I know that we have a lot of immigration into South Australia because it's easier to get a visa because we're considered a region rather than ...so it's easier to get residency and visas to live in South Australia, than is in New South Wales and Victoria. So we do have a larger influx of different people from different demographic backgrounds, from other countries.

Interviewer: Have you noticed any changes in multiculturalism in South Australia? So you've been living here since the 1980s...

SA 2: Yes, definitely. Look, I think in terms of the places where people are coming from, and immigrating to, definitely changes. I know when I was in high school in the '80s for instance, there were a lot of Greek and Italian migrants, a lot of people I went to school with parents were from Greece and Italy. And in I think certainly through probably the '90s and 2000, that probably continued. There was a bigger influx of people from Asia. Certainly when I was in school I didn't go to school with any Asian people in South Australia. In the Northern Territory, yes definitely. A lot of people I went to school with were from the Philippines, from China, and from Indonesia. We don't have many people from Indonesia here because it's very hard for those people to get in this country, which is really unfortunate, because I think they could bring a lot to this country. And then certainly in recent years, it's been people from India, Sri Lanka, and Cambodia I think, and other countries, and I know, partly because I know because I'm exposed to it and also because statistics have said that the largest immigration population into Australia, and that it means almost definitely that South Australia is, South American. So that's how I see that it's changed, in terms of who's coming. I don't know why that is again, I don't know whether that's our government having arrangements with governments of those countries? I know our government going back, probably ten years ago now, maybe less than ten years ago, having arrangements with Brazil, to bring students here, and that went on for a few years, and so as a result of that a lot of those people stayed here. And then there's been a trajectory of people coming from that country. And I wonder whether our government has had those programmes in place, over that sort of 30 or 40 years, targetting specific parts of the world, I don't know.

Interviewer: Do you know anyone of Chinese/ Hong Kong descent living here in South Australia?

SA 2: I do know lots of people of Chinese descent. Hong Kong I don't know. Not that I can think of, apart from yourself. Not that I can think of. But a lot of my friends have Chinese heritage. Not born in China, but parents, at least one parent born in China.

Interviewer: Do you think it is important for someone of Hong Kong descent or Chinese descent to maintain their own cultural heritage here in South Australia?

SA 2: Yes I think so. That's what makes our country interesting. I'm really interested in other cultures. I think leaving a country doesn't mean you should leave that culture behind, because eventually those cultures would be forgotten. And I'm thinking particularly of Indigenous culture. And I think it would be a real shame to see culture disappear. Yes, I think people should practise their culture. I don't think people should let go of their culture, but I think equally they should embrace the culture they're coming to, and that doesn't mean changing their beliefs or systems or things that they do. But I think it's at least understanding what they're coming to, and accepting that what's happening here, whether they're a part of that is not relevant. But I think you know that's part of, becoming part of the community, I think is to accept what you're coming to and with the expectation of people accept what you're bringing as well. And I think the equal sharing is what makes a place a good place to be and live. I think I'll certainly encourage, you know, both sides.

Interviewer: Have you noticed any Hong Kong or Chinese cultural heritage sites here in South Australia?

SA 2: No. I'm trying to think off the top of my head. No. I know we have Japanese gardens in the Parklands in the city. No, I don't, and that's a shame. But I'd like to see some, I'd like to know if there're some.

Interviewer: I'd let you know after the interview.

SA 2: Good, thank you.

Interviewer: Have you participated in any kind of Hong Kong related festivals or multicultural festivals in South Australia?

SA 2: Not in South Australia. I've travelled to Hong Kong a few times. But no, not necessarily in South Australia. I've been obviously Chinese New Year, everybody's been involved in that at some point. And definitely I have been to multiple activities and events to do with Chinese New Year. Hong Kong specific not that I know of. But I'll certainly be interested if I was aware of them.

Interviewer: Have you tasted any kind of Hong Kong food or Chinese food?

SA 2: Yes, definitely, when I've been over there.

Interviewer: What kind of food have you tasted?

SA 2: Everything, that's one of the things I love the most about other cultures and what they bring to our country. Chinese food, I've eaten a lot of Chinese food. I don't know what's specifically Hong Kong. I'm trying to think. When I travelled to Hong Kong, I ate a lot of

street food. It was a long time, like the last time I was here was probably more than ten years ago now. I ate a lot of food on sticks, which was amazing. A lot of omelette dishes, I had an oyster omelette I reckon when I was in Hong Kong. I went to an island that was off of Hong Kong, and ate in a little traditional restaurant there.

Interviewer: Was it the Lamma Island?

SA 2: That's the one. I don't really remember. I remember I loved the food, but I don't really remember what exactly we had. But I know it was supposedly local, but I don't remember. Mainly when I travelled. I ate a lot of Chinese food here, but Hong Kong specific ones I can't really think of any restaurants that are Hong Kong specific, but I absolutely love Asian food, all Asian food, so I'll be interested to know and try again. But I can't think of any, I'm trying to think if I can think of anything that is specifically Hong Kong, but I can't.

Interviewer: Where do you go for Chinese food here?

SA 2: I go to Ying Chow regularly, it's one of my favourite restaurants. I do eat all of of Asian food. If I'm going out, I try to eat Chinese, 'cause I really like it. But not Western Chinese, more traditional Chinese food. Yes.

Interviewer: So there's a difference here?

SA 2: Yes. Absolutely there's a difference. A couple of my friends are of Chinese background, they do cook Chinese food. I can't say I know what the names of those are, but yes. They cook Chinese food as well.

Interviewer: Have you participated in any multicultural events here in South Australia, particularly Hong Kong related or Chinese related ones?

SA 2: Not that I can think of. Apart from Chinese New Year, events that happen usually in Chinatown, in the city, not that I can think of. I certainly would, but I just can't think of any. I don't know of any that are specifically Hong Kong, that I can think of. Things will come to me later on after we finished. It'll happen I'm sure.

Interviewer: So what have you learnt about the Hong Kong or Chinese culture, either here in South Australia or elsewhere?

SA 2: I've travelled to China, and to Hong Kong. As I said, I travelled to Hong Kong a couple of times, when I was younger. Look, I don't profess to be really well-versed or have a great memory for other cultures, but I certainly have an understanding of the various... I learnt a lot about that when I travelled through China, I travelled with my mum actually. We went to the Forbidden City, the Summer Palace, and all of the fabulous places and ate all the incredible food over there, which was wonderful. And travelled, as you said, to Lamma Island. So I have been exposed to Asian culture and I find it incredibly interesting, because it's so much older than, any of them, Australian culture, whatever that is. But I couldn't sit here and tell you a lot about it, but I have been exposed to it. I have read about it. I've been on, you know, I've travelled to China and Hong Kong, and been exposed to different things. I know when I was in Hong Kong, not the last time but the time before, I went to some temples

and so was exposed to some religious ceremonies at those temples, lighting candles and that kind of thing. But my memory of exactly what that is isn't really that clear, because it's very long time ago. Certainly have been exposed to it, and find it very interesting. Yes, find it very interesting and overwhelming because there's so much depth to Chinese culture. I read a lot, a lot of books based in Asia and around some Asian culture which I really like, find it interesting.

Interviewer: Do you think the Hong Kong cultural heritage is part of the South Australian cultural heritage?

SA 2: Unfortunately I have to say no. Yes unfortunately I have to say no. Because I don't think, because even in us talking today, I'm aware that I'm saying I don't know a lot about Hong Kong restaurants in South Australia. I don't know about Hong Kong events, or events related to Hong Kong heritage. I don't even know a lot about Hong Kong history, beyond being occupied by the British. I don't know whether 'occupied' is the right word. I don't know that we know a lot about it, and I think that's a shame. Apart from yourself, I'm not even aware of anyone in my circle of other peers or friends or colleagues or whatever, that has Hong Kong background specifically. That doesn't mean to say they don't, but it's not on my radar, that's my reason for saying 'no' from that perspective.

Interviewer: Very interesting. So what is, to you, the Australian culture then? Or the South Australian culture?

SA 2: It's, I think I have said it earlier, it's, I don't know it's really hard to explain. I think we are incredibly multicultural and as I said it earlier, our heritage comes from other countries, which was mainly in the early, in the really early parts of South Australia, was English, Irish, Chinese and German, mainly. And so we don't have a long tradition of our own heritage, unless we're looking to our Indigenous backgrounds. So in terms of White people's culture, you know it's fairly loose. I mean I guess you could say it's barbecues, and going to the beach, and camping, that what I would say it's our culture. And mateship and friendship, and I think multiculturalism, that is what the foundation of our state is, a multicultural state. Yes, large, large numbers of our early immigrants were English, but they were immigrants, like everybody, like everybody from Australia is an immigrant, apart from the Indigenous people, so...but yes, I guess if I were thinking realistically about our culture, it's safe, it's trust, honesty, it's outdoors, very outdoor focused culture, and being able to rely on your friends, and you know, being able to help each other out. I think that is a part of our culture. And I certainly see that is not part of other cultures, necessarily. And I'm not saying about any particularly culture, but I certainly see South American culture, it is certainly not like that. It's not about helping people out, being part of a community, and think it is something that is Australian, South Australian. And like I said, we have a really outdoors focused. Our culture is about going to the beach, it is about being outside, camping, barbecues. We like to be outside.

Interviewer: So how important is Hong Kong cultural heritage in South Australia?

SA 2: Well, if there are people from, sorry, how do I put this? I think it should be important, whether it is or not, I'm not sure, because I'm not very aware of it, and that's a shame. It's important for people to recognise there is a history particular Hong Kong culture, cultural heritage here in South Australia. I think it would be great to know more about what that is, understand that we do have lots and lots of cultures here, and so it's really hard for each culture to have awareness of it. But I think it must be important, and it would be important to find out more about what that is. And make people more aware of it. Tell people they are from that cultural background, feel they are part of something, let people acknowledge who they are, where they're from. I'll be the first to say I don't know enough about Hong Kong heritage, and that's largely probably because I don't...I've travelled there a bit, but I don't know a lot of people that are connected into that. If that makes sense.

Interviewer: Yes, totally. One last question, were you born in Australia?

SA 2: Yes, I was born in South Australia, and I moved to...when I was young, I moved to the Northern Territory, and then spent five or six years there and then came back.

Interviewer: So that's the end for me. Do you have any comments or anything you'd like to add?

SA 2: Not really. But I would be really interested to know where I can find more about Hong Kong heritage. And if there's a plan or a group that stage events or activities, it'll be really good to know, because it's not something I know much about.

*Diana*: Interviewed on 18<sup>th</sup> June 2024. Interview duration: 27 minutes 48 seconds.

Interviewer: So I'll just get some demographic information from you first. Can you tell me your age group please?

SA 3: 36-44.

Interviewer: OK. Gender...female.

SA 3: Yes.

Interviewer: Ethnicity?

SA 3: Australian.

Interviewer: Family structure?

SA 3: Married with children.

Interviewer: Industry sector?

SA 3: I work in Tertiary education but contract, so just occasionally, semesters.

Interviewer: So may I know whether you were born here in South Australia?

SA 3: I was born in Perth, Western Australia. I moved here when I was two.

Interviewer: OK. So what do you think multiculturalism is?

SA 3: I think multiculturalism is when a society has people living and thriving together, coming from different areas of the world, and different areas of Australia as well, the country that we live in.

Interviewer: OK. So do you agree with South Australian multiculturalism?

SA 3: Do I agree that it exists?

Interviewer: Do you agree with how it is going on?

SA 3: Oh, right. I don't know I haven't really thought about it. I guess in the area that I live in I don't know yet. I guess there's always opportunity to improve, to allow, to encourage further conversation between different ethnicities, people that have moved to Australia or perhaps living here temporarily, or have been living here for generations perhaps.

Interviewer: Interesting. So what are the improvements that you think it could have?

SA 3: I guess for my current situation in schools, encouraging I guess further education about different ethnicities and countries around the world. Perhaps making it relevant to things that are interesting to children, or current events such as the Olympics coming up, it's a good opportunity to speak about that. I think perhaps with activities that are available for people in the area, the variety of, ones that might be more culturally relevant, and then that might allow other people to come into the areas, perhaps. Where am I getting at?

Interviewer: I think that's good.

SA 3: Cool.

Interviewer: Do you think it is going well though, multiculturalism here?

SA 3: Ok. I'm gonna say yes, I suspect it's going fairly well, but I live in quite a White area, I guess. I try to, you know, we try to include the new kids that are coming to the school, show them different ways that we perhaps enjoy activities, and food and what not in Australia. We get quite a few families that come over for 12 months or two years for work, which is a great way of sharing our different interests as well...

Interviewer: Even the cultures...

SA 3: Yes.

Interviewer: And different groups of people...

SA 3: Absolutely yes. They tend to be White families coming from Europe, generally. But we still you know...I guess when they come to the school it doesn't feel we have big opportunities to mingle but I perhaps approach them because I know they're here for 12 months. We did the same thing when we went overseas for 12 months. I like to tell them silly

things about, in Australian, such as do you have the term wet blanket in Switzerland, or do you play duck duck moose, what's the version of that? A conversation. I don't know whether that's what you're looking for...

Interviewer: Definitely. Anything that you say. So what does it mean to you to be South Australian, or Australian in general?

SA 3: OK. For me, it is about being quite friendly and open to many different, to all types of people and personalities and characteristics. It is being active, community-binded I guess. Outdoors, and thriving I guess, always trying to improve the world, particularly our small communities, to make it a better place than what was when we first arrived, as a child or as a baby, or as a person older. Having that privilege to be able to improve.

Interviewer: So do you think you've got any identities other than being an Australian?

SA 3: Definitely identify as a 'Ginger'. I feel like that's quite unique, I don't know that's quite bizarre. But no.

Interviewer: What does that mean?

SA 3: Like having red hair. Feel quite unique like that. But no. Nothing other than like...I identify as someone who likes to travel and spend time overseas, or in the country travelling around. Other than like White Australian, no.

Interviewer: Right. So do you see South Australia a multicultural state?

SA 3: Yes.

Interviewer: Can you tell me why?

SA 3: I feel that things that I'm exposed to as an adult, we didn't have as children. I have these conversations with my kids and there are influences that have come from abroad. Absolutely. Particularly food, games, art, TV, those kind of things. So yes, I see that we're multicultural because of those influences that have changed throughout my years.

Interviewer: Interesting. I don't know whether you know other parts of Australia well. So how do you compare the multiculturalism here to other parts of Australia?

SA 3: I know very little about multiculturalism in other states. But I, little subtle tidbits would be I know there's a quite large Jewish population in Melbourne, but we don't feel like we have that here. So I suspect during migration maybe pockets of different countries or sections. In fact I'm talking about the great woman, she says that the island where her family came from settled in South Australia and no one from that part of Greece lives in Melbourne. So, yes, that's all I really know.

Interviewer: Yes. So there are some differences still.

SA 3: And there are some families at school who came to Australia on the working visas for needed industries I guess, but they wanted to live in bigger state, like Melbourne or Sydney, but they had to come to Adelaide. And they've enjoyed living here. So I suspect there's also

popularity between people who arrive and want to be in a bigger city than they do in little Adelaide. But that's all I know.

Interviewer: That's a good point.

SA 3: How many languages do you speak? And you're reading one of them upside down.

Interviewer: 'cause I know my questions fairly well. That's why. So have you noticed any changes to multiculturalism here in South Australia? I know you've mentioned a little bit about when you grew up here in South Australia, before and now, there's a change, like in the exposure of cultures. So you can just elaborate a little bit on that one?

SA 3: Sure. So there's some changes I see, I guess, we have these public events that seem that can be culturally-based as well, such as, you know we've always had the Greek carnival or whatever, but it feels there have been more festivals based around other cultures, which is great. Also, knowing that, often migration is based on conflict as well, so seeing different cultures and countries migrate to the city has changed over my few years that I've been I guess aware of it as an adult.

Interviewer: Very nice. So what do you see like, what kind of cultures are coming here? Those you couldn't see before?

SA 3: Sure, I guess, one quickly comes to mind is perhaps Somalian refugees. I remember distinctively, being on a bus, and seeing this amazing woman walking past with this incredible bright outfit. And I felt like I have never seen that before in Adelaide. And I guess retrospectively there must be a correlation between an increase of migrants coming from the conflict area perhaps.

Interviewer: Interesting.

SA 3: I don't get a grade at the end of this, do I?

Interviewer: No, of course not.

SA 3: Give me a grade on how much you regret interviewing me.

Interviewer: Whatever you say, it's good data. Yes, no worries. So do you know anyone of Hong Kong or Chinese descent in South Australia?

SA 3: I went to uni with a woman from, who had, who had Hong Kong heritage and she's living there. She's gone back to live there. And I was friends with her for quite a few years but then I stopped working there so I didn't catch up with her. Yes there's a couple of Chinese families at school, who have migrated in the last couple of years. One started in our school 12 months ago, and a lady in my parents' group, her and her husband both are from China. My husband works in healthcare so I feel like we have quite a lot of Chinese friends, or have in the past. Off the top of my head, other than that, nothing distinctive, no, often Malaysian I think too. Yes...

Interviewer: Yes, there're Malaysian Chinese...

SA 3: Yes. More so...

Interviewer: Cool. Do you think it is important for a person of Chinese or Hong Kong descent to maintain their own cultural heritage here in South Australia?

SA 3: Absolutely, yes. If they choose to of course.

Interviewer: Ok. Why do you think it's important?

SA 3: I suspect it's important to that person, to have connexions to home, to their heritage, to their families, and potentially, if they have children too, or have children in their life to share that. I think it's so important to share history as well with the younger population if the person is up to it of course. 'cause I think it's important to be a worldwide citizen, not just...on community base, absolutely, because charity starts in your backyard, but to have that whole world focus.

Interviewer: Ok. Do you think by preserving their own cultural heritage, it would refrain them from integrating here?

SA 3: No, not necessarily. Perhaps they might find that with some people. I tutored first year at uni, I had Chinese all the time, sorry I forgot about that connexion. I didn't have any internationals this year though, but students who have Chinese heritage, absolutely. Must be locals, or their family may be migrated over and ... I can't remember the question. Oh...will it be challenging for them...?

Interviewer: Will it refrain them from integrating?

SA 3: Sure. I'm gonna say...It's gonna depend the community they're around, like the people that they're around.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 3: For me, I would be open to anything, as much as they're open to their new place. But I can imagine that it would be challenging around some pockets of people.

Interviewer: Like who?

SA 3: People that aren't so open to new things? Things they're not familiar with. If you're allow to say racist people, or perhaps people who just don't like people. You know, there're people out there who just don't like people, so they won't be open to anything at all. So yes I can see it as a block. But perhaps these people that are blocking you won't have you in your life anyway. Perhaps.

Interviewer: Ok. So have you noticed any Hong Kong or Chinese cultural heritage sites or places here in South Australia?

SA 3: Chinatown, at the top of my head. And then, I feel like I've got something I'm looking at, but I can't think it, I'm gonna say no, of the top of my head.

Interviewer: Not really.

SA 3: No, not really.

Interviewer: Have you participated in any Hong Kong/ Chinese multicultural events in South Australia?

SA 3: No...

Interviewer: Or tasted any Chinese food?

SA 3: Oh yea, we go to Chinatown every Friday night. When I lived in a share house, go shopping at the markets, and then head out for dinner, we had Chinese dinner a couple of weeks ago. I took my daughter actually, it was a bit embarrassing, we were like...She's never eaten lemon chicken before. As an Australian, you need to know this is an Australian version of Chinese food, that's why I got to share it with her...

Interviewer: So you know there's like an Australian version of Chinese food?

SA 3: Yes, yes. I remember going to dinner with a Chinese lady, from my parents' group, and she ordered for us. She would always pick the restaurant we go to. Are there other Chinese culture in our life? Is that what you're asking?

Interviewer: Yes, like, what kind of Chinese restaurants you've been to?

SA 3: There used to be one on Goodwood Road, but it's not there anymore. And then the one at the bottom of the bus station, is it still there?

Interviewer: I don't quite know about this.

SA 3: That's alright. On Grote Street. And then I don't know, all of them down Gouger Street, perhaps. Oh we went out for dinner for Lunar New Year too, and get eaten by a lion?

Interviewer: Yes...Lion dance?

SA 3: Yes, Lion dance.

Interviewer: So you've basically participated in some of the events, like in Chinatown or in Rundle Mall?

SA 3: Yes.

Interviewer: Can you tell me why did you decide to try some Chinese food?

SA 3: I guess I have other people that have introduced it to me first. Whether they are Australians or are Chinese, or Malaysian Chinese. Or my parents, I guess that's when I first started eating Chinese food. Would have been my parents introducing me to Chinese takeaway. Growing up we didn't have any Chinese friends. There might have been, there were a couple of kids at school. But I went to a big school, so I didn't need to be friends with everyone, you know you have your own group of friends.

Interviewer: Of course. Do you know what's the difference between Hong Kong culture and Chinese culture?

SA 3: Don't know the distinct differences no. I remember the independence... I remember seeing it on the tele as a child and there were a lot of fireworks, and I see it as an island, and the fireworks above the buildings...

Interviewer: The Victoria Harbour...

SA 3: Yes, right, and I can see them reflecting mountains in the background.

Interviewer: Yes, usually you can see the Lion Rock there as well.

SA 3: Yes, right.

Interviewer: Have you been to Hong Kong before?

SA 3: No. My brother's been to China on a holiday but I've not. And I don't really have a desire. I love to travel but I've not had... yea. I've been to other places...

Interviewer: But it's not like something that I really want to.

SA 3: No. But I have a friend who worked in Hong Kong for a long, for a while, for 12 months or something. She loved it and she goes back regularly enough. But she's a big foodie.

Interviewer: Yes. If you love food, you should go there for sure.

SA 3: Yes. She has a list of restaurants that she visits, and um I guess street stalls as well and...

Interviewer: She'll recommend you to go there.

SA 3: Yea. Well she'll talk about it with other people. She's Australian and married to an Australian fella.

Interviewer: Ok. Do you enjoy having Chinese food?

SA 3: Yea. Absolutely.

Interviewer: Why?

SA 3: Tasty. It's filling. It's warm, generally. It warms you like it feels good to eat too.

Interviewer: What are some of the dishes that you've tasted, apart from that lemon chicken?

SA 3: Growing up, there was black bean beef. Is that Australian version too, or is that...?

Interviewer: Yes, it's Chinese.

SA 3: BBC? Is that Chinese or is that something else?

Interviewer: What's that?

SA 3: Like soya beans and beancurd?

Interviewer: Yes, it's Chinese too.

SA 3: We call that BBC. You get it ETC? East Taste...

Interviewer: Is that a supermarket?

SA 3: No, it's a café. East Taste Cafe maybe. It's on Gouger Street. I get like a big plate of it.

Interviewer: Right. Ok.

SA 3: What else do I...? Sweet and sour pork, like fried rice, prawn crackers...are prawn crackers actually genuine Chinese food? Or is that... I love prawn crackers too.

Interviewer: I think it's more Malaysian, Singaporean style...

SA 3: Alright, interesting. Just that it all fuses together. I don't know whatever you just read the ingredients to be honest. That's what we do now, it's read the ingredients and be 'What do we feel like?'

Interviewer: Right. So obviously what you know about Hong Kong or Chinese culture is more about food?

SA 3: Definitely. Yea I think so. That would be.

Interviewer: Or maybe the Lunar New Year festival as well. Apart from that do you know any other festivals that are like...

SA 3: No, I don't.

Interviewer: Why do you think you don't really quite know about the other festivals?

SA 3: I don't have a close friend I suspect, who is from Hong Kong or Chinese, that includes you in those kind of things. Like I think, I feel like I probably know more Muslim or um Indian based holidays. Like Diwali just popping into my head. Any maybe that's that there may be more children at school, more people around me, or they advertise more, perhaps, but no no other Chinese...

Interviewer: You made a very good point about the advertising...

SA 3: Maybe that's based on larger population, I don't know.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 3: Populations or like...yes.

Interviewer: Yes. Do you think the Hong Kong cultural heritage is part of the South Australian cultural heritage?

SA 3: I don't know. I would say the Chinese culture is larger, but then I don't know if we ever split them to say that it is Hong Kong or Chinese. Does that make sense?

Interviewer: Yes.

SA 3: I don't, I don't feel like that I hear or read or see a lot of stuff about Hong Kong in Adelaide or South Australia.

Interviewer: Yes. So do you think Chinese culture is a part of South Australian culture?

SA 3: Yes. Absolutely.

Interviewer: Why?

SA 3: I guess Chinatown is a really great way of seeing it straight in front of us, being exposed to it. Lots of students and families that have migrated, that have settled and then no longer migrated and have numerous generations being born here. South Australia is multicultural so I feel like there should be a presence of everyone's culture, which might be influenced by the number of population of that area. And also, I don't know, like different cultures have different wants to be social as well, like more festivals to celebrate, more outgoing person. I don't know as well. As well as the numbers.

Interviewer: So you think South Australian culture has more to it than, let's say, the British culture?

SA 3: Oh, these days... I was thinking like, I wouldn't go out for bangers and mash, but I'm at the pub every Thursday night after my touch game. I don't know. Maybe, like, the British culture is just sat there and it's just like this boring plateau and then we just build up on top of it, with all the multiculturalism, so that it all intertwines, I'm not sure. Or, I don't know. We all still play a lot of soccer and netball, and that's British as well, and cricket. What are the popular sports from Hong Kong? Do we...badminton?

Interviewer: Yes, badminton.

SA 3: I loved badminton in high school.

Interviewer: Why do you know badminton is so popular in Hong Kong?

SA 3: 'cause I watch the Olympics. I love sport. I see it...but it's also a small court, it's a small island so it's easier to play. I love it. What other sports are popular?

Interviewer: It's more badminton and football. And now because we've got a swimming super star in Hong Kong, so it's getting popular too.

SA 3: Yes. There was like soccer the other day when we played China and they were wearing red as well, which you usually wear your country's colours. Yes, I guess yes the English just kinda sits in there and things feel less exotic than they did when I was younger, if that makes sense, like going out for Chinese dinner, like that feels like it's starting to be part of those foundations, rather than being something like new.

Interviewer: Or a part, so it's kind of like it's being integrated in some sense right?

SA 3: Yes, absolutely.

Interviewer: Interesting.

SA 3: My kids love sushis I know that's obviously not Chinese, but they just think that's...you know I didn't have that growing up, so that's just like a normal option for lunch

or dinner, rather than you know, I was like 20 when I was first exposed to that. It was like a special treat.

Interviewer: Right. So it's changed quite a bit since then.

SA 3: Yea. That's just one example I'm sure we can think...or like dumplings, or like you know the little prawn dumplings?

Interviewer: Like prawns inside?

SA 3: Yes.

Interviewer: Oh like steamed dumplings?

SA 3: Yes, those tiny little, those ones about that big?

Interviewer: They're called dim sums, we have that in Hong Kong, it's like a popular food in Hong Kong.

SA 3: Yes, we can buy them and freeze them. Yea, and they're like the see-through ones, the rice ones.

Interviewer: Yes, those ones, yes. So basically you know some of the dim sums too of Hong Kong.

SA 3: Yea. Well we go out for, before our ... we go out for yum cha.

Interviewer: Really?

SA 3: Yea. Yea. Shallot pancakes...love shallot pancakes.

Interviewer: So how important is the Hong Kong culture or the Chinese culture here in South Australia?

SA 3: How important?

Interviewer: Yes.

SA 3: To anything in particular?

Interviewer: Anything. Like to the food culture or anything else.

SA 3: I would say it's very important to anything, yea, I think it's very important. Never not be important because it's part of history as well, as well as it's part of the present.

Interviewer: You think it's kind of embedded now in the South Australian culture?

SA 3: Yes, definitely. Food, things like Lunar New Year perhaps...

Interviewer: Ok, festivals.

SA 3: I'm sure there're other parts that could be more embedded into our culture, that could be happily slipped in other things that are important as well.

Interviewer: Very nice. So thank you for your time.

SA 3: That's alright.

Interviewer: Do you have anything to add?

SA 3: No.

Interviewer: I think we've covered quite a bit already.

SA 3: Yea, all good?

Interviewer: Yea, all good.

SA 3: Great.

Interviewer: Thank you very much for your time. I'll just let you know the results afterwards.

SA 3: Yea. Absolutely.

*Emma*: Interviewed on 6 August 2024. Interview duration: 1 hour 2 minutes 57 seconds.

Interviewer: So thank you for being here. I'll just get some demographic information from you first. So may I know your age group please?

SA 4: 72-80.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: Should I circle it? Do you want me to circle it?

Interviewer: It's fine, thank you. Gender, female...What's your ethnicity?

SA 4: Well, I'm a European, but my father was Polish and my mother was English.

Interviewer: So you'd say...

SA 4: I was born in the UK and I've lived here in South Australia, well...In South Australia is different. But I've lived in Australia since the age of 16. And I've lived in South Australia when I arrived for about six years, and when I've come back again now for about eight years.

Interviewer: I see.

SA 4: So a total of 14 years in South Australia.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: But otherwise I lived in Darwin for quite a long time, I've lived in Melbourne for 30 years, so, yea.

Interviewer: I see. So may I know what do you think multiculturalism is?

SA 4: Multiculturalism is the acknowledgement of different cultures and races within one society. Basically. Multiculturalism I think it was when, which prime minister who dropped his trousers I can't remember...He was a farmer. He had land. And I remember one of the minister for multiculturalism who is dead now but I met him once, in Darwin, while I was living in Darwin. Multiculturalism so it could be people who have come to this country but also maybe people who actually live in this country, for instance the First Nations people, because they do have different cultures, we have different cultures from them. So anybody who has got a different culture because of their ethnicity I guess will be multiculturalism.

Interviewer: Ok. So do you agree with South Australian multiculturalism?

SA 4: I don't know what's South Australian multiculturalism is. I've got no idea.

Interviewer: Right. Do you agree with the multiculturalism that's here, in South Australia?

SA 4: What do you mean by that? The groups of people that are here?

Interviewer: Yes. So basically by the policies that they implement, or with the events that are here?

SA 4: I don't know what policies there are. I've got absolutely no idea.

Interviewer: Right, ok, it's fine.

SA 4: I do think that on the television the other day, they were saying that they would have another minister for multiculturalism, because there used to be a minister for multiculturalism.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: And then, whatever his name was, the one with a very loud voice, yes he died, and I don't know whether his position was ever replaced. But I think it's a very good idea to have one. Also given the fact that there's a more, an alert for um possible um racist, racist attacks, I think it's very important to make people aware that people of islamic faith, for instance, have their rights and they're not here to be dangerous to society so I think it's very important that people are, understand different cultures and not afraid of different cultures, basically. So what's happened in England for instance the riots that have happened in England are because a lack of understanding, I believe.

Interviewer: Yes.

SA 4: Out of fear and a lot of misrepresentations of what islamic people do. There's a real fear of immigrants and there's a fear of, the call for stopping immigration. The same in the States, they're stopping immigration, building the wall. Here at least, it's basically fairly, it doesn't feed the fear of immigration, let's put it like that, that there is in other countries. But this huge fear in immigration now, and I think people are just moving around the world now.

Interviewer: Ok. So what do you feel about, like you're now living in a multicultural society in South Australia?

SA 4: Very, very much, this country yes.

Interviewer: How do you feel about this?

SA 4: Well when I first came here, there was the White Australia policy until 1980, and then that suddenly changed. So all we saw, that in fact whenever we saw a dark face, a skin that was different, we knew that they came from the, from the Colombo Plan. And we'll say 'Oh, look, there's a Colombo Plan student.' It was totally totally different. And the only other people we saw were the Aboriginal people and my mother was rather reticent about them, which is very strange because we used to have a shop in England, and we used to cater for Nigerians, and all sorts of people, different ethnic groups, but she didn't seem to understand Aboriginal people at all. Whereas for me, they just were there and that was fine. And as a teacher I actually taught them and felt very sorry for them, because they were taught totally the wrong things. Yea. Sorry. So what was the question, oh how I feel about diversity?

Interviewer: Yes.

SA 4: I think ethnicity, I think multi, I think I think a variety of ethnicity is very good. It's very good. And it will become even more, well, in my lifetime, it's changed hugely hugely hugely. When I studied, when I did my Masters, I did Masters in um, of, when I was studying for English as, for teaching English as a second language, which I remember, we studied the different waves of migrants, so you had that the Italians came after the war, you had the Germans who came and built the dam, and you had the Middle-Eastern ones, and then later Vietnam, later, well one of the more recent ones the Ethiopians. I've quite a bit to do with Ethiopian families, from a friend of mine. So the different waves come.

Interviewer: Right. From different countries?

SA 4: From the different countries, they tend to come in waves, they tend to come in waves. And so, for instance, Greek people who came, they established themselves here and their children are the ones that have done, so the second generation, that tends to do very well. Very well indeed. And in fact, it seems there's no people from ethnic background seem to educationally encourage their children, and again as a teacher I've seen this and I'm very aware of it, tend to encourage their children to study very hard and they do, and they achieve. And they often achieve way more than the White Australians.

Interviewer: Right. Ok.

SA 4: So I think, plus, all the other, what are the other benefits? Obviously there's food. Just the, I guess the... what else do they bring to society? A bit hard to say. But there are so many of them now I guess, it stretches our, stretches our understanding and our sympathies, and in a positive way I believe. It's in a positive way, but for many people, 'course it's not. It's a frightening thing. Certainly the Islamic stuff, and you can't blame them in a way, because there seems to be so many instances of very frightening circumstances with people being radicalised, young people being radicalised, and people are being very frightened of that and I think that's a fair fear actually, because it has resulted in lots of people dying. So, yes. So there's the flip side of it I guess.

Interviewer: Right. And there's an Islamic alert, a terrorist alert is that right?

SA 4: There has been, yes, yesterday. Yesterday, coming to likely, which we haven't had one of those for ten years, so, that is actually quite disturbing. Quite disturbing.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: And so yes, you can understand why people are reticent, I suppose in other countries you know all the, all the immigrants, that are going by boat into places like Italy and Greece and Germany, and that's very very costly, and it comes from people's taxes, you know and they, in a way, quite rightly to say, 'why should we be', yea.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: So there is there, there's a lot of negatives I guess. Whereas Hong Kong people have never done that, 'cause Hong Kong people always make plenty of money.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: They contribute a lot to society so you wouldn't need to put them in that group at all. Ever.

Interviewer: So what does it mean to you to be a South Australian or an Australian in general?

SA 4: Australian. Yea I mean it's a difficult one really. Since I was born in Britain and still feel partly British because you never ever, you don't lose, I don't think you lose your roots. So I still feel like an immigrant myself. In fact, you know, when we were, when we first came to Australia which was in the 60s, my father had a foreign accent and he was called a New Australian. I was called a Pom, 'cause I have an English accent but father was called a New Australian because he had a foreign accent. And even when he came to England after the war, we changed their name because there was racism towards people who had foreign names.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: I had a Polish name. (SA 4 said her Polish name out) that I could not even spell. I remember as a child at school not being able to spell it and it was changed to an English name. So that sort of fear. Fear of what you don't always understand has always been around I think. But to me South Australia is a very safe place, much safer than many of the other states, I think. Certainly much safer than Melbourne, um 'cause it's got a much smaller population. I would say, I'm just scanning I'm just scanning the map of Australia, maybe Tasmania would feel safe, Western Australia maybe. The Northern Territory, I've lived there for ten years, so there was a lot of racism towards the Aborigines.

Interviewer: Really?

SA 4: Lots. Lots. Mainly because they were seen as using system, abusing system, taking money, and not producing anything. Just sitting around in the streets drinking, so that was what people saw. They didn't understand... Well I don't know. There are Aborigines now who go through university and who have formal training, huge. But when I first came, it

wasn't. You know, there was nobody who did all the one person who did, so it's been a huge, a huge positive change. But there're still a lot of antagonism. I think towards, and also I think that's partially why the 'yes' vote in the referendum, the voice, that's partially why, why it failed.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 4: I think so. Other reasons too. And our Prime Minister is now seeing and spending a lot of time with Aboriginals. You know this Kurna festival and I think people think he's taking the eye off the ball, of the main game, that you know, there're so many people in Australia that actually need help, who are, who are hungry. I mean it's a, it's a very different situation in Australia now than it is in many countries. I think he seem to be you know, spending too much time with Aboriginals.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: But as far as South Australia goes, yes, I do think it's a safe area.

Interviewer: So I know you feel English, but what do you think about being Australian?

SA 4: Yes, I didn't answer that question. So partly a young country, 'cause England is a old country, so it's a young country. I don't know a lot about it historically, 'cause I didn't really go to school here. Well I did, but later. It's a very lucky country, a very lucky country. We've got a lot of space, we've got a lot of access to green technology. You know with wind and sun, we've got all of that. I think in this country, I think people are a little bit naïve, very naïve actually. Maybe they don't know a huge amount, compare to people who live in England or in Europe. I really don't think they do because they don't have the experience maybe. But they do stand up for each other, I think, fairly well I think. The mateship element I think is real. I think is real.

Interviewer: Yes.

SA 4: Yea. I think is good. What more can I say? Not a lot really. Oh, the fact that it's a sort of classless society, it is and it isn't, but compare to Britain and compare to, say, France, it's classless, very. Yea yea. Very much so. And I think that's good.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: Yea yea. It's good. 'cause France is terrible, isn't it? In terms of racism. Absolutely terrible. I know what has been. I lived in France in the 70s and it was so obvious, it was horrible. And hasn't improved, obviously. But it's more multicultural than it used to be.

Interviewer: Definitely.

SA 4: So you've got the rise of parties, like Le Pen's party, that says no to immigration, go home you immigrants, you're spoiling our country. It's not France anymore. Well I don't think Australia is like that. I think Australia accepts, because we've always had immigrants, I think Australians basically accept immigrants, but obviously Islam, I think that group has had a... because of all the nasty things that had happened. So it's understandable I believe. Yea.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: ...Something will fall out of my mouth. Some point.

Interviewer: It's ok. As we talk along. So obviously I know you've already talked about seeing South Australia as a multicultural state...

SA 4: Yes...I mean not as multicultural obviously as Victoria, well as Melbourne...

Interviewer: Ok, that's my next question.

SA 4: If you go out in the country in Victoria, it's not particularly multicultural I don't think. But the city is, certainly the city is. As partially because it's got seven universities, six of them in the city, and they rely huge on international students, so of course we've got that as big business as well. New South Wales, I haven't been there for a long long time, but I think that's, I think Sydney is very multicultural.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 4: But I don't know about country New South Wales. And Queensland I think that's fairly multicultural too. Northern Territory certainly is, for sure.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 4: Western Australia I don't really know. I don't know, but, some, again I've lost the question, what was the question?

Interviewer: It's ok. Yes, that's actually my next question. How multicultural is South Australia when you compare to the other states?

SA 4: Yea, yea. Well less than Victoria, less than New South Wales and, and the Northern Territory. And possibly less than Queensland. Not less than Tasmania. I don't think Tasmania is very multicultural at all.

Interviewer: Yes.

SA 4: And West Australia I'm not sure. I'm not sure.

Interviewer: So you've lived in the Northern Territory for ten years?

SA 4: Ten years in Northern Territory, 30 years in Victoria yes.

Interviewer: Right. So how ...

SA 4: I've been involved in international education, so, for a long time, a long time. Most of the time actually so.

Interviewer: Because you taught English as a Second Language?

SA 4: Correct, correct.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 4: And then I worked in a very multicultural university. Yea.

Interviewer: So why do you feel like the Northern Territory is more multicultural than South Australia?

SA 4: Well it's the Aboriginal land of course, 'cause there's a lot of Aboriginals I think. I think it's probably the main reason when I think about it. But there're also, it's also a very population in a way, and there're people that do come from all over um I'm trying to think of any particular groups. I know there's a lot of French there, I'm sort of saying that, but what groups are there? 'cause I'm not quite sure actually whether there are the Ethiopians and the Africans where they did come through, they're probably didn't. Maybe I've got a few that's not quite correct, because I'm basing it very much on the Aboriginal community, which is large, very large. It'll be the largest in Australia so you know that makes huge difference too. And the Aboriginal community here is quite small. In Melbourne is quite large, is quite large. Yea yea. Sydney I don't know. Sydney would be large, for places like that I presume. I don't actually know I hear on news but I don't know from personal experience.

Interviewer: Yea. So apart from like the number of Aboriginals or like other people of other ethnic backgrounds in Darwin, why else do you feel that it is more multicultural than South Australia?

SA 4: Because it's closed to Asia, people travel a lot. Everybody goes over to Asia, everybody goes to Bali, everybody goes to Malaysia. People have the experience of travel a lot. And people in South Australia don't. I don't think they go anywhere much. Most of them, I don't believe they do.

Interviewer: Just nearby?

SA 4: I think or they might go to Europe.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: Yea. But I don't know. They're not big travellers. To my experience they're not really.

Interviewer: I see. Ok.

SA 4: Oh, do you want this?

Interviewer: No, it's alright. Ok. I'll just take a look at it thank you. Reading upside down but it's fine. So have you noticed, I know you've answered me a little bit here, but have you noticed any changes to multiculturalism here in South Australia?

SA 4: In South Australia, oh yes. I mean basically since I've been here when I was here in the 70s, yea yea hang on, I came here in the 60s.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 4: Ok, 64, and I went Flinders University the year it opened, and there were, and it was White. There weren't any, there weren't any multicultural or anything. And then I remember going back there one day, much much later. Going into the library and there were all these Chinese faces, and I thought 'Oh my god, it wasn't like that.' It has changed hugely hugely hugely. So a lot of Chinese here I think, they do businesses, a lot of Chinese. Then the

Indians, quite a lot of Indians now. You can see them more and more and more, or taxi drivers and computer shops, certainly in Victoria where I was working, the number of Indian students was huge. The number of Chinese students was the largest, followed by Indian.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: Yea, absolutely, absolutely. Well most of them do Masters. They're encouraged to come and study later 'cause they'll get better visas and um better possibility of getting permanent residency. Yea.

Interviewer: Was that the Colombus Plan or something?

SA 4: No, no. It's just now if people come to study, if they pass, if they fulfill certain criteria, they can get, they can get permanent residency easier.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: So they might study various things, not because they want to, but because it gives them access to permanent residency.

Interviewer: To permanent residency. I see.

SA 4: Which is what they want. Yea. Because Australia is seen as a safe country, and, which it is, compare to most countries I would say.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: Yea yea. But in terms of South Australia, the changes that I've seen, 'cause I haven't taught here, I don't know what the numbers are in universities. I used to know in Melbourne, 'cause I've looked at stats all the time. But I don't know here. I think they are encouraged, international students are encouraged to study in country places, and they'll get more points towards their residency. And that was a strategy of South Australia a while ago, to actually encourage people to come. Or to come and even study in Adelaide, 'cause most people don't want to study in Adelaide, they'd rather study in Melbourne or Sydney. They're the two, absolutely the two preferred. But the government encourage them to come here and study in Adelaide, and that was to their benefit.

Interviewer: I see.

SA 4: So that's the government policy I guess that I haven't thought of. But different views of government policy, I'm sure it's still the case but I don't know.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: Yea yea. And the fact that in the city, there's a lot of accomodation options for international students in this town, in the city. Yea, which there aren't so much in Melbourne, there's a shortage. In Sydney I don't know.

Interviewer: So do you know...

SA 4: And sorry, business people, people come with business visas. So Hong Kong people would very often come with business. Visas.

Interviewer: As a skilled migrant.

SA 4: Yes yes exactly. And I presume that South Australia tries to, you know, cash in on that, 'cause they want, you know, 'cause they want those migrants and they want money that they'll bring etc. yea, which is you know, fair enough. Nothing wrong with that.

Interviewer: So do you know anyone of Chinese descent living here in South Australia?

SA 4: Do I? Well I know you. Let me see, who do I know. Chinese descent...I was trying to think. 'cause I knew so many in Melbourne 'cause I used to work with loads of them. With loads of Chinese. Here, you're putting me on the spot. I know Ethiopians. Chinese, no I don't know. I don't think I do. No. I mean I'm familiar with Chinese culture, very familiar, I've been to China and I've, you know, done business with Chinese. I understand the culture to a certain extent. But no I don't really know, no. No.

Interviewer: Fair enough. There's not a large amount of Chinese people anyway, here. Well, it's building up, I mean it's increasing in numbers.

SA 4: Yea yea. 'cause I haven't worked here. And I live in a very waspish community. There is one Chinese family that lives down the road, I don't know who they are but I always say hello to them, always always. And they would say hello back. I think I bet not many people do say hello to them. And also those African family that lived in, moved in too. And then I think they very quickly moved out. There was a doctor that I went to that was very good. He was Indian then, not Chinese, and he told me that he encountered, even though he was born in Australia, he encountered a lot of racism and he left the surgery and went to live in Melbourne. I told another doctor and she was amazed, but that's what he told me, that's what he told me.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: Yea yea.

Interviewer: Ok. Well everyone's experience is different, so.

SA 4: Yea, yea. I mean the Chinese that work in Unley Shopping Centre that fix your phone and I went to them yesterday, and few days ago, and they're just absolutely delightful and helpful, and often don't charge you and...

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: Yea yea, say no, 'I pay' no no. They don't take any money they're really good. Whereas you know the experiences that I have with Chinese companies online when I buy stuff is horrible. Absolutely horrible. Yea yea really really shotty, shonky, scams, yea, oh I'm so crossed with them.

Interviewer: You've got to be really careful sometimes, especially online.

SA 4: Yea. I kept falling into the trap. Just fallen into it again.

Interviewer: Really?

SA 4: Yea.

Interviewer: Ok. So do you think it is important for someone of Hong Kong descent or Chinese descent to maintain their own cultural heritage here in South Australia?

SA 4: Oh absolutely. You don't lose your own culture, that's part of who you are. It's part of who you are. So yes you maintain your own culture and gradually gradually you, you become comfortable and contribute to the culture that you're in. Yea yea. Smoothly.

Interviewer: So have you noticed any Hong Kong or Chinese heritage sites here in South Australia?

SA 4: Sites...

Interviewer: Sites or places.

SA 4: Yea. I'm just thinking, when I, when I lived in Darwin too, I used to share a flat with a Chinese woman for a long time, I was, part of her family for a long time and...Also in school in Darwin, in high school, there were lots of people from Egypt, lots of people from China working as teachers, yea mainly Chinese but there were lots of them. And we used to go and have dinner with them and used to have these lovely soups, you know, gorgeous soups and things, yea. So I don't do any of that now. So, sites right.

Interviewer: Yea. Or places.

SA 4: Well there's the Chinese pawn market, so all Chinese restaurants and Chinese shops in Gougers Street, it's mainly Chinese I think or?

Interviewer: Yea.

SA 4: Mainly Chinese. And that's good. Art shops, there're lots of Chinese vendors in the market, and I tend to go to them because they're cheaper. And the quality is carefully care for is good. They offer better value.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 4: Other sites in Chinese...I did Tai Chi for a long time. For about five years when I was here. But I only came in contact with Chinese people a couple of times. A very good Chinese who came and demonstrated. I thought 'My god is so good'. But the person who taught us wasn't Chinese, but then she went to China quite a lot. Yea no, I only know through vendors I think.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 4: And are there any Chinese festivals and things...

Interviewer: You can even name them.

SA 4: No. Not really. I know when I lived in Melbourne when I was teaching Chinese New Year, I'd always take students in and we had a lunch when they were doing the Lion Dance.

Interviewer: Oh right, yes.

SA 4: Yea, but I haven't seen that here. I presume it happens, it must happen, I've never seen it.

Interviewer: Yea in Rundle Mall.

SA 4: Is it? Right. I'm out of it. I'm out of it. I'm out of that, yea, because of where I live and because of my friends. I mean we're not as multicultural as we used to be. No and to say, Ethiopians definitely. But Chinese, no, no. I have to say no. I used to have friends that were Chinese but yea. But anyway.

Interviewer: But not like here?

SA 4: Not here, yea not here. Yea no it's interesting.

Interviewer: Yea.

SA 4: It's interesting. There must be, 'cause I don't work, 'cause I don't work yea. Yea. I used to teach lots of students from Hong Kong, lots of them. 'cause they used to come, they were taught in English earlier on, so they would come and do their education here. And then there were less and less of them, and then we started teaching Chinese from Guangzhou, and Chinese from Dahlia and from various places yea.

Interviewer: Yes, mainland Chinese students. So for the Chinese/ Hong Kong cultural heritage places, so they're mainly the vendors that you go to sometimes, or like some restaurants maybe?

SA 4: Yea, restaurants definitely.

Interviewer: Do you know the names of them?

SA 4: Of the restaurants?

Interviewer: Yea of the restaurants.

SA 4: Mm...

Interviewer: It's ok, just to see whether you remember some of them.

SA 4: Sorry no, I don't remember the names, that's just my memory 'cause of my age.

Interviewer: It's ok.

SA 4: There's one that I do go to, and that's called Soyabae, and that's in King William Street, it's just near my home. I go there often, I went there last week. I go there often and the food is very delicious and the serving staff are always exceptionally nice.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 4: Exceptionally nice. Yea.

Interviewer: So what kind of food do you usually have? Do you remember the names of the food? Or what type of food? Do you usually have like a fish dish? Can you describe a bit what you have?

SA 4: What I have, what I don't have is the fried. So I might have, I have stir-frys, a little bit of rice, I have maybe dumplings, and vegetable dishes. Like green vegetable which is done with black bean sauce. I like vegetables so I don't need much meat.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 4: So vegetable dishes will be my go-to really. I'm just thinking.

Interviewer: Right. Excellent.

SA 4: There's a new Sri Lankan restaurant that's just opened. Up in King William Road and I've been there twice. And that's really good.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: I can't remember the name of that, it starts with a T, To...it's a Sri Lankan word. But yea Soyabae, I love Soyabae. And there's also Vietnamese restaurant that I go to as well. I love Vietnamese food. It's sometimes lighter than Chinese food.

Interviewer: Yea.

SA 4: Yea. That's right.

Interviewer: Chinese food is a little bit more consistent.

SA 4: Yea, can be heavy. Can be heavier, yea yea.

Interviewer: Yea.

SA 4: I know when I had been to China I had problems with the food. 'cause of using monosodium glutamate, had a very swollen face. I know, I know it's been the monosodium glutamate, not 'cause I've been to China for a few years, but ... Yea. Peking Duck is one of my favourites. I love Peking Duck. That is beautiful. It's one of the most beautiful top top meals of the world. Peking Duck, yea.

Interviewer: Do you like having Peking Duck here? Or have you tried it?

SA 4: Yea. Well I tried to have it in Beijing but I didn't ever get to a decent restaurant. I don't know why while I was there, which is really unfortunate. So the best Peking Duck I've had is here. And this Peking Duck restaurant in Melbourne, I used to go to a lot. A lot in Chinatown. I used to go to Chinatown a lot.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 4: Yea, but Chinatown here is not, not...

Interviewer: Yea, I know, I can understand that. So have you like participated in any Hong Kong or Chinese multicultural events here in South Australia?

SA 4: No.

Interviewer: Right. What do you know about Hong Kong culture? Or Chinese culture in general?

SA 4: Well Hong Kong culture is different from Chinese culture maybe. So the Hong Kongese are sophisticated, business people, and well-educated, and I suppose people from, Chinese people from the East, parts of Beijing Shanghai coast, tend to be sophisticated, well-educated. Money is very important to the Chinese I believe. Education is hugely important to the Chinese. And then you've got a big mass of China where people still live in relative poverty. It's huge, huge number of them I believe still, even though it has improved, and I know with the plans, Ten Year Plan and the Watson Plan, the plans that China has, they're trying to rectify that by extending the possibility of TAFE sort of education within the centre of China, so and towards the West so that the skillsets will be there. The Chinese government is very successful, successful commercially, there was a very good programme at the TV about China. Did you see that?

Interviewer: No.

SA 4: It's very very good. But the fact that the Chinese now are really a great threat to um to commerce around the world. They looked at three areas. They looked at the car industry, the lithium battery industry, and one that I forgot. What was the other? It'll come to me. Anyway, so it has got to the stage where the woman who represents Europe, the European Union, was talking about the threat of China, in terms of commerce, America was talking about that and Trump would say, I'm not for Trump, but in this he was saying we need to put more tariffs on um Chinese products.

Interviewer: Chinese products.

SA 4: Because otherwise, people in America and other places will lose their livelihoods, and that is very understandable.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: And the fact that the Chinese government actually supports the industries in a way that other governments in other parts of the world, including Australia, don't support. So they will give them land, they will give them tax concessions, they will pay for training or whatever. And whatever materials they need they'll support them. Other countries don't do that. And so China has come a very very long way in a relatively short time, because of the centralised government and the centralised support. And it started I guess with the Cultural Revolution, that was absolutely horrible. And that was centralised government at its worst. I think I think that was a terrible, terrible time. Terrible. But it was the start of China moving into, moving out of, out of um the Middle Ages I suppose. Yea.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: Because China is centralised government, actually makes progress, it really really has made progress and is outdoing the rest of the world maybe. So, so a number of Chinese cars now. I know my brother bought a Chinese car. A Haval. And I saw a critique on it on newspaper, and they got a one out of five. And I thought, 'Ah stupid man buying a Haval.' And then I see Havals everywhere in the world. It is everywhere. There's advertisements on the television you know, so. And the electric car industry is almost surpass, he did surpass, although he fall back um the Tesla vehicles. They're a little bit in front, but it will not be very long. Yea, China I guess in that way, maybe China, maybe people will be negative, well they are negative towards China because the fear of losing jobs. Yea, yea.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 4: Yea yea. I worked with a lot of Chinese academics when I was at RMIT and they were always there. They were always working. Whenever you ask them a question they would get straight back to you. Nobody else did. Australians never did. But it's a way, it's a way of operation that's quite different, culture quite different to us, and more effective. Unfortunately.

Interviewer: Well if you're working for too long, I don't think it's gonna be like that.

SA 4: Well, I mean it's not good for your personal life, no. No, no. It's like the Japanese, isn't it? Yea. They have a terrible working life and no holidays. Even the Americans they only have two weeks a year, yea.

Interviewer: Two weeks only?

SA 4: Yea, I think they only have two weeks a year. I think so. Yea. I think the working conditions in America are bad.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 4: Yea, yea. So, I suppose is that. Work-life balance, yea, people should try to introduce some work-life balance. But Chinese wouldn't do, that's a very, very distinct cultural difference.

Interviewer: Yea. And I think Chinese people they actually want to have a work-life balance?

SA 4: That's right. And that's the conversations I've had with lots of Chinese, saying I would never go back to China, I would never go back to that regime, it's too hard, it's just too hard. Yea, and academics who said that, um yea. They're offered research positions, and they said I'd never go back, I'd never go back. Yea so that's the flipside to that.

Interviewer: Yes.

SA 4: Yea, yea, for sure.

Interviewer: So do you think the Hong Kong cultural heritage is part of the South Australian cultural heritage?

SA 4: I don't know. I don't know. I have to say honestly I don't know. I would say probably it is, but I would say the Chinese people who own property here in the more elite suburbs are probably from Hong Kong, or Eastern China anyway. They certainly couldn't be from the West. But no, I don't know. Honestly, which I feel embarrassed about. 'cause I used to know all of this, but certainly don't anymore. Yea.

Interviewer: But why do you think it is probable? Like it's a possibility that Hong Kong cultural heritage is part of this whole community's heritage? Of this whole South Australia heritage? Cultural heritage I mean.

SA 4: Yea, because people, well Chinese people come to Australia because it's a safe country, it's not directive like the... And I have the, I have met somebody. Somebody in the museum was a Chinese guy, I remember last year, and he's coming to, he said all his students are going to school here, and I said 'Oh, you're working here.' And he said, 'No, I'm retired, but we're gonna live here because it's a better life.' It's a better life. So I think people with money come here because it is, they seek a better life and they get a better life. It's partially why we came as migrants in the 60s. You know the British came from Britain. They were encouraged to because it was supposed to be a better life. And it was a better life. You know the jobs were good, the weather was better, but what I always miss is the culture of Britain. You know, 'cause Australia lacks the history and always will. Yea I miss that, I do miss that. Yea want the best for themselves and their families. And if they got the money, they're accepted into this country with no problem at all, and so why not do it? It's so... America I guess is another option. A lot of Chinese go to America. I know. And want to see America too.

Interviewer: Yea. And in the UK?

SA 4: And in the UK, yea yea. That's true, yea. And the Indians yea there're more and more Indians that are coming here, but they go, they also go to America. Yea yea.

Interviewer: Yea. So just one last one. Really quickly.

SA 4: So that's my reason, they want a better life, and they can try to make it happen, basically.

Interviewer: Yea. How important is the Hong Kong or Chinese cultural heritage here in South Australia?

SA 4: In South Australia, yea. I forgot. I find it very difficult to say, 'cause I don't have the experience or the...

Interviewer: Do you think it has its place here in South Australia?

SA 4: Yea, any, any cultural heritage has its place. Any cultural heritage has its place. I mean I know that the Italian cultural heritage is still very strong, as is the Greek. The Chinese, I'm sure there's a lot of Chinese that also work in businesses, but again because I'm retired, I don't have much to do with them. But you certainly see Chinese, I was served by a Chinese woman in my bank fairly recently. I must say her service wasn't very good though, which is a bit unusual actually. It's unusual, but it wasn't good. That's all I can say. Every culture can

offer something. Chinese, are always, to my experience, always well-educated and hard-working. And want to, want to succeed. And therefore, that can always be advantageous to our community.

Interviewer: Wonderful. So that's it for me for my questions. But do you have anything to add?

SA 4: Yea, I'm sure I have, it's in my brain now, we've talked about it. 'cause we're so focussed at the moment, we're so focussed on the Aboriginal issues and on the Islamic issues, and that's where all our energy and focus is going, the Chinese only, I mean the Four Corners, I encourage you to watch it actually, very good.

Interviewer: What's the name again?

SA 4: It was Four Corners, on iView, on ABC.

Interviewer: Right, ok.

SA 4: It's 45 minutes, it's not a very long programme, but it was exceedingly, it was very very interesting.

Interviewer: Yea, I'm gonna watch it.

SA 4: I'm just thinking of the third one, there was the lithium, the cars, and there was another one, there was some technology then. Ok, it's not coming. No. I think at the moment, apart from a programme like that which focusses you on China, we haven't been focussed on China, particularly. Although there is that other thing, the fear of what's gonna happen to Taiwan. There're a lot of , there's always American troops in the territory, a lot more now. They've shipped in a lot more because they're ready for a sort of confrontation that might happen around South China Seas. And that is a great fear. Xi Jinping he's a bit of a worry. Well I think he's a worry for the Chinese people. Yea. Although he's obviously doing very good things. But the fact that he actually wants to be like Putin, just direct the country, and that's, that's not good. And, you know, that's, in a way, the fear, I suppose... Yea, yea. He's gonna be in power for life if he can be. I remember, they're everywhere, what do they call them... You know it's like the Alliance Française everywhere, and it's the Chinese version of that... the, oh god, terrible my memory. There was one in RMIT, and she cooperated with Chinese medicine, which was very unusual. And Xi Jinping went to open it. In fact, just before.

Interviewer: Oh, is it like, the, I know what you mean. I've got the name also at the tip of my tongue.

SA 4: And they're everywhere. They've got them now in Africa.

Interviewer: It's Confucius centre...

SA 4: Confucius centres, Confucius centres, exactly. They're everywhere. There's a silk road, so China is very strategic, very strategic in a way that nobody else is. But poor people have to go with it, you don't have any choice. So that's the thing isn't it. When you have a

government who tell you what to do, and make the country great in a way, but in detriment of the people. And I've talked to Chinese people, and he just say 'I won't go back to China, it's such a repressive regime. And I wouldn't want anybody to live there.' Well that's pretty bad. It's pretty bad.

Interviewer: Thank you very much for your time.

*Sam*: Interviewed on 27 November 2024. Interview duration: 44 minutes and 50 seconds.

Interviewer: So hello, I'll just get some demographic information from you first. So can I have your age group please?

SA 5: 63 to 71.

Interviewer: Ok. So gender, male. Ethnicity?

SA 5: I'll say Anglo-Australian. And that's to do with having British father and Australian mother.

Interviewer: Right, ok. How about your family structure? So are you living alone? Or do you have a family? Partner?

SA 5: Ok. Currently you could say I'm couch-surfing. I'm seperated, as in I'm single. I have a daughter who's 35. We've been in contact and very good relationship.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 5: So yea, it sums it up.

Interviewer: Ok, great. Your industry sector. So where are you...

SA 5: My industry sector. Ok, I'll put it this way. I put myself under artistic/ creative, as in I have worked as a proofreader, as an editor. I published a couple of books. And more recently I've worked in a disability sector as a teaching artist, sort of work with adult performers, help them into stage craft, voice techniques, that sort of thing. And...

Interviewer: Right, cool. Great thank you. Yea, so we'll just jumpstart with the first question.

SA 5: Ok.

Interviewer: So were you born here in South Australia?

SA 5: No, I was born in Sydney, New South Wales yea.

Interviewer: Right. So how long have you resided here in South Australia?

SA 5: I've been here in South Australia for 26 years.

Interviewer: Right. What do you think multiculturalism is? How would you put it?

SA 5: Oh right. I'll give you the textbook definition: Recognising, respecting and valuing cultural, linguistic, racial and religious diversity, as in several groups, comprising in one society.

Interviewer: Right. And what do you think, do you agree with South Australian multiculturalism? So what is it happening at the moment here yea, in South Australia.

SA 5: Ok. With the fact that they now got a Charter. I've actually looked at that Charter today, and one thing struck me, Principle number 5 says 'People should lawfully be able to pursue, express, practise and celebrate their cultural, linguistic and religious diversity', that's the principle. And my question that I actually wrote down here was, looking at that set of words in that Charter was, are Hong Kong people able to fully live this one in South Australia without being hindered or intimidated?

Interviewer: Ok. Why have you written that?

SA 5: Why have I written that? Ok. I'll get back to that set of words. It's a fine set of words: 'you should lawfully be able to preserve...' Ok, I'll go right into the guts of it. Ok. You've got a communist dictatorship, the PRC, right? And let's be frank. They're pretty good at having other people underground in other countries. In my view, there're certainly an attempt, blatant attempt in recent years by the PRC and its agents to basically crush dissent, crush any notion of their being, Hong Kong identity, I'm going forward here. This goes back to Carrie Lam, who's trying to, you know, achieve whatever she wanted to achieve. And fortunately for democracy, she was opposed, every step of the way. She's still managed to get that sedition bill up there, and when that failed, when she failed over, the next step was that security, I think they called that security bill? In 2020. From Beijing right? And I guess why I wrote that question, it's 'cause I read that Charter and go, ok there're a number of principles in the South Australian Charter of multiculturalism.

Interviewer: Yea.

SA 5: And yes, that's noble. It's a noble aspiration. But the first question popped in my mind was 'Are Hong Kong people able to fully live this one in South Australia?'

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: Yea, it just sort of came out of my mind. I thought, ok, because I have no, for myself, no concept what it must like to be a Hong Kong citizen living your life either in Hong Kong or here, and what are the... what's the word for, what are the obstacles to live fully here? What are the things that might get into the way?

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: Right? We know they do surveillance, right? So it follows that they would do surveillance in international level, and I can only imagine how it can impact somebody goes about their daily life. I hope that made sense.

Interviewer: So, what does it mean to you to be a South Australian or just an Australian in general?

SA 5: That, how long have you got? That's a really, that's such a big broad question, ok. I'll have a crack at it, off the top of my head. Even though I've been here since 1998, do I call myself a South Australian? I don't think so.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 5: And I'll probably get into...I am by virtue of spent of time: Been here for 26 years, you know, have a mixture of experiences including employment experiences. I'm trying to sum it up this way because I've also spent time living and working in the UK, which is part of my ancestral background, if you want to put it that way, through England and Scotland.

Interviewer: Yea.

SA 5: Ok, so, this is gonna come across, I don't care, who cares? This will probably be tagged as 'how unAustralian'. On a heart level, on a heart level, when I think of myself as I've done in the past, sitting in the middle of an English forest, that to be feels like home.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 5: Ok? That's just me, that's just me. Here not so much, not so much in Australia, and that's not dumping a bucket on Australia. I can't explain it actually. It's just something.

Interviewer: It's just your feeling.

SA 5: Just the feeling, yea. It's possibly on, I'm possibly not even expressing it very well, but yes. It's just a feeling. Having said that, there's moments where, you know, here in Adelaide, I'll be sitting reading something in Botanic Gardens or you know, it's a beautiful atmosphere, it's a beautiful spot, so I can recognise the beauty of other places. But there's something about whatever is the notion of home to an individual.

Interviewer: It's just a connection, right?

SA 5: Yea, just a connection. Whether that's part heart, part spirit, I don't know.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 5: Probably sounds very hippie.

Interviewer: Ok, so I think you've answered me this, you've answered me really well already. Do you have other identities? So you feel more English, is that right? Or...

SA 5: It's a mixture. No I'll be, I'll be completely opened about um, my team in football in England is Portsmouth, that's the town where I used to live. And so it still happens that, because the time difference, I'll often wake up at half-time, three o'clock in the morning. Right? Pick up the phone, if the match is on, yea, I don't know if it makes sense but yea.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: Yea, it's a tricky thing to explain. I mean, would I consider myself, no I wouldn't say I'm 100% English, no.

Interviewer: Is it kind of like a hybridity?

SA 5: It is a hybrid, alright? My dad, and three of my four grandparents all born in Britain, UK. And even my fourth grandparent, my mom's mom. I mean she was born in Queensland but her parents I think were dairy farmers from Cornwall. So you know it's there, even they're 12,000 miles away.

Interviewer: Yea, that makes sense.

SA 5: Not everybody, not everybody gets that. And it's not something I talk about a lot, but it is there, I recognise it. It doesn't necessarily mean I'm gonna hop on the plane tomorrow and get back to the UK, but yea, it's its hybridity. Yea.

Interviewer: Very cool. Do you see South Australia as a multicultural state?

SA 5: Ok, we're allowed to be really...

Interviewer: Yes, you can be frank.

SA 5: I'm gonna be completely frank. I think South Australia has certainly got aspirations, to be a multicultural state. And you can see there are efforts going in, presently to advance that, to enhance it. My question would be, I think the sort of the prevailing hegemony, to use that word, is still very much White Anglo-Saxon. I think.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: Maybe less than what it was in 1940s and 50s but I think it's still there.

Interviewer: Ok. Why?

SA 5: Why? I think in part it has to do with the role of media, how media is very powerful tool for painting how society looks. Education as in... Well where I used to work in Melbourne, going back in time, um into the 1960s, I went to a primary school where I never met an Aboriginal kid, everything around me was sort of like me. I mean, certainly you gotta track with Australia where there's a lot immigration. So the picture's changed since the 1960s. I think that there's still something where I think that, there's a combination: the leavers of power, the leavers of politics, the media

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: I'm sounding a bit cynical, but I think I've got my reasons right? We're a long way off. I think it's quite telling of South Australia with all the advances it has made within the Dunstan years is still yet to have a female premier. And it's the only state in the territory, in this whole country, that has yet. There's a layer of conservative residu I believe in this state, I'm going for it now, from the Playford years. It's a conservative residu, it's right there through the media, right? And then they'll always present their picture which doesn't necessarily translate what's on the ground. And the power structures are, those who have

control of the power structures control how it's disseminated through our society. They paint the picture.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: Yea, you know? I won't say anything about Rupert Murdoch at this point. Yea, you know what I mean? They, they paint the scenario, and I think the prevailing one is still far too White Anglo-Saxon hegemony. Old, pale, stale, and male. There you go. And that's what I truly think.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: And then we've had that for so long, it's like it's become an ingrown toenail. Can't get rid of. Yea.

Interviewer: It's very vivid.

SA 5: Yea, probably too vivid. It's fine to talk about diversity and to talk about multiculturalism and weaving a tapestry of a society which does respect and value all the different elements cultural. Great aspirations, great. But you've got to actually enact those aspirations, you've got to see those different elements, playing more of a role. You've got to see them, having their hands on the weaves: power and education. Does it make sense? Yea, otherwise it is fine words, with not lots of actions follow them up. The danger of lips, it's kind of like a lip service, you know? Having said that though, I think we do a slightly better job of multiculturalism than the United States.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: Yes. I think that's a topic for another day. I think we do it better than the US, but I still think we're a long way from where it could be.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: Yea.

Interviewer: So since you've also lived in Melbourne, and maybe in other places in Australia...

SA 5: Sydney, Melbourne, Canberra.

Interviewer: Ok. How multicultural is South Australia compare to the other states?

SA 5: How multicultural...In some ways is a difficult thing to do a comparison 'cause you know, Melbourne, much larger, bigger population. Having said that though, I think recent visits to Melbourne what I have noticed is, there's probably a stronger element of multiculturalism in Melbourne than there is here. I'm not gonna try and name specifics but just things I noticed or aspects of even the CBD of Melbourne itself, and it just seems there is more. Yea more than Adelaide.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: Yea.

Interviewer: Can you tell me a little, more precisely, what kind of aspects do you see in Melbourne that you cannot see here in South Australia?

SA 5: You've just put me on the spot. Ok, Chinese community in Melbourne, appears to me numerically larger than here in Adelaide. Appears to be... what's the word, definitely a stronger profile, it's probably not the right word, but a stronger profile than what I see here.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: Yea.

Interviewer: So have you noticed any changes to multiculturalism here in South Australia? So you've been here for 26 years?

SA 5: Yea, yea.

Interviewer: Have you noticed any changes?

SA 5: Changes. Changes in how it's carried out, changes in...?

Interviewer: Yea, how it's becoming?

SA 5: Well I think that Charter is a start. That seems to be a recent thing.

Interviewer: Yes.

SA 5: 2021 I think. Maybe I've been here for longer I can't recall. Maybe I think I'm seeing a few more, OzAsia Festival is fairly recent? Yup. There's one OzAsia Festival um some of yea, and there appear to be a few more organisations like apparently there is a Hong Kong Cultural Association in South Australia.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: I saw it yesterday amongst a group of different um different associations representing um. So I think that yea, that's increased, that's increased.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 5: Compare to my slightly hazy memory of the 1990s. A bit more of a presence, does that help?

Interviewer: Yea. So do you know anyone of Chinese descent living here in South Australia?

SA 5: You, you.

Interviewer: Am I the only one?

SA 5: I'm just, I'm just sort of casting back through quite a few years.

Interviewer: Oh really?

SA 5: Yea, yea. Just you. I'm really going through the memory banks here, 'cause I'm sure I worked with in professional setting with Chinese people in the past. I just can't. Yea.

Interviewer: Ok. That's fine. It's ok. Do you think it's important for a person of Chinese descent to maintain their own cultural heritage here in South Australia?

SA 5: Do I think it's important? Yes, yes.

Interviewer: Can you please elaborate on that? Why do you think it's important? For them to maintain their own culture?

SA 5: I'm talking Chinese descent?

Interviewer: Yea, Chinese in general. Or you can even be more specific if you want to talk about just Hong Kong people. As you wish.

SA 5: No I think it's that thing of, it's who you are, it's your essence right? And just because you are in a different country to where you started from, yea. I'm not gonna phrase it terribly well, but yea it's core identity. Never lose your core identity, you know.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: And also, it's like that thing where the policy here in Australia towards Indigenous people used to be. They gotta assimilate, they gotta become like us. Heck no. No, because then you'll lose yourself, right? And not necessarily the world's greatest fan of whatever, whatever Western societies suppose to represent. Assimilate to that, and lose yourself, I think. It's, the things that are precious to your spirit, that connect to where you come from, you cannot obliterate them. If you obliterate them to take on some fake persona, what do you become? Does that make sense? What, what do you become? You, yea.

Interviewer: Yup.

SA 5: Because for Hong Kong people, that's a distinct group. There's a distinct identity, there's a distinct history, you gotta hang on, you don't, you don't toss it aside for, toss it aside for what?

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: Some homogenous, soulless, western, capitalist bad dream. Sorry, yea, I don't know, things important you gotta retain in the essence of who you are, the essence of language, history, ancestry, spirit, the whole thing. You can't lose it, in some way, that you know, having worked with Indigenous people back in 1980s, yea you know, you can see, you can see clearly the damage that is done to the old White, White Australia Policy. Terrible damage, you know.

Interviewer: Can you just elaborate on that? Like what kind of damage do you see like on Indigenous people because of those policies?

SA 5: Confusion, they're lost between two worlds, lost of language, um in many ways in kind of, it took away their own power, their own agency I think. Assimilate, become like us,

become White Australia. And you sort of play out, and we still see it play out, in terms of the Indigenous people, Australian terms of all the indicators of their health, the things with substance abuse, and when you suppress and damage uh a particular group of people historically, and this is this way colonisation comes into the damage of colonisation is just the words right, but you've got grief that is not expressed, you've got the damage to families, you've got the damage to societies and communities, and that's just, that's just the rights through.

Interviewer: Very well. Have you noticed any Hong Kong or Chinese cultural heritage sites in South Australia? It doesn't have to be those big sites. It can be restaurants or ...

SA 5: I certainly notice restaurants. It terms of heritage sites, no. I'm not that familiar. I am aware through, I can name Gladys Sym-choon, so certain individuals. And that's come about through the role I have been researched. Read the file, learn about the person. So I don't know whether that answers you question.

Interviewer: Yes.

SA 5: Yea.

Interviewer: Cool. So have you participated in any Hong Kong or Chinese multicultural events in South Australia?

SA 5: No, no, I don't. I check my memory again. No, I haven't.

Interviewer: Ok. Have you tasted any Chinese food here?

SA 5: Yes, yes. Absolutely.

Interviewer: Ok. Why, why did you decide to taste Chinese food? Or why did you, yea, in general?

SA 5: It's curiosity, it's curiosity. Another culture, another type of food.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: And yea, I'm a fan of dumplings. Ok so, yea.

Interviewer: So you've tasted it and you like it?

SA 5: Yes, absolutely.

Interviewer: Ok. Ok so curiosity, ok so that's fine. So you haven't participated in any events? Any multicultural events in general?

SA 5: Ok, in general. Wrecking my brain, not that I recall, but I may have. I've been here a while, I did once actually. Started looking to Falun Gong.

Interviewer: Right, ok.

SA 5: Yup. Which was in a time of an extension of other areas that I was looking into, because, so I'll put it on tape, I'm a wanky healer, ok? So in that vein of exploring a numb,

I'm always curious. So yea, briefly, I didn't follow-up on it, but I did. This goes back a decade or more. Falun Gong, another further down the line, I became aware of the Beijing dictatorship treatments of Falun Gong.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: Ok.

Interviewer: By tasting the Chinese cuisine, have you learnt anything new about the Chinese culture or Hong Kong culture in general?

SA 5: Probably not. I mean in terms of Hong Kong, through my own research, you know, I'm aware of snippets, like I know, there was, that's probably not Hong Kong, the Boxer Rebellion. I know, certain more recent events in terms of people like Jimmy Lai, and the activists were fighting against Carrie Lam & Co. And there was even an Australian, who is a dual citizen, Gordon Ng, he got sent to seven years. I like to try and keep myself aware of what's going on. The other is sort of only slightly connected to Hong Kong is, being the aeroplane nerd that I was, I got a book about guys who used to fly aeroplanes in the 1930s and there were a bunch of them who were actually hired by the then Chinese government. This is prior the Japanese invasion. Yea, I'm going off, off track a bit here but yea. Bits and pieces and one of those pilots was a New Zealander who ended up post-World War II. From memories I think he worked for a newspaper in Kowloon. Some bits and pieces, but I don't, I wouldn't say I'm an expert on Hong Kong at all.

Interviewer: Yea.

SA 5: I'm still learning, ok? Which is good. I think the minute you stop learning, you're done. So, yea.

Interviewer: Very true.

SA 5: In terms of more recent events, I'm very aware of what has just happened the other day with those sentences that got handed down, how the Chinese government handle the next move in regard of Gordon Ng 'cause he is, you know, he's a dual citizen. I just think he got seven years.

Interviewer: Right.

SA 5: Yea. Not good. Appalling basically.

Interviewer: I think you've already answered me about this, but what do you know about Hong Kong or Chinese culture?

SA 5: Not as much as I should.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: And that's in respect about China and Hong Kong. I, yea, I may be a bit typical, and, I need to learn more. I don't know enough. I know a certain amount, and research helps with that, yea.

Interviewer: Ok. So now this question. Do you think the Hong Kong or Chinese cultural heritage is part of the South Australian cultural heritage? Since we're talking about multiculturalism here in South Australia, so do you think it is part of it?

SA 5: Part of?

Interviewer: The Hong Kong or the Chinese culture in general?

SA 5: Not enough. Particularly Hong Kong, to me it's a distinct. Hong Kong is a distinct, distinct from China. In same way that Taiwan is distinct from China. I know the CCP would like to see it differently but that's not how I see it, alright? So Hong Kong has clearly a distinct identity. I don't see enough or have made myself aware enough yet about Hong Kong. And I therefore, I don't see, I mean sure, we walk pass the OzAsia Festival, so there's somethings happening, that I think not enough. And not enough promotion. So I wouldn't, I wouldn't. When you say to be part of South Australian cultural heritage, and that's an education thing. Yea, I think it's education. There needs to be, I mean if you're gonna say that it's part of South Australian cultural heritage, I don't think it's there enough. And there needs to be some education thing for the mainstream population, that's what I'm talking about. To make it more visible.

Interviewer: Oh I see.

SA 5: Yea. Does that make sense?

Interviewer: Yes. So you don't see enough basically of Hong Kong culture here?

SA 5: No. I don't think so, mind you. Like I say, I'm still on my L plate, so in the individual sense, it comes down to you gotta educate yourself. You gotta find that there could be more an effort made. Yea.

Interviewer: Ok. An effort in? From which community? Which government?

SA 5: On all levels. Both of the communities, Chinese and the Hong Kong, and also a government level, or a local government level. I'm not saying that all the local governments are doing nothing. I'm not saying that. But I just get the sense that there could be more to raise the profile. Ok.

Interviewer: Yes. So this question is closely related to the question that I've just asked and you've explained. So how important is the Hong Kong or Chinese cultural heritage here in South Australia? So how important it is as heritage here in South Australia?

SA 5: Important to those communities? Or...

Interviewer: Important to the South Australian community in general?

SA 5: Ok, I mean if you're talking the Anglo-Saxon community?

Interviewer: Yea, or South Australians.

SA 5: Ok, then, then is not enough. It needs to be more important. And that revolves around effort putting to education into profile-lifting into more events, more yea.

Interviewer: Very well.

SA 5: Yea it needs to be more important than what it appears to be at the moment. Just because there's an OzAsia Festival that's not enough. Do you follow what I'm saying?

Interviewer: Yea.

SA 5: That's like knocking that, that's great, the fringe of these communities, and I'm sure it's important to them too. Like you know, to match the fine words in the Charter, needs action, needs visibility, needs yea, but I don't know whether that's enough for...

Interviewer: Yes.

SA 5: Yea.

Interviewer: Do you have anything to add?

SA 5: I've enjoyed this interview. Anything to add... I'm gonna go on a personal level, I'm certainly myself gonna explore more, which I have already started doing, in terms of like, not just the Chinese heritage, but Hong Kong, 'cause like I said, they're two distinct areas. Yea for myself is actually about, it's actually continuing my journey that I feel I've barely begun.

Interviewer: Ok.

SA 5: I feel like I know a certain amount, maybe right now a little more than some people, but I think I also know a lot less than others. So I'm still on the path.

Interviewer: Interesting.

SA 5: And that I think it's intriguing sort of be the age I am, to look back, the thing that looking back to when I was at school, thinking like 'spot the Aboriginal kid' right? Like you grow up in a certain milieu but that's not reality, that's not the totality of what's there. In my journey along the way, particularly in the 1980s, where I was heavily involved in political theories in Sydney with Aboriginal people, that opened my view, that changed a lot for me. So I guess I'm trying to point out the same thing here about opening, opening the view, going further on the path, learning more. Learning more.

Interviewer: Very good.

SA 5: Yea.

Interviewer: So I think that's about it. So that's the end of the interview. Unless you want to add any more comments or?

SA 5: Oh... Well, yea, but I've already spoken about the communist dictatorship. And their appalling treatment of those activists, and it's just the thing you hope that in the long run, 'cause Hong Kong was clearly sold out promise once said of things in 1997 changover, promised that they'd be able to keep their ...democratic system and they have been, to be blunt, shafted, by a terrible regime, Beijing, there you go.

Interviewer: So thank you for your time and yea I'll just send you a short summary of [the results].

SA 5: Thank you.

## Appendix 4: Full set of results

### Demographic information:

Among the 14 participants, nine people were originally from HK and five people were non-Chinese South Australians (Figure 6).

Table 1 shows the age range of the HK participants, their family structure and industry sector (Table 1). They all worked in different industries, including property management, accounting, social work and disabilities, postal and parcel services, higher education, healthcare, manufacturing and marketing. One of them was a student in horticulture at the time of the interview. Even though they are all originally from Hong Kong, the answer on their ethnicity varies, with most of them considering themselves HK Chinese or Chinese (from) HK (Table 1). Most of the interviewees resided in SA for five years or less, with only one who had lived in the state for over 30 years (Figure 7).

The years of residence of SA participants are shown in Figure 7, with most of them having resided in SA for more than 30 years. One of them (Mary) was born in the state, and Diana moved to SA when she was two.

	gender	age group	ethnicity	family structure	industry sector	HK or SA
Liam	male	18-26	Chinese	living with partner	marketing	Hong Kong
Peter	male	18-26	Hong Kong Chinese	single	student	Hong Kong
Michael	male	27-35	Chinese Hong Kong	single	manufacturing	Hong Kong
John	male	36-44	British Hong Kongese	single	healthcare	Hong Kong
Olivia	female	36-44	Hong Konger	divorced with kids	higher education	Hong Kong
Sophia	female	36-44	Chinese from Hong Kong	married with kids	postal and parcel services	Hong Kong
Henry	male	45-53	Hong Kong	married no kids	social work	Hong Kong
Jane	female	54-62	Chinese	married with kids	accounting	Hong Kong
Violet	female	63-71	Hong Kong Chinese	married with kids	property management (unconfirmed)	Hong Kong
Diana	female	36-44	Australian	married with kids	tertiary education	South Australia
Mary	female	45-53	Australian with English background	living with partner	arts and culture	South Australia
Sam	male	63-71	Anglo-Australian	divorced with kids	artistic creative	South Australia
Emma	female	72-80	European	single with partner	retired education	South Australia
James	male	over 80	English	married with kids	higher education	South Australia

Table 1: Demographic information of all participants.



Figure 6: The number and gender of all participants.

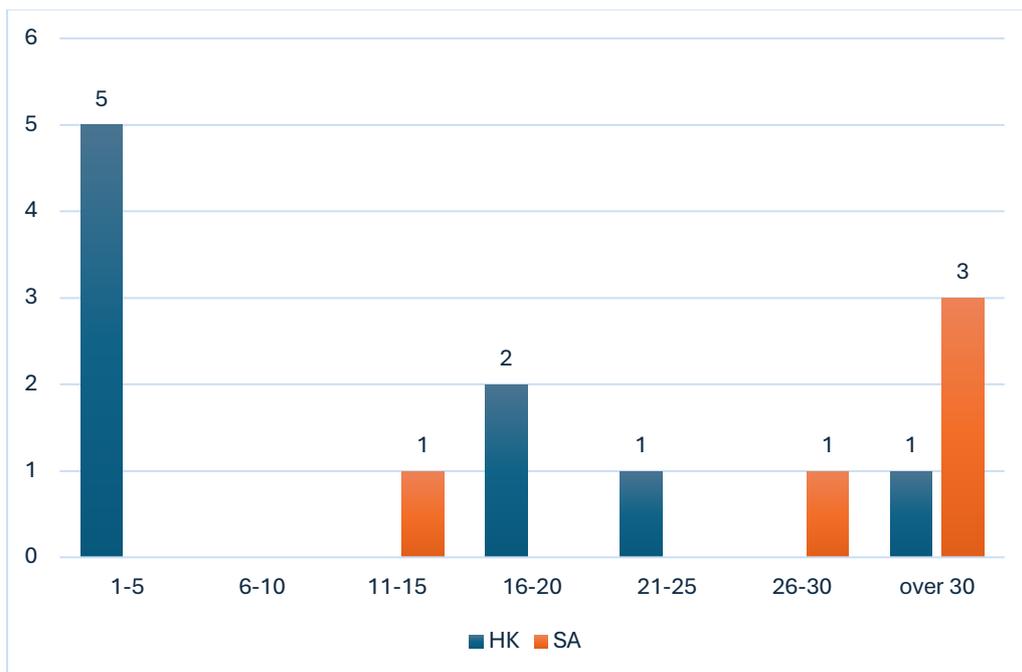


Figure 7: Years of residence of all participants in SA.

### Reasons for moving to South Australia:

Figure 60 shows the seven reasons cited by HK participants as their main reasons for moving to South Australia. All nine interviewees agreed that they had moved for a better lifestyle and living environment. Six of them cited education. The third most expressed reason is better opportunities in SA. HK political instability, environmental concerns in HK and the proximity

of friends were each mentioned by two participants. Only one mentioned that SA would provide him with a better future.

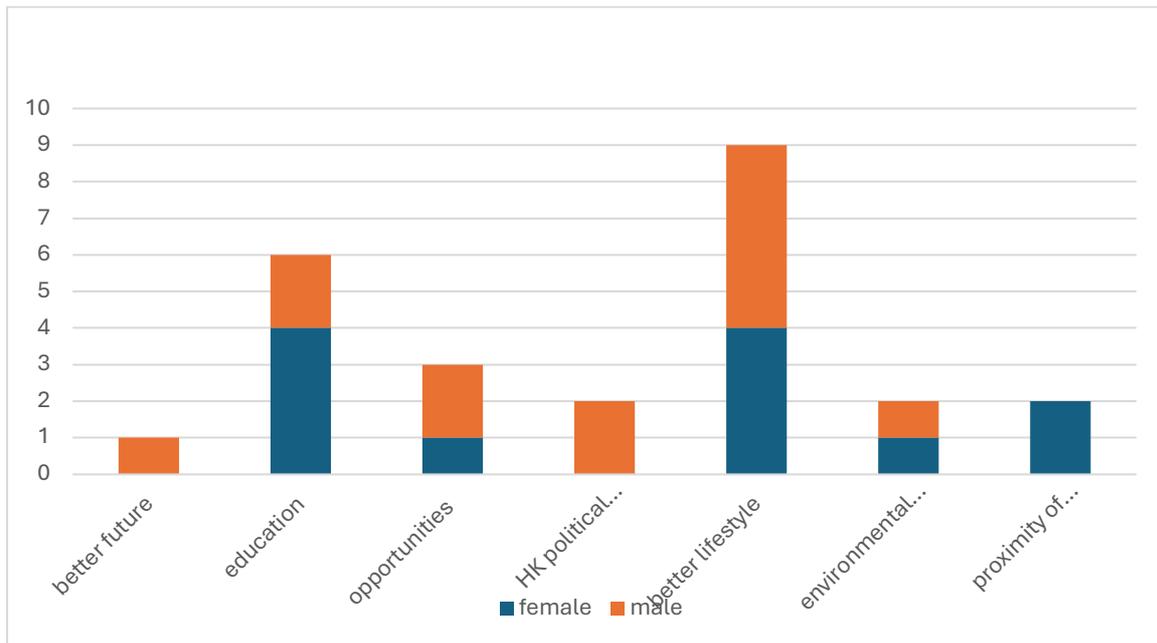


Figure 60: Main reasons for moving to SA.

Among the least important reasons for moving to SA (Figure 61), HK political instability was as mentioned by 67% of participants, followed by environmental concerns in HK (56%) (Figure 61). Education, opportunities in SA and proximity of friends or relatives were considered least important by 33% of participants.

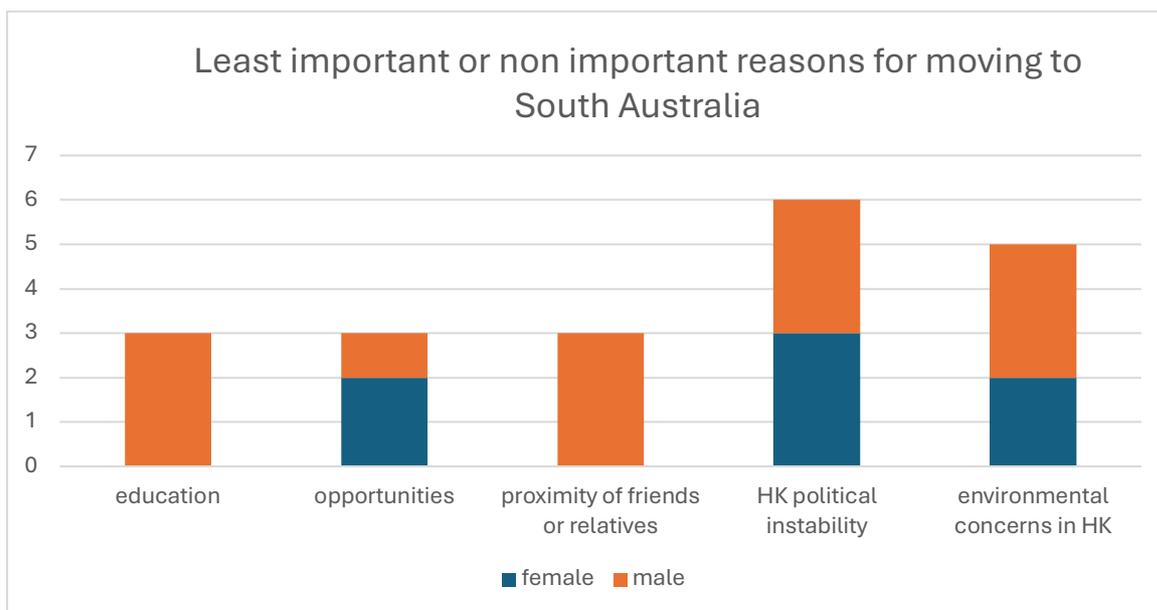


Figure 61: Least important or unimportant reasons for moving to SA.

## General Challenges in South Australia:

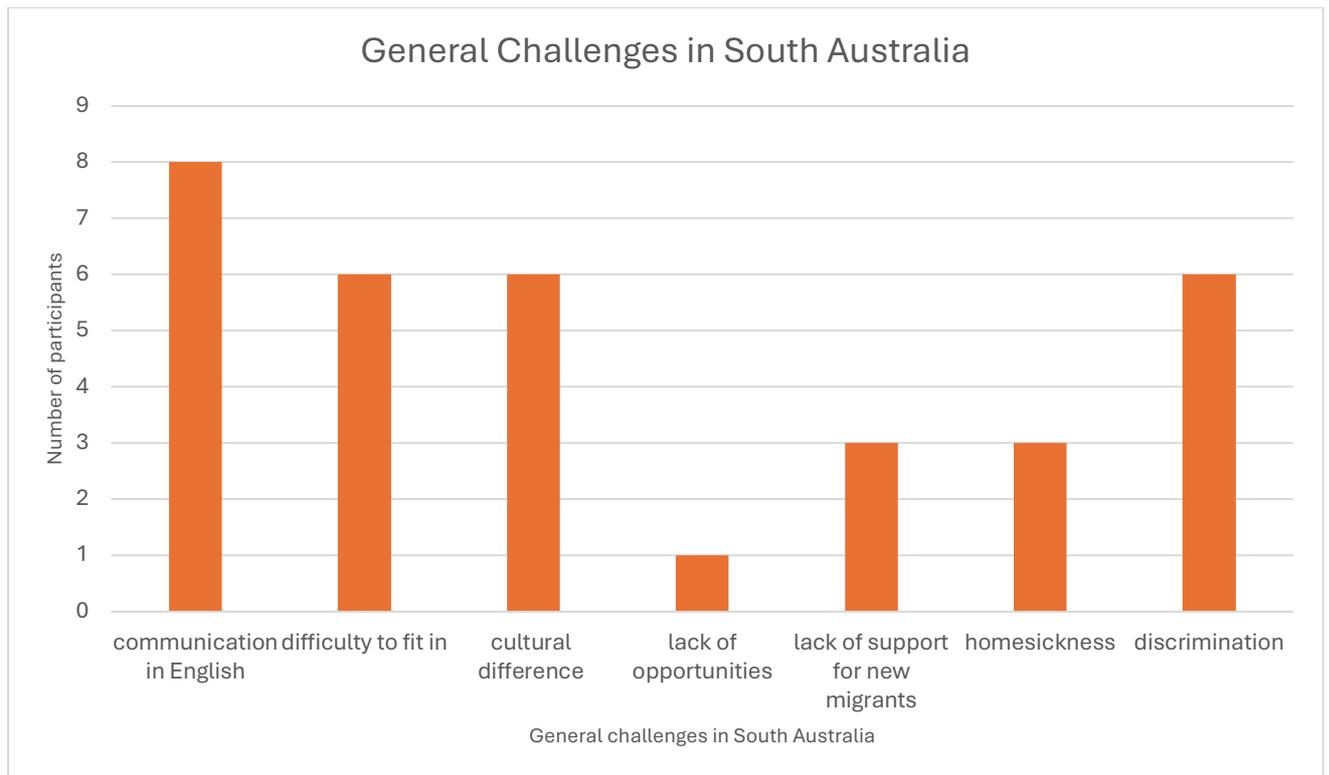


Figure 8: General challenges in SA.

The majority of participants (n=8) considered that they had encountered some big or small difficulties in English, especially when they first arrived in SA (Figure 8). Six participants believed they had encountered challenges with each of the following: difficulty to fit in; cultural difference and culture shock; and discrimination. Three participants stated lack of support for new migrants and homesickness as their personal challenges or challenges they saw among their HK peers as new migrants. Only one participant brought up lack of job opportunities in SA as a challenge she experienced when she first arrived. It is important to note that difficulty to fit in, cultural difference, discrimination and homesickness are the four challenges which were identified by some participants as ongoing challenges. The problems in English communication seemed to diminish the longer interviewees resided in SA.

## Adjusting to their new lives

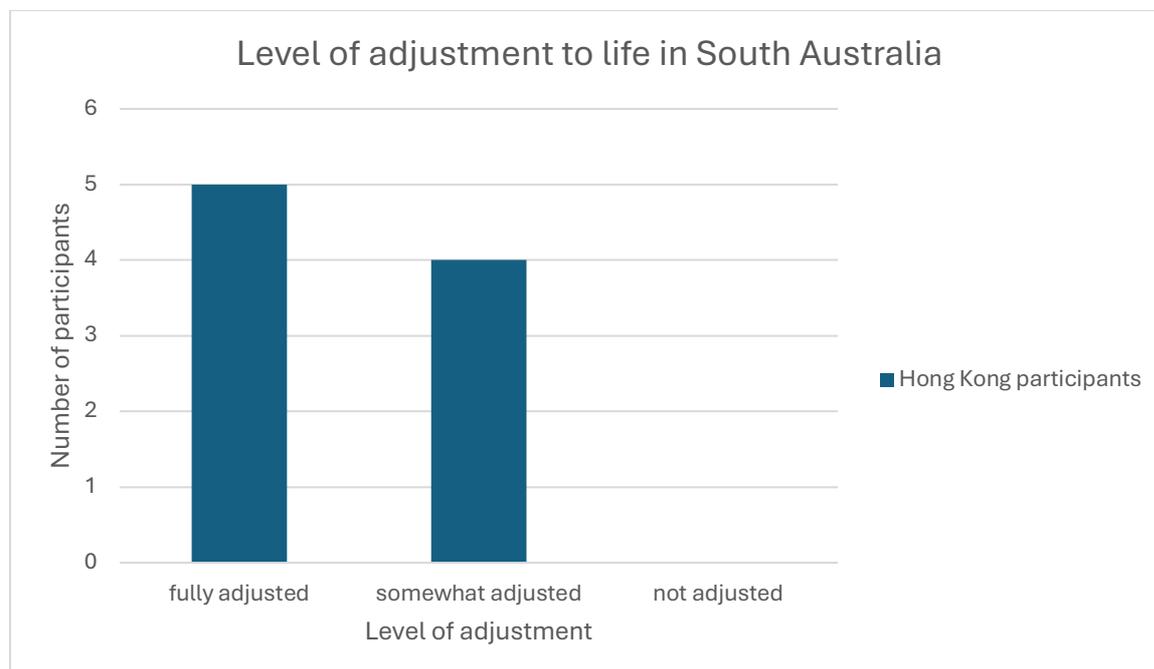


Figure 9: Level of adjustment to life in SA.

As seen in Figure 9, no participant felt that they had not adjusted to life in SA. The majority (56%) considered themselves fully adjusted to life in SA, and four of them felt that they had somewhat adjusted to it or were still adjusting to it. Of the five who were fully adjusted, three of them had resided in SA over 19 years, and two had migrated five years ago or less. As for the four participants who decided that they were ‘somewhat adjusted’ to the life in SA, three of them had migrated five years ago or less, and one of them had resided in SA for over 30 years.

All participants had different ways of adapting to their new life (Table 2). Four respondents relied on social networking in church, through HK associations like the HKCASA, or with friends from HK, China, or Taiwan. Only one participant, Peter, revealed networks of friends from around the globe. Four participants explained that job opportunities and work routine helped them to adapt. Four participants appropriated the Australian way of life, or an understanding of it, to feel more comfortable in their work and private lives. Three participants cited family commitments as a bridge to becoming more involved in Australian life. Two participants mentioned participating in HK-related or other activities.

Ways to adapt	Number of participants
Social network	5
Job opportunities and work routine	4
Appropriating or understanding the Australian way of life	4
Family commitments	3
Participate in Hong Kong-related activities or other activities	2

Bypass perception of others	1
Draw on previous overseas experience	1
Take English lessons	1

Table 2: Ways HK people adapt to their life in SA.

### **Comparing Hong Kong and mainland Chinese culture:**

Mainland China (hereafter China) has a variety of cultures. However, for the purpose of this thesis, which focusses on HK CH, mainland Chinese culture will be simplified and treated as a whole, based on dominant Han perspectives and values. HK and mainland China cultures may have much in common, but also differ in crucial ways.

HK participants Sophia and Michael mentioned the difference between spoken and written language in HK and China. Both talked about the use of Cantonese and traditional Chinese writing by HK people as a distinctive difference to mainland Chinese, who speak Mandarin and write in simplified Chinese. Henry also added that the culture and values of ‘roughly 60%’ of HK people are based on ‘democracy, freedoms, rule of law, these universal values’ and ‘equality and social justice’, which he believed to be ‘in line with Australian values’. In contrast, Henry said that these values were not seen as ‘highly important’ to mainland Chinese who had been ‘raised in an authoritarian regime’.

Three SA participants talked about the differences between the two cultures. Emma and Sam both believed HK culture to be different, or ‘distinct’, from mainland Chinese culture. However, Sam said that ‘I don’t see enough or have made myself aware enough yet about HK. Emma said that ‘the Hong Kongese are sophisticated, business people and well educated’, comparing them with ‘Chinese people from the East [who] tend to be sophisticated, well-educated’. As for James, who is married to a HK wife, he said that he could differentiate ‘between [a] Cantonese [...] managed restaurant, and Mainland Chinese’ as ‘notions of service quality are strongly linked to HK culture, far less so in China culture’. He concluded that you go to a Cantonese restaurant ‘because the food is good, the service is good, and you can trust’, compared to other Chinese restaurants where you could not expect the same quality of food and services.

## Hong Kong Cultural Heritage sites or places in SA

### Definition of Cultural Heritage

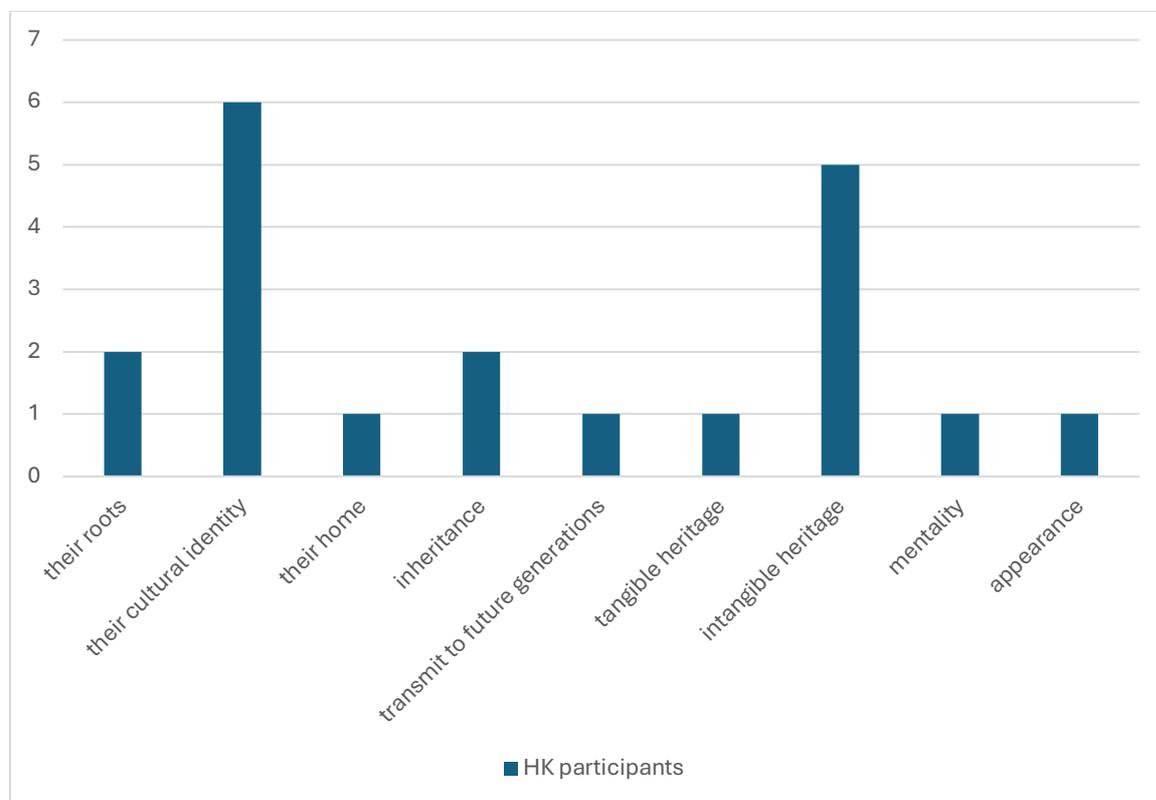


Figure 62: Definition of CH.

Figure 62 summarises how HK participants defined cultural heritage. While six of them agreed that it is about their cultural identity or their identity as a HK person, five mentioned HK ICH as part of their cultural heritage: Three (Henry, Sophia and Olivia) cited the Cantonese language and traditional Chinese writing (Henry). Michael and Sophia mentioned Chinese festivals. Peter and Sophia talked about food. Only Michael briefly mentioned tangible heritage. Henry and Jane cited their roots and backgrounds as their heritage, while, for Liam and Michael, CH is inherited from past generations. Only Peter mentioned HK people’s mentality, specifically a love of earning money, as part of his cultural heritage. Sophia mentioned physical appearance as an aspect of her heritage.

Hong Kong cultural heritage sites or places in South Australia	Number of participants
Hong Kong organisations	4
Austral-Asian Christian Church	3
Mount Lion Café and its surroundings	3
Chinatown Adelaide South Australia	3

Brolly Toasties	1
Citi Zen Restaurant	1
Eastern Garden Chinese Restaurant	1
Kowloon Restaurant	1
New Oriental Pearl Restaurant	1
Star House Chinese Restaurant	1

Table 4: Identified HK CH sites or places in SA.

Table 4 shows the ten HK CH places identified as significant to HK participants. Eighty percent of the named HK places are restaurants, with the other 20% being cultural and religious places. Sixty percent of places were only named by one participant. Field work was done at the HK cultural heritage places identified by HK interviewees.

Four participants described HK organisations as significant heritage, with three mentioning the HKCASA. The HKCASA does not own a physical office but holds events throughout the year (Figures 63 and 64). Liam was the only interviewee who mentioned the HK club in universities. The AACC (Figures 12, 65, 66, 67) and the Mount Lion Café (Figures 68 and 69) and its surroundings were each named by three participants. The interior of the café is shown in Figures 70 and 71. Figures 72, 73 and 74 show the HK-themed decorations, with signs and banners reading ‘Hong Kong’ written in traditional Chinese, and framed pictures of HK’s Lion Rock, hiking trails, and the hustle and bustle of HK life. Olivia and Sophia mentioned the surrounding places within the ‘complex’, including the Hong Kong bakery called 4u Bread and Cake (Figure 75). Olivia also talked about Thuan Phat Supermarket, a Vietnamese supermarket, also known as 順發超級市場 in Chinese (Figures 78, 79). Pictures of HK Victoria Harbour, its skyline and hiking trails could also be seen on the bakery’s walls (Figures 76, 77).

### Hong Kong Cultural Association of South Australia



Figure 63: HKCASA at the Multicultural Festival on 24 November 2024.



Figure 64: HKCASA's HK Friends Festival on 17 March 2024.

### Austral-Asian Christian Church



Figure 65: AACC on 14 April 2025.



Figure 66: Main hall for Cantonese-speaking Sunday service. 27 April 2025.



Figure 12 (left): Chinese characters 高舉十架 共建神家 (meaning: hold high the cross, together we build God's house) on red banners.



Figure 67: A plaque mounted on the wall next to the main worship hall.

### MLC and surroundings



Figure 68: Frontal view of MLC's entrance, 13 October 2024



Figure 69: side view of MLC's entrance on 13 October 2024.



Figure 70: the cashier and a dining area in front of the entrance of MLC, 20 April 2025



Figure 71: the main dining area of the café, 13 October 2024.



Figure 72: A blue sign showing 'Home Kong'. 13 October 2024.



Figure 73: Framed pictures of the nature in HK. 20 April 2025.

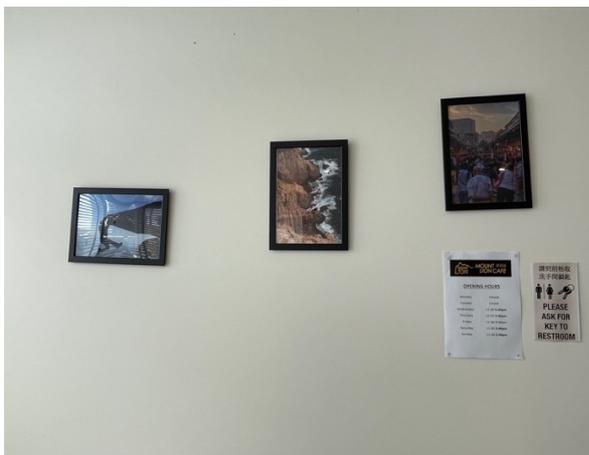


Figure 74: Framed pictures. 13 October 2024.



Figure 75: Entrance of 4u Bread n Cake Bakery. 20 April 2025.



Figure 76: 'HK-style' sign on the wall, with some pictures of HK tram and the Peak Tram next to it.



Figure 77: Dining area with pictures of HK's Victoria Harbour and skyline.



Figure 78: Entrance of Thuan Phat Supermarket. 20 April 2025.



Figure 79: the partial interior of the supermarket.

Three participants, Jane, Peter and Olivia, considered Chinatown in Adelaide as a CH site for HK people. Jane mentioned grocery stores (Figure 18) where she could purchase Chinese food and ingredients she ‘normally can eat in HK’. She also confirmed that the decorations there are representative of HK culture, especially the ones to celebrate CNY and Mid-Autumn Festival (Figures 3, 19a, 20a, 21b). Nevertheless, Peter and Olivia actually felt that the degree of HK representiveness in Chinatown should be limited to the food offered there (Figures 19a and 20b). Olivia felt that ‘even Chinatown is not very HK, it’s more China’, even though it has ‘authentic Cantonese food’ and people can speak in Cantonese. Peter also emphasised the food, and the food and snacks he can purchase at grocery stores there. However, he admitted that, even though there are Chinese elements in the buildings (Figures 19b and 21), he believed it to be ‘a stereotype of Chinese culture’.

#### Chinatown in Adelaide (14 April 2025)



Figure 80: HK Grocery, close to the main entrance from Gouger Street. 14 April 2025.



Figure 81: part of Chinatown's main street and Chinatown café.



Figure 82: a close-up on the Chinese-style roof riles and Chinese figurines on top.



Figure 83: Chinese (Chiuchow-style) restaurant, entry from Gouger Street, serving ‘yum cha’ daily (Figure 20b).



Figure 16: one of the Chinese guardian lions at Chinatown’s main entrance (Gouger Street).



Figure 84: Year of the Snake photo stand-in board to celebrate Chinese New Year.

Brolly Toasties in Unley (Figure 85) and the New Oriental Pearl Restaurant in Norwood (Figures 90, 91) are two HK CH places mentioned by John. Brolly Toasties is a HK-style café showing an array of HK-themed posters, including ones of skyscrapers and Victoria Harbour (Figure 86, 87, 89) and a few posters of HK contemporary singers (Figure 88). The New Oriental Pearl Restaurant is a contemporary Cantonese style restaurant. Apart from the table settings (Figure 92) and the framed Chinese artworks (Figure 93), it does not have any other distinctive Chinese elements. John considered these places as significant because they ‘cure [...] homesickness’, where ‘[w]e can still talk in Cantonese [and] have some sort of Cantonese food outside’, since HK, to him, ‘used to be 美食之都<sup>88</sup>’. He said that these places ‘somewhat keep our culture and spirit’, as they serve food which is comforting to HK people’s taste buds.

Brolly Toasties (4 April 2025)

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<sup>88</sup> The capital of gastronomy



Figure 85: Entrance of Brolly Toasties in Unley. 4 April 2025.



Figure 86: Poster of HK skyscrapers and Victoria Harbour at night.



Figure 87: Main dining area of Brolly Toasties. Posters of HK skyscrapers and its nature on the walls.



Figure 88: Posters of HK contemporary singers.



Figure 89: A close-up of two posters, featuring HK skyscrapers and the Victoria Harbour.

New Oriental Pearl Restaurant (26 April 2025)



Figure 90: Entrance of restaurant on the right.



Figure 91: Extreme end of the restaurant.



Figure 92: Dining area.



Figure 93: Framed Chinese artworks of flowers on the wall.

### Citi Zen Restaurant and Eastern Garden Chinese Restaurant

These two restaurants are mentioned by Sophia as HK heritage places, as they both offer yum cha for lunch.

Citi Zen Restaurant (Figure 13) has a standing advertising sign stating ‘yum cha’ is provided every day (Figure 94). The entryway of the restaurant (Figure 15) features Chinese elements, such as the Crystal ceiling chandelier, a Chinese junk model placed on top of a Chinese style cupboard at the far end, Chinese guardian lions, Chinese style furniture and a red carpet. At the bar and cashier area, Fu, Lu and Shou statues<sup>89</sup> are placed on top of the furniture of the fireplace (Figure 17). Chinese decorations on the wine racks include Chinese teapots, a jade sculpture (a pot and flowers), floral patterns on Chinese style frames and a red carpet (Figure 17). The main dining area (Figure 19) has live seafood water tanks at the back. A framed Chinese calligraphy in traditional Chinese writing: 傳承一品 上乘佳肴, meaning ‘continuing premium quality, serving delicious food’. Round tables and Chinese style armchairs, lantern style ceiling lights are seen in both dining areas (Figures 19, 95).



Figure 13: Entrance of Citi Zen Restaurant, King William Street. The Chinese name of the restaurant is written in traditional Chinese writing. 17 April 2025.

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<sup>89</sup> Chinese gods of Fortune (Fu), Prosperity (Lu) and Longevity (Shou)



Figure 94: Outdoor dining area and a restaurant advertising sign placed in front of it.



Figure 15 (left): The entryway of Citi Zen.



Figure 17 (right): The bar and cashier area.



Figure 19: First main dining area.



Figure 95: second dining area.

Eastern Garden Chinese restaurant (Figure 14) in Norwood also showcases Chinese style decorations, including a large extensive mural of what is possibly a Chinese village (Figure 96) at the dining area closest to the entrance. Live seafood tanks and a Chinese style partition can be seen near the cashier area (Figure 97). Lantern style ceiling lamps and red mini lanterns are placed on the ceiling (Figures 97, 98, 99). Figures 99 and 100 show the main dining area, featuring framed pictures of traditional Chinese dishes and Cantonese yumcha dishes.



Figure 14: Entrance of Eastern Garden Chinese Restaurant in Norwood. 21 April 2025.



Figure 96: Dining area closest to entrance and the cashier. Large extensive mural décor.



Figure 97: Cashier area.



Figure 98: Main dining area.



Figure 99: Main dining area 2.



Figure 100: Framed pictures of traditional Chinese dim sum dishes and Chinese dishes.

### Kowloon Restaurant

Liam was the one who cited Kowloon Restaurant (Figure 101) as a HK cultural heritage place which can draw HK people together. He believed that restaurants are the easiest outlets to ‘bring [HK] people together’ with the ‘connection [to HK culture]’. At the centre of Figure 20, the Chinese name of the restaurant, 九龍茶餐廳 (meaning Kowloon café), is printed in 3D and gold colour on a black plaque. The left side of the dining area (Figure 102) shows red banners with traditional Chinese calligraphy on the wall. The daily specials and lunch meals are written on a chalk board below a television broadcasting a HK news channel. The right side of the dining area (Figure 103) has a mural decoration with advertising signs of traditional HK brand names, including renowned restaurants and mooncakes found in HK. The ceiling lights are shaped as bird cages.



Figure 101: Entrance of Kowloon Restaurant.30 March 2025.



Figure 20: Main dining area. 23 April 2025.



Figure 102: Left side of the dining area (from the entrance). 23 April 2025.



Figure 103: Right side of the dining area (from the entrance). 23 April 2025.

### Star House Chinese Restaurant

Olivia named Star House Chinese Restaurant (Figure 104) as a ‘very yummy and very authentic’ restaurant, which is also ‘very popular among HK people’. She also mentioned HK people’s high standards on food: ‘If the food is not yummy, they criticise it’. The restaurant has multiple dining areas (Figures 22, 105, 107) and wine storage shelves (Figures 18, 106). Its main decorations consist of posters of recommended dishes and delicacies (Figures 22, 106) and composed images of partitions (Figure 107). Its live seafood tanks are placed at one end of the main dining area (Figure 21).



Figure 104: Entrance of Star House Chinese Restaurant. 24 April 2025.



Figure 18: Waiting area, bar and cashier area.



Figure 105: main dining area.



Figure 106: posters of recommended dishes, certificates and wine storage at the corner of the main dining area.



Figure 21: Live seafood tanks.



Figure 22: second dining area with posters of recommended dishes.



Figure 107: partitioned dining areas, close to bar area.

### Significance of these places or sites to Hong Kong people

Both Henry and Liam felt that these places, including the church, restaurants and club, are significant to HK people, as they serve as outlets in giving a sense of belonging that can be shared between people with the same background, language and memories. Liam also emphasised that it is through the urge to maintain their own language and culture that HK people look for a place to ‘try to achieve those kind[s] of things, and, if this is not completely possible, at least ‘to have the sense of it’. He said that these places support HK people to ‘find back that feeling or memory’ of still being in HK’, ‘hanging out with HK friends’, and speaking Cantonese. Peter also highlighted that a significance of HK culture is ‘the mix of Chinese culture and [...] British culture’.

### The Hong Kong or Chinese cultural heritage sites or places identified by South Australian participants

All five participants talked about restaurants when they were asked to identify HK or Chinese CH sites or places in SA. However, none of the five participants could precisely confirm whether the restaurant(s) they named were HK-style restaurants.

Sam said that he noticed restaurants but could not identify whether they are HK-style named one HK historical personality: Gladys Sym-choon, a business woman who came from HK (Figure 108).

Diana is the only participant who named Chinatown as a Hong Kong or Chinese cultural heritage site in South Australia (Figure 2). She also mentioned East Taste Chinese Restaurant on Gouger Street (Figure 109) as a Chinese café that she enjoys going to. Similarly, Mary named Ying Chow Chinese restaurant, a restaurant opposite East Taste, for the ‘traditional Chinese food’ that it served (Figures 110, 111). Emma remarked that Gouger Street (Figure 112) is ‘mainly Chinese’, with Chinese restaurants and shops. She also mentioned Soyabae (Figure 113) as a Chinese restaurant she enjoyed going to.



Figure 108: Sym Choon Lane in Adelaide, South Australia. 14 April 2025.



Figure 109: East Taste Chinese Restaurant, Gouger Street. 14 April 2025.



Figure 110: side view of Ying Chow Chinese Restaurant, Gouger Street. 23 April 2025.



Figure 111: Front view of Ying Chow Restaurant.



Figure 112: Part of Gouger Street. 14 April 2025.



Figure 113: Entrance of Soyabae Asian Eatery and Dumpling House, King William Road. 20 April 2025.

**Maintaining intangible Hong Kong or Chinese cultural heritage in SA**

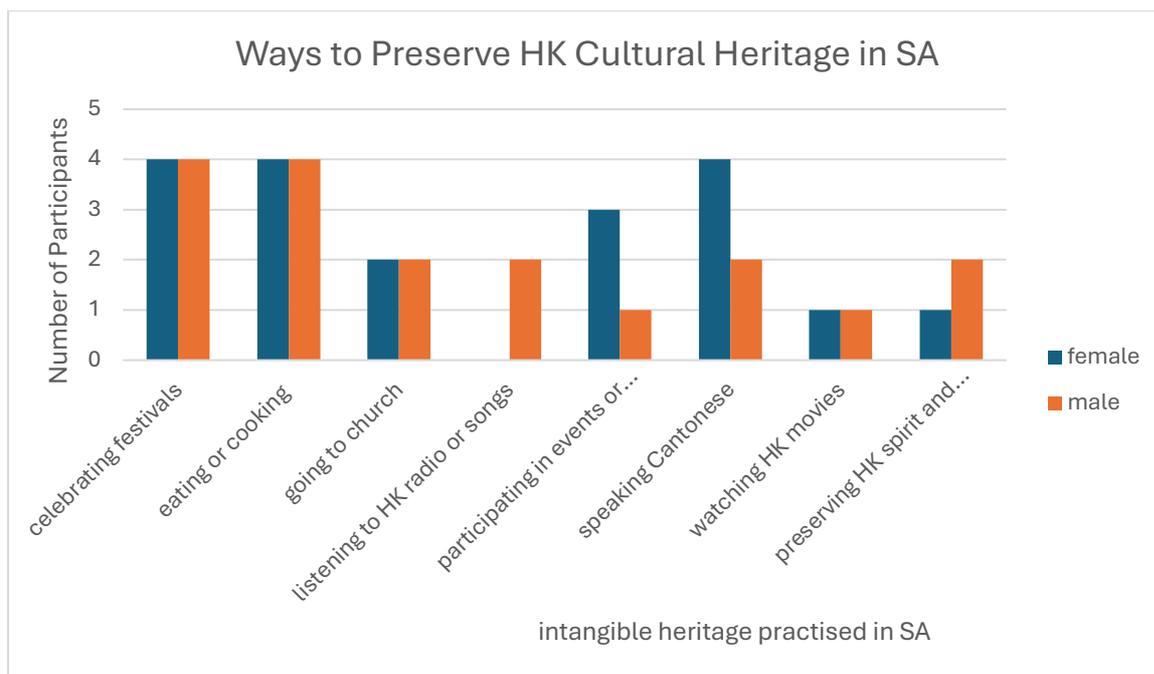


Figure 25: HK ICH practices in SA.

Figure 25 reveals the ways that HK people maintain their cultural heritage.

### Celebrating Festivals

The majority of participants (n=8) celebrated Chinese festivals in SA to various degrees. Of all the festivals, seven mentioned CNY (or Lunar New Year), six stated the Mid-Autumn Festival, and three named the Dragon Boat Festival. Many of them decided to be selective in their celebrations. For instance, for CNY, Sophia decided against giving out red packets to friends, as she believed it to be a ‘waste [of] money’, even though she still gives red packets to her daughter. Olivia, who resided in SA for 20 years, started to celebrate CNY again three years ago, when HK family moved to SA. John is the only participant who mentioned traditional Chinese delicacies which can be found in some Asian grocery stores during Chinese New Year, including 年糕<sup>90</sup>, 蘿蔔糕<sup>91</sup> and 湯丸<sup>92</sup>. Peter noticed the decorations in Rundle Mall marking CNY and Mid-Autumn Festival, stating that they are ‘the only element of my CH that is popular’ in SA.

Jane, Michael and Sophia all mentioned eating mooncakes to celebrate the Mid-Autumn Festival. Regarding the Dragon Boat Festival, Sophia and Henry had homemade rice dumplings to celebrate it. Only Liam decided not to celebrate any Chinese festivals in Australia as he did not feel ‘a huge connection’ with them.

### Eating or Cooking Hong Kong style or Chinese food

<sup>90</sup> Literally means ‘year cake’. It is made of glutinous rice flour.

<sup>91</sup> Turnip cake

<sup>92</sup> Glutinous rice balls in sweet soup

Eight participants mentioned eating or cooking Hong Kong-style or Chinese food in SA. Four of them mentioned yum cha, with Liam going for yum cha often and Michael having it about once or twice a month. Apart from the ‘shiu mai’<sup>93</sup> (Figure 26) mentioned by Michael, specific yum cha dishes were not named.

The researcher visited three of the four Cantonese restaurants (Eastern Garden Chinese Restaurant, Citi Zen Restaurant and Star House) for yum cha, since the New Oriental Pearl Restaurant only offered dinner service. All three restaurants provided a yum cha ordering sheet upon arrival (Figures 114, 116, 117, 118) and set the tables with a white bowl on a plate, chopsticks on the right, napkins and a cup (Figures 23, 115, 119). A teapot was also provided in all three occasions. The restaurants provided a variety of food, mostly using cooking techniques such as steaming (Figures 26, 27, 30, 32), stir frying (Figures 28, 34, 36), frying (Figures 32, 35; 38), baking (Figures 31 and 33), and roasting (Figure 37).

Jane still liked going yum cha in Cantonese restaurants, but she admitted that it was ‘totally different’ in SA, and that yum cha in SA was merely to ‘have something to satisfy you’. Liam, however, commented that yum cha was not something that he used to do spontaneously in HK, but in SA, however, he goes yum cha ‘quite often’.

Yumcha at Eastern Garden (21 April 2025):



Figure 114: Yum cha order sheet.

<sup>93</sup> A steamed dumpling filled with pork and shrimp.



Figure 115: Table presentation.



Figure 26 (left): Steamed stuffed tofu (left) and 'shiu mai' (right).



Figure 27 (right): Malay Cake.



Figure 28: Stir fried beef with rice noodles.



Figure 29: Dried shrimps and shallot rice rolls.



Figure 30: Sticky rice in lotus leaves.



Figure 31: Egg custard tards.

Yumcha at Citi Zen, 17 April 2025:



Figure 116: Yum cha order sheet.



Figure 23: Table presentation.



Figure 32: Stuffed eggplant fish flakes.

Figure 33: Egg custard tarts.



Figure 34: Special Fried Rice.

Figure 35: Steamed prawn dumplings (top), stuffed eggplants with fish flakes (middle left), pan fried pork dumplings (middle right).

Yum cha at Star House (24 April 2025):



Figure 117: Recto of the yum cha order sheet.



Figure 118: Verso of the yum cha order sheet.



Figure 119: Table presentation.



Figure 36 (left): Special fried rice.



Figure 37 (left): Crispy roasted pork.



Figure 38 (right): Deep fried king prawn balls.

New Oriental Pearl Restaurant was selected for a Cantonese-style dinner. Like all Chinese restaurants, the table setting is similar (Figures 24, 120). The variety of food offered can be seen with the appetisers (Figure 39), the soup entrée (Figure 40), and main dishes to be shared between all parties (Figures 41, 42 and 43).



Figure 24 (left): initial table presentation with restaurant menu.



Figure 120: Table presentation with tea.



Figure 39 (left): Crispy prawn crackers.



Figure 40 (right): Seafood and tofu soup.



Figure 41 (left): Peking-style shredded pork with pancakes.



Figure 42 (right): Cantonese-style braised eggplant and salted fish in hot pot.



Figure 43: Poached chicken with broth and Bok Choy, served with ginger and scallion oil.

#### Hong Kong's Cha Chaan Teng style dining :

The three Hong Kong style cafés mentioned are the Mount Lion Café, the Kowloon Restaurant and Brolly Toasties. Michael and Sophia mentioned Hong Kong style milk tea (Figures 44 and 53) found in Hong Kong style cafés—known as cha chaan teng in Hong Kong. Michael praised the ones he could drink in Adelaide as ‘above average’. Even though he does not have a favourite dish in Kowloon Restaurant, Michael emphasised that he likes going to the restaurant for the milk tea.

Sophia provided the names of the dishes or delicacies she enjoyed at Mount Lion Café. She mentioned French toast (Figure 49), and commented that, unlike the ones in Hong Kong, the French toasts at Mount Lion use crunchy peanut butter instead of smooth (Figure 50). But she added that it still tasted the same, despite of the difference in texture. She also mentioned the homemade soup of the day (Figure 51) and the hot lemon tea (Figure 47). She highlighted how HK people enjoy the bitterness of the lemon tea.

The researcher went to the cafés and took photos of the food provided in these places. There is a wide variety of food provided, including a value noodles set meal and other types of noodles

(Figure 44, 46, 52), toasties (Figure 57), sandwiches (Figure 48), rolls (Figure 45) and buns (Figure 54), baked rice (Figure 55) or rice dishes (Figure 56).

MLC on 13 October 2024:



Figure 44 (left): Value set: Luncheon meat and cheese cocktail sausages, instant noodles in soup, omelette and butter bread; with a cup of HK-style milk tea.

Figure 45: Homemade onion sauce pork chop roll with lettuce.



Figure 46: Stir fried beef with rice noodles.

MLC on 20 April 2025:



Figure 47: Hot lemon tea.



Figure 48: Luncheon meat and eggs sandwich.



Figure 49: French toast.



Figure 50: Crunchy peanut butter inside.



Figure 51 (left): Soup of the Day (ingredients: dried octopus, hairy melon, black eye beans, peanuts, dried scallop and pork bones)



Figure 52 (right): Indomie, Mie Goreng noodles with scrambled eggs and whole chicken wing.

Kowloon Restaurant (23 April 2025):



Figure 53 (left): HK-style milk tea.



Figure 54 (right): pineapple bun with butter.



Figure 55: Baked pork chop cutlet with rice in tomato sauce, and a cup of milk tea.

Brolly Toasties on 4 April 2025:



Figure 56 (left): BBQ pork and fried egg with rice and soy sauce.



Figure 57 (right): Breakfast toasties (bacon, cheese, eggs, hashbrown, mixed salads, tomatoes and tomato relish sauce).

Five interviewees (Violet, Sophia, Olivia, John, Jane) mentioned cooking Chinese or Cantonese food. They all cooked Chinese food at least once a week. Three of them, Violet, Sophia and John, said that they could only cook simple dishes, such as broth, steamed fish and stir fry dishes. Jane mentioned that she tried to ‘cook Chinese or Cantonese food more than Australian food’ because she missed it, while Olivia cooked dishes like chicken congee and boiled some dumplings.

### Speaking Cantonese and writing traditional Chinese

Six participants (Henry, John, Liam, Olivia, Peter and Sophia) mentioned that they would mostly speak Cantonese in their private spheres (with family and friends) or when there is an occasion in public, such as in Asian grocery stores, Chinese restaurants in Chinatown (Peter, Sophia), or in the HKCASA (Henry). Even though two of them admitted that they could still speak Cantonese with roommates from Hong Kong (John) or communicate in Cantonese or

through text messages written in traditional Chinese (Olivia) daily, the others did not use it regularly or frequently. For instance, the working and private atmospheres did not allow Liam to use Cantonese as frequently as he would wish to, as he could ‘only speak Cantonese to a few of my friends and also my family’. Similarly, Peter only used Cantonese quite sparingly during his visits to Chinatown, as he used English ‘most of the time’ after coming to SA since he had not had many HK friends. As for Sophia, she mainly spoke in Mandarin in SA since her husband is Taiwanese and she has friends from China and Taiwan.

#### Going to church

Of the four participants who mentioned going to the AACC, only one of them (Jane) went to church regularly on Sundays. Olivia mentioned that her family (parents, brother and sister-in-law) went to church regularly on Sundays. Both Henry and Michael identified the church as a Cantonese church, with Cantonese-speaking fellowships and worship (Henry), and specific ‘Hong Konger fellowships’ (Henry). Michael precised that he believed ‘90% [of] people [there are] from HK’. Both Jane and Michael also revealed that ‘a support system’ existed in the church, as they organised different activities for HK people. Michael attended a free workshop on wheel replacement. He also said that they had workshops in providing tips on renting or buying a property in SA. He believed the church did ‘many things to help HK people’ in adapting their lives in Australia.

#### Participating in HK-related events or activities

Olivia, Sophia and Violet participated in HK-related events, such as the Friends of Hong Kong Festival or Christmas events (Olivia). Nevertheless, Olivia and Sophia both agreed that there were not many HK events in SA that they were aware of. Olivia also said that sometimes the HK events may be combined with mainland Chinese ones.

Liam was the only interviewee who mentioned playing mahjong. Interestingly, he did not know ‘how to play mahjong before coming’ to SA. Some HK friends taught him how to play it in SA. He felt that playing mahjong is an activity which can ‘draw HK people together’ and is representative of HK culture.

#### Preserving Hong Kong spirit and mentality

Three interviewees talked about preserving HK spirit and mentality as their cultural heritage. For instance, John described how he still preserves ‘the Hong Konger’s spirit of working [:] Don’t call sick until you’re very sick’. Peter talked about how ‘many HK people love earning money’ as the most important cultural heritage and mentality. Violet mentioned the traits of HK people as being ‘generous and [...] hospitable. This is one of our trademark. And trustworthy.’ She believed that HK people are doers and have ‘a flexibility to make things happen and accept the new concept frequently’, which she contrasted with the South Australians’ ‘wait and see’ attitude regarding changes.

#### Listening to Hong Kong radio or songs

John mentioned that he listened to some Cantonese songs in SA, while Michael listened to HK radio every day, for ten hours a day.

## Watching Hong Kong movies

Olivia and Michael would go to watch HK movies, if any, in the cinema. Michael cited one of the movies 九龍寨城 (in English: Twilight of the Warriors: Walled In) which was in the cinema in Adelaide for one or two days only.

## **Preserving Hong Kong Cultural Heritage**

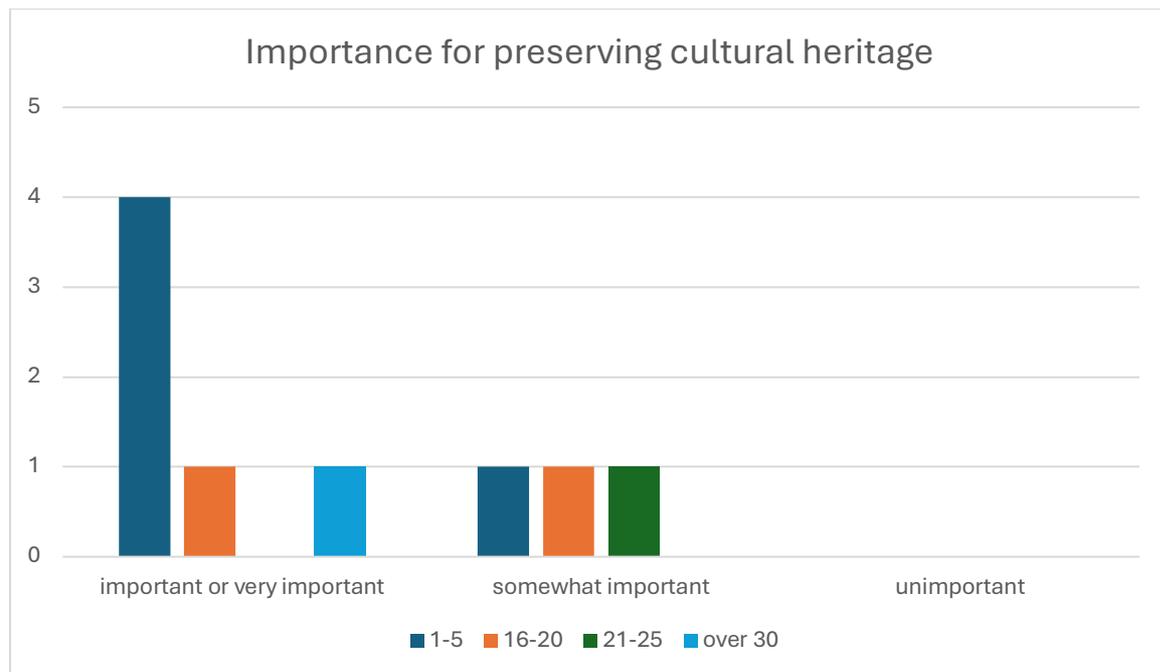


Figure 10: Level of importance to preserve cultural heritage in SA.

Figure 10 divides the HK participants by their years of residence for comparison purpose. Four participants (John, Liam, Peter and Henry), who had resided in SA for 5 years or less, considered preserving their CH as important or very important. Two who lived in SA between 16-20 years (Jane) and over 30 years (Violet) respectively, also considered it to be important. The three participants who considered it to be somewhat important, included one who lived in SA for less than 5 years (Michael), one between 16-20 years (Olivia), and one between 21-25 years (Sophia). It is important to note that Michael lived in other parts of Australia, in Sydney and in Canberra, for about four and a half years prior to settling in SA.

Of those who considered it important, Henry was the only one who considered preserving CH as very important, because he believed it to be his cultural identity and his roots. Similarly, Jane, John, Peter and Violet also believed that their CH should be preserved, as it represents their identity, and that, by losing it, John revealed that he would 'lose [his] identity'. Liam said that he believed preserving it is important 'at the moment' and that it may change in the future if a solid community of HK people cannot be built.

Of the three participants who felt that preserving their HK CH was somewhat important, Michael and Olivia both revealed that living in Australia has made them feel differently about

their CH. Michael acknowledged that preserving it would only be important if he had children in the future so that they would know where their father came from. He believed that, since his CH has never existed in Australia, it is impossible to preserve it. In contrast, Olivia felt that preserving it was part of her ‘natural instinct’ and that by doing so she could still maintain the connection with her family and ‘the wider HK community’. However, she did not believe it to be important for her children to ‘speak the language and celebrate festivals’, as she ‘[wanted] them to [...] embrace [...] common Australian values more’. As for Sophia, even though she believed that it is important to celebrate Chinese New Year, she chose not to continue traditions such as giving out red packets to her friends’ children, because she deemed it unnecessary.

### SA respondents’ view on the importance for HK people to preserve their CH

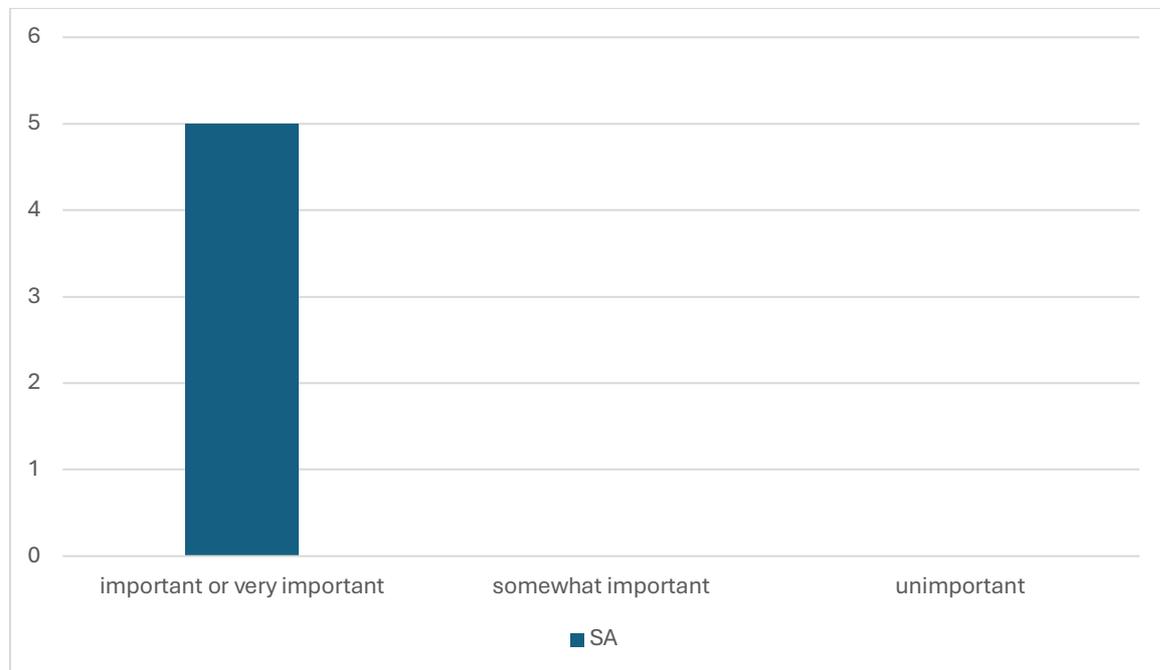


Figure 59: Importance for HK people to preserve CH in SA.

Figure 59 shows all five SA respondents believed that it is important for a HK immigrant to preserve their CH in SA. Emma and Sam both thought that one’s own culture is part of one’s identity and should not be lost. Sam mentioned that it should never be ‘assimilate[d] to that and lose yourself’, if not, he questioned what the person would become. Mary felt that cultures make Australia interesting and believed that ‘people should practice their culture. I don’t think people should let go of [it]’.

Diana and James thought that it would only be important to preserve their own CH if HK people believed so. James emphasised that it should be ‘a self-chosen cultural identity’ which ‘you maintain ... as much as you wish to do so’. Everyone should freely pursue their cultural roots if they wish to. Diana added that she supposed that it would be important to immigrants to

maintain their CH so as to have connections to home, to their heritage, and so that they may be able to share it with their children.

### **Preserving Cultural Heritage a Benefit or a Hurdle?**

Of the six interviewees (Henry, Jane, John, Liam, Olivia, Violet) who answered the question, all of them agreed that by maintaining their CH, it has supported them or has been beneficial for them in adapting to their life in SA. Three of them (Henry, Liam and Violet) talked about the importance of preserving their own heritage and identity while still opening themselves to Australian communities. Henry believed that doing so made him feel ‘connected with [his] culture without feeling homesick’, while both Liam and Violet evoked a balance between HK and Australian cultures when residing in SA. Violet added that she decided to ‘pick the best of both sides’ as she has been living in two worlds, and because she believed that the Chinese tradition can keep her ‘grounded to [her] roots as a Chinese’ when she equally valued Western culture.

John mentioned the supportive and friendly nature of HK people when they are in another country, assisting other HK immigrants in adapting to a new life in SA. Olivia highlighted the ‘adaptive’ nature of HK people, since HK used to have ‘very similar systems’, including ‘rule of law’ and ‘clear and clean policies in bureaucracies’ and ‘press freedom’: what she called ‘rule-based spirit’. All these inculcated values have given her a more ‘comfortable’ start in SA.

### **Transmitting culture to non-Chinese South Australians and subsequent generations**

All participants, except for one (Jane), decided that it was important to transmit their CH to others to varying degrees. Henry was the only one who admitted its importance without any conditions. He would like to promote his CH, since he is part of the HKCASA. He felt that it is fundamental for ‘the mainstream society to understand, respect or even appreciate [...] each other[‘s] cultural backgrounds’ and he felt satisfied ‘to share with others’ as it meant a lot to him.

In contrast, Liam did not think that Australians have ‘any reason(s) they have to know about [HK culture]’, unless they are interested in it. Nevertheless, he believed that the HK community in Australia should ‘raise [...] awareness of the HK culture’ in spite of not having ‘a strong image [...] to project to [the] Australian community’. Similarly, Michael said that he believed HK people are ‘kind of [like] ambassador[s]’ to transmit their CH if other people ask them questions about it. Peter and Sophia particularly enjoyed sharing Chinese festivals’ delicacies with others. For instance, during the CNY, Peter would buy traditional delicacies, such as rice cake, to share it with people in his share house. Similarly, Sophia liked celebrating festivals and sharing delicacies with a community group of different nationalities. Both, including Violet, however, admitted not transmitting their CH proactively, unless people showed an interest in it. Olivia was the only one who felt that transmitting CH would be beneficial to others, since learning different cultures would enhance ‘problem-solving [skills] and creative solutions’. Jane was the only one who said that she had never transmitted her CH to SA because she never thought about it.

Six participants (Henry, John, Michael, Peter, Sophia, Violet) explicitly commented that they transmitted HK CH, mostly subconsciously, to other non-Chinese South Australians. For instance, Peter and Sophia celebrated festivals and food with people from his share house and classmates, and people from a community group she had joined respectively. Violet only shared it with her husband, as she believed the non-Chinese South Australians she knows had not shown any interest in her CH.

John, Liam and Michael believed that they would like to share their cultural heritage with future offsprings. Jane and Olivia, however, only speak English to their children. This, however, did not exclude them from sharing other HK CH with them. Violet would mostly speak in Mandarin to her daughter.

### Difficulties in maintaining/ transmitting cultural heritage

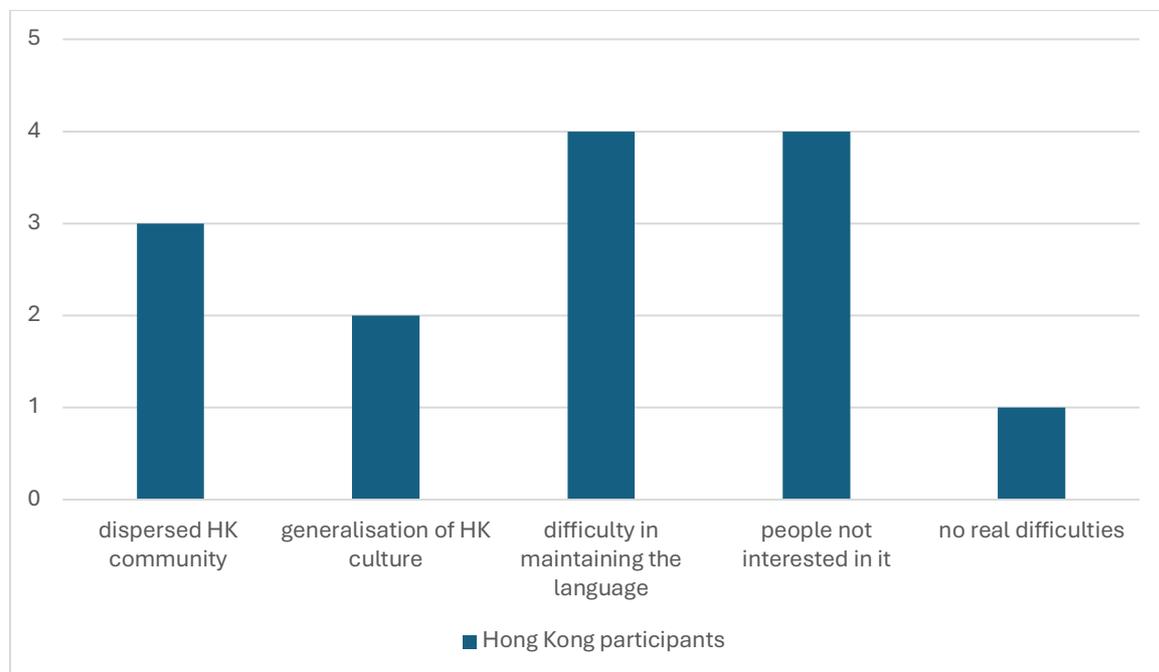


Figure 121: Difficulties in maintaining and/ or transmitting HK CH.

Figure 121 shows four participants (Olivia, Peter, Violet, Henry) expressing the belief that non-Chinese South Australians were not interested in, or may not want to fully comprehend, HK CH. Peter worried that non-HK people would not genuinely understand it, so he sometimes would prefer to enjoy Chinese food and tea alone. Violet also explained that a few of her South Australian friends, and her daughters, are not interested in HK culture. She said that was due to her daughters being brought up in Australia. Henry mentioned that some of his former colleagues believed that he was actually from ‘North Korea or South Korea’, instead of HK.

Four participants (Liam, Jane, Michael, Violet) believed it to be difficult to maintain the Cantonese language in SA. Jane felt that it was difficult to continue speaking in Cantonese with her children once they had started school, as she believed that there had been obstacles for her ‘to sustain the culture here’, as life in SA had been too different. Michael believed that the

South Australian environment had not been suitable in maintaining the Cantonese language. Similarly, Liam believed that it had required effort to maintain his language.

Of the three participants who mentioned issues emanating from the HK community, only Michael talked about the small number of HK immigrants in Adelaide. Liam explained the difficulty in drawing HK people together in order to build a stronger community amongst them due to their independent nature. Similarly, Violet voiced concerns on the ‘quietness’ of HK people, which may create barriers for people getting to know them.

Two participants, Sophia and Violet, mentioned the generalisation of HK culture, which resulted in further difficulty in distinguishing it from other cultures. For instance, Sophia brought up that, in some festivals, HK cultures would be combined with other Asian cultures. Interestingly, she felt that there was no distinct HK group of people, only a blended group of Chinese and Taiwanese, in SA, which resulted in her not emphasising HK culture, and caused confusion to the wider South Australian community. For Violet, the HK-related or Asian festivals she had been to lacked the introduction to the background of HK. To her, ‘there is no root’ and the festivals are only façades which do ‘not even scratch ... the surface’ of the culture, since they were all about food. She even commented that she could go to any food court and have the same cultural delicacies. Her experiences in the festivals provoked her to ask, ‘What is HK culture? Can anybody explain a bit better?’

John was the only interviewee who voiced no any concerns about maintaining his CH, especially in terms of going to HK and Chinese restaurants and speaking in Cantonese, though he still noted that it would be more difficult to find HK and Chinese restaurants in Adelaide than in other cities, such as Melbourne, Sydney, or Perth.

### Hong Kong people’s identity

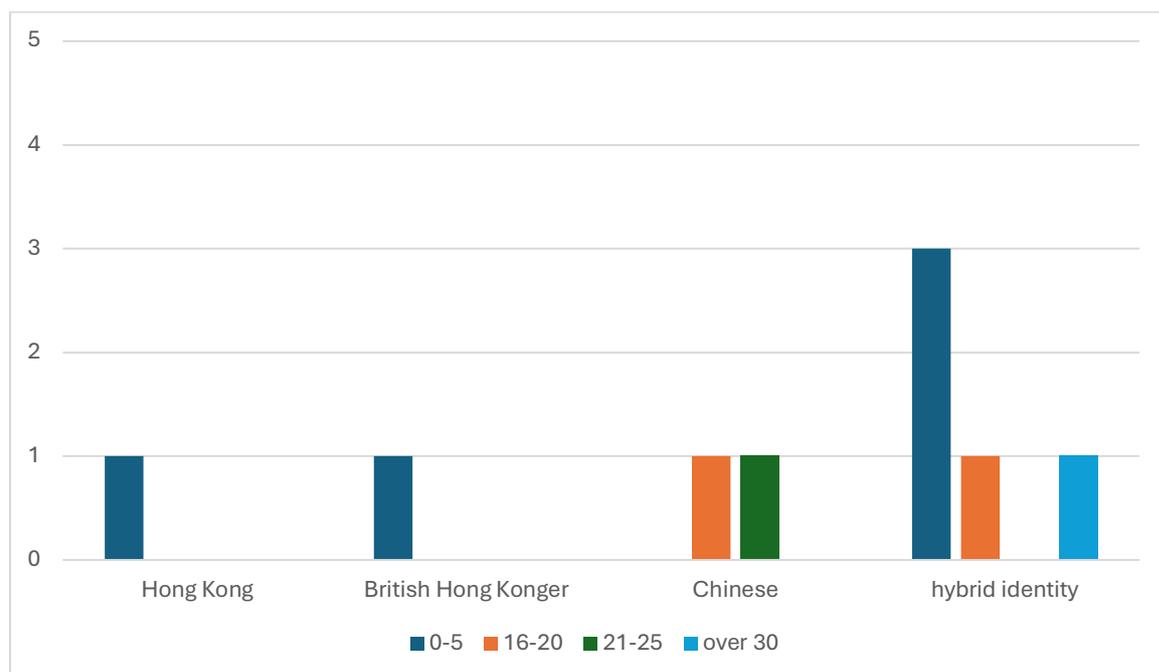


Figure 11: HK participants' identity.

Of the nine participants, five considered themselves to have more than one identity (Henry, Michael, Olivia, Peter, Violet), two considered themselves Chinese (Jane and Olivia), one a British Hong Konger (John) and one a Hong Konger (Liam) (Figure 11).

Both Liam and John believed that, even once they acquired Australian citizenship, they would still consider themselves as a Hong Konger and a British Hong Konger respectively. However, Liam did not exclude that he may be 'a bit more Australian', as he had lived longer in Australia. In contrast, John believed that he may never feel Australian despite a possible change in citizenship, emphasising that his possible change in citizenship was due to his wish not to live under Chinese Communist Party rule.

Similarly, for the two participants who chose to be identified as Chinese, Sophia still felt that she was a Chinese from HK, or simply a Chinese, despite living in SA for 22 years. As for Jane, who was born in mainland China and came to HK when she was a teenager, she felt that she was still rooted Chinese. Jane, however, did not exclude the possibility of feeling South Australian one day, as she explained that she had built her life there, had been educated there, had her family there, and hoped to live in SA for the rest of her life.

Of the five participants who had hybrid identity, Henry, Michael, Peter and Violet felt that they were partly Hong Konger and partly Australian, with Henry identifying himself as a HK Australian. As for Michael and Peter, both felt to be 70% Hong Konger and 30% Australian. In spite of not feeling completely accepted into the Australian community, Violet considered herself 'a mixed': 'more Western now' but 'deep inside [...] the valuable of [Chinese] customs and the culture of HK Chinese' remained. As for Olivia, even though she labelled herself as Australian first and foremost, she also believed her 'bigger identity' would be a 'humanist', so that 'all kind of labels, limiting labels' could be avoided. She believed that many were programmed to be identified as such and such, when she felt that she had transcended and could 'see through and dismantle' such programming.

## Is South Australia multicultural?

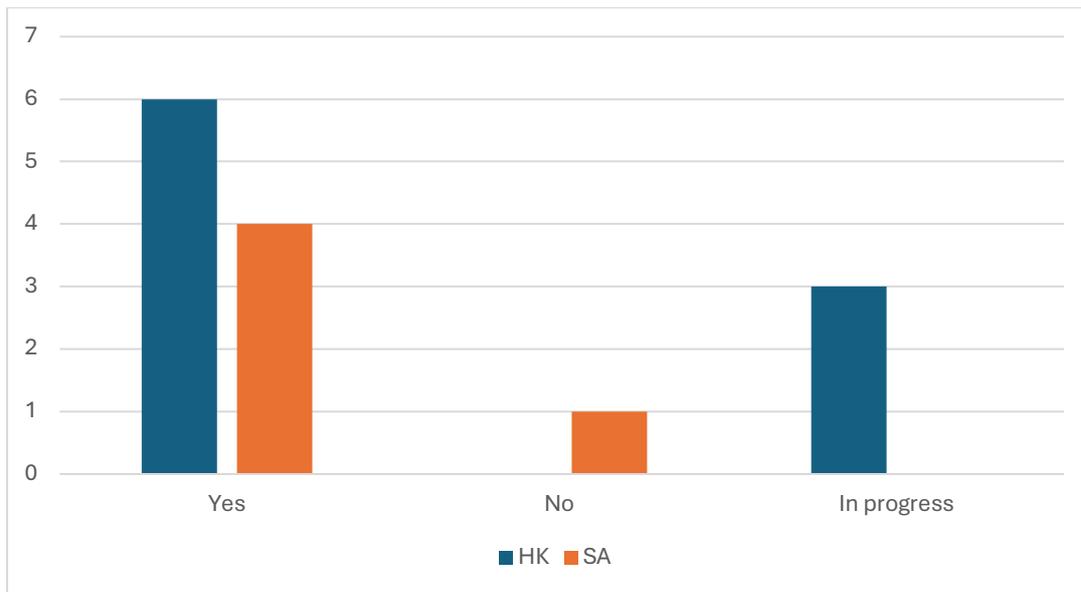


Figure 122: Is SA multicultural?

As seen in Figure 122, over 70% of the respondents, HK or South Australian, believed that SA is a multicultural state. Three HK interviewees (Liam, Olivia and Peter) believed SA's multiculturalism is still in progress and one South Australian (Sam) respondent considered that SA not to be multicultural.

Liam, Peter and Olivia believed that SA is still developing itself in multiculturalism. As pointed out by Liam, and to some extent by Peter, this has been facilitated by international students and immigrants over the last 20 years. Peter believed barriers still existed among minority groups, while Liam emphasised that 'most of the Australian community' was still in the progress of trying to accept new cultures and newcomers into their society. As for Sam, the only participant who decided that SA was not multicultural, still considered the state 'very much White Anglo-Saxon', with the existence of the 'prevailing hegemony', despite aspirations of becoming a multicultural state.

	HK	SA
A culture of consensus	-	1
Acceptance of people from different cultural backgrounds	5	3
People from all countries live together harmoniously	7	-
Freedom to pursue their cultures	-	2
Government implicated initiatives	2	2
Interested in other cultures	1	2
Multicultural festivals and food	3	3

Near to no discriminations, including racial discrimination	2	1
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Table 9: Reasons for SA or Australia being multicultural.

Regarding the multicultural elements observed by participants (Table 9), 57% believed that SA is multicultural because of its acceptance of people of different backgrounds. A total of six respondents cited the number of multicultural festivals and food as evidence of how multicultural the state is. Seven HK participants mentioned people of different cultural backgrounds living in reasonable harmony together in SA. Regarding the interest in other cultures, two SA participants (Mary and Sam) expressed the fact that they wished to learn more about HK culture, with Mary stating that ‘everybody’s been involved in [CNY] at some point’. Sophia from HK believed that the South Australians ‘love to learn more about other people[‘s] culture’.

Three participants, two from HK and one from SA, believed that discrimination issues are not alarming in SA. Michael and Henry both encountered racial discrimination in SA but treated the cases as not too serious, with Michael remarking that he had not considered ‘South Australians [to be] racists in general’. Michael also highlighted that any kind of discrimination would be against the Australian law and thus would constitute an offence. As for James, who came from England, he felt that he had never been ‘called a pom in a derogatory sense’ but more in a ‘humorous sense’. Moreover, he added that ‘there is no active discrimination’ in SA ‘directed to prevent people from Asia or any other cultural groups to have a fair-go and get a fair opportunity’.

Government implicated initiatives included what Mary and Emma observed as attracting people from different countries to SA for easier entry to the state and an easier pathway to permanent residency. Michael and Olivia from HK both observed the government’s initiatives in promoting multiculturalism by having a Minister of Multiculturalism (Olivia) and by having the Premier of SA on stage to deliver a speech to the Asian community celebrating Lunar New Year.

### South Australian identity and culture:

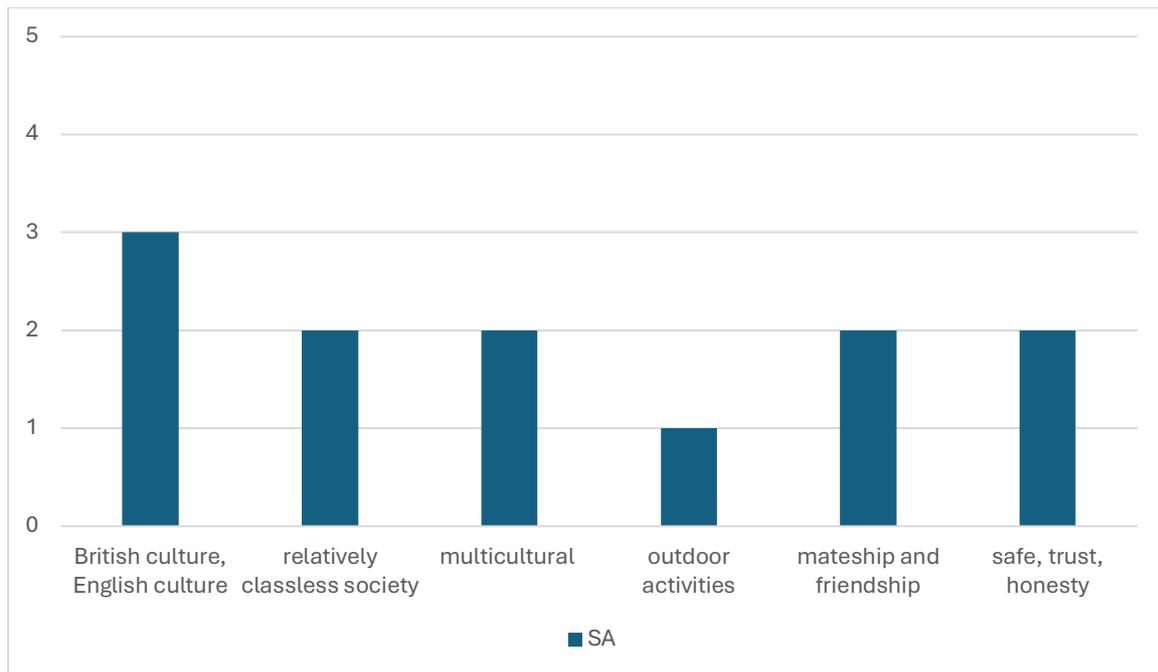


Figure 123: South Australian identity and culture

When asked what it meant to be South Australian, three participants cited British and English culture, with Sam emphasising that the prevailing culture was ‘still far too White Anglo-Saxon hegemony’: ‘old, pale, stale and male’ as he had put it. Two participants mentioned the relatively classless South Australian society, compared to the English one (James and Emma) or to other European countries such as France (Emma). Mary and Diana both believed SA to be multicultural. Mary and Emma cited that South Australian’s relationships were built on trust and honesty, and that mateship and friendship were real, as people could count on each other. They both also said that SA was a good place to live. Mary added that South Australians placed an emphasis on the outdoors (Figure 123).

### Experiencing Hong Kong cultural heritage in SA

	SA participants
Celebrate Chinese festivals	3
Participate in HK or Chinese activities or events	2
Eating Chinese food	5
Researching about HK or Chinese cultures	1
Understanding HK people’s mentality and behaviours	2

Table 8: Experiencing HK or Chinese CH.

All five participants had eaten Chinese food, with Emma, Diana and Mary going to Chinese restaurants in SA regularly (Figures 33-36). All of them expressed their love for Chinese food, with James putting Cantonese food into his top three in terms of choice of food anywhere in

the world. James even added that ‘if I think of HK culture, I think of food. That’s the first and foremost’. James, Mary and Diana also stated that they could differentiate between the Australian version of Chinese food and more traditional Chinese food, and opted for restaurants serving more authentic Chinese food (Table 8).

Diana, James and Mary mentioned that they participated in CNY celebrations by watching the Lion Dance show (Diana and James). James also participated in ‘the food event’ organised by the HKCASA, a musical event and HK business related banquets where Cantonese food was served.

From their past experiences working with HK or Chinese people, Emma and James noted the business culture of the HK or Chinese, as well as their eagerness for education and learning. Emma even revealed that she had discovered that Chinese academics at RMIT were working non-stop, much different from the Australians. James also talked about ‘the idea of the “tiger mother”’, HK people were ‘not outdoor people’ and were not people ‘who are dominant and pushy, [...] not trying to outdo anyone else’. Sam was the only interviewee who talked about doing research on HK/ Chinese culture, including Falun Gong and HK politics.

### **Difference between Hong Kong and Chinese culture**

Apart from Sam, who has a Cantonese wife and who has been to HK more than 20 times for work and leisure, the four other respondents felt that they did not know the difference between the two cultures, although they knew some of its colonial history and recent politics (Diana, Mary and Sam). James could distinguish between Cantonese owned and mainland Chinese owned restaurants, as well as the ‘mildly antagonistic’ relationship between HK people and the mainland Chinese due to issues of trust.

### **Their knowledge or understanding of Hong Kong cultural heritage (or lack of)**

Of the four respondents who gave insights on the question, all of them felt that they did not have a sufficient understanding of HK CH. Diana felt that not having a close friend from HK or mainland China explained why she did not have the knowledge. Sam started to learn about HK culture through his own research, especially on recent political events. As for James, in spite of being exposed more than the others, he felt that he had only understood ‘intellectual culture or artistic culture’, but not the rest.

### Is Hong Kong culture part of South Australian culture?

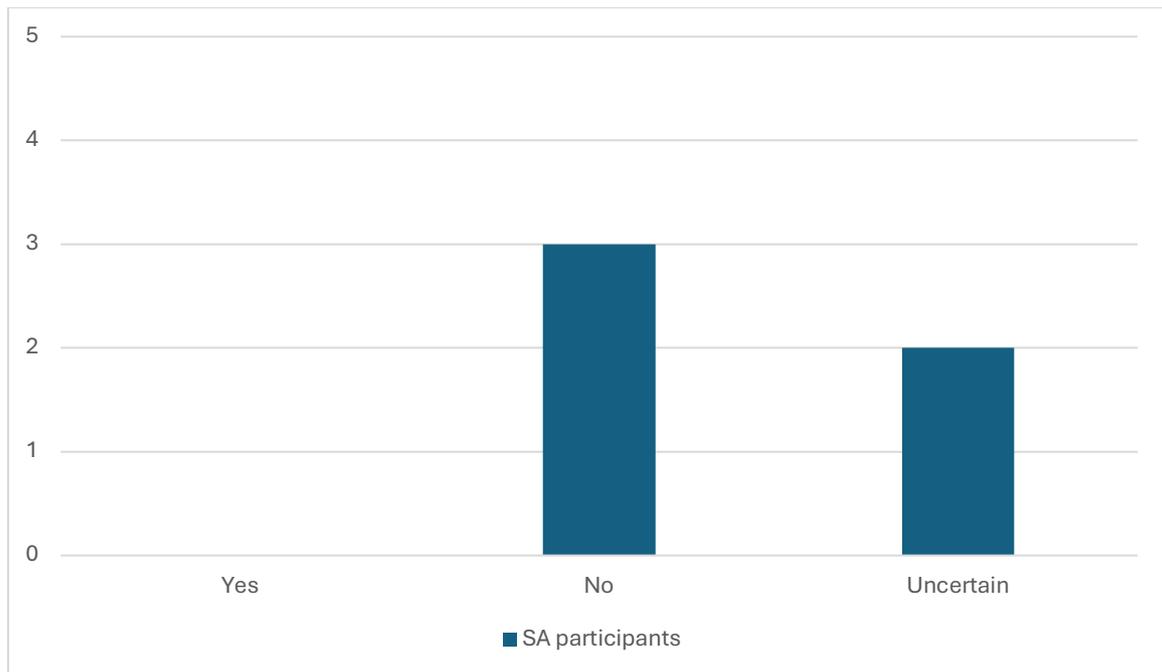


Figure 58: Is HK culture part of South Australian culture?

Figure 58 reveals that none of the five SA participants felt that HK culture was part of South Australian culture. Of the two who decided that they were unsure of the answer, Diana believed that Chinese culture was absolutely part of the SA culture, as she said that ‘I don’t know if we ever split them to say that it is HK or Chinese’. Interestingly, Diana perceived HK or Chinese food culture and festivals, such as Lunar New Year, as very important in SA since she considered they are part of South Australian history and the present. As for Emma, she could not give an answer to the question but said that HK culture ‘has its place’ in SA, just like any other.

James, Mary and Sam believed that HK culture was not a part of South Australian culture because of its lack of promotion. They all believed that HK culture should be made more visible and accessible to South Australian communities. Mary and Sam felt that HK culture should be more important than what it currently appears to be in SA. Sam added that ‘just because there’s an OzAsia Festival that’s not enough’ and that more actions and visibility would be needed to ‘match the fine words in the Charter’. James also believed actions would be required, even though they ‘might not fit in Chinese cultural norms’ as ‘they tend not to be self-promoting’.