Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci

Filozofická fakulta

Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky

BAKALÁŘSKÁ PRÁCE

"From Salt to Soap to Soy": Chinese in Britain

Autor: Martina Hejlová

Vedoucí práce: Mgr. Pavlína Flajšarová, Ph.D.

Olomouc 2013

Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto bakalářskou práci vypracovala samostatně a uvedla úplný seznam použité literatury.

V Olomouci dne 26.6. 2013   Martina Hejlová

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Mgr. Pavlína Flajšarová, Ph.D. for supervising my
work, for her patience, inspiration and ideas.

Contents

Introduction

Chinese have been migrating for centuries, the first destinations being geographically close Southeast Asian countries followed by Australia and America in the nineteenth century. Chinese migration to Europe is a later phenomenon influenced by increased interests of the British Empire in China during the nineteenth century.

To date there has been little research into the Chinese community in Britain in comparison to an extensive body of literature on the Chinese in the United States.

The aim of this thesis is not an exhaustive account of Chinese in Britain, rather an attempt to find distinctive elements that characterize this ethnic minority and perhaps also the reason for their large stereotypization.

The thesis has been divided into three main sections. The first section is concerned with historical background and the waves of the Chinese migration to Europe and Britain in particular. The second section traces the regional distribution of the Chinese and comments on the emergence of Chinatowns in Britain. The last section explains particular terms connected with occupational interests of the Chinese and explains their distribution. Throughout the course of the thesis, there are also comparisons to Chinese communities elsewhere in the world as well as to other ethnic minorities in Britain in order to anchor the Chinese in the British multicultural society.

I drew heavily on a study by Benton and Gomez, which provided me with a deep insight into the case. It is the most complete synthesis to date of the economy and identity of the Chinese in Britain. I also made use of some of the censuses that are available, in particular the last three (1991, 2001, 2011).

1 Historical outline

1.1 Pre-1900s

The past two centuries have seen various groups of Chinese arrive in Britain. Since the first Chinese people began to appear on the British soil, Chinese migration to Britain exceeded two hundred years of existence. However, according to the data collected by the British Museum on the history of Chinese diaspora in Britain and Gregor Benton's and Terence Gomez's account of the Chinese in Britain (2008), the first Chinese presence on the British soil started even before with occasional visitors, one of them being Michael Alphonsius Shen Fuzong, the Chinese scholar and Jesuit convert touring Europe visited the court of the King James II in 1687. (britishmuseum.org) He is also connected with listing the Chinese collection in Bodleian Library. Nevertheless, it was only a temporary Chinese presence as were a few other occasional visitors, mostly scholars, artists and diplomats.

Seeking the first immigration waves of the Chinese starts with migrant workers rather than immigrants as such. The Chinese had no intentions of settling down, they saw the prospects of work and earnings that would enable them to support their families in China. The presence of Chinese in British ports was noted as early as 1780s and in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Benton 24), although employing Chinese on the British ships officially began after the Opium Wars. The First Opium War (1840-42) was inevitable consequence of the conflict between China and Britain (East India Company) concerning the British opium trade which eventually brought monetary crisis to China. It resulted in the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, the first of the series of unequal treaties between China and western powers. This treaty assured for Britain among other things so-called "open ports", the places for free trade, and concessions. Moreover, Hong Kong Island (which at that time was not a very significant place) gained a status of British colony "for eternity", later joined by Kowloon Peninsula after the Second Opium War in 1862 and finally completed with the New Territories, that were leased to Britain for ninety nine years in 1898 (Bakešová 171). The treaties signed in China, in particular the Treaty of Peking from 1862 officially legalized until then forbidden emigration for work purposes and thus enabled British traders to

employ Chinese on their ships. As Li Wei confirms, "with the expansion of trade with China following Britain's success in the two Opium Wars ... employing Chinese seamen became a regular practice."(44).

Various factors contributed to the movement of Chinese to Britain over the last two centuries. China in the nineteenth century was ruled by the Qing Dynasty of Manchu origin and was considered by the native Han Chinese as usurper of the state power. After the shameful defeat in the Opium Wars, the Chinese realized the regent power is weak and does not lead China to prosperity. The economical and social situation was unstable, peasants lead uprisings and rebellions, the most significant being the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864), which originated in southern China and left this region nearly destitute. Consequently there was significant migration out of the country predominantly from this region. Given the open ports and western presence in China, it was easy for the dissatisfied Chinese to look for new opportunities elsewhere. Some of them were recruited on British ships, some of them travelled on the foreign ships to find a better life in the West.

In China, the tendencies for self-strengthening of the ruling Manchu dynasty due to the failure after the Opium Wars, brought among others the idea of sending Chinese students abroad to western universities to gain technical knowledge and qualified labour force that would help the empire to make progress and develop into a competitive, modern state. The first Chinese student at a British university was Huang Kuan (also under the name of Wong Fun), who studied medicine in Edinburgh University between 1850-55/6, and after receiving MD returned to Hong Kong. (ed.ac.uk) In 1870s and 1880s groups of Chinese students were sent mostly to Britain (some to France) to pursue studies in naval and military science. (Benton 47) After the first Sino-Japanese War and another defeat on the Chinese side just before the turn of the century, another wave of Chinese students arrived in Britain.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the anti-Chinese atmosphere in the United States and Australia (countries with significant Chinese population) brought many Chinese to Britain, so-called "double migrants" or "twice migrants". Although they did not blend in the existing Chinese community, which was not very significant at the turn of the century, they did not use the ethnic networks, they started businesses which draw on their experience and know-how brought from America and elsewhere. (Benton 14) In this way the Chinese economy

in the United States was copied in Britain. The thesis will deal with this issue in later chapters.

The numbers in the following table represent the size of the Chinese population in Britain since they were first counted in 1851 Census through to the interwar years, when the number increased thirty times, however, the proportion was not very significant. Nevertheless, the numbers are not reliable and it is difficult to find out precisely what numbers of Chinese were there in the UK at that time as the censuses asked about the country of birth only, disregarding ethnic origin, therefore it was possible to count non-Chinese as well as dismiss Chinese born in Britain to immigrant parents. (Benton 50)

Table 1: China-born population of England and Wales between 1851-1931

Year	Population born in China
1851	78
1861	147
1871	202
1881	665
1891	582
1901	387
1911	1319
1921	2419
1931	1934

Source: Benton and Gomez

As can be seen from the Table 1 above that represents the China-born population of England and Wales between 1851-1931, the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century saw a significant rise in the numbers of Chinese population in Britain.

However, as opposed to the numbers of Chinese in the United States at that time, the difference was significant. There were 25,000 of them in California (Sowell 136), as it was the time of the Gold Rush, the American destination was much more attractive for the Chinese, as well as Australia, where the numbers of Chinese rose rapidly, resulting in hostile acceptance by the local people and government. Thus the exclusion acts came into being. First in the USA

(The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882), where the Chinese were banned from immigrating into the country for several decades. The Act, initially a ten year policy, was extended indefinitely and in 1902 became permanent. (sun.menloschool.org) In Canada, the prohibition was launched by the Chinese Immigration Act, 1923, as "Chinese workers were no longer needed, as the Canadian Pacific Railway was now complete and, at this time, only merchants, diplomats, students and those granted 'special circumstance' by the Minister of Immigration were allowed entry." (cic.gc.ca) In Australia, it began in 1850s with introducing restrictions on Chinese immigration in Victoria and New South Wales, culminating with the 'White Australia' Policy when " leading NSW and Victorian politicians warned there would be no place for 'Asiatics' or 'coloureds' in the Australia of the future." (immi.gov.au) Nevertheless, Chinese in Britain did not experience institutionalized hostility to such extent.

Overseas Chinese in various countries differed not only in numbers but also in the purpose of migration. Nevertheless, desire to work and earn money was a common feature, only the nature of work differed from country to country. Migration to Southeast Asia originated with business interests of Chinese entrepreneurs and the development of industry and trade. The demand for labour was also one of the reasons for the Chinese to move southeastwards. Around the mid-nineteenth century Australia was expanding and claimed labour shortage as well. As slavery had been abolished recently, Chinese workforce was in spotlight. (Kukulová 18) The discovery of the first gold mines triggered the first wave of Chinese, encouraged to pursue the journey to Australia and California. The first records of Chinese in Australia revealed that the number of Chinese in Australia in 1855 reached 10,000. (Kukulová 20) The vision of getting rich quickly and seek better life was shared by both groups of migrants to Australia and America. In 1885, there were approximately 370,000 Chinese in California. (Šobrová 13)

The first emigration of Chinese to America or Australia was predominantly male, which is also the case of Chinese in Britain in the initial phase of migration in the nineteenth century. This fact reinforces the initial immigration waves of Chinese being mainly sojourners instead of immigrants per se. On the other hand, in Liverpool according to research, there has been significant mixing of Chinese immigrant workers with local working-class women

due to lack of Chinese women in the migrant group of Chinese, producing a new generation of British Chinese. (halfandhalf.org)

1.2   World Wars and afterwards

Shortage of manpower at the time of World War One caused that Chinese (particularly from North China) and other ethnic minority workers were recruited by European countries, mainly France, Britain and Russia. (Chang 96) It has been estimated that there were more than 100,000 Chinese employed by British and French Governments (overseaschineseconfederation.org), however, the numbers vary with different sources. These Chinese Labour Corps were occupied with various jobs such as trench-digging, logistics and supply of materials, cooking, etc. The same situation occurred at sea where "the number of non-white seafarers on British ships increased greatly, to replace the 8000 merchant seafarers redeployed into the Royal Navy ... " (Benton 69) The ones who survived the War and did not return to China with their presence enlarged the current community.

Why most of the Chinese resented to return to China after their labour contracts terminated, might be explained against the socio-political situation of their home country at that time. At the time of the WWI, the political situation in China was unstable. This was a long-term situation. After the fall of the imperial power of the last dynasty in 1911, there were several forces entitling the political power. Between 1916—1928 the country was under the rule of so-called northern and southern warlords, split into two regimes and in a constant chaos of the military commanders battling over power take-over. This period was full of rebellions, insecurity and instability.

After the Second World War there was a substantial decline in the numbers of Chinese in Britain and among the reasons were the low pay, which the sailors could not live on and support families, and deportation of Chinese sailors after the War. As Lew Baxter reports in his article confirming deportation, "It has become clear from the records that the authorities wanted the Chinese population in the city to be reduced to its pre-war level of about 300. This was an echo of the 1920s mindset of the old colonial mentality that raised the spectre of a 'Yellow Peril'". (sinocreative.co.uk) The British society was also hostile towards the

Chinese, nevertheless it did not resulted in such government measures against this ethnic group as it did in other countries.

The Chinese community in the UK was a tiny one by the mid-twentieth century but it had not died out for a new wave of Hong Kong Chinese came in the 1950s and the subsequent years, which was a significant increase and partly a result of a collapse of traditional agriculture in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong government responded with encouraging emigration to ease unemployment. (Benton 37) As Table 2 shows, in 1951, there were 3,459 Hong Kong Chinese in Britain and thirty years later the numbers of Hong Kongers only rose nearly twenty times. The total Chinese population in 1951 was slightly over 12,500, meanwhile in 1981 the number of Chinese increased twelve times to 154,363 Chinese.

In 1950s and through 1960s and 70s, China experienced many political campaigns, such as the Great Leap Forward Movement (1958-1960), when Mao Ze Dong attempted to boost the Chinese economy and awake the communal spirit of the Chinese masses. The following campaign, much larger and much more destructive, the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), is considered one of the largest political and social upheavals in the modern history of China. Chinese economy was on the edge of collapse. It was a dramatic period in the lives of the Chinese. During this time, many Chinese attempted to escape persecution and poor life conditions and found Hong Kong a refuge, where either settled down or continued their journey out of the country. Given the status of British colony at that time, Britain seemed to be an obvious choice for emigration.

In the late 1970s on the other hand there was a short period of liberalization, political and social. The growth in the Chinese population in Britain shown by censuses in 1961, 1971 and 1981 could partly be explained as a result of Chinese internal state of affairs of that time. However, as Commonwealth citizens, the Chinese from Hong Kong, particularly the New Territories, made their way to Britain as they were free to settle there until the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 was passed, tightening the rules and allowing only limited number of immigrants with employment vouchers to settle.

The following table illustrates the numbers of the Chinese population in Britain between 1951-1981 according to their country of birth.

Table 2: The Chinese population in postwar Britain

Year	China	Hong Kong	Singapore	Malaysia	Total
1951	1,763	3,459	3,255	4,046	12,523
1961	9,192	10,222	9,820	9,516	38,750
1971	13,495	29,520	27,335	25,680	96,030
1981	17,569	58,917	32,447	45,430	154,363

Source: Benton and Gomez

According to the data drawn from the censuses in the postwar years between 1951-1981 the assumed numbers of Chinese were not only on the increase, but the data also indicates that the Chinese were predominantly from Hong Kong, and the majority of them came from Southeast Asia, former British colonies. China itself was in turmoil as was mentioned before, building socialism and industry, and the reason for significantly higher numbers of Hong Kongers in comparison to mainland Chinese could be explained by the bond between Hong Kong and Britain and by the labour shortage in the UK. The significant increase in the numbers of Chinese between the years 1961 and 1971 can be attributed to the outcome of the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962. It limited the number of possible immigrants, as mentioned previously, however, Chinese (predominantly from Hong Kong/New Territories) migrated to Britain in the vision of work prospects in blooming catering industry where the established migrants, who, in order to run their businesses, were in need of labour and applied for vouchers for potential prospective employees. (Benton 118) Also the Civil War in China fought from 1927 to 1950, resulting in founding the People's Republic of China under Communist rule, stimulated a large wave of emigration from Hong Kong and the New Territories. The 1951 Census counted 12,523 Chinese in the UK with an increase to 38,750 in 1961. However, in this case the data show only the place of birth and not the ethnic affiliation which makes the data imprecise.

The composition of the Chinese immigrants is another issue discussed widely in various sources that were consulted in order to get a more precise image of the Chinese in the UK. As the Table 2 suggests, a significant proportion of Chinese came from Hong Kong, the former British colony. The Hong Kong wave of immigrants did not reach Britain earlier than in the 1950s. Benton and Gomez

talk about "two migrations" suggesting two somewhat different waves within and from China. One consisting of the mainlanders and the other being Chinese from the New Territories, an integral part of the area of Hong Kong. Ethnic Chinese from outside China are also considered to be a significant part of the Chinese population in Britain. Among them Vietnamese Chinese who came as refugees in 1980s. According to the 1991 Census the countries of origin of the Chinese in Britain were the following:

Table 3: Country of origin of the Chinese in Britain in 1991

Country of origin	Percentage
Britain	28
Hong Kong	34
China	12
Malaysia	10
Vietnam	6
Singapore	3
Taiwan	1
Mauritius	1
Other	5

Source: Benton and Gomez

As the 1991 Census revealed, nearly thirty percent of the Chinese in UK were born in Britain. Slightly higher number of the Chinese were Hong Kong-born and in comparatively lesser proportion were the mainland Chinese with twelve percent. The divisive nature of Chinese in Britain is further supported with new immigration waves in recent decades.

The Chinese immigration in 1990s and onwards, however, is different from the previous waves in terms of the origin of immigrants. Also, as Benton and Gomez put it, they created a new phenomenon described as "new migrants", which implicates somewhat different nature of immigration from any of the previous ones. (Benton 57) It is also partly connected with the attitude of Chinese Communist authorities towards Chinese students and scholars settling abroad,

which changed significantly and was allowed after implementing new reforms in 1980s. In 1990s, the approach was more pragmatic. It is not just their different place of origin in China itself but also their level of education and their interests and intentions in Britain. They come from mainland China, not only the coastal provinces as was the case of earlier migrants, and other major urban centres in Asia. They are highly educated, in contrast to the Chinese peasants who came earlier in 1950s and 1960s from Hong Kong. They form a new whole that contributed to the size of Chinese significantly as the table below shows. The numbers are taken from the last three censuses (1991, 2001, 2011) and shows an increase in the size of the Chinese ethnic minority in England.

Table 4: Chinese in England

	1991	**2001**	**2011**
Chinese	159,936	220,681	379,503

1.3 Chinese students

Chinese students were sent to western countries continually, starting in the second half of the nineteenth century. Throughout the twentieth century, this trend continued mainly in 1970s, after the Cultural Revolution came to an end, and again there was a request for qualified workforce to complement the Chinese Government's new and much more liberal approach to renewing its economy.

Chinese students represent a significant wave of migration to Britain. There are two kinds of Chinese students: the ones who come solely for the purpose to achieve a degree in a British university and after achieving it they return to their home country. The other group consists of students who decide to settle in the host country permanently.

As was mentioned previously, Chinese students were sent to British universities during the Self-Strengthening Movement in 1860s and onwards. At the turn of the century, another wave of the Chinese students came, not a significant proportion though, they were dispersed throughout Europe. According to Benton and Gomez there were around thirty-five students studying engineering in UK in 1900. A few years later, in 1908, there was another influx of the Chinese

students and before the WWI started, more than three hundred and fifty students were studying in UK. (Benton 47) In the early nineteenth century Chinese students in Britain studied engineering, later the fields of study in demand extended over medicine, law and economics. (Benton 47-48)

The Chinese students have been arriving from three different places of origin, except for mainland China, there were students from Taiwan and the British colonies in Southeast Asia and elsewhere. As Benton and Gomez found out, there was a large contrast between their conditions and prospects, which was due to inadequate funding. The last two groups of students lived relatively prosperously and before 1980, many of them decided to stay in Britain after finishing their studies. In 1989, after the students' massacre on Tian'anmen Square in Beijing, the students from mainland China were allowed to stay in Britain and thus contributed to enlargement of the resident Chinese community. The table below illustrates the proportions of Chinese from Commonwealth countries in UK tertiary education according to the country of origin between 1979-1998.

Table 5: Chinese in British universities

Country of origin	1979-1980	1988-1988	1997-1998
Hong Kong	6,251	7,386	5,486
Malaysia	14,326	6,517	15,712
Singapore	1,787	2,052	5,120

Source: Benton and Gomez

In addition, Taiwanese students enrolled in British universities increased in numbers between 1994 and late 1990s, according to Benton and Gomez, there were more than 11,000 of them. Students from mainland China numbered 6,094 in the late 1990s. (Benton 49)

In his article on the Chinese students abroad, Doug Counsell explores the phenomenon of a substantial rise in the number of Chinese students pursuing their university studies in UK. Based on a survey of 188 Chinese students studying at Lancashire Business School, University of Central Lancashire in 2009, Counsell comes to a conclusion that there is a mutual attraction between Chinese students and UK universities. Whereas the UK universities rely on overseas students as a

source of income, Chinese students prefer UK to other countries (except for USA and Australia, which along with UK make the top three choices) because of the quality of UK university education and the desire to develop English language skills. Counsell also suggests that there are possible waves of new immigrants in future as "the country they study in is more likely than any other country to be their first choice as a destination country when they consider expatriation." (Counsell 70) This confirms the theory of Chinese students constituting a significant immigration wave.

There is a division between Chinese students at British universities as they are far from forming a homogenous body. Firstly, there are descendants of the Chinese immigrants born in Britain (British-born Chinese), who speak English as their first language in comparison to Chinese students from abroad, and whose background somewhat 'alienates' them from other groups. Secondly, there are Chinese students from Hong Kong and mainland China sharing if not the language then at least the same or approximate geographical location. Lastly, there is a group of Chinese students from elsewhere. They tend to cluster and unite according to their country of origin. (china-britain.org)

Chinese immigration to Britain, can be described in a few more or less significant waves that differed from each other in many respects. The prospects of work were the primary concerns of the Chinese migrants, some came in pursuit of an entrepreneurial opportunity, others in academic ones.

The first period covers the early nineteenth century. The second large inflow appears in 1950s and 1960s. The place of origin of the newcomers to Chinese community in Britain is mainly the New Territories area in Hongkong. The third wave coincides with political liberation in China in 1980s. A fourth wave is significant student migration from China to British universities in recent times.

The last three censuses showed detailed account of population of Britain by ethnic category with the following results:

Table 4: Composition and size of the British population

Census	1991	2001	2011
All residents	51,874,792	54,153,898	56,075,912
Black Caribbean	499,964	565,876	594,825
Black African	212,362	485,277	989,628
Black other	178,401	97,585	280,437
Indian	840,255	1,053,411	1,412,958
Pakistani	476,555	747,285	1,124,511
Bangladeshi	162,835	283,063	447,201
Chinese	156,938	247,403	393,141
Other Asian	197,534	247,664	835,720
Other groups	290,206	230,615	333,096

Source: 1991 Census, 2001 Census, 2011 Census, Office for National Statistics

According to 1991 Census figures, Indian were the largest minority in 1991 with 840,255, second came Black Caribbean with 499,964 and the third largest group were Pakistani with 476,555. Chinese ethnic minority came last with the count of 156,938. Nevertheless, the Indian ethnic group remained the largest for the two following censuses. In 2001, however, the Pakistani group increased in number to such extent that became the second largest minority group, followed by Black Caribbean minority. Chinese in 2001 were not the smallest minority group. According to the latest census, there were two ethnic groups exceeding one million people. Indian ethnic group, who again remained the largest, and Pakistani ethnic group, who came second, with Black Africans, who came third as their number have increased the most compared to other ethnic minorities. Chinese had one of the lowest count.

There were some changes made to the questionnaire of the 2011 Census as compared to previous ones. The major one with respect to the topic of this thesis, was "the re-positioning of the 'Chinese' tick box from 'Any other ethnic group' to 'Asian/Asian British'". Consequently, these two groups are not comparable.

2   Regional distribution

The early communities could be described as ghetto-like for their high concentration in a few streets in dock areas where they lived and worked. The ports of London and Liverpool were the first to experience the presence of the Chinese later joined by other port areas such as Cardiff and Bristol. Originally, it was solely the presence of the sailors in the ports without the idea of settling down. The sailors merely awaited the return journey on the British ships. According to the information drawn from the censuses between the years 1851-1931 that was mentioned in the previous chapter, the settled Chinese community was insignificant at that time. They were confined to particular areas as David Parker confirms in his study: "(prior to 1945) there were hardly any Chinese outside of the three seaports of London, Liverpool and Cardiff, and most were seafarers or hand laundry owners." (Parker 55)

The table below shows the proportions and geographical distribution of the Chinese in the UK as figures from the 2001 Census revealed. The whole United Kingdom recorded 247,403 Chinese. England was the region with the largest concentration of Chinese with the percentage of 89,20. Scotland came second with the percentage of 6,59, Wales had 2,53 and Northern Ireland had 1,68 percent of Chinese.

Table 5: Geographical distribution and numbers of Chinese in 2001

Region	Numbers	Percentage
England	220,681	89,2
Wales	6,259	2,53
Scotland	16,304	6,59
Northern Ireland	4,156	1,68
United Kingdom	247,403	100

Source: Census, April 2001, Office for National Statistics

2.1   Chinese in England

I will now focus on Chinese in England, as it is a region where the Chinese are to be found in more significant numbers compared to other UK regions. The next table shows the distribution of the Chinese within England regions revealed by the 2001 Census. London appeared to be the top destination for the Chinese. Second largest concentration was in South East region and the third region with the largest Chinese population was North West.

Table 6: The distribution across English regions

Government Office Regions	Percentage
North East	2,52
North West	11,22
Yorkshire and the Humber	5,15
East Midlands	5,39
West Midlands	6,72
East	8,50
South East	13,80
South West	5,31
London	33,46

Source: Census, April 2001, Office for National Statistics

London is a city with the highest concentration of Chinese in England (and the whole UK). According to the last two censuses (2001, 2011), there were 80,201 and 124,250 Chinese respectively, which makes it around 36 and around 32 percent of all Chinese in England respectively. Chinatown in London started growing out of the original settlements of the Chinese seafarers and their economic activities in or around the docks. Initially, the East India Company provided accommodation in barracks at Shadwell and later additional services for the seafarers. Gradually the seafarers either deserted or were relegated but with the arrival of Chinese entrepreneurs the community established into a solid one. Around the mid-nineteenth century and in the second half of the nineteenth century, they settled mainly in the East End of London, a couple of decades later, however, the centre of the community moved to the Limehouse district near

the West India Docks (particularly Limehouse Causeway and Pennyfields). (Benton 26) Nevertheless, the Wars had its impact on the Chinese settlements in England. Limehouse was destructed in the Blitz and consequently the Chinese moved to the Soho area of the City of Westminster, Gerrard Street in particular. (Lam 5) According to the 2001 Census, the Chinese were not recorded to live concentrated in particular areas, on the other hand they were found to be scattered across London, only a few boroughs noted substantial concentration— Westminster, City of London and Barnet and Tower Hamlets. (Lam 8)

Early Chinese in Liverpool were associated with the Blue Funnel Line, established in 1865 by Alfred and Philip Holt. A year later, the first direct steamship service from Liverpool to China came into service. According to Benton, "the first generation of Chinese reached Liverpool aboard Blue Funnel vessels, but it was not until 1893 that the company employed a large Chinese crew." (Benton 80) The Chinese were still employed by the company even after the war, when they "were integrated into the structure of the company, where they could hope for promotion from manual grades to steward's or white-collar grades." (Benton 82) The shoreworkers, who were employed on less formal basis, had opportunities to run their own businesses in their spare time. In this way the Liverpool Chinatown started to flourish. The first Chinese sailors settled close to the docks in Cleveland Square. Concurrently some of the Chinese started businesses around the place in order to help to provide services for the others. In 1906, according to Liverpool City Council, there were 49 laundries, 13 boarding houses and 7 shops run by the Chinese. This situation anticipated later development of Chinese occupational distribution. More on this issue in the next chapter. According to 2001 Census, there were 5, 143 Chinese in Liverpool, which made 19 percent of Chinese in the North West, however, it was only around 2 percent in the whole England. 2011 Census counted 7,978 Chinese, the percentage was less than before for the North West (around 16 percent), but the percentage remained nearly the same in comparison to the whole England (2 percent).

In Manchester, the Chinese community started developing in 1950s and was growing significantly in the following decades, although the first immigrants came as early as in the beginning of the twentieth century, according to the information provided by Manchester Chinese Archive. Among others, there had

been Liverpool Chinese who 'colonized' Manchester and started to settle there. Liverpool ceased to be the main centre in the North West when its port declined and therefore the Chinese moved inland to look for new opportunities. According to 2001 Census, Chinese made up over two percent of the Chinese in the whole England and over nineteen percent in the North West. The 2011 Census recorded an increase to over three percent Chinese in Manchester out of the whole England and over twenty-eight percent of Chinese in the North West were to be found in Manchester.

South East region had the second largest concentration of Chinese in England (in 2001) after London. However, according to censuses, the proportion of Chinese in the five largest centres of this region (Southampton, Reading, Portsmouth, Oxford, Brighton) did not exceed ten percent. The largest number of Chinese was counted in Oxford. 2001 Census recorded 2,460 Chinese, which made up over seven percent of all Chinese in South East England. The following 2011 Census counted 3,559 Chinese, which was slightly less than seven percent of the South East England Chinese population. However, there is not a single Chinatown to be found in South East England. In comparison to North West region, the proportion of Chinese in 2001 for the North West was 26,887 (South East was 33,089) and in 2011 there were 48,049 Chinese in the North West (South East had 53,061 Chinese). There are two Chinatowns in the North West region, in Liverpool and in Manchester. This fact confirms that the Chinatowns do not necessarily mark the presence of a significant Chinese community in a particular city or region (as it was in the United States or elsewhere in the world where there were and still are much more significant numbers of Chinese).

In accordance with Chinatowns elsewhere in the world (North America, Australia etc.), the Chinese in Britain were also concentrated in particular areas, however, these Chinese "ghettoes" were not as densely populated as they were in the USA (particularly in San Francisco or New York) and Chinese in Britain used a different name for these, they were Chinaports, a literal translation from the Chinese term *Huabu*. Chinaports implied that the prevalent occupation at that time was seafaring. More on occupation in the next chapter. Chinaports were the first phase on the way to building a bigger community. However, it was much later, when the Chinese gradually switched to different occupations that the settlement became more stabilised. According to a chinatownology.com website, there are

eleven Chinatowns in Europe, five of them are in England (London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle). Nowadays, Chinatowns are not the places of residence for the majority of the Chinese in the UK. Their function shifted to a meeting point of the Chinese when celebrating festivals and other significant events connected to the Chinese culture and the Chinese traditional customs. They also became business centres and attract investments from China in order to enliven local tourism as places of interest offering authentic cuisine and insight into the Chinese culture. Originally a ghetto, the Chinatowns nowadays are rather "imaginary ghettoes – a public space where Chinese identity could be celebrated on special occasions" (Benton 181)

When comparing areas with the largest proportion of Chinese (according to 2011 Census), it becomes clear that higher concentrations of Chinese can be found in the largest urban areas, rather than the largest cities. According to Tim Pateman's research on rural and urban areas in the UK, the South East region (that has the second largest concentration of Chinese) is a relatively less urban area or much more rural one in comparison to the North West region (the third largest Chinese concentration), where Manchester has nearly one third of the Chinese living in the North West area. As was already mentioned, in South East, no one of the five largest cities has more than ten percent of Chinese. What Sen-Dou Chang noted about urban nature of overseas Chinese in South American countries, therefore holds true for Britain as well. He claimed that "most of the Chinese live either in the capital, or, if this is not the primate city, in the largest commercial center." (Chang 102-103) However, the Chinese are dispersed all across the country, rather than focused in communities in the suburban areas like other Asian ethnic minorities, such as Pakistani and Indian.

On the other hand, Chang's claim cannot be taken as a truth about Chinese in Britain. On one hand Chinese concentrate in commercial centers, but there is a visible tendency to spread across the area rather than group as a community as was seen previously in a paragraph on Chinese in South East England. In fact they do not form a community to such extent as other ethnic minorities do. In their book, Benton and Gomez talk about "disunity" of the Chinese, explained against the nature of this ethnic minority. One reason mentioned for this claim is rather a small number of Chinese in Britain which does not constitute a larger body of people of the same ancestry.

In the cities where there is substantial Chinese population, Chinatowns mark the presence of a Chinese element. Chinatown is traditionally thought of as a resident place for Chinese community, but "the term Chinatown cannot properly be applied to the Chinese community in Britain, which is radically different in character from the Chinese settlements in San Francisco and New York for which the term was coined. … Chinese in Britain lack the residential density of the North American Chinatowns, where Chinese both live and work." (Benton 25) Chinatowns in Britain evolved from Chinese seafarers' deserting their jobs on British ships and gradual establishment of their own businesses. In the beginning, they provided services for the Chinese compatriots, and over time widened their clientele scope.

This relative geographical dispersion is a feature attributed to the Chinese in Britain since they started to grow in numbers not earlier than in the prewar era in 1910s. However, if there is dispersion there is unlikely to be any kind of a bond between the single elements of the whole body. This fact enforces the stereotypization of this body described as isolated, quiet, invisible.

3   Occupational distribution

Once the seafarers deserted the ships on which they worked, they started seeking other occupational possibilities. There were both internal and external reasons for the Chinese to engage mostly in entrepreneurial activities as "the seafarers' poor English combined with the racist practices of local trade unions and employers to rule out the prospect of a job in the main economy." (Benton 75) At first, there were only possibilities to look for jobs in boarding houses in which the Chinese seafarers lived, and in the Chinatowns that were in their incipient phase. The Chinese crew specialized in cooking and laundering at sea, which is the field in which the Chinese gradually build their businesses on the shore, around the docks.

3.1   "From salt to soap"

"From salt to soap" label, characterizes the first transformation of not only the means of living, but also the transition from the original idea of transnational work to a more stable settlement and sustenance (Benton 89). The boarding houses and the surroundings served as the starting point for the Chinese in building their route into the British economy. According to Benton and Gomez, the hand laundries and eating houses were at first connected to the boarding houses and after some time became separate businesses around which the Chinatown was built. (Benton 89) The services were first provided mainly for their Chinese compatriots working at sea, when they needed food and laundry to do when they were waiting for their ships to go back. Chinese laundries were considered the biggest occupational opportunity as by 1921, "laundering had overtaken seafaring as the chief occupation." (Benton 89) The number of laundries in Britain as a whole, according to Benton, increased from one in 1890 to between five and eight hundred in 1931.

The first laundry in Britain was set up in Liverpool in 1886, later joined by Cardiff and thus making the main centres of this early Chinese way of earning a living. In London though, the setting of the laundry business occurred later (the first laundry was opened in Poplar, London in 1901), and still in comparatively lower numbers than the one in Merseyside. One of the reasons was

bigger competition from other immigrants (French and Italian) who already set up their businesses, and a large number of power laundries. (Benton 97)

Compared to other countries with larger Chinese population, such as the United States or Australia, the laundry business in Britain was the only one that Chinese were engaged in at the turn of the century. Chinese engagement in laundry business is said to be influenced or even imported from across the Atlantic. As Chinese in the United States were longer established community, they had been running their own businesses for some time, when in Britain the Chinese were still struggling with earning their living after their arrival. In America around the same time (the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century), the occupational distribution was similar. However, according to an account of a Chinese laundry business in the United States by Paul Siu, the pioneering period started in 1870s, when in 1872 the first laundry opened in Chicago, and towards the end of the nineteenth century the laundry business expanded to several hundred laundries. (Siu 23) The laundry business was virtually an only chance to succeed in making a living, and it was relatively easy to build such business for it did not require large capital outlay, "the only equipment needed was a washtub, a washing dolly, a scrubbing board, a mangle, and an ironing board." (Benton 91) Another advantage was minimal need for communication with customers as the laundrymen spoke little English and therefore relied on local wives or other helpers. (Benton 91) Common feature of the Chinese in the United States and in Britain was the lack of education, less experience and willingness to work hard under often harsh conditions. It is contrasted with the overseas Chinese elsewhere who were more educated, more experienced and often wealthier. (Sowell 139)

Compared to Chinese in France and elsewhere in Europe, only in Britain were the Chinese associated with laundry business. In other European countries, the stock of the Chinese was different, they came from different regions in China or elsewhere and had a different culture and different business interests. Although there were a few laundries in some European countries, it was not such a boom as in Britain. (Benton 99) Meanwhile the Chinese in mainland Europe mostly came from Zhejiang Province in China, there were Cantonese in Britain. The Cantonese were deserted seafarers, while the Zhejiangese were peddlers and selling goods was their domain.

The laundry business was a success for Chinese as a consequence of hard work day and night. The hand laundry became institutionalized in America as also later did the restaurants serving Chinese food, such as chop suey, chow mein and fried rice. (Sowell 139)

3.2   "From soap to soy"

The conversion "from soap to soy" attributed to the Chinese community as a whole, as a visible occupational shift, emerged after the Second World War, not later than 1960, when the Chinese laundries died out. (Benton 101) Establishing Chinese restaurants and takeaways was a safe option for the Chinese as they were likely to earn a living in this rather than in any other areas for there were no special prerequisities for establishing this kind of business. Their compact settlements provide a niche market and a source of cheap ethnic labour and business networks. Chinese were isolated caterers, they lacked strong communities. Isolation within their businesses lead to unassimilation with the host society. Watson in his book *Between Two Cultures* describes the Chinese catering establishments as "virtual islands of Chinese culture in the larger British society, isolated pockets where the migrants can interact with the outside world on their own terms." (Watson 193) This idea suggests that, even though this shift meant yet another backing out from the ethnic enclave, in which they felt secure, and enter the mainstream economy and society, they did not attempt to immerse in the British society.

The catering trade, as well as the laundry trade, had its roots in the boarding houses around docks. As Benton noted, "all Britain's early Chinese communities had cafes where Chinese immigrants and transients could meet to eat and socialise." (Benton 110) The Zhang brothers, who had worked as ship cooks on the Blue Funnel Line, set up one of the first cafes in London in 1886. However, this kind of early cafes served mainly Chinese customers. The catering trade, again, was pioneered in North America and imported to Britain, as for example the term "chop suey", used widely nowadays, originated in America. (Benton 110) There were several reasons explaining the success of the Chinese in the restaurant business. The upturn in commercial catering after the wars was an opportunity for the Chinese to develop this idea further. The Chinese restaurants were exotic

and cheap, therefore attracted the British clientele. The prewar cafes or eating houses built on their experience and expanded, the new immigrants seized the opportunity and joined in. (Benton 112-13)

The catering trade was family-based business, the same as the laundry business before it. For the business to flourish in a long run, there was a tendency to pass the business to the young generation. Although the members of the second generation were obligated to work in the family business or merely felt the duty to help the parents, they were not particularly inclined to take over the business when the parents could not run it anymore. The reason for this unwillingness to take over and continue in the already established family business is attributed to the nature of the work itself and its shameful denotation in China.[1] The work was menial, hard and boring, which the young generation tended to despise of. What the parents' generation as pioneers were attracted to, was the minimal capital and intensive labour that had to be invested in such business. (see Benton 102) According to Mary Pang's research (1999), more than half of the Chinese men and woman in Britain worked in "distribution" (which includes restaurants), however, there is a "bimodal distribution of young Chinese adults in the British labour market." (Pang 43) The second generation did not find it attractive for their future to run takeaways, rather started to favour work in the professions.

In Liverpool, the first catering started to emerge during the Second World War, but not until 1950 and afterwards was the catering business proportionally significant. From the beginning of the 1950s, when there were thirty-six Chinese restaurants in Britain (Benton 116), the number increased, and in the 1960s the Chinese restaurant business spread across the country. In London, the number of Chinese restaurants rocketed to two hundred. (Benton 116) This phenomenon supported the new wave of immigration from China, particularly from the New Territories (as Commonwealth citizens), when the Chinese restaurants were staffed by the newcomers in the 1950s and 60s. Their prospects were secured by their family and friends who created jobs for them in their already established catering trades. However, the employment ties were not strong, as Benton and Gomez explain, "once employed in Britain, villagers from the New Territories broke loose from the control and patronage of the veteran restaurateurs and set up

---

[1] Domestic service, intimate domain.

new businesses, which they further staffed by importing relatives and neighbours." (Benton 117)

In the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, a radical increase in the number of takeaways in Britain coincided with the fast-food revolution. (Benton 129) It was not merely a city business, on the contrary, the Chinese takeaways grew in small cities, where there was no other Chinese competitor in such field. This fact gives explanation for the dispersed character of the Chinese population in Britain. According to James L. Watson (1977), "it is now almost impossible to find a town in England ... with a population of 5000 or more that does not have at least one Chinese restaurant of take-away shop." (181)

In the 1970s and 80s the conditions for the Chinese catering worsened, the market bacame saturated and further developments resulted in the decline of restaurant industry. The situation improved in 1990s, when there was again request for Chinese food. (Benton 129) Indians and Pakistanis, however, became aggressive competitors with the Chinese and some polls indicated that Indian curry started to become the most popular "British dish". (Benton 130)

The 1980s economic recession incited interventions from the government, when Margaret Thatcher aimed to promote and support entrepreneurship, and increase employment and self-employment. (Benton 137) As a result, it triggered new waves of migration from Hong Kong, Chinese entrepreneurs, who spotted new opportunities in Britain and it may not be a coincidence, as the hand-over of Hong Kong back to China (PRC) was inevitably drawing near.

Towards the end of the twentieth century the Chinese as a group became more occupationally diverse. Among the reasons were the growing number of ethnic catering businesses, the widely spreading American fast-food chains, significantly influencing not only Chinese caterers but the whole British market, and another influx of Chinese to the UK.

The growth and success of Chinese business in Britain, is explained on the background of the nature of Chinese people, their entrepreneurial qualities, their diligence, willingness to take risks and "the entrepreneurial deployment of resources generated by the initial investment, and a focused approach to business," rather than linked with ethnic resources. (Benton 142) There was "far less social interaction and business cooperation among Chinese in Britain than in other countries," the ones "who branched out into more substantial ventures

sometimes networked with co-ethnics in the start-up period, but rarely for long."
(Benton 145) Chinese entrepreneurs draw far less on community resources than
British Asians, who use ethnic and family networks to hold down costs and get
access to markets. (Benton 145)

3.3 New generation, new migrants

The nature of Chinese immigration in 1990s from Hong Kong and other
places in East or Southeast Asia contributed to a further diversification of Chinese
occupational distribution. Until the late twentieth century, the occupational choice
was relatively narrow among the Chinese, as they did not feel fit to compete with
the British majority in the labour market. Therefore, they chose to work in the
niches, that the laundry and catering business provided.

According to statistics, Chinese are the most prone to be self-employed.
According to Li Wei's research on Chinese in Newcastle upon Tyne, there were
three accountancies, two travel agencies and two acupuncture clinics owned and
run by Chinese in the 1990s. (Wei 64) Not a very significant number, however, it
confirms the tendency for self-employment.

According to statistics, recent reports and analysis of the British labour
market, Chinese do relatively well in comparison to other ethnic minorities. It has
been suggested that one of the reasons for the success in the labour market seems
to be the need to overcome discrimination through gaining qualifications
(Simpson 13) often resulting in out-performing the White British population in
education as well as in the labour market. (Simpson 20) However, given their
qualifications, neither the Chinese nor other ethnic minorities were doing as well
as they should in terms of occupation status. (Simpson 21)

The Chinese and Indian are the most likely to be in professional and
managerial jobs, according to statistics. (Simpson 38) Since 1991, the growth in
ethnic minority populations have been either due to an increase in births of the
populations in UK or due to immigration. The report on ethnic minority
populations indicates that the first reason is the case for the Caribbean, Indian,
Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations, meanwhile the increase in immigration
concerns the African and Chinese populations. (Simpson 39)

Conclusion

Chinese in Britain present a complex issue, which has not yet been dealt with in a greater detail. I have found only one up-to-date source of information on this ethnic minority and its life in Britain which I drew heavily on throughout this bachelor thesis.

This thesis aimed to create a mosaic of the life of Chinese ethnic minority in Britain with the focus on three aspects—brief history of immigration, regional distribution and occupational distribution. Although one of the smallest ethnic minorities in number, they constitute a significant part of the British society with their impact not only in the catering industry but also in education and consequently in public life. Nevertheless, their journey to Britain was not an easy one and neither were their life conditions in a new and completely different society.

There was not any significant Chinese community in Britain prior to 1900, although a few individuals had made attempts to earn their living as seafarers, which was the occupation of the first Chinese workforce on the British soil, or rather, on the British ships during the nineteenth century. Much later, only after the Second World War, did the Chinese make way into the British society in significant numbers.

Chinese in Britain are mainly concentrated in England and in the largest urban centres across England. The characteristic feature of the Chinese in Britain, however, is the relative dispersal across the whole country, which means that there are at least a tiny proportion of Chinese in every part of Britain. This distribution is effected by the occupation of the earlier settlers and newcomers.

Chinese in Britain are largely connected with catering industry as the majority of the earlier settlers ventured into the British economy using catering as a safety net. However, new waves of Chinese migrants as well as the new generation of British-born Chinese worked hard to succeed in the British labour market in different occupations than the stereotyped catering industry.

Chinese in Britain are a tiny part of a larger body of overseas Chinese, however they have become a more and more significant part of the British society as it has been influenced by their exotic culture and perhaps solely by their presence in Britain.

Given the extensive information base from the last census, this thesis also attempts to call on further research into this issue and make further contribution and enlarge the research and literature on this interesting topic.

I hope to make at least a minimal contribution with this thesis towards understanding of this tiny ethnic minority by providing a source of information for further study.

RESUMÉ

Tato bakalářská práce je rozdělena do tří částí, které jsou víceméně propojeny. První část je historický přehled příchodu Číňanů do Velké Británie a jeho pozadí. Zaměřuje se na chronologický popis několika větších vln čínské migrace a neopomíná ani fenomén čínských studentů. V druhé části je popsáno rozložení čínské populace na Britských ostrovech se zaměřením na oblast Anglie. Zmínka je také o britských Chinatownech. Poslední část se zaměřuje na zaměstnání Číňanů a chronologický vývoj pracovního zaměření.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Australian Government. *Department of Immigration and Citizenship.* "Fact Sheet
        8—Abolition of the 'White Australia' Policy." n.p. Web. 20 Apr. 2013.

Bakešová, Ivana. Čína ve XX. století, díl 2. Olomouc: Vydavatelství UP, 2003.
        Print.

Baxter, Lew. "The Forgotten Children of the Banished Chinese Dragons." Daily
        Post. 23 Jan. 2006. Web. 25 Sep. 2012.

Benton, Gregor, and Edmund Terence Gomez. *The Chinese in Britain, 1800-*
        Present: Economy, Transnationalism, Identity. New York: Palgrave
        Macmillan, 2008. Print.

Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain. Ed. James L. Watson.
        Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1977. Print.

British Museum. "Chinese diaspora in Britain" 2008. Web. 12 Mar. 2012.

Chang, Sen-Dou. "The Distribution and Occupations of Overseas Chinese" in
        Geographical Review 58.1 (January 1968): 89-107. JSTOR. Web. 27 June
        2011.

Chinatownology. "Chinatowns of the World." n.p. n.d. Web. 20 Mar. 2013.

Chinese Marketing an Communications. "Chinese life, culture and business in the
        UK." n.d. Web. 20 Oct. 2012.

Counsell, Doug. "Chinese Students Abroad: Why They Choose the UK and How
        They See Their Future." *China: An International Journal* 9.1 (2011): 48-
        71.

Government of Canada. "85th Anniversary of the Chinese Immigration Act." 29
        Oct. 2008. Web. 1 May 2013.

Kukulová, Jana. *Čínští přistěhovalci do Austrálie v letech 1850—1901*. MA
        Thesis, Palacky University in Olomouc. Olomouc 2004. *Theses*.cz Web.
        16 October 2012.

Lam, Sales, et al. "The Changing Chinese Community in London: New Migration,
        New Needs." Final Report, May 2009. Web. 20 Apr. 2013.

Manchester Chinese Archive. "Chinese in Manchester." n.p. n.d. Web. 20 Mar.
        2012.

Office for National Statistics. Ethnicity and National Identity in England and
        Wales 2011. "Measuring ethnicity." 11 Dec. 2012. Web. 24 Apr. 2013.

Overseas Chinese Confederation. *International Conference.* "Chinese Workers in the First World War." n.p. 26 May 2010. Web. 25 Apr. 2012.

Pang, Mary. "The employment situation of young Chinese adults in the British labour market." *Personnel Review 28.* 1999: 41-57. Web. 4 Apr. 2012.

Pateman, Tim. "Rural and urban areas: comparing lives using rural/urban classifications." *Office for National Statistics.* Regional Trends 43, 2010/2011. Web. 30 May 2013.

Simpson, Purdam, et al. "Ethnic minority populations and the labour market: an analysis of the 1991 and 2001 Census." Department for Work and Pensions. Research Report No 333. Web. 10 May 2013.

Siu, Paul C.P. *The Chinese Laundryman: The Study of Social Isolation.* Ed. John Kuo Wei Tchen. New York: NYU Press, 1987. Google Books. Web. 30 May 2012.

Šobrová, Renata. *Čínská menšina v USA 1840—1910.* BA Thesis, Palacky University in Olomouc. Olomouc 2012. *Theses*.cz. Web. 30 Sep. 2012.

"The Chinese Exclusion Act: A Black Legacy." n.p. Web. 1 Jun. 2013.

The University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh Global. Alumni. "Huang Kuan." 14 Mar. 2012. Web. 20 Mar. 2013.

Sowell, Thomas. *Ethnic America: A History.* New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1981. Print.

Wei, Li. *Three generations, Two Languages, One Family: Language Choice and Language Shift in a Chinese Community in Britain.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1994. Print.

ANOTACE

Autor: Martina Hejlová

Název fakulty a katedry: Filozofická fakulta, Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky

Název práce: "From Salt to Soap to Soy": Chinese in Britain

Vedoucí práce: Mgr. Pavlína Flajšarová, Ph.D.

Počet stran: 36

Klíčová slova: Chinese in Britain, Chinese in England, hand laundries, catering industry, "from salt to soap", "from soap to soy"

Popis: Bakalářská práce se zabývá čínskou imigrací do Británie a čínskou menšinou v Británii. V první části je nastíněno historické pozadí a shrnuty vlny čínské migrace v chronologickém sledu. V druhé části se práce zaměřuje na regionální distribuci čínské menšiny a fenomén Chinatownů s tímto spojený. Nakonec je provedeno srovnání pracovního zaměření generací Číňanů v Británii.

ANNOTATION

Author: Martina Hejlová

Faculty and department: Philosophical faculty, Department of English and
American studies

Title: "From Salt to Soap to Soy": Chinese in Britain

Supervisor: Mgr. Pavlína Flajšarová, Ph.D.

Number of pages: 36

Key Words: Chinese in Britain, Chinese in England, hand laundries, catering
industry, "from salt to soap", "from soap to soy"

Description: This bachelor thesis deals with Chinese immigration to Britain and
Chinese minority in Britain. The first part gives a historical outline of the
migration waves chronologically. The second part focuses on regional
distribution across Britain and briefly mentions the emergence of
Chinatowns in Britain. Finally, the thesis deals with occupational
distribution from the beginning of the Chinese presence in Britain to the
present day.