

The Study of
CHINATOWN AS AN URBAN ARTIFICE
And
Its Impact on the Chinese Community in London

By

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Sociologists claim that the ethnic Chinese community in the United Kingdom cannot be spatially defined. The first reason is that the widely scattered Chinese catering businesses—still the main source of employment for incoming Chinese migrants – makes the Chinese community too dispersed to form residential enclaves. Secondly, the evasive nature of the ethnic Chinese population towards government assistance and strong sense of ethnic solidarity also makes them an “*invisible community*”. The Confucian philosophy governing their way of life further reinforces patrilineal links oriented towards ancestral villages in China. Recent renewed interests in the future of London’s Chinatown as the result of a recent development plan has prompted this report to investigate whether a spatial pattern of occupation by the Chinese community exists in Chinatown, or if it is simply an intelligent urban artifice exploited for touristic and commercial purposes.

Unlike its historical East End predecessor which has never been exclusively Chinese, present day London Chinatown can be qualified as a “*persistent enclave*”. Whilst it crucially accommodates co-ethnic businesses and facilities for the oriental population, it is not the sole centre for the Chinese community.

At the outset, studies on the Chinese have been confounded by their lack of assimilation into host society, inconsistent methods of data representation from the population census and high levels of suspicion by the immigrant community when conducting fieldwork. By first understanding historical developments in London’s two Chinatowns and concepts pertaining to Chinese ethnography, this helps substantiate the demographic data, changing land use and household occupation by the Chinese community in Limehouse around 1890 and Soho today. The global and local relationship for these two areas are also analysed syntactically through spatial maps derived from Booth’s *Map of Poverty* of 1889 and a current axial map of London respectively.

The spatially-oriented case study of Soho’s Chinatown identifies through a public survey a collective mental representation of its neighbourhood area that differs from its administrative designation. Pedestrian movement studies suggest that there is a distinct spatial and temporal pattern of occupation amongst the ethnic Chinese which differs from non-Chinese tourists and locals which can be syntactically measured.

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The findings support the view that a complex social and spatial relationship exists between the two disparate groups that utilise Chinatown. Whilst its commercial success is crucial to maintaining Chinatown's public profile, it also allows it to continue to function as an important centre for the Chinese community.

Keywords

Chinatown

Community

Ethnicity

Social Assimilation

Spatial Segregation

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1.0 Introduction



Figure 1.1: Aerial map of London showing the location of the historic Chinatown in Limehouse and present day Chinatown in Soho. Image source: Google maps.

The ethnic Chinese population in the United Kingdom is frequently referred to in social studies as an invisible community and is considered to be spatially unquantifiable. Since their earliest presence in the country was recorded, they have maintained a low public profile and in general do not seek government assistance. The majority still remain in self-employment and are found to be excelling in niche economies such as the catering industry and Chinese-oriented support services. Their commercial achievements has also allowed them to maintain minimal contact with the host society and resisted assimilation with the host society. Being more economically-driven and homeward-facing, the earlier generation of Chinese immigrants arriving into the United Kingdom chose to settle down in geographically scattered locations all over the country in search of business opportunities in such marginal trades.

However, with the China in London festival being held throughout 2008 and the future of London's Chinatown currently reviewed under a development plan from 2003, there has been a renewed cultural and political interest in all issues related to the Chinese community. In light of such uncertainty, this is an opportune moment to investigate through this research thesis, whether a spatial pattern of occupation by the Chinese community exists in Chinatown, or if it is simply a contemporary urban artifice exploited for touristic and commercial purposes. Unlike previous studies conducted on the ethnic Chinese community in the field of social studies, this

dissertation is the first to employ a spatial dimension to provide an evidence-based approach to support and disprove aspects of claims pertaining to Chinese ethnography. As Hillier and Hanson explains: “*Spatial order is one of the most striking means by which we recognise the existence of the cultural differences between one social formation and another, that is, differences in the ways in which members of those societies live out and reproduce their social existence.*” (1984: 27). Because social relationships are fundamentally complex and dynamic networks, the thesis aims to explore and unravel these intricacies in the spatial realm through the analysis of a site specific case study centred on the current Soho Chinatown.

The report first builds up an understanding of the Chinese diaspora in London through a historical review from the first known “*Chinatown*” in the East End docks around the turn of the 20th century through to the current issues that surround the present Chinatown in Soho¹. The ideas surrounding ethnicity² that define the frame of mind of the Chinese living in London provides an insight into the series of statistical data that describes the changing demography of one of the smallest ethnic minority groups in the country³.

Using a combination of raw demographic and empirically-derived data, the study seeks to establish spatial characteristics that differentiate the East End based Limehouse Chinatown in 1889⁴ from the Soho Chinatown of today⁵. Changing land use and household location information about the resident Chinese in these two areas of studies are derived from historical censuses and maps, street directories and electoral registers. Whilst the study on Limehouse is presented as a micro-scale study of Victorian London derived from Booth’s Map of Descriptive Poverty and is discussed on a more general level, the case study focus in Soho is developed more vigorously. The notion of a quantifiable neighbourhood area and actual street presence are explored more exhaustively in Soho Chinatown using an anonymous postcard survey and recorded pedestrian movements⁶.

A comparison of the resultant findings anchored by spatial analysis using Space Syntax methods show that Limehouse Chinatown, which was never exclusively Chinese to begin with, was relatively well-integrated into the sub-area to serve the local population, with the families residing there just as well settled into the host society. Soho Chinatown, despite its success as

¹ This is explained in Chapter 2: *Literature Review*.

² *Ibid.*

³ See Chapter 3: *Data Review*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ This forms the subject matter in the research conducted in Chapter 4: *Case Study*.

⁶ *Ibid.*

an important place of interest in London, is found to be spatially segregated. Just as its spatial attribute, the Chinese community are revealed to access and occupy the streets of Chinatown in a pattern that is distinctively different, both spatially and temporally, than those not of their ethnic group.

In the final chapter, the results from the study, when reintroduced in line with current issues perceived as serious threats to Chinatown's sustainability reflects its importance to the Chinese community. The limitations imposed by locals through a high level of mistrust further reinforce the importance they place on the area seen as a haven for the Chinese. It is suggested that in order to persist as an enclave for the ethnic population, it needs to be able to sustain commercial and cultural interests with the mainstream consumers by promoting its ethnically Chinese image. At the same time, communal solidarity is maintained among the ethnic group by adjusting their social practices out of sync and awareness by the general population.

2.0 Literature Review

In the field of social studies, the term '*Chinatown*' is deemed to be a product of the White western society in the late 19th century. Even from the earliest days, the émigré Chinese community brought with them their unique set of culture and way of living rooted in their oriental origins. These cultural differences were made manifest by the European society through the construct of an arbitrary spatial boundary called '*Chinatown*' in which the Chinese clusters in their community are mentally contained. For them, it was a means of differentiating "*their*" territory from "*our*" territory (Anderson, 1987: 583). During the Victorian period¹, the notion of the existence of a mysterious Chinatown in the East End of London was mythologized more notably through the writings of Charles Dickens, local Limehouse resident Thomas Burke and Sax Rohmer's *Fu Manchu* novel series (Seed, 2006).

The first half of this chapter traces the history of the Chinese community in London seen through the emergence of two distinct '*Chinatowns*' which formed the geographical centres of this ethnic group during two different periods in history. Whilst the original Chinatown was located in the East London dock area in Limehouse, its current post-war reincarnation can be found in London's West End. It will show how economic factors and the evolution of the immigration laws in the United Kingdom have imbued them with contrasting social and spatial characteristics. The following section will then introduce concepts used in urban and social studies that are relevant to the aspect of Chinese ethnography discussed here. Although London's Chinatowns had historical origins that were very different than those in the western world outside Great Britain, the contemporary Chinese communities in London nevertheless maintain the same importance on ethnic kinships and exhibit similar ideas on social exclusion and voluntary segregation as other overseas migrant Chinese population.

2.1 Historical Overview: The Tale of Two Chinatowns

2.1.1 Limehouse Chinatown 1890-1963

Since the turn of the 18th century, as a result of the international shipping trade in the docks of East London – which by Jerrold's claim were already receiving around 2,000 ships a year – a dense concentration of tenement housing squeezed between Limehouse and Poplar had emerged to host a burgeoning yet transient sea-faring community (Jerrold and Dore, 1872:

¹ This covers the reign of Queen Victoria in England (1837 to 1901).

30). Birch observed that Limehouse in the Gascoyne map of 1703 (Figure 2.1) had “about 1,000 houses, practically all clustered in three streets close to the river - Three Colt Street, Church Lane, Limehouse Street, which was subsequently called Fore Street and eventually Narrow Street - with numerous courts, rents, and alleys and yards branching off them...probably quite unnecessarily overcrowded” (Birch, 1930: 53)

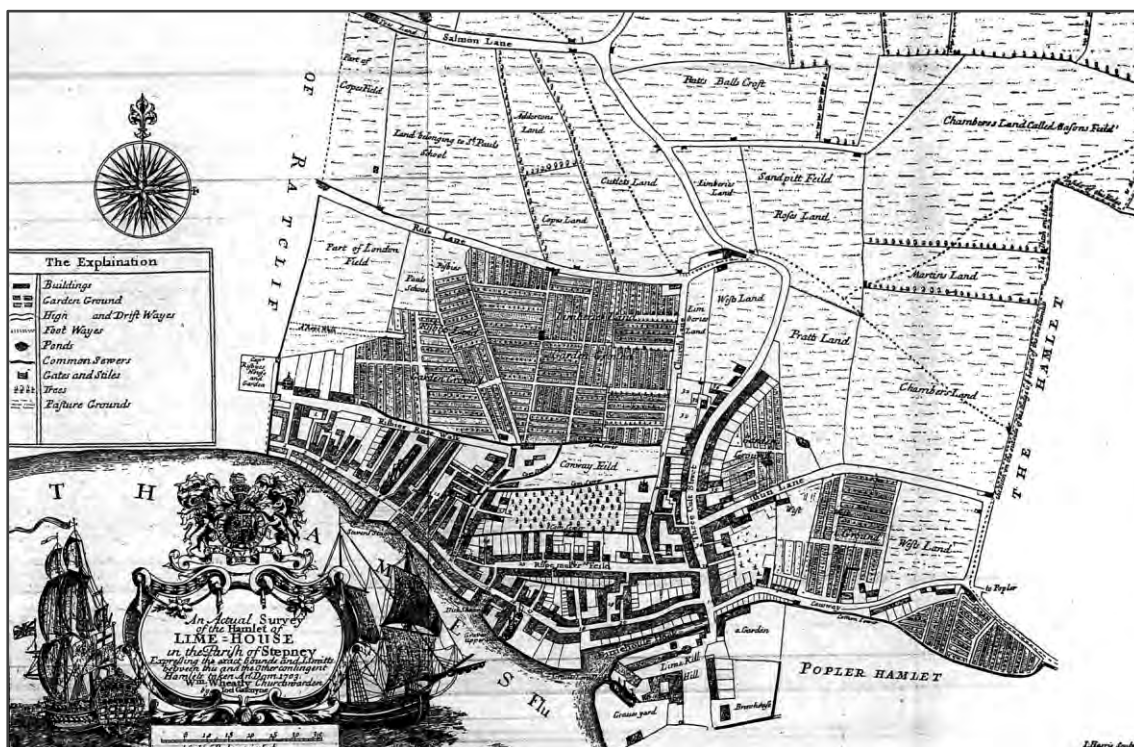


Figure 2.1: Part of Gascoyne's map showing Limehouse Hamlet in 1703. Source: Birch, J. (1930)

Although the earliest reference to Chinese presence in London began as far back as 1814² (Parliamentary Papers, 1814-15: 4-5), it was not until around 1890 where a small but stable resident Chinese community of under 300 (mostly from the Canton province in South China) was established in Limehouse (Birch, 1930: 144). The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 (Holmes, 1993: 74) and the monopoly of the British Empire in opium and tea trade in China following the Opium Wars³ (Shang, 1984: 8) led to the increase in shipping activity to the Far East. This prompted the employment of more Chinese sailors, predominantly from the provinces of Guangdong, Fujian (Ng, 1968: 18) and some from Shanghai⁴, by the British East India Company on board their freighters which were transporting tea from China to England. Because of its proximity to the London's East India Dock, oriental seamen – from Lascars to

² Based on an official report for the provision of sanitary accommodation for Asiatic seamen (which included a handful of Chinese sailors) employed by the East India Company trading in the Far East at that time.

³ See Appendix 7.6.

⁴ Data supplemented by the decennial censuses details of 1891 and 1901 for Stepney and Poplar districts.

West Africans and including the Chinese – employed by the company on shore leave could often be found lodging and inhabiting the spaces of Limehouse, which gave the area an exotic ambience (see Jerrold and Dore (1872: 30), Armfelt (1906: 81-82) and Birch (1930: 142)).

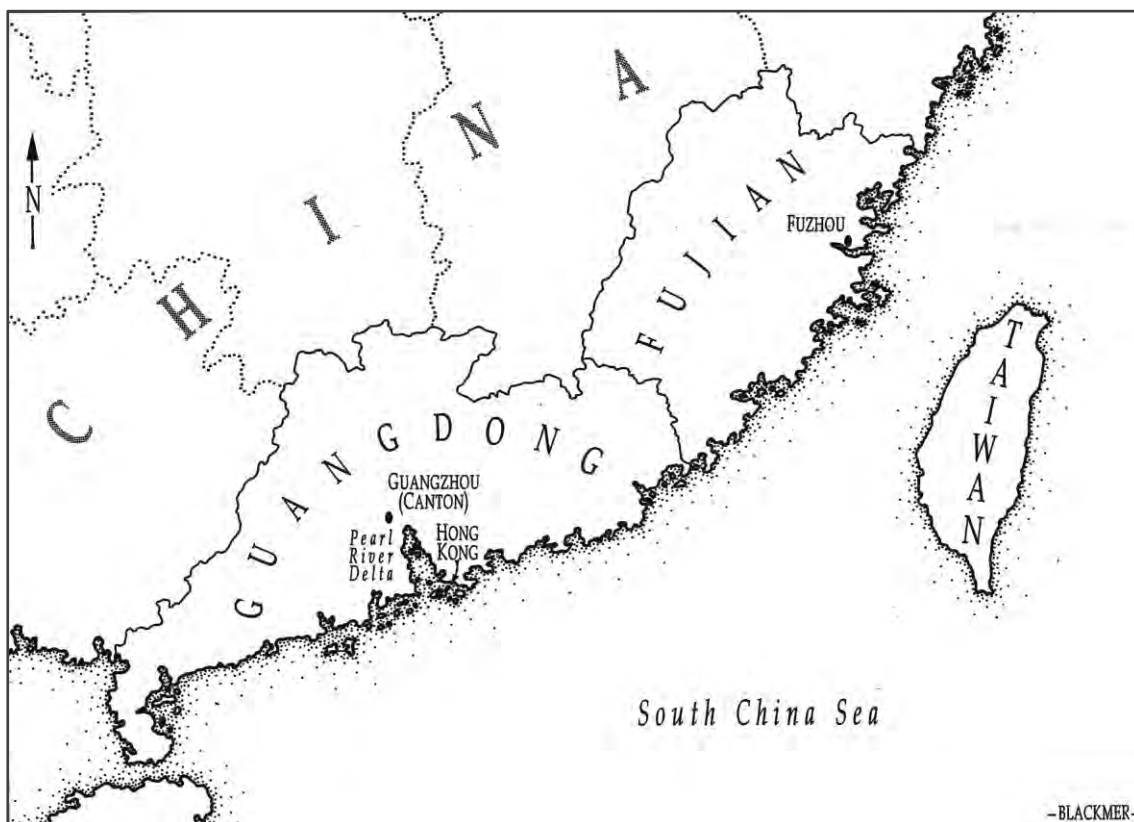


Figure 2.2: Geographic source of Chinese emigration. Source: Lin, J. (1998: 25)

These Chinese sailors were said to be paid less and treated worse than their English counterparts and those with deteriorating health were abandoned at the London docks by their employers who reneged against the promise of accommodation (Grover, 2008). Others decided to desert upon arrival for the chance of making a better life for themselves overseas as diminishing agricultural subsistence around the Guangxi province⁵ (Figure 2.2) had initially forced them to seek employment in the shipping trade (Shang, 1984: 5-6). Many of those who stayed ended up marrying White women of working-class background, usually non-locals or daughters of dock workers and stevedores (Evening News Reporter, 1920). The wives of these Chinamen claimed they led contented lives having considerate husbands who were also loving fathers (Underwood, 1920). These mixed Chinese households were concentrated primarily along Limehouse Causeway, Pennyfields (Birch, 1930: 144) and later included West India Dock

⁵ Crop failure following a series of natural calamities and increasing taxation from the ruling Manchu government drove peasants living in the countryside to severe hardship which finally erupted into an organised rebellion known as the “Boxer Uprising of 1899-1900” (See Appendix 7.6).

Road. But as crucially asserted by Seed, although these streets were always specified as Chinatown, they were never at any time exclusively Chinese (2006: 67-68).

In spite of the occasional few being involved in illegal gambling businesses and opium dens [one of which is described in meticulous detail in Booth's notebooks (1897: 129) during his survey walk in Limehouse Causeway, but for the most part have been greatly exaggerated by newspaper reports and fictional writing], the majority of the resident Chinese were law-abiding citizens who ran legitimate businesses. The number of general stores, laundry services, oriental tea rooms and lodging houses in Limehouse run by Chinamen to supply goods and services for the emerging émigré Chinese community (Seed, 2006: 65) and the sea-faring community with an increasing penchant for oriental fares and wares grew steadily over the early part of the 20th century⁶.

Because of their language and cultural bonds, it is not surprising to find that Chinese sailors on reprieve preferred to board with local mixed Chinese households or Chinese-run boarding houses during their stay in London even though the Overseas Home⁷ on West India Dock Road was available to them. These sailors kept such a low-profile that any publicised disputes involving the Chinese were chiefly amongst themselves between different 'tongs' (dialect clans)⁸.

Although by now the Chinese community in Limehouse appeared to have settled into their host environment, their desire to preserve their cultural roots and collective welfare led to the formation of privately funded organisations and facilities. The more notable of them were the *Oi Tung* Association (1907), *Chung Sam Worker's Club* (1920s) (Seed, 2006: 65) and a Masonic Hall (*Chi Kung Tong*) to oversee the needs of Chinese seamen (Ng, 1968: 19); and the *Chung Hwa* Chinese School and Club in Pennyfields (1928) where Chinese was taught in conjunction with the English syllabus (Chung Hwa, 1932). There was also a Chinese mission-house on West India Dock Road run by Reverend George Percy who had lived in China for thirty years (Armfelt, 1906: 83-84). Even the "*Pennyfield's Post*", essentially a bulletin board in Chinese located in Pennyfields (Figure 2.3) which ran a news service, soon drew "*many Chinese working*

⁶ This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

⁷ It was originally called the Strangers' Home for Asiatics when it was first set up in 1856. (Birch, 1930: 143)

⁸ Various newspaper reports from the Tower Hamlets Local History Library archives however support that anti-Chinese sentiment manifested into a series of separate racial attacks during 1911 by English sailors against Chinese residents in Limehouse and Poplar areas of London, and in Liverpool due to wage disputes with Chinese labourers willing to work for far lower pay than shipmen of other nationalities.

in Bloomsbury and London's West End restaurants down to Pennyfields on Sunday afternoons to find out from the wall posters how the war against Japan is going" (Express Staff Reporter, 1942). However, all that remains there today is a Chinese School on Sundays run by the Chun Yee Association on the corner of Birchfield Street and East India Dock Road (Figure 2.4).



Figure 2.3: London's Chinatown 1920: A Chinese Daily Bulletin on display for the general public to read. Source: Tower Hamlets Local History Library. Image: Central Press Photos (Catalogue No. 78-3362)



Figure 2.4: Chun Yee Association holds a Chinese school on Sunday. Photo taken by author as part of Museum of Dockland's Limehouse Chinatown walk (June 2008)

The entry of Chinese – and Lascar seamen – arriving into London were severely curbed when the Aliens Restriction Act of 1914⁹ was implemented to control the entry of foreigners into the country during the Great War, which was amended in 1919 when the country was at peace (Shang, 1984: 10). Punitive efforts to control the distribution of opium through the 1923 Dangerous Drugs Act (Holmes, 1993: 78) led those who fell afoul to be incarcerated and deported back to China. However, it was the economic depression following the war in the 1920s which crippled the shipping industry and its subsequent demise that finally prompted many Chinese in the country to return to China and Hong Kong¹⁰.

Those who stayed endured further hardships when the Germans launched an organised air attack on London during the Second World War: its prime objective was to incapacitate the

⁹ This Act followed from the first Aliens Act of 1905 which was in response to the degenerating health and housing conditions in the East End seen as the result of the large population of Jews arriving into the East End after fleeing from persecution in Russia.

¹⁰ Seed's study (2006: 65) showed that the Chinese population in Limehouse reached its peak in 1932 to 1934 and gradually declined after that.

ship mending facilities and shipping transport at the London docks. The consecutive attacks on 7 September 1940 known as “*Black Sunday*” devastated the already poorly constructed homes in the densely populated areas in the immediate vicinity around London's East End docks: Surrey Commercial, West India, Millwall, Royal Victoria and Albert and Woolwich Arsenal (Stansky, 2007: 41). Poplar (which includes the eastern half of Chinatown) was so badly hit that “*there was virtually a mass exodus, either to the West End, which was considered by many to be safer, or into the countryside further east in Essex*” (ibid: 55).

After the war, the dwindling local Chinese population continued to remain, patched up their homes as best as they could and went about their lives as before. By now, most of them made their livelihood in the catering business as small restaurants or takeaways¹¹. All traces of Chinatown, the existing local community and their businesses on Pennyfields, Limehouse Causeway, West India Dock Road and Ming Street were finally obliterated by 1963, through compulsory purchase by the London County Council and replaced with large-scale social housing (East London Advertiser Reporter, 1959). This finally forced the dispersal of the remaining Chinese settlers from the area whilst a new concentration of Chinese-owned businesses – mainly in the catering sector – had already begun to emerge in London’s West End.

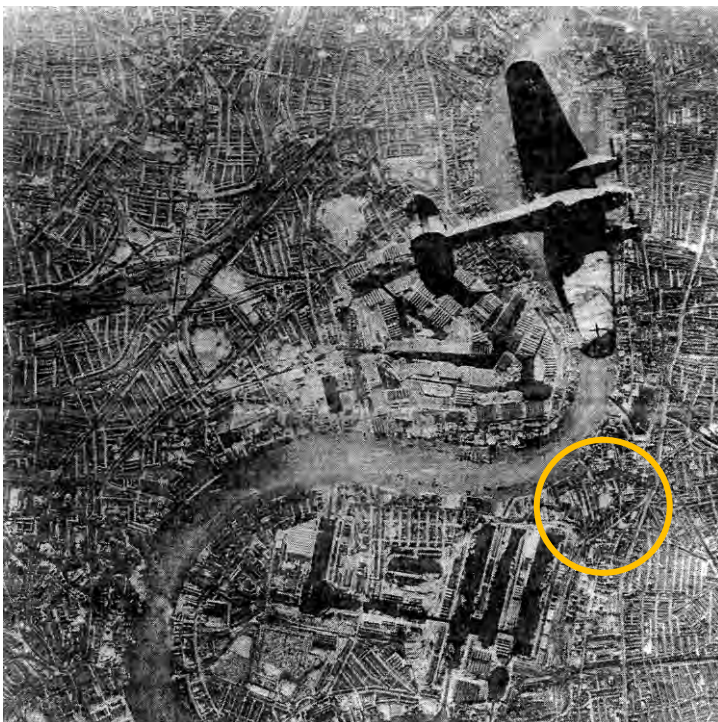


Figure 2.5: Aerial view of East London with bomber flying over Wapping and Isle of Dogs during World War Two. The area of Limehouse Chinatown has been circled.

Source: Stansky, P. (2007: 4)

¹¹ Data based on Kelly’s Post Office Street Directory 1963 (discussed in Chapter 3).

2.1.2 Soho Chinatown 1968-present

Soho, much like the East End, has been known as a migrant enclave of multiple ethnic groups since the 17th century (Farson, 1987: 3-4)¹². From as early as the 1920s, a Chinese restaurant was known to be present in Soho. It was located just opposite the notorious “43” nightclub of Gerrard Street (Tames, 1994: 46) and owned by ‘*Brilliant Chang*’, who was also known as the “*little King of Dope*” (Tietjen, 1956: 24-28)¹³.

However, it was the economic boom in the United Kingdom from the 1950s onwards and the increasing demand for affordable oriental cuisine from returning British servicemen and transiting American soldiers previously stationed in Asia during the Second World War that brought about the proliferation of Chinese restaurants primarily centred on Gerrard Street (Ng, 1968: 28). The new London Chinatown, which was very much a post-war phenomenon, was quite different from its Limehouse predecessor by Tames’ account: “*As recently as 1950 The Wonderful Story of London could observe that ‘Not many Chinese live in Soho, though they run several restaurants there and in that vicinity.’*” (1994: 41) This was due to existing zoning laws in the West End which limited the amount of available inexpensive housing; those that were demanded exorbitant rents (Watson, 1975: 118).

The period between the 1950 to the 1970s recorded the largest wave of immigrants into the United Kingdom and significantly increased the number of Chinese residents in the country with over half settling in London and the South East¹⁴. Up until the 1930s, there were virtually no Chinese women present in the country (Portfolio, 1997: 17). Due to provisions in the Commonwealth Immigration Act 1962, entire Chinese families were beginning to arrive into the United Kingdom as dependents once the primary migrant’s economic and residential status has been established. The influx of ethnic Chinese migrants from countries in the Far East and South East Asia was the result of four qualifying routes identified from various sources:

¹² A more concise review of Soho’s historical development is covered in Chapter 4.1

¹³ Chang was the scion of a wealthy Chinese merchant family who reign as a master criminal in organised drug trafficking in London spanned from 1918 to 1925, using his West End businesses as a front until his residence in Limehouse was successfully raided by the police in 1924. He was later incarcerated and subsequently deported back to China under the Dangerous Drugs Act.

¹⁴ This was observed by Shang (1984: 22) in the 1981 decennial census for England and Wales.

- (i) Native peasant settlers in the New Territories¹⁵ with existing contacts abroad to enter into the United Kingdom through the labour voucher system. A study of this geographical group has been extensively covered by Watson (1975).
- (ii) “*Second-class Immigrants*”¹⁶ comprising of Hong Kong natives (British subjects) and China-born Hong Kong residents (non-Commonwealth citizens) entering with a limited 12-month permit to work in pre-arranged jobs – almost always in the catering industry – in the United Kingdom.
- (iii) Immigration concessions offered to citizens of former British colonies under the Act to encourage skilled and educated professionals (mostly from Malaysia and Singapore) to train and work in the private sectors and National Health Service in the United Kingdom (Shang, 1984: 21).
- (iv) Vietnamese asylum seekers, mainly of ethnic Chinese origin, began arriving into the United Kingdom by the thousands via countries bordering the South China Seas after 1975¹⁷ for fear of racial persecution of minority groups when their country was unified under Communist rule (Shang, 1984: 58).

The reliance on established contacts to enter the United Kingdom via the first two routes formed an “*informal system of chain migration*” (Shang, 1984: 17) and was seen as the key source of meeting labour demands in the Chinese catering industry. The resultant population of ethnic Chinese augmented through the latter routes of entry further fuelled the demand for a variety of convenience and services tailored to the émigré Chinese’s needs.

The increasing number of pornography shops in sixties Soho began forcing out its existing core of more respectable businesses and residents. The southern border of Soho, where Gerrard Street is situated, was seen as a derelict spill-over from the burgeoning sex trade. But this did not deter early Chinese entrepreneurs from taking advantage of the low rents and property prices in such a strategic location adjacent to the theatres in the West End and the nightlife of

¹⁵ A military defence zone straddling the borders of Hong Kong and Guangdong which was leased to British administration from China in 1898 for a period of 99 years under the Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong Territory.

¹⁶ This is used as a sub-chapter heading by Watson (1975: 112-114 & 120).

¹⁷ The Vietnam War or Second Indochina War raged between the communist allied Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the north and US supported Republic of Vietnam in the south from 1959 to 30 April 1975. North Vietnam’s victory in the ‘*Fall of Saigon*’ led to the country’s reunification under Communist regime in 1976.

Soho to catch business from passing footfall (Chan, 2002: 175) – despite the fact that the area was under threat of demolition by the local authority.

As Chan (ibid: 177-178) also notes, with limited opportunities available to the migrant community due to prevailing discrimination from the host society, self-employment was seen as the only option. The Chinese restaurant business, according to Watson (1975: 128), “*forms (an) unobtrusive niche on the fringe of the British economy*” and was not perceived to compete with native British in the employment sector. The economic success of these spatially clustered Chinese restaurants with the mainstream population was due to their marketing ingenuity in exploiting the ethnic difference of the Chinese ‘*community*’ represented through the formation of a stylised Chinatown in Soho, which served to heighten the dining experience in typical Chinese ambience (Chan, 2002: 175).

Kershen (2002: 4) supports Chan’s (2002) suggestion that the restaurant entrepreneurs of Chinatown were the early contributors to inner city regeneration. Their success in turning an undesirable part of the city into a dining destination and tourist attraction in London is most likely why the threat of redevelopment was alleviated. Soho Chinatown was finally brought into Conservation Area protection by Westminster City Council in 1975 (A. J. News, 1975).

Over the years, ancillary businesses have emerged alongside the restaurants to fulfil the needs of the Chinese and increasingly for other ethnic East Asian communities in London: such as supermarkets, fresh produce grocers, a butcher and fishmonger shop, bakeries, travel agencies, banks, telecommunication and Chinese television channel service providers, a bookshop, Chinese medicine clinics and hair salons. It has traditionally been seen as a place of gathering for the spatially dispersed Chinese community who meet on Sundays for ‘*dim sum*’ and their weekly household shopping (Shang, 1984: 31). But recent observations in Chinatown by the author and studies on ethnic minorities such as those by Peach (2005: 35) on the assimilation process¹⁸ by subsequent generations of locally born members of these migrant families may mean that the demise of Chinatown is inevitable. However, in order to pursue this further, the state of mind of London’s overseas migrant Chinese first needs to be understood with an overview in the following section.

¹⁸ The assimilation hypothesis is defined by Peach as a 3-stage cycle that leads to the disappearance of ethnic differences either through conforming to a dominant structure (as in Anglo conformism) or through merging (as in the melting pot).

2.2 Ethnocentrism in London's Chinatowns

The foundation of the Chinese enclaves in London is crucially different in terms of population size and method of spatial demarcation than those of their counterparts across the Atlantic Ocean in San Francisco and Vancouver that began in early 19th century. The latter Chinatowns were the result of the forced formation of ghettos imposed by government directives that dictated the spatial boundaries where large numbers of migrant Chinese labourers could live or conduct their businesses (Anderson (1987: 586) provides a detailed description of this for Vancouver). Their neglected welfare and increasing densification soon spiralled into deplorable slum conditions which culminated into the bubonic plague outbreak¹⁹ within San Francisco's Chinatown in 1901 (Mayne, 1993: 28) and prompted further segregation by its surrounding communities.

The consistently small number of Chinese residents in the East End up until the 1960s meant that although they were almost all concentrated around Limehouse area, they lived alongside non-Chinese households, married local women and were evidently assimilated into their host environment. Even with the arrival of whole Chinese families into the United Kingdom after the Second World War, there are still no records of primarily Chinese residential areas. Watson (1975: 119) attributes this to the fact that since the Chinese catering business – which was the main livelihood of most migrants at that time – were scattered all over the country, the Chinese community was too spatially dispersed to form any localised residential enclaves.

In that respect, it seemed most logical that London's Chinatown, being the most geographically strategic and successful commercial centre for Chinese-owned businesses in the country, would become an important locus for social congregation by the ethnic community across south England. The need for a spatialised centre for visual ethnic collectiveness may be explained by Ng's findings that the Chinese is by far the least assimilated immigrant community in Great Britain (Ng, 1968: 88) as the result of the overseas Chinese's "Sojourner" mentality. Covered in great depth in Rose Hum Lee's classical text on the Chinese living in the United States, she quotes the definition first coined by Shu (The Sojourner, American Journal Society 58: 33-34) that:

¹⁹ The bubonic plague epidemic originated from China in the 1890s where a pandemic in Canton claimed 180,000 lives in 1894. The 110 people, almost all Chinese, who died from the San Francisco plague between 1900 and 1904, lived in or around San Francisco's Chinatown.

"The sojourner is...a deviant type of the sociological term of the stranger, one who clings to his cultural heritage of his own ethnic group and tends to live in isolation, hindering his assimilation in the society in which he resides, often for many years. The sojourn is conceived by the sojourner as a 'job' which is to be finished in the shortest time possible. As an alternative to that end he travels back to his homeland every few years. He is comparable to the 'marginal man'." (Lee, 1960: 69)

This state of mind would have been adopted by the sea-faring bachelor societies of "Sojourners" in the late 19th century whose ultimate aim was to retire to their hometown with a secure nest egg from years of thrift and hardship (Shang, 1984: 10). However, those that decided to settle down in Limehouse would have subsequently relinquished all ambition to return to their homeland. Yet this "job-centric and homeward-facing" attitude (term by Lee (1960: 71)) still prevailed amongst the second wave of Chinese immigrants arriving into the country to seek better job prospects and living conditions. The structure of Chinese society since ancient times is founded on the formation of clans based on ancestral links which places the utmost importance in one's native place where lineage is localised (Crissman, 1967: 190). This form of societal structuring even extends to the migrant Chinese community where social grouping overseas prioritises kinship from the same geographical origin in China (ibid: 200). The combination of this factor and the language barrier perpetrated by the niche restaurant business that limited interaction with the host society except on formal terms (Watson, 1975: 127) are likely to be the main reasons why the first generation of migrant Chinese still live in isolation having not experienced acculturation²⁰ into the Western way of life.

From a social aspect, Blalock's theory of "middlemen minorities"²¹ (Bonacich, 1973: 583) reinforces the notion of communal solidarity orientated towards the homeland amongst the migrant ethnic population employed in the catering industry in Soho Chinatown. She suggests that their membership of this form of voluntary segregation allows them to preserve their own cultural distinctiveness and to distance themselves from the local politics of their host society whilst at the same time helps them to establish and maintain useful contacts within their own ethnic group (ibid, 586). The theory also offers that enterprising 'middlemen' can fulfil the intermediate position in active economy especially in trade and commerce, bridging the gap between producer and consumer, such as in the catering industry or the provision of services

²⁰ According to Peach (2002: 35) this is a stage in the assimilation process whereby the individual immigrants incorporates new norms, values, and behaviour patterns over time in an effort to become accepted into the host society without integrating.

²¹ Coined by Blalock (Humbert M. Blalock Jr., *Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations* (1967) New York: John Wiley), this spatially-based social grouping embodies two characteristics: The pattern of hostile reaction of surrounding society has pushed them out of desirable occupations but they then acquire health and react to discrimination by closing ranks; they plug the status gap between the social elite and general masses as their foreignness is seen to be objective.

for the ethnic Chinese population residing in London. From a financial perspective, maintaining tight linkages between co-ethnic enterprises in turn ensures that income and expenditures are continually circulated and multiplied within the enclave rather than leaking out (Lin, 1998: 42). This is why the main objective of this report seeks to determine whether Soho's Chinatown now simply exists for commercial and touristic purposes or whether it still supports the local Chinese community.

3.0 Data Review

The following chapter will review data on the ethnic Chinese population collected from various historical and statistical sources and seeks to establish a broader understanding on the demographic structure of this ethnic minority group through two approaches. The first relies on census data to comment on the population growth of the Chinese community on the national and city scale as well as to pinpoint possible Chinese enclaves within inner London. The subsequent micro-scale study on the original Chinatown in Limehouse in the late 19th century will reveal key characteristics of the historical settlement that will help direct research questions to be addressed in the case study in Chapter 4.

3.1 Chinese Demography in London

As was previously discussed, the estimated number of Chinese living in London and Great Britain had always remained very low until the 1960s (Figure 3.1a) with the highest rates of population increase taking place between the 1950s and 1960s especially in London (Figure 3.1b). Overall, London has maintained a more active rate of population increase amongst the Chinese compared with the national level. The sharp decline in the Chinese population at the turn of the 20th century, the 1930s and the 1990s were due to the combined factors of increased restrictions on foreign immigration and economic recession in the country at that time¹.

It is crucial to emphasise that the data shown in Table 3.1 is an estimate only as the task of approximating the Chinese population has been a difficult one. Although Ng (1968) had covered much ground in providing the estimates for both Great Britain and London up until the 1960s, the author has had to cross-check them with Census reports from 1951 (General Registers Office, 1956) and 1961 (General Registers Office, 1964) and extract further Census data pertaining to the succeeding decennial years from various sources: 1971 (Office of Population Census and Surveys (London) and General Register Office (Edinburgh), 1974), 1981 (Office of Population Census and Surveys and Register General Scotland, 1983), 1991 (Office of Population and Census, 1993) and 2001 (Office for National Statistics, 2001)².

¹ As discussed in Chapter 2.

² The author has followed Ng's method for population approximation of the Chinese as the total of residents born in China, Hong Kong, Malaysia (applicable after 1961) and Singapore (applicable after

Reconciling the data from different decades is difficult due to two major factors:

1. There are distortions in the estimates because some of the residents with registered birthplace in China may have been non-Chinese British subjects whose parents were stationed there for work; and vice versa for those of Chinese ethnicity born in Great Britain and other non-Chinese countries which were not included in this category (Seed, 2006: 62-63);
2. It was only in the 1991 Census that the category of ethnicity was included for the first time (Peach, 1996)³.

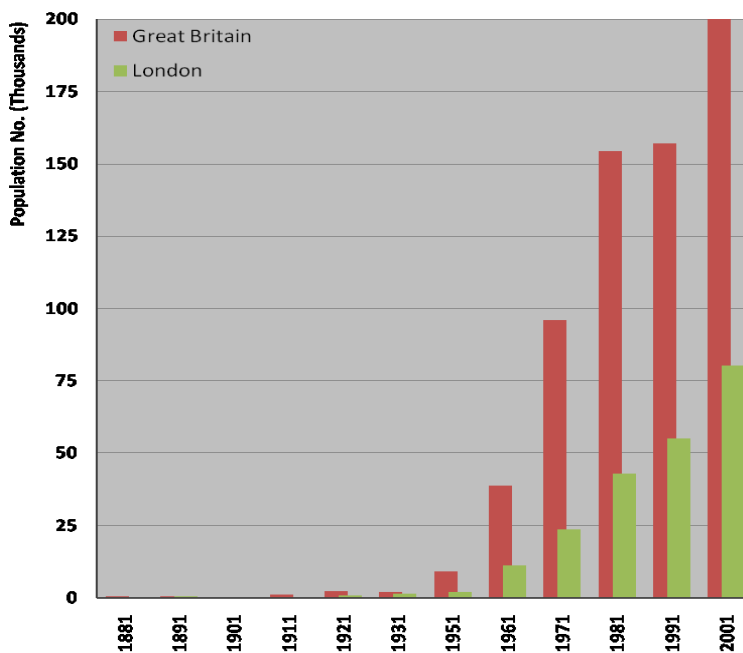


Figure 3.1a: Chart showing population size of the Chinese in Great Britain and London from 1881 to 2001 based on estimates in Table 3.1.

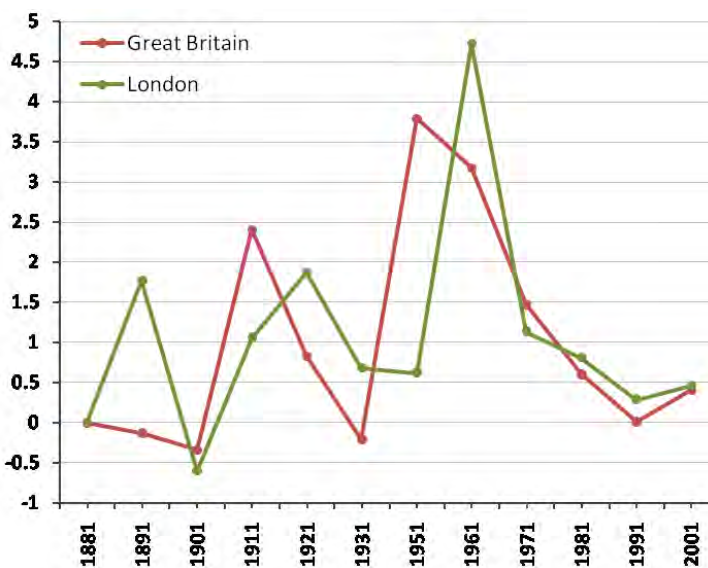


Figure 3.1b: Chart showing rate of growth of the Chinese population in Great Britain and London from 1881 to 2001 based on estimates in Table 3.1.

1971). The latter two countries only gained the right to independent governance in 1957 and 1963 respectively.

³ This was included again in the 2001 Census.

YEAR	Great Britain	London
1881	665	109
1891	582	302
1901	387	120
1911	1319	247
1921	2419	711
1931	1934	1194
1951	9268	1936
1961	38750*	11084
1971	96035*	23660*
1981	154363*	42706*
1991	156938*	55010*
2001	220681*	80201*

Table 3.1: Estimates of the Chinese Population in Great Britain and London. 1881 to 1961 data based on (Ng, 1968: 6). Data with the (*) have been produced by the author based on the decennial Census reports between 1951 and 2001. Note that there are no estimates shown for 1941 as no census was conducted due to the Second World War.

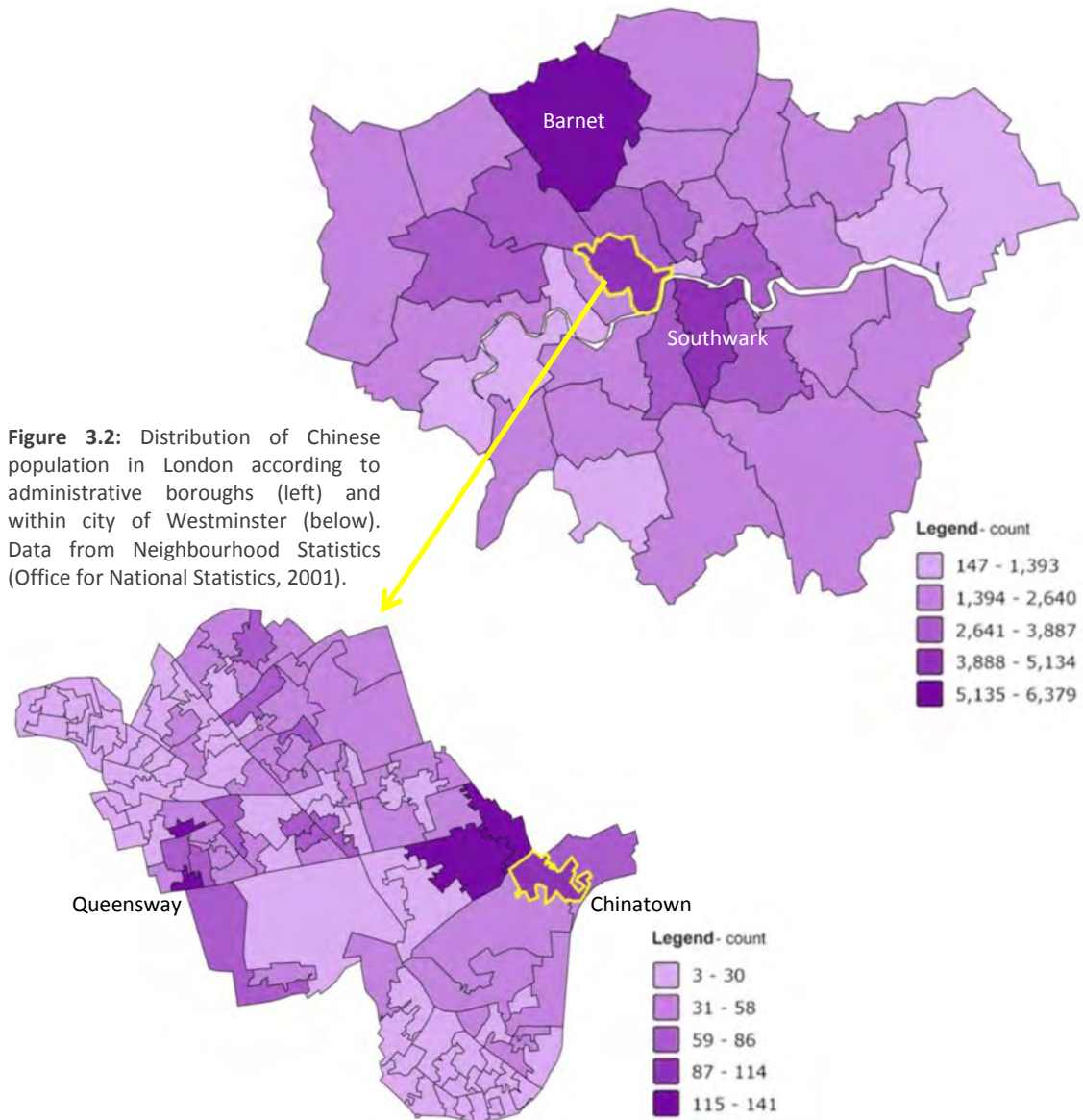
As the 2001 Census data shows, the ethnic Chinese to this day still remains one of the smallest minority groups in the country, with most of them currently residing in London (Table 3.2). Within London itself, the concentration of resident Chinese are found in the boroughs of Barnet (7.95%), Southwark (5.60%) and Westminster (5.08%) (Office for National Statistics, 2001). But when the size of these boroughs is taken into consideration, Westminster is recorded to have the highest density of Chinese residents (Table 3.3). A close-up of the City of Westminster suggests that the ethnic Chinese population is concentrated around the current Chinatown in Soho⁴ and the “*mini-Chinatown*” in Queensway (Figure 3.2).

Percentages and thousands

	White ¹	Mixed ¹	Indian	Pakistani	Bangla- deshi	Other Asian	Caribbean	African	Other Black	Chinese	Other Ethnic Group	All People
United Kingdom	92.12	1.15	1.79	1.27	0.48	0.42	0.96	0.83	0.17	0.42	0.39	58,789.2
North East	97.62	0.49	0.40	0.56	0.25	0.13	0.04	0.10	0.02	0.24	0.17	2,515.4
North West	94.43	0.93	1.07	1.74	0.39	0.22	0.30	0.24	0.08	0.40	0.20	6,729.8
Yorkshire and the Humber	93.48	0.91	1.04	2.95	0.25	0.25	0.43	0.19	0.07	0.25	0.19	4,964.8
East Midlands	93.48	1.03	2.93	0.67	0.17	0.28	0.64	0.22	0.09	0.31	0.18	4,172.2
West Midlands	88.74	1.39	3.39	2.93	0.60	0.40	1.56	0.23	0.19	0.31	0.27	5,267.3
East	95.12	1.08	0.95	0.72	0.34	0.25	0.49	0.31	0.10	0.38	0.27	5,388.1
London	71.15	3.15	6.09	1.99	2.15	1.86	4.79	5.28	0.84	1.12	1.58	7,172.1
South East	95.10	1.07	1.12	0.73	0.19	0.29	0.34	0.31	0.06	0.41	0.37	8,000.6
South West	97.71	0.76	0.33	0.14	0.10	0.10	0.25	0.13	0.05	0.26	0.19	4,928.4
England	90.92	1.31	2.09	1.44	0.56	0.48	1.14	0.97	0.19	0.45	0.44	49,138.8
Wales	97.88	0.61	0.28	0.29	0.19	0.12	0.09	0.13	0.03	0.22	0.18	2,903.1
Scotland	97.99	0.25	0.30	0.63	0.04	0.12	0.04	0.10	0.02	0.32	0.19	5,062.0
Northern Ireland ²	99.25	0.20	0.09	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.25	0.08	1,685.3

Table 3.2: Resident population by ethnic group, April 2001. Source: Office for National Statistics; General Register Office for Scotland; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (Office for National Statistics, 2001)

⁴ This will be the subject of the case study in Chapter 4.



	Chinese Population	Area (km ²)	Chinese Population Density (pp/km ²)
Barnet	6379	86.74	73.54
Southwark	4492	28.85	155.70
Westminster	4077	21.48	189.80
LONDON	80,201	1,577.30	50.85

Table 3.3: Population size and density of 3 boroughs with the highest number of Chinese residents in London. Data from Neighbourhood Statistics (Office for National Statistics, 2001)

The fact that less than a third Great Britain’s Chinese population are born in the country reflects the later immigration of their predecessors into the country when compared with other ethnic groups (Office for National Statistics, 21.02.2006). At the same time, the Chinese population age structure data by age groups shows that the larger proportion of them falls within the working age group (16-64 years old). In London, this group mostly resides in the City of Westminster (7.32%) where Chinatown is also located and is seen as the main source of Chinese employment. This may be a contributing factor to this phenomenon.

Figure 3.3a (Right): Size of resident population of ethnic Chinese aged 16-64 in London according to administrative boroughs. The borough with the highest figure, City of Westminster, is highlighted. Data from Neighbourhood Statistics (Office for National Statistics, 2001).

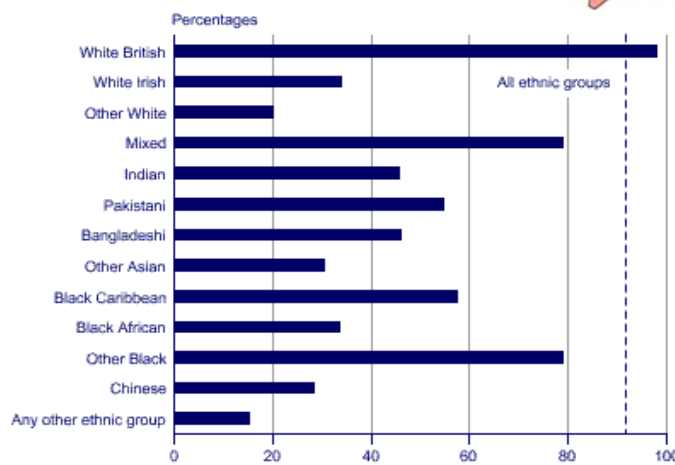
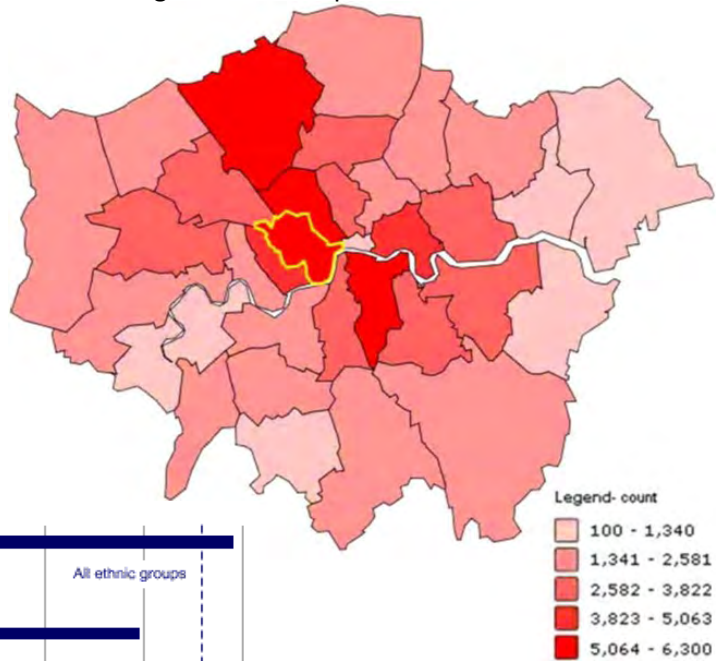
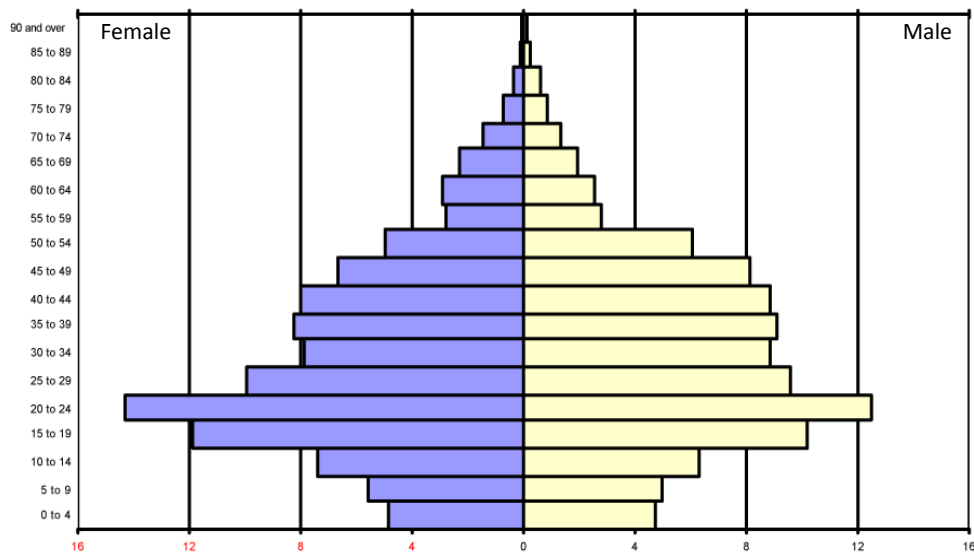


Figure 3.3b (Left): Percentage of population born in Great Britain by ethnicity. Source: Ethnicity and Identity (Office for National Statistics, 21.02.2006)

Figure 3.3c (Below): Age structure/pyramid by sex of ethnic Chinese in Great Britain. Source: (Owen, 08.08.2006: 9)



According to Cheng, they also have a lower unemployment rate than those of White ethnicity, due in part to the tradition of working in a family-oriented catering business and because the Chinese in general have higher levels of academic qualification (1996: 174-175). The fact that the majority of them are also self-employed (Peach, 1996: 18), prefer to rent accommodations from the private sector (Cheng, 1996: 169) and are adverse to seeking help from central or local government services, makes them by Yu's admission, "*an invisible community in the social and political spheres*" (2000: 1).

The statements raised above forms the basis for the case study in the following chapter. That in turn prompts the attempt to establish whether a distinctive pattern of occupation exists amongst the ethnic Chinese population today by means of spatially mapping this in an urban scale in Soho's Chinatown. But as a precursor to this, the following section, a micro-scale study of the 1889 Chinese settlement in Limehouse, will to some extent allow us to understand the psyche of the earlier immigrant group's level of integration with their environment.

3.2 Micro-scale Study: Limehouse Chinatown 1889

Although this study focuses on the Chinese settlement in Limehouse in 1889, in certain instances data from 1932 – considered as the peak of development of the historical Chinatown (Seed, 2006: 65) – will be brought in for comparison. The land use maps (Figure 3.4) based on street directories from 1889 (Kelly's Directory, 1889) and 1932 (Kelly's Directory, 1932) showed that Chinese-owned businesses in 1889 were located along parts of Limehouse Causeway and West India Dock Road. There were never exclusively Chinese areas and these businesses existed alongside businesses owned by local residents of other ethnicity. In 1932 this pattern of occupation was maintained by the larger addition of Chinese-owned businesses that have expanded along the length of Limehouse Causeway and Pennyfields.

Similarly, details extracted from the 1891 and 1901 censuses showed that Chinese households in Limehouse at that time operated what Adburgham's study of 1964 constituted as traditional shop businesses where goods were sold by individual shopkeepers who were proprietors of their own shops and lived on the premises; as they did not advertise and were identified by their wares displayed in shop windows, it meant that their clientele were primarily local residents (Carter, 1983: 158). The Victorian censuses also provided a spatial, temporal and social context to the individual household member and family's history (Higgs, 2005: 141).

From this we can see that many Chinese households at that time took in Chinese sailors as lodgers irregardless of whether they were shopkeepers or ran lodging houses (Figure 3.5).

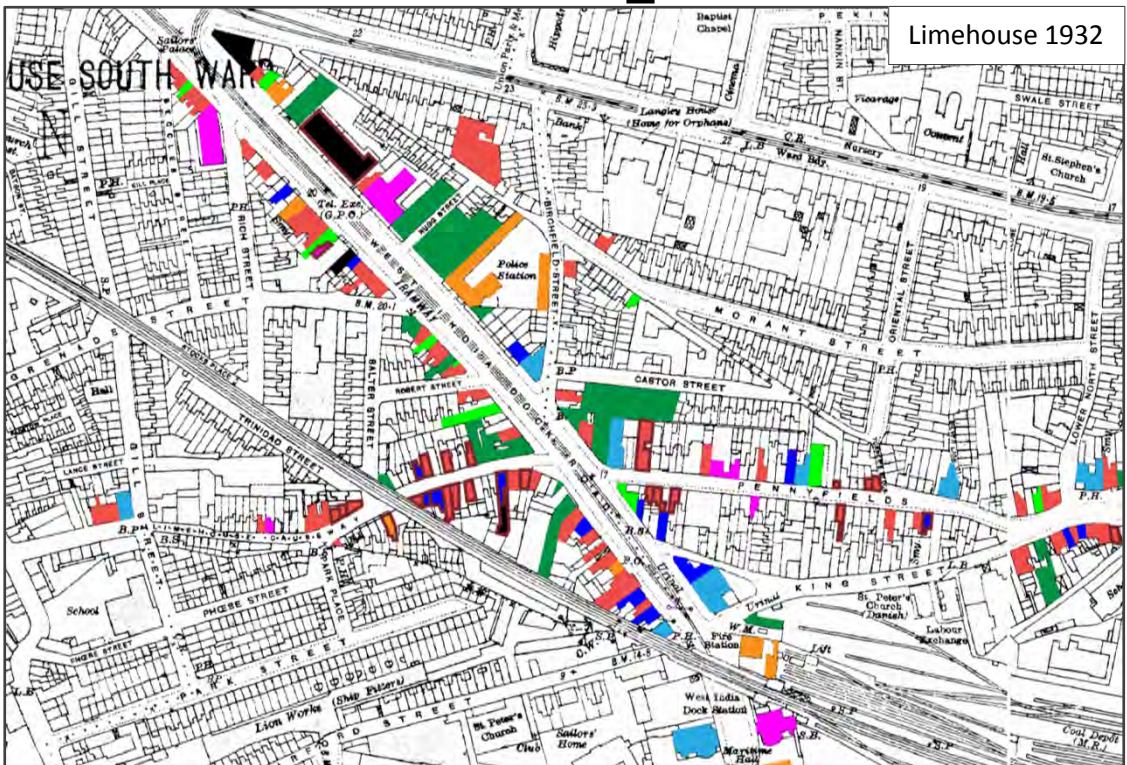
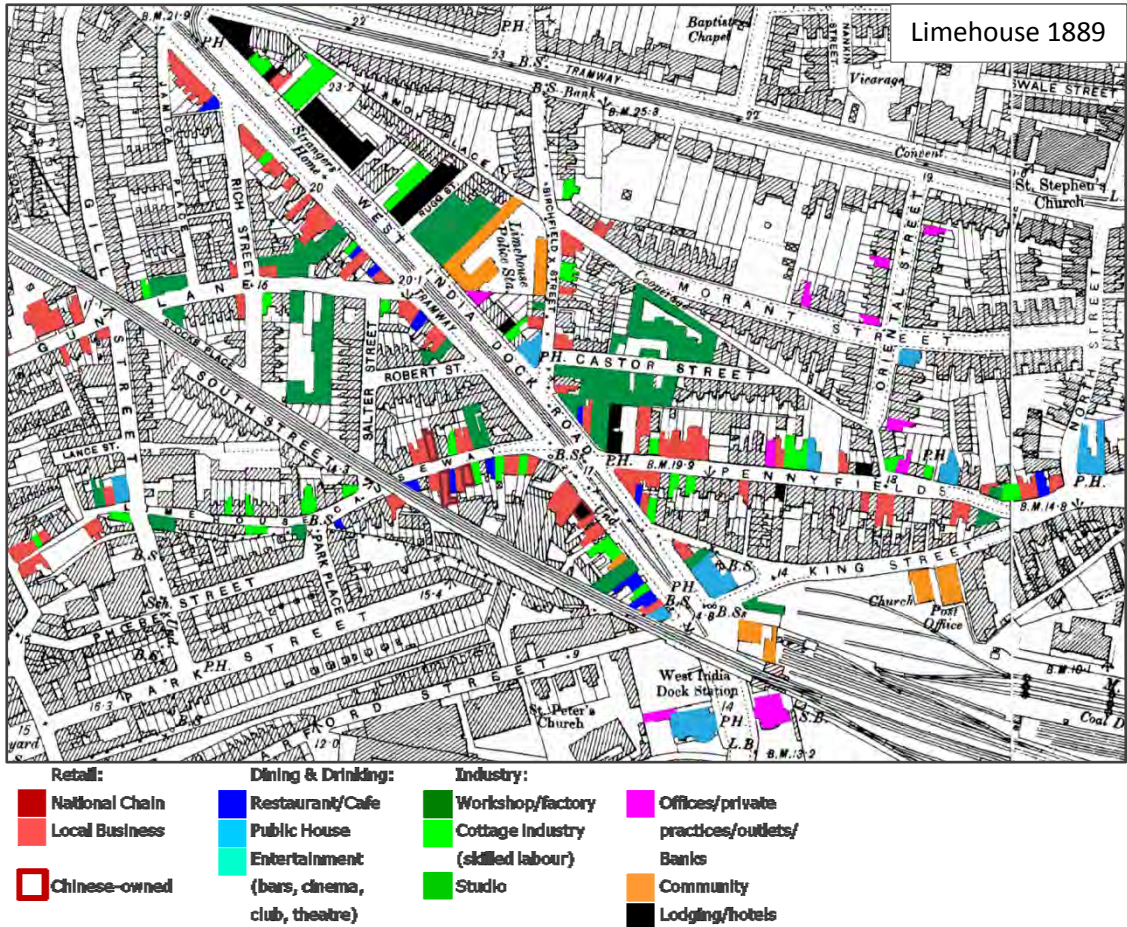


Figure 3.4: Ground floor land use around Limehouse Chinatown in 1889 (top) and 1932 (above). Data source from Kelly's Post Office Directory. Source of background historic OS map: Edina Digimap, illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

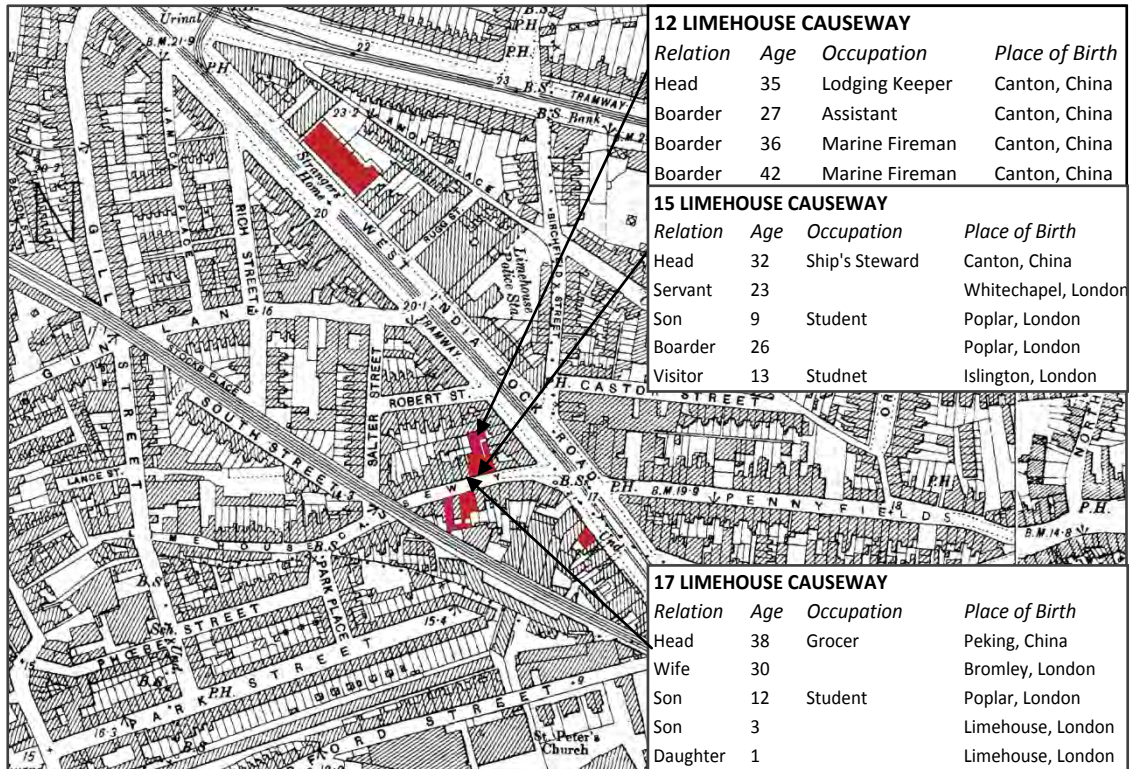


Figure 3.5: Household composition details of three Chinese-owned businesses (an unmarried lodging keeper, a grocer and a ship's steward who are both also head of a mixed household) extracted from the 1891 Census. Data source: Tower Hamlets Local Historical Library; background historic OS map source: Edina Digimap.



The Streets are coloured according to the general condition of the inhabitants, as under:-

■ Lowest class. Vicious, semi-criminal.	■ Fairly comfortable. Good ordinary earnings.
■ Very poor, casual. Chronic want.	■ Middle-class. Well-to-do.
■ Poor. 18s. to 21s. a week for a moderate family.	■ Upper-middle and Upper classes. Wealthy.
■ Mixed. Some comfortable, others poor.	

A combination of colours— as dark blue and black, or pink and red— indicates that the street contains a fair proportion of each of the classes represented by the respective colours.

Figure 3.6: Extract of Booth's 1889 Map of Descriptive Poverty showing area of Limehouse with the concentration of Chinese households highlighted in yellow. © Ahmad, S. (July 1999)

Charles Booth's Map of Descriptive Poverty 1889⁵, considered to be a rich resource of study on aspects of life and work in late Victorian and Edwardian periods (O'Day and Englander, 1993: 7), is coloured up block-by-building-block to map the social conditions of London at that time. Based on his team's extensive survey and interview notes, seven categories were created to rate poverty 'classes' according to colours, ranging from yellow for "*Wealthy: Upper middle and Upper classes*", pink for the working class who are "*Fairly comfortable; good ordinary earnings*" to black representing the "*Lowest class; vicious, semi-criminal*". In Figure 3.6, Pennyfields in 1889 (classified as dark blue in Booth's map) were typical of areas surrounding the docks where poor, casual labourers who are also temporary lodgers tend to inhabit for its proximity to potential manual work at the docks and cheap food for his family (ibid: 61-62). The Chinese households, on the other hand, occupy street blocks that are coloured pink, considered relatively comfortable with regular working class incomes since they ran their own businesses.

At this point, Space Syntax methods are introduced into the analysis to further uncover spatial characteristics of the Limehouse Chinese households and businesses. The segment model, derived from the 1889 Booth map, is a representation of the urban layout based on line structures to measure spatial configuration⁶ (Figure 3.6). It represents the street network (modelled from the longest and fewest set of lines to cover the system) as its graph of line segments between intersections and the distance cost to move between two line segments is measured by the '*shortest*' path taken (Hillier and Iida, 2005: 481).

The best predictor of movement in the urban structure is the "*integration*" measure. At the scale of the entire system, "*global integration*" reveals how deep or shallow each line is in relation to all other lines within the system⁷ (Hillier, 1999: 99). The analysis shows that Whitechapel Road and Commercial Road (which becomes East India Dock Road) form the main east-west integrators (Figure 3.8a). The local scale, for this study, is taken up to 2 steps away from each point of origin. At this scale, "*local integration in urban systems is the best predictor of smaller-scale movement – that usually means pedestrian movement because pedestrian trips tend to be shorter and read the grid in a relatively localised way*" (ibid). The inset in Figure 3.8b shows that the highly integrated street segment on West India Dock Road which meets

⁵ There are in fact two London-wide Booth maps: 1889 and 1899. Since this section is a review of the Chinese settlement in its earliest years, the 1889 map will be the only consulted.

⁶ This is a system of relations which takes into account all relations.

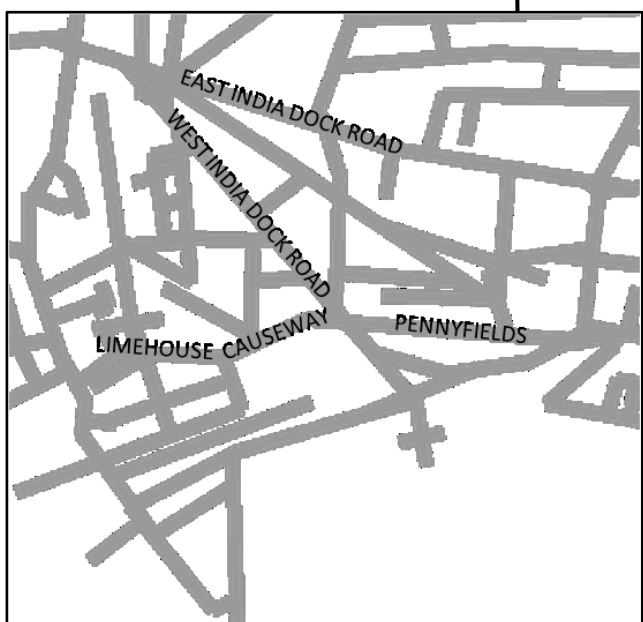
⁷ All integration analysis in this report shows red as being the most integrated (highest measures) to blue being the least (lowest measures).

both Limehouse Causeway and Pennyfields is immediately adjacent to the cluster of Chinese-occupied households and businesses. It also alludes to Pennyfields' potential for higher pedestrian movement (hence the higher integration measure) which was where the main expansion of local businesses subsequently occurred⁸.



Figure 3.7: The Segment Map model of London's East End in 1889 derived from the Booth Map of Descriptive Poverty used for spatial analysis. This map was drawn by Dr Laura Vaughan and her research team for an EPSRC funded project called 'Space and Exclusion' (2003-2005) ref: GR/S26163/01 with additions around the area of study included by the author based on historic OS map from 1896. Source of OS map: Edina Digimap.

INSET: Enlarged section of Segment model showing Limehouse Chinatown, the area of study.



⁸ As evidenced by the 1932 land use map in Figure 3.4.

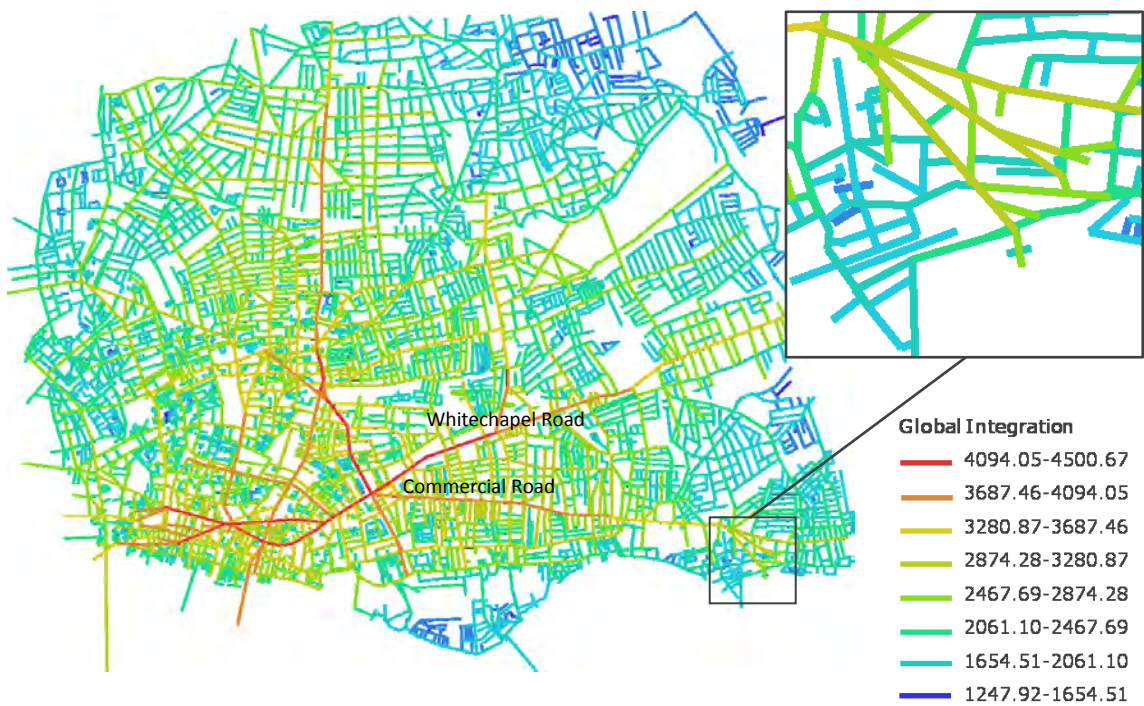


Figure 3.8a: Global Integration of the Segment Model of London's East End in 1889.
Inset: Close-up of Limehouse Chinatown.

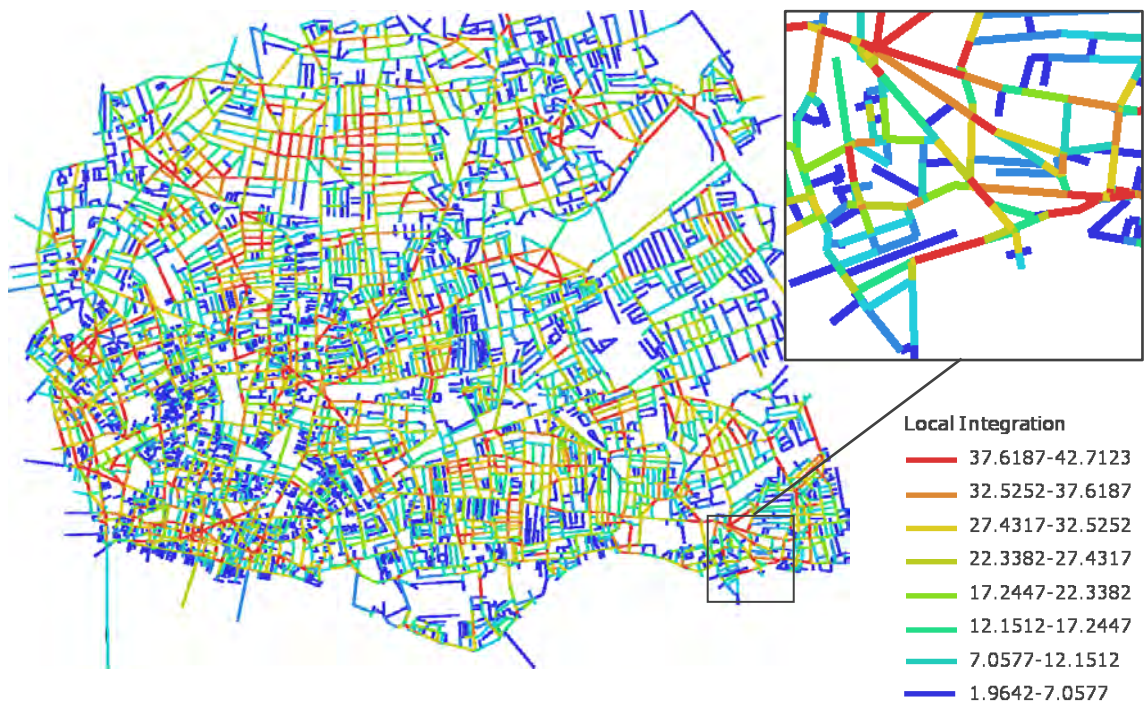


Figure 3.8b: Local Integration (up to 2 steps) of the Segment Model of London's East End in 1889.
Inset: Close-up of Limehouse Chinatown.

	Global Integration	Local Integration	Global Mean Depth	Local Mean Depth
All Segments Range	1247.92- 4500.67	2.17965 - 50.2254	3.40772 - 12.2901	0.240234 - 2.02995
All Segments Average	2826.71	20.4787	5.6281	0.926368
Chinese Occupied Segments Range	2486.89 - 3264.55	15.0655 - 25.7179	4.75089 - 6.48623	0.622135 - 0.713672
Chinese Occupied Segments Average	3052.63	17.9384	5.53783	0.693783

Table 3.4: The range and average spatial values for all segments and associated segments where Chinese household and Chinese-owned businesses can be found in the Limehouse area in 1889.

Vaughan, who has done extensive work on the correspondence between Booth’s classes of poverty and its spatial structure, has provided spatial evidence of a consistent pattern that, with the exception of the two lowest classes, the higher the social class (such as red or pink), the higher on average the integration values are for a range of radiuses (Vaughan, 2007: 242). Stepdepth taken from the main global integrator of East India Dock Road (Figure 3.9), shows that the segments containing Chinese households are located less than 3 steps away (between 1.6445 and 2.2734).

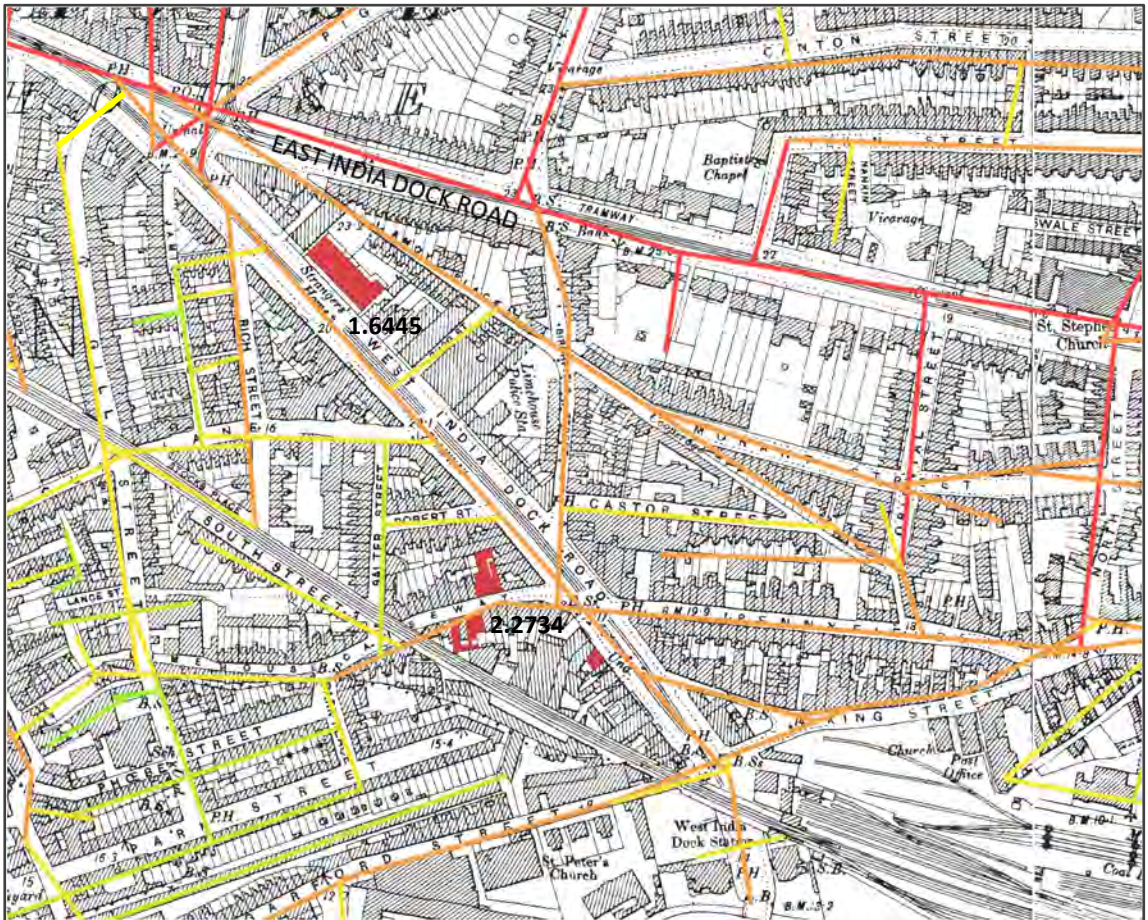


Figure 3.9: Angular Stepdepth taken from East India Dock Road showing measures on segments containing Chinese households. Background historic OS map source: Edina Digimap.

The range and average measures of integration and depth of all street segments in the 1889 system when compared with the four segments where Chinese households and businesses are located (Table 3.4), show the latter to be on average more globally integrated than the system and accessible by mean depth.

Similarly, the resultant proliferation of Chinese businesses up until 1932 (Figure 3.4), displays a typical pattern of expansion along the more locally integrating street segments in Limehouse and Pennyfields. This phenomenon, termed by Hillier as the “*multiplier effect*”, utilises the structure of the grid as the prime generator of movement that in turn increases footfall as a result of these strategically located shops acting as movement attractors (Hillier, 1996: 125). The findings therefore reinforce the claim that the increased number Chinese-owned enterprises over the years functioned to serve the demands of the general local population and not just the Chinese enclave in Limehouse.



a. (Left) West India Dock Road in 1932 (©New Photo Source Ltd. Cat. No. 44_07_28); (Right) the site today.



b. (Left) Limehouse Causeway c.1920 (©Central Press Photos Ltd. Cat. No. 78_3360); (Right) the site today.



c. (Left) Chinese Freemason Society c.1926-8 (©Photo Source Ltd. Cat. No.CW888322); (Right) Pennyfields today.



d. (Left) Chinese Lodging House, Limehouse, from Thomas Burke's *Abroad in London* (1940: 140); (Right) Sculpture on junction of Limehouse Causeway and West India Dock Road to commemorate the historic Limehouse Chinatown.

Figure 3.10 (a – d): Photographs showing Limehouse Chinatown in the 1920s and today. Source: Historical photographs from Tower Hamlets Local History Library; present day Limehouse photographs by Chung, S. (2008).

4.0 Case Study: London's Chinatown in Soho

4.1 Historical Development

The area centred on Gerrard Street - now considered the locus of present day Chinatown – originally belonged in the Earl of Macclesfield's family. It was initially an open field used as a "military yard" until 1661 when Gerrard, Earl of Macclesfield, decided to evict the Military Army from his land in order to build the streets which he subsequently named after himself: Gerrard Street, Macclesfield Street and Gerrard Place (Bebbington, 1972: 141-2). The development also included a fine house for himself (now 39 Gerrard Street), which stayed in the family until 1725 (ibid). The surrounding areas formed part of estates of the Earl of Leicester to the south, Sir Edward Wardour to the west and the Earl of Shaftesbury to the east. The first two areas were commercially developed on a smaller scale in partnership with private developers between 1630s and 1680s to form Lisle Street (after Leicester's son, Viscount Lisle) (ibid: 198); whilst the Tudor road commonly known as Colman Hedge Lane was renamed Wardour Street (ibid: 336) and the new streets of Rupert Court and Rupert Street (named after Prince Rupert of the Rhine) was the result of a development scheme in that area (ibid: 281). Shaftesbury Avenue was carved through an existing slum to be replaced by social housing (now Artisans Dwellings) on the junction of this route and Charing Cross Road to commemorate the philanthropic Earl of Shaftesbury soon after his death in 1886 (ibid: 298).



Figure 4.1: Engraving by Sutton Nichols showing Leicester Square looking north in 1721 (just behind is Gerrard Street). Source: Leithbridge, R. (1925: Plate between pages 56 & 57)



a: (Left)View of Gerrard Street from Macclesfield Street, 19th Century (p.17); (Right) Gerrard Street today.



b: (Left)View of Ryder Court off Lisle Street, 19th Century by F. Calvert (p.17) is now Newport Street today (Right).



c: (Far Left)View of Rupert Court in the 1920s (p.19); (Left) Rupert Court today.

Figure 4.2: Sketches and photographs of Soho Chinatown in the 19th century and today. Source: Historic images from Tames (1994) and recent images by Chung, S. (2008)



Figure 4.3: (Top) Watercolour by J.P. Emslie of Little Newport Street with Lisle Street in 1884; (bottom) and today. Source: Historic image from Tames (1994) and recent photograph by Chung, S. (2008)

The area which included Leicester Square remained a fashionable bedsit of the upper classes (Figure 4.1) in lieu of its strategic location next to the grand shopping boulevard of Regent Street until the late 19th century (Tames, 1994: 66). The cholera outbreak in St. Anne's ward in Soho to the north of Shaftesbury Avenue in the summer of 1854 led to the mass exodus of the upper classes from the area. Even after the epidemic was abated, many of the original English residents never returned and the area remained relatively abandoned until it was adopted for occupation by artists and artisans in the late 19th century (Cosmopolitan, 1967: 5). Since the mid-16th century, Soho had been host to a small population of European craftsmen who had fled from their homelands in fear of political persecution (Tames, 1994: 35). But it was from 1890 onwards where the number of immigrant craftsmen in Soho swelled from Polish and Russian Jews arriving to set up tailoring workshops (ibid: 40) (The News, 1967).

When a survey on the ethnic minority population was conducted in Soho in the 1890s, there were still no record of any Chinese in the area (Tames, 1994: 41). Generally considered a post-war phenomenon, by the time the Chinese catering trade begun establishing themselves in and around Gerrard Street in the 1960s, the sex trade and entertainment industry was also beginning to thrive in the derelict spaces in Soho, as evidenced by the land use changes in Chinatown in Figures 4.4a and 4.4b. The loss of the original Chinatown in Limehouse and the attraction of low rent on the periphery of West End was the determining factor for new Chinese entrepreneurs to concentrate their restaurant businesses there (Bourne, 1981:36), despite the persistent threat of demolition as part of the large-scale redevelopment of Trafalgar Square over the years (AJ, 1975: 856). In 1975, Gerrard Street and its immediate vicinity and Soho to include Frith and Dean Street were granted conservation protection by Westminster City Council (ibid).

By the early 1980s, Chinese restaurants and sex shops coexisted alongside each other where dining and the entertainment industry dominated in Soho (Figure 4.5a). Following active campaigning by local residents against the proliferation of "*sexploitation*", successive legislative bills and increasing restrictions to entertainment licensing applications throughout the decade soon resulted in the decline of the sex industry in Soho (The Soho Society, 1985: 8) (Figure 4.5b). Concurrently, a local development plan was approved by the council in 1985 to pedestrianise Gerrard Street (The Director of Planning and Transport, 1985:1) to cater to the growing number of patrons in Chinatown, which was finally executed in 1988.



Figure 4.4a: Chinatown ground floor land use 1938. Information derived from Kelly's Post Office Directory 1938. Source of background 1916 historic OS map: Edina Digimap, illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

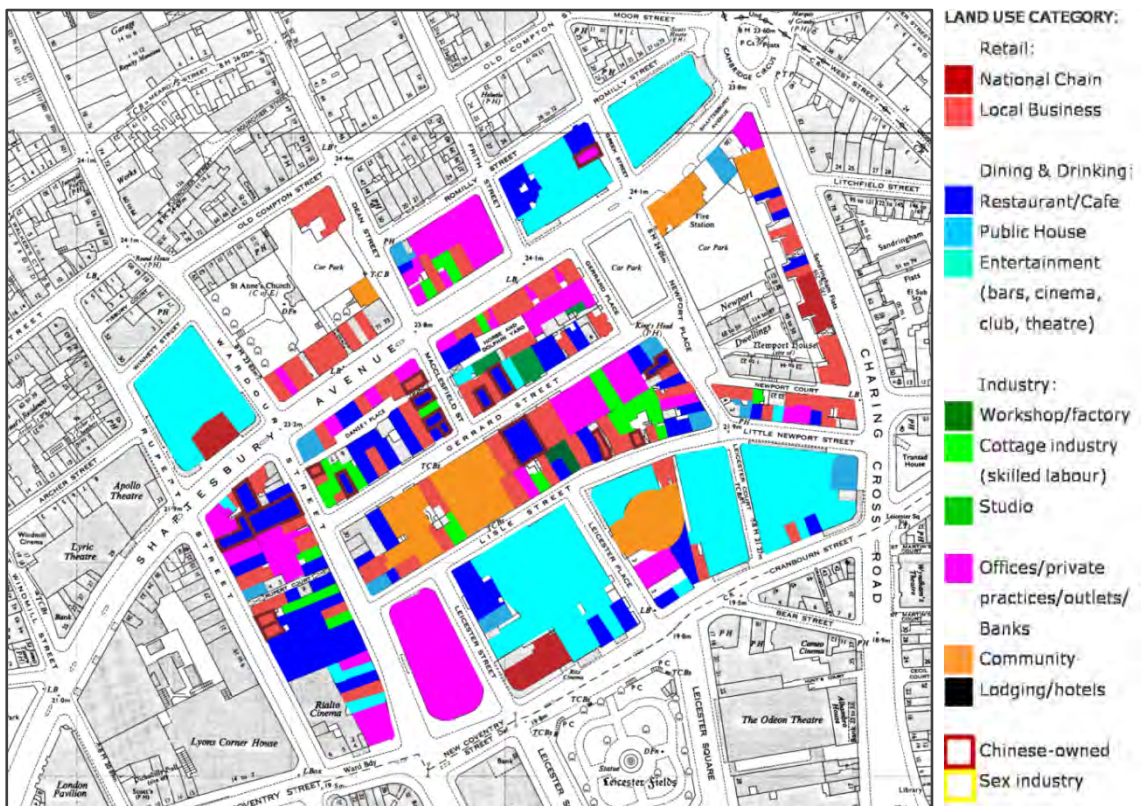


Figure 4.4b: Chinatown ground floor land use 1968. Information derived from Kelly's Post Office Directory 1968. Source of background 1970 historic OS map: Edina Digimap, illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

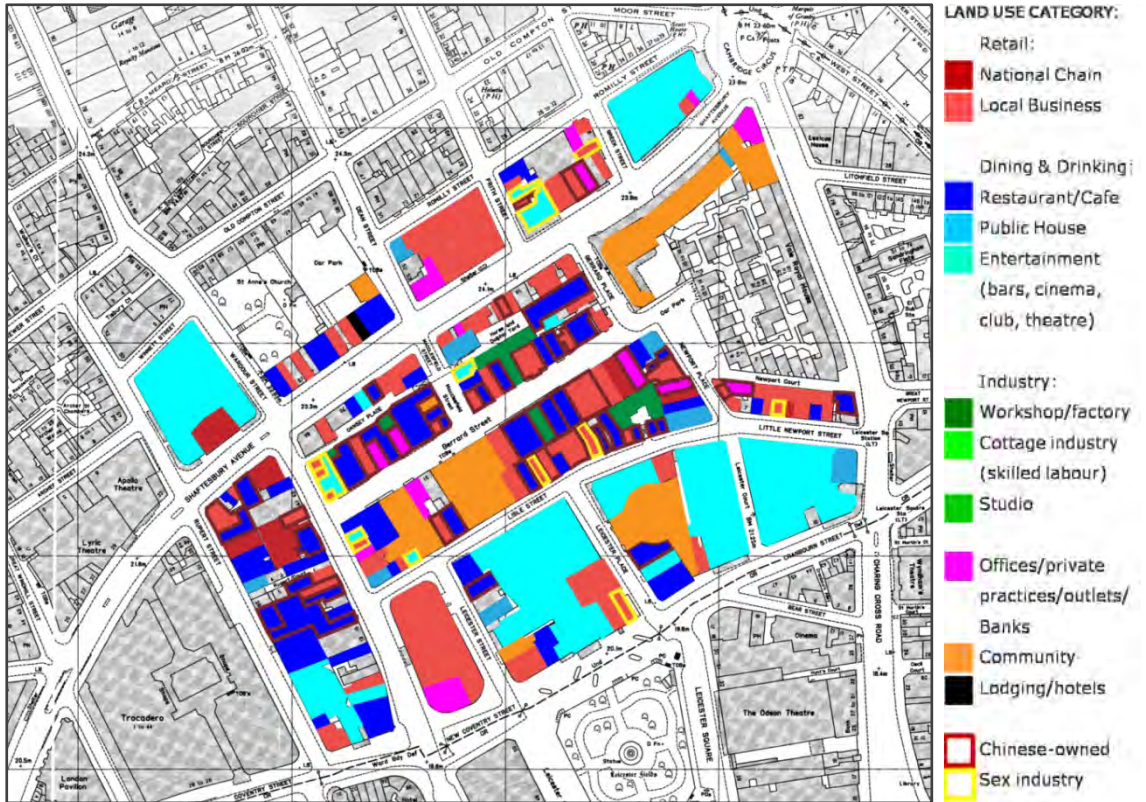


Figure 4.5a: Chinatown ground floor land use 1981. Data source: GOAD Insurance plan, British Library. Source of background 1983-83 historic OS map: Edina Digimap, illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

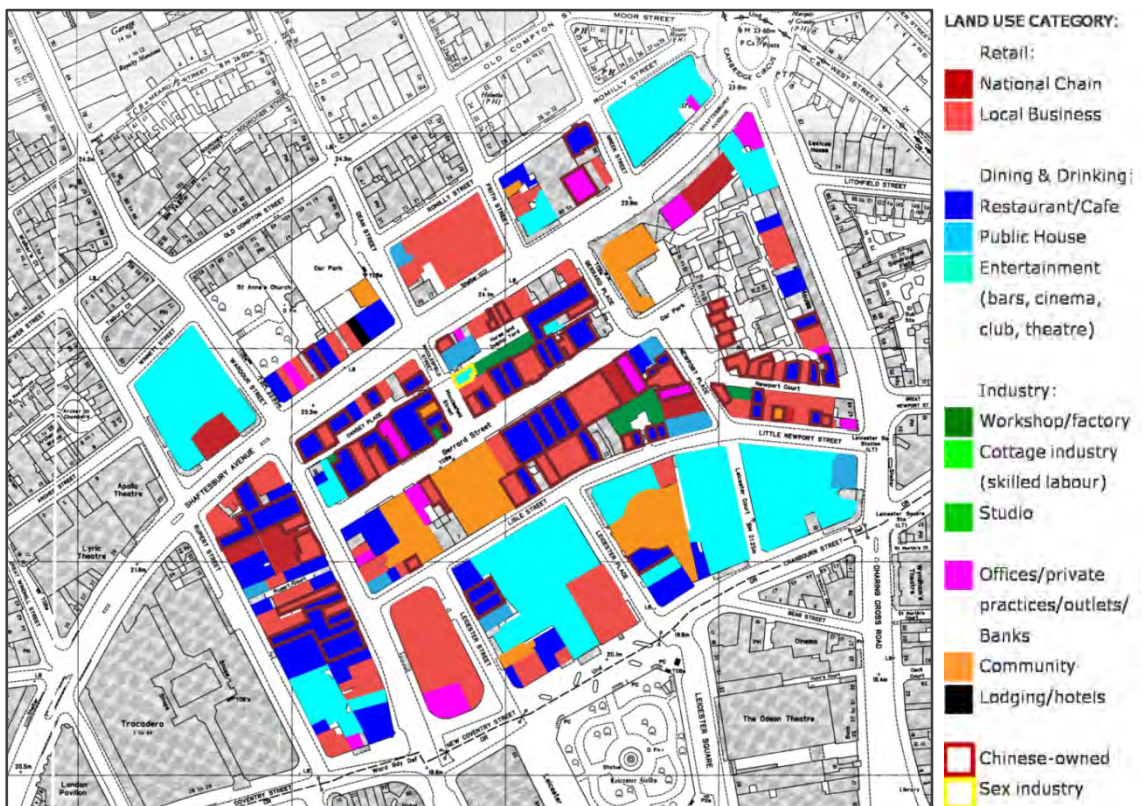


Figure 4.5b: Chinatown ground floor land use 1987. Data source: GOAD Insurance plan, British Library. Source of background 1983-83 historic OS map: Edina Digimap, illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

Shang’s observation that the Chinese restaurants’ adherence to quality food in the West End specialising in gourmet cooking at competitive prices (1984: 26) appears to offer some insight to how these businesses have not only managed to weather the recession in the 1990s but continue to prosper and expand to include other ancillary services for the Chinese community. A recent site survey, conducted in June 2008, shows that Chinese-owned businesses now not only dominated in Chinatown but are already expanding beyond its boundaries (Figure 4.6a). The pie-chart records the number of businesses within Chinatown according to their ground land use categories and shows that the catering and retail industry make up almost 80% of the total building occupancy (Figure 4.6b). In these two categories alone, 80.5% and 59% respectively are Chinese-owned.

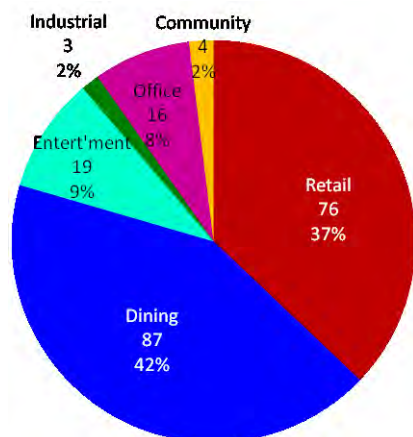
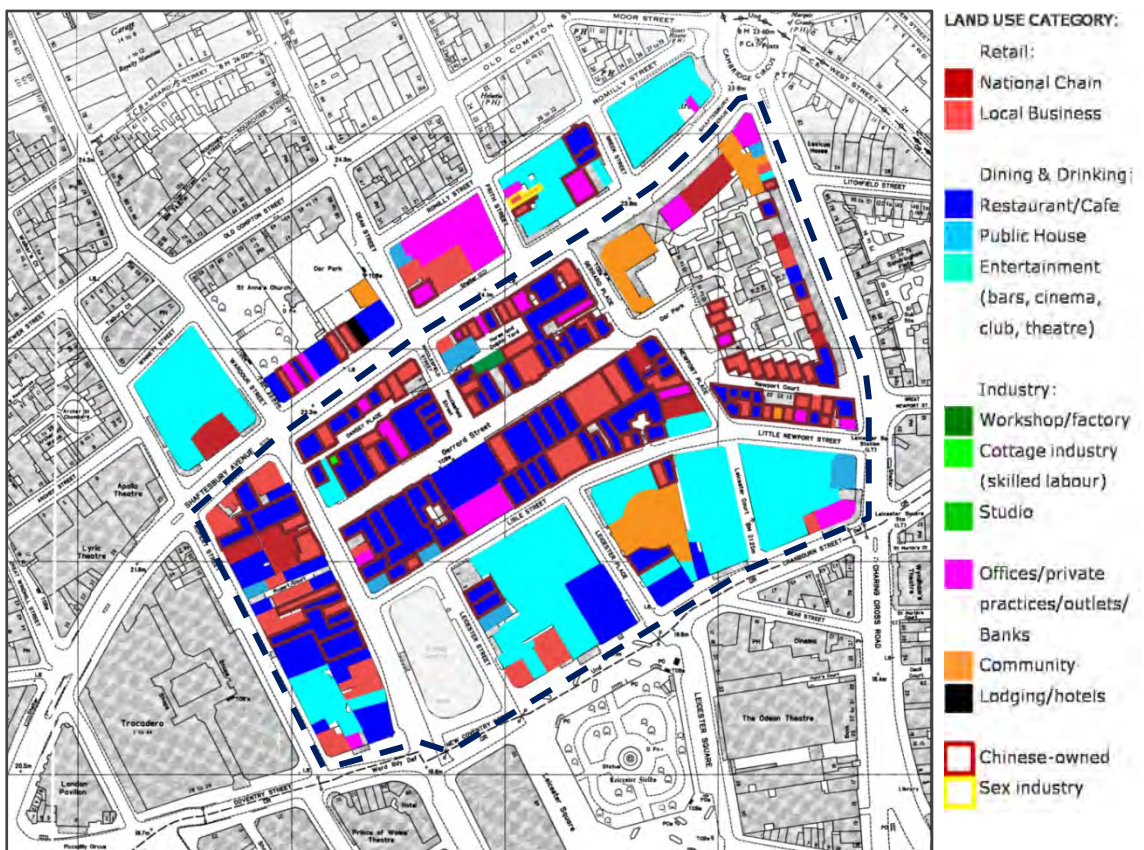


Figure 4.6a (ABOVE): Chinatown ground floor land use 2008. Data derived from site survey. Blue outline indicate boundary where number of businesses have been surveyed for Figure 4.5b. Source of background OS map: Edina Digimap, illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

Figure 4.6b (LEFT): Number of businesses operating in Chinatown in 2008 according to trading category.

4.2 Local Area Study: Synopsis of Methodology

The primary aim of this study is to determine whether there is a pattern of movement and occupation in the present day Chinatown belonging to the ethnic Chinese community that is distinctly different from that of non-Chinese visitors. In the following subsections of this chapter, three disparate approaches have been applied to review in turn, the extent of the area of Chinatown, its spatial characteristics and user occupation.

- i. An anonymous postcard survey has been conducted in order to establish the perceived neighbourhood area of Chinatown based on frequency of visit and ethnicity of the visitors.
- ii. Pedestrian movements were observed and recorded in thirty locations throughout Chinatown for a period of one fortnight in June 2008.
- iii. Syntactic analysis of Chinatown and its surrounding area using the Depthmap software and Space Syntax measures was carried out on the most current segment map.

Subsequent to this, the resultant data from all three approaches are then further distilled by means of layering the initial information in order to spatially and visually provide evidence that supports the claim that there exist multiple dimensions to London's Chinatown as seen and used by different categories of people.

4.3 Neighbourhood Area Survey

According to the Chinatown Economic Development Study published by Westminster City Council, the area of Chinatown for the purpose of its report (see Figure 4.7) is “the area that lies between Soho to the north and Leicester Square to the south and includes areas along the following streets: Shaftesbury Avenue, Rupert Street, Rupert Court, Wardour Street, Lisle Street, Dansey Place, Horse and Dolphin Yard, Newport Place, Little Newport Street, Newport Court, Gerrard Street, Gerrard Place and Charing Cross Road.” (Page Reference Ltd. and Partnership Solutions, 2004: 4) Whilst way-finding, according to Lynch (1960: 125-126), is important for directing movement, it also more broadly serves as the general frame of reference for the individual to act and to attach one’s knowledge in mentally constructing the image of the city. Understandably, street name signs in areas administratively considered part of Chinatown presently have Chinese characters engraved beneath their English names to assist in this process (Figure 4.8).



Figure 4.7: Map of Chinatown’s administrative boundary (Page Reference Ltd. and Partnership Solutions, 2004: 4). The red outline shows the streets that carry Chinese characters in their name signs.



Figure 4.8: Street signs with Chinese characters and English names in Chinatown area.

In order to determine the true extent of Chinatown's area, an anonymous postcard survey was conducted in June 2008 where various categories of users – Chinatown business employees and owners, students, London residents and tourists – were asked to indicate their perceived neighbourhood area of Chinatown and to list up to five landmarks they considered important to Chinatown. Figure 4.9 shows how the map used in the survey utilises the same typeset for all the road names to eliminate differentiation between main roads from the secondary ones. Only Leicester Square and Piccadilly Circus underground stations have been included to provide the respondents with fundamental orientation. Of the 140 postcards that were sent out, 48 were returned via UCL's freepost facility and these formed the sample set for the analysis.

The general hypothesis is that mental projection of the boundary of Chinatown by those of ethnic Chinese origin would differ than those of non-Chinese ethnicity. The idea of the "boundary" is described by Cohen (1985: 12) as a symbolic element used to express the distinction between one group of people that have something in common – in this case the Chinese community – from members of other putative group. Simultaneously, he also suggests that the concept of "community exists in the minds of its members, and should not be confused with geographic or sociographic assertions of 'fact'. By extension, the distinctiveness of communities and, thus, the reality of their boundaries, similarly lie in the mind, in the meanings which people attach to them, not in their structural forms." (ibid: 98)

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am conducting a study for a university project to identify where people think London's Chinatown is located. **Could you please draw on the map here:**

(1) **A line** around what you think is the area of Chinatown

(2) **UP TO 5 landmarks** you consider important in Chinatown and list them below

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

(3) Are you of Oriental heritage?
 YES NO

(4) Do you visit Chinatown:
 Almost everyday
 More than once every 2 weeks
 Less than once a month
 Never

THANK YOU. Now pop this postcard into any letterbox!




Figure 4.9: Layout and content of A5 size postcard used in the survey.

Figure 4.10 shows all 48 respondents' perceived neighbourhood area of Chinatown digitised into AutoCAD layers and colour coded according to frequency of visit (total respondents in brackets): "Almost every day" (4), "More than once every fortnight" (16), "Less than once a month" (24) and "Never" (4). Based on Dalton's methods (2007: 088.08) of a similar exercise, radial lines originating from a centre point taken as the mid-point of Gerrard Street (which is traditionally considered to be the heart of Chinatown) are drawn at intervals of 15 degrees. Additional radial lines have also been included at 40°, 85°, 220° and 265° as they formed complex corner points of the boundary. The distance of all intersections between respondents' outlines and the radial lines measured from the centre point are individually recorded¹. The average distance of the each set of intersections on each radial line are then joined together to form a polygon representing the average or "absolute" neighbourhood area of Chinatown. This process is then repeated without the outlines drawn by the four respondents who have never visited Chinatown as they are considered to be outliers. The revised boundary, roughly still the same shape, has increased its neighbourhood size by almost 500m² (Figure 4.11). Furthermore, both resultant averages also visually illustrate that the perceived area of Chinatown is ultimately smaller than that described by Westminster City Council (Figure 4.7).

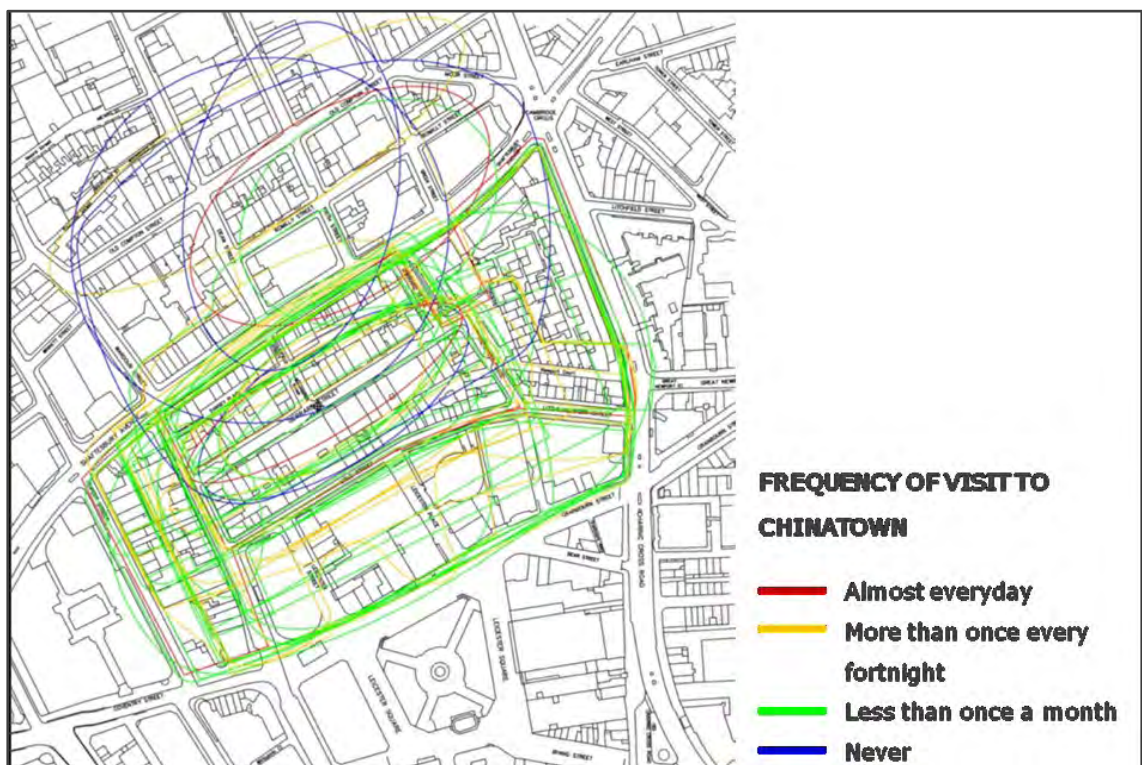


Figure 4.10: Map of Chinatown showing all outlines of perceived Chinatown area from survey returns. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Digitisation of survey returns by Chung, S. (2008)

¹ All data and measures used in this analysis have been included in this report as Appendix 7.2.1
The Study of Chinatown as an Urban Artifice and its Impact on the Chinese Community in London

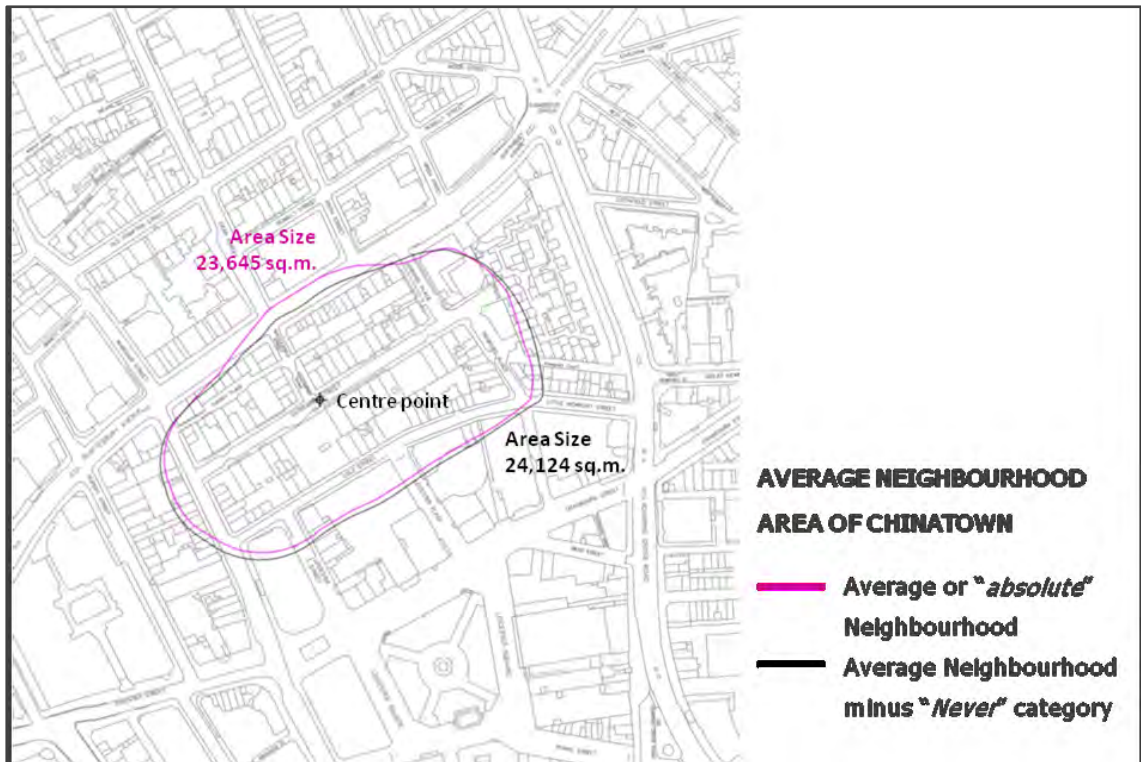


Figure 4.11: Map of Chinatown showing the resultant average neighbourhood area (in magenta) and the revised average neighbourhood area with only respondents having been to Chinatown before (in black). Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

The survey data can be further distilled by comparing the resultant perceived boundary of Chinatown and approximate area coverage of two sets of groupings: the regular visitors to Chinatown (comprising the "Almost every day" and "More than once every fortnight" categories in the survey) in Figure 4.12a against the less frequent visitors who go there "Less than once a month" (Figure 4.12b); and those who have listed themselves as of Oriental heritage (Figure 4.13a) against those who are not (Figure 4.13b). It also needs to be noted that these two sets of analysis again excludes respondents who have never been to Chinatown.

The analysis based on frequency of visit appears to yield relatively expected results. The 20 people in the sample who use Chinatown on a regular basis tend to have a more concise and economical area size (23,413m²) that perhaps suggests greater familiarity with the area. The less frequent 24 visitors however tend to cast a more generous area for their perceived boundary of Chinatown (24,845m²). Similarly, the more organically shaped polygon derived from the regular visitors' feedback provides a more painstaking contour of the neighbourhood coverage for Chinatown than the latter grouping.

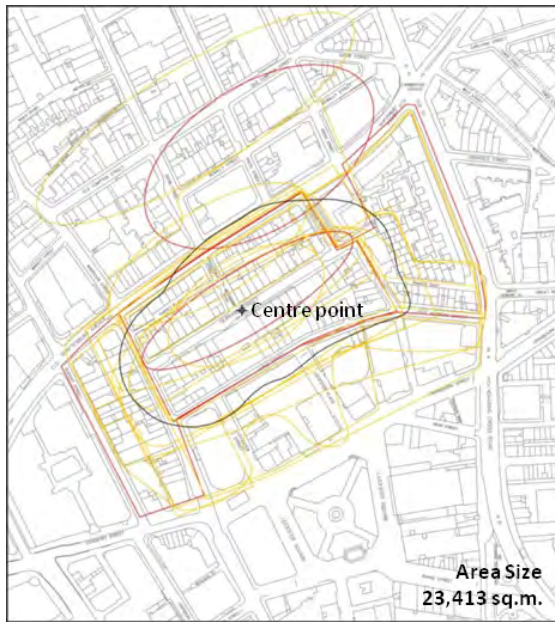


Figure 4.12a: Map showing the resultant neighbourhood area of Chinatown (in black) derived from regular visitors of “Almost every day” (in red) and “More than once a fortnight” (in yellow).
Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

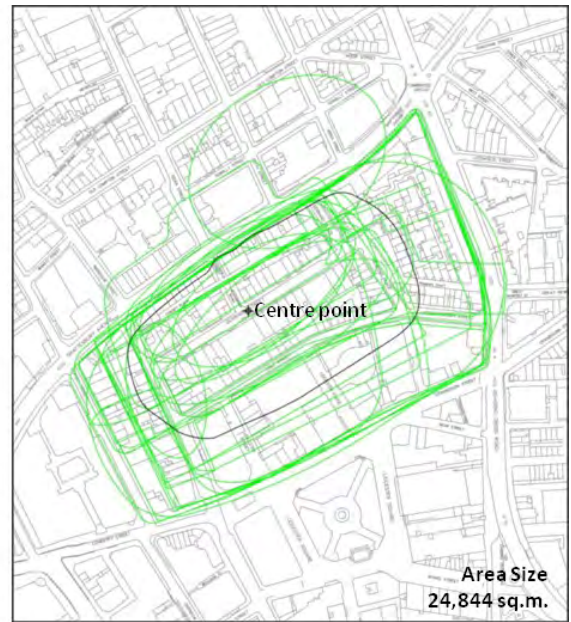


Figure 4.12b: Map showing the resultant neighbourhood area of Chinatown (in black) derived from less frequent visitors of who go “Less than once a month” (in green).
Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

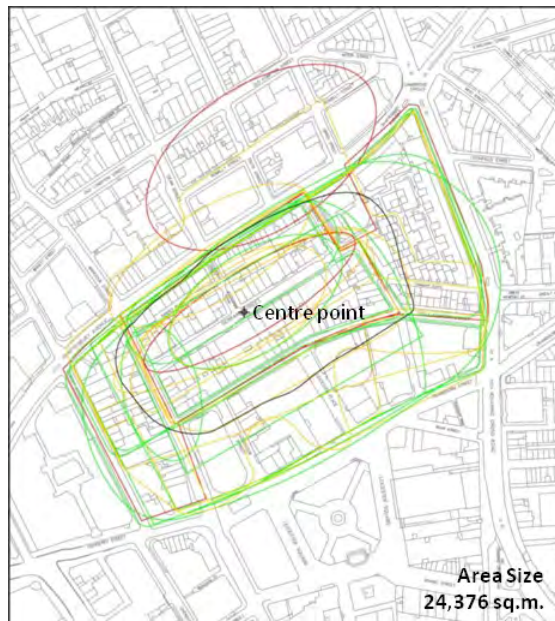


Figure 4.13a: Map showing the resultant neighbourhood area of Chinatown (in black) derived from visitors of Oriental ethnicity.
Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

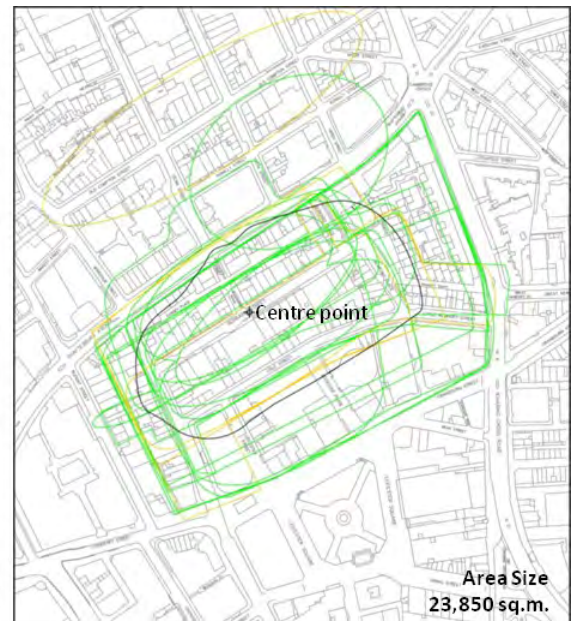


Figure 4.13b: Map showing the resultant neighbourhood area of Chinatown (in black) derived from visitors of non-Oriental ethnicity.
Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

In the analysis based on ethnicity, the average neighbourhood area described by the 25 respondents of Oriental heritage (Figure 4.13a) is almost 500m² larger than the resultant area derived from the 19 non-Oriental (Figure 4.13b). This may be due to the fact that Oriental visitors would tend to have a better overall knowledge of the businesses and facilities located in Chinatown and be more likely to optimise the wide range of services available. The non-Oriental, on the other hand, would have their knowledge of Chinatown generally rooted in the dining experience concentrated around Gerrard Street and its immediate vicinity. Although there are a higher proportion of regular visitors amongst the Orientals (60%) than the non-Oriental (26%), the similar shapes and size of the boundary polygons derived from each group seem to suggest that the non-Oriental who also frequent Chinatown less often, have an understanding of the area that is comparable to those of Oriental background.

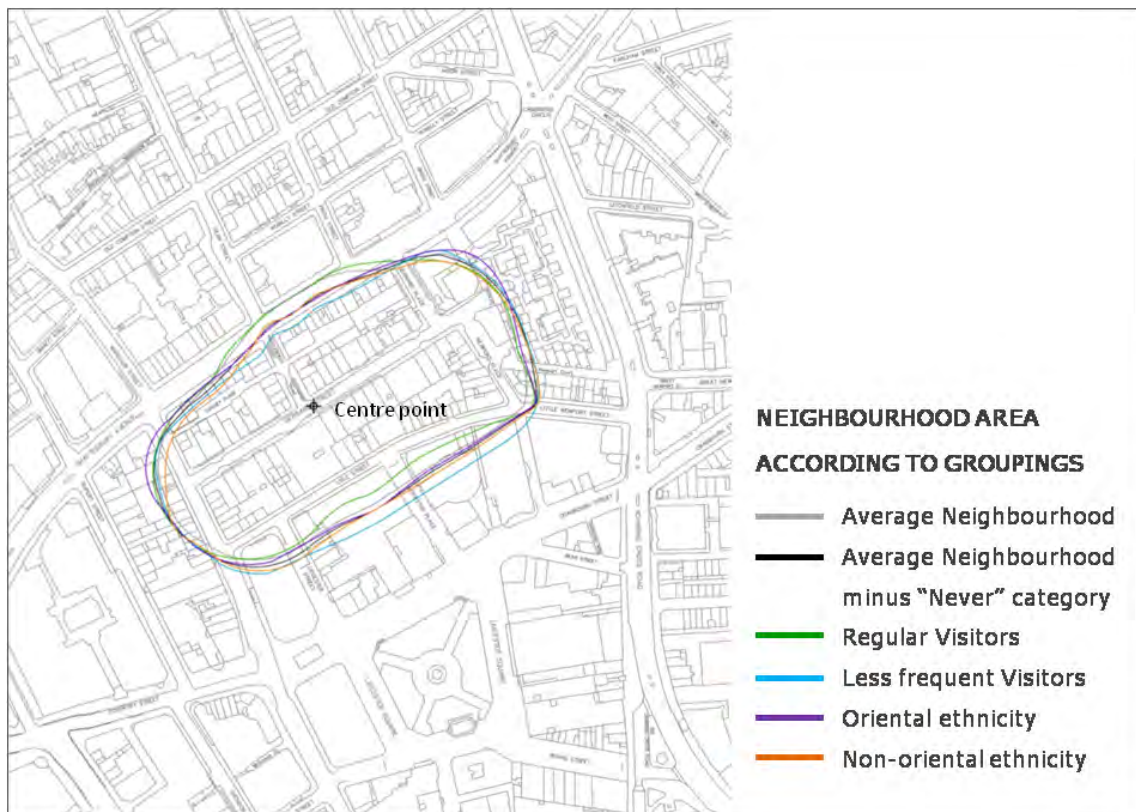


Figure 4.14: Map of Chinatown showing all the resultant neighbourhood areas according to groupings analysed. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

GROUPINGS	Average Boundary	Average minus "Never"	Regular Visitors	Less Frequent Visitors	Oriental Ethnicity	Non-oriental Ethnicity
Approx. Boundary Area (m ²)	23,645	24,124	23,413	24,845	24,376	23,850

Table 4.1: Approximate boundary sizes of Chinatown’s perceived neighbourhood area by groupings.

Even though the sizes of the perceived neighbourhood area based on different groupings differ up to 1,400m² (6%) of each other (Table 4.1), Figure 4.14 visually demonstrates that all the resultant average neighbourhood areas derived from each of grouping are consistent with one another with very similar boundary polygon shapes and sizes.

This observed phenomenon appears to be directly linked to the information collected from respondents' identification of landmarks in the postcard survey. Its purpose was to identify whether certain landmarks present within Chinatown functioned more effectively as visual cues for place recognition and wayfinding purposes than others. As part of the pedestrianisation project in Gerrard Street in the mid-eighties, Chinatown had over the course of the years been embellished with bespoke street furniture and distinctly Chinese architectural elements such as the pavilion and entrance gates (The City Council, 2003: 11).

What transpired from the survey was that five particular landmarks were consistently listed by the majority of the respondents (Table 4.2). The proliferation of Chinese restaurants in the area was considered the most important landmark in Chinatown and specific restaurants were mentioned. This was followed by the Chinese-style street barriers; the Chinese pavilion on Newport Place; the Chinese Supermarkets of which Loon Fung on Gerrard Street and See Woo on Lisle Street were specifically mentioned; and the Chinese entrance gates on Gerrard Street and Gerrard Place.

It is also interesting to note that although most respondents listed physical landmarks in their survey returns, there were a few that relied on annual Chinese festivities such as the lion and dragon dance to help them recognise where Chinatown was located. These traditional Chinese New Year celebratory customs act as "*symbolic markers*" where their calendrial rituals helps to reinforce the "*locality, ethnicity, occupation, or some other significant aspect of communal identity*". (Cohen, 1985: 53)

CHINATOWN LANDMARKS	OCCURANCES
Chinese Restaurants	26
Wong Kei, Wardour Street	5
Loon Tao, Gerrard Street	4
C & R Restaurant, Rupert Court	2
Dim Sum Restaurant, Gerrard Street	2
Four Seasons, Gerrard Street	2
Mayfair, Shaftesbury Avenue	1
Street Barriers	19
Pavillion	12
Chinese Supermarkets	10
Loon Fung, Gerrard Street	4
See Woo, Lisle Street	2
Chinese Entrance Gates	8
Chinese Street Signs	4
Fire Station	4
Lion Statue	4
Chinese Lanterns	3
Dragon Dance	3
Gerrard Street	3
HSBC Bank	3
Casino	2
Leceister Square	2
Leceister Square Station	2
Lion Dance	2
Soho	2
All Bar One	1
Cafe du Paris	1
Cantonese School	1
Carpark	1
Chinese Association	1
Chinese electronic shops	1
Covent Garden	1
Heritage Museum	1
Illegal gambling shop	1
Odeon	1
Passage (Rupert Court)	1
Pedestrianised streets	1
Persephone Books	1
Piccadilly Circus	1
Red Building	1
Shaftesbury Avenue	1
Street lights	1
Telephone Boxes	1
Trocadero	1

Table 4.2: List of important landmarks in Chinatown compiled from postcard survey returns.

4.4 Observed Pedestrian Movement in Chinatown

Pedestrian movement observations were carried out in Chinatown over a period of two weeks in June 2008. Thirty strategic imaginary pedestrian “gates” were distributed in the streets within Chinatown and those that connected Chinatown to the main thoroughfares beyond. The total number of pedestrians passing through each “gate” over a 3-minute period was recorded. This process was conducted twice for each gate for the sessions of morning peak (8.30-10.30am), lunchtime (12.30pm-2.30pm), dinnertime (6.30-8.30pm) and late night (10.00pm-12.00am) on a weekday and a weekend².

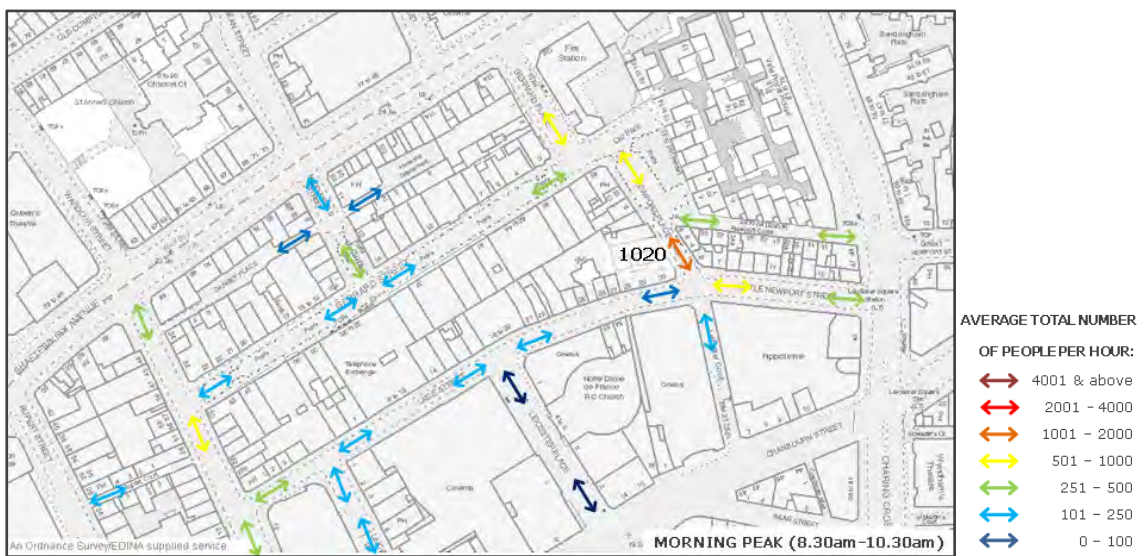


Figure 4.15a: Map showing average number of pedestrians per hour during weekday morning. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

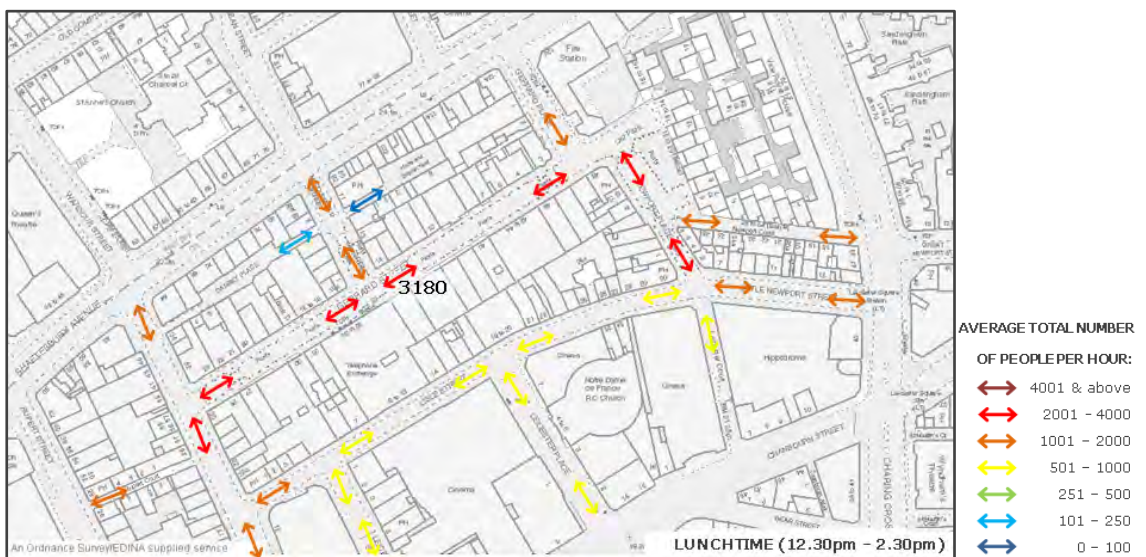


Figure 4.15b: Map showing average number of pedestrians per hour during weekday lunchtime. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

² Data and locations of pedestrian “gates” are included in this report as Appendix 7.3.

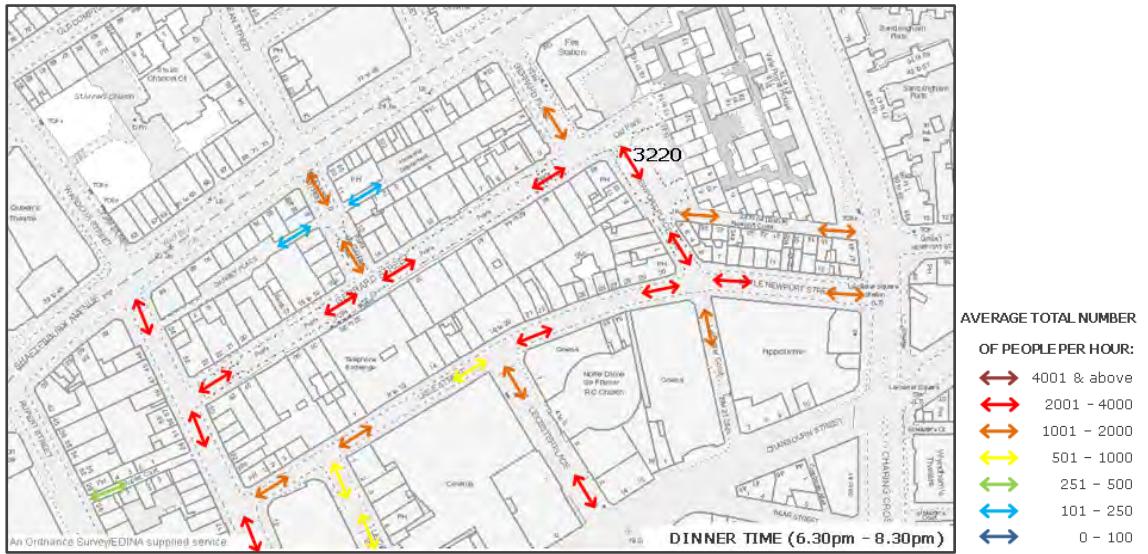


Figure 4.15c: Map showing average number of pedestrians per hour during weekday dinner time. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)



Figure 4.15d: Map showing average number of pedestrians per hour during weekday late night. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

The two sets of illustrations above (Figures 4.15a to 4.15d) and below (Figures 4.16a to 4.16d) show the average number of pedestrians for each session on a weekday and weekend respectively. For clarity, the measures have been extrapolated to an hourly rate and the number of pedestrians on the busiest street segments for each session has also been included. At first glance, the pattern of distribution for pedestrian movement on a weekday is consistent to a weekend during similar hours of the day although the number of people present in Chinatown increases markedly on a weekend.

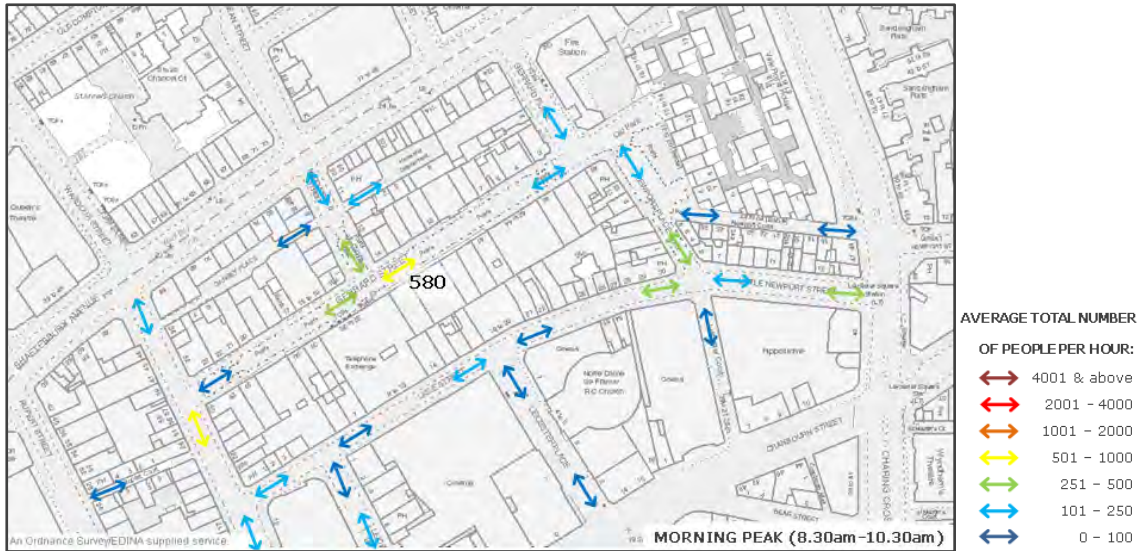


Figure 4.16a: Map showing average number of pedestrians per hour during weekend morning. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

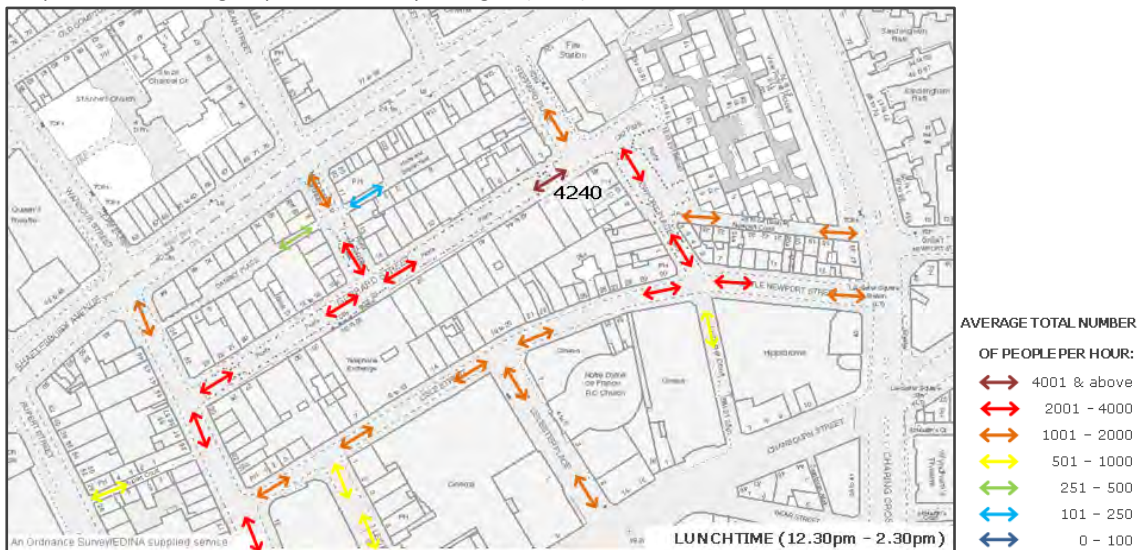


Figure 4.16b: Map showing average number of pedestrians per hour during weekend lunchtime. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

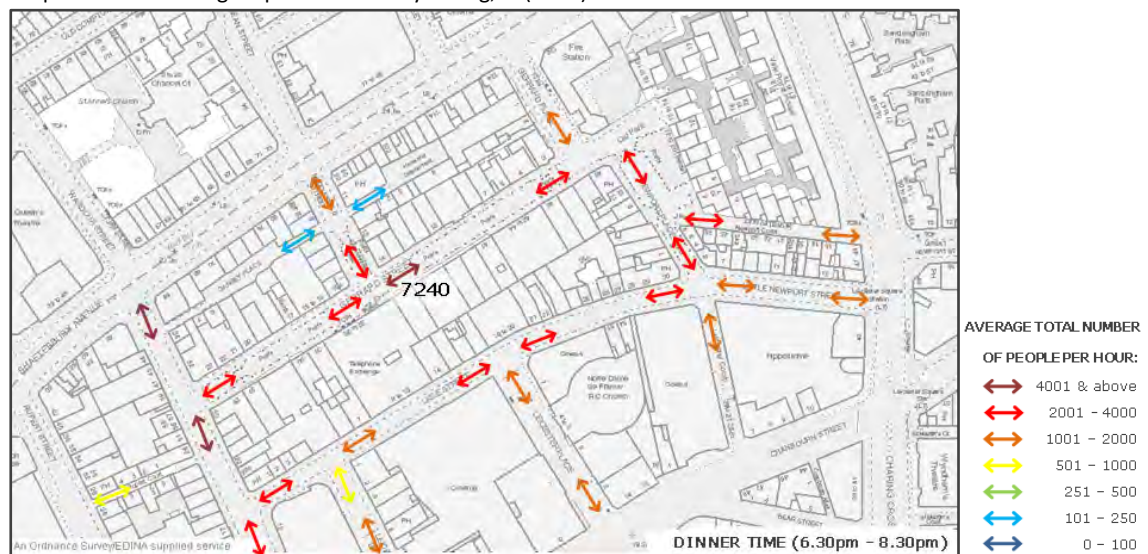


Figure 4.16c: Map showing average number of pedestrians per hour during weekend dinner time. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

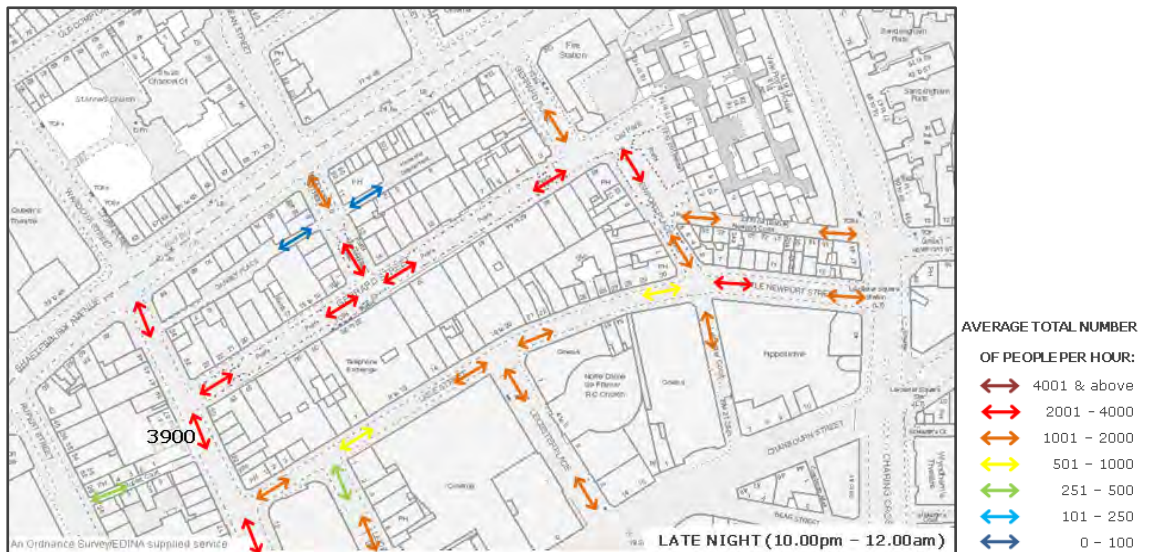


Figure 4.16d: Map showing average number of pedestrians per hour during weekend late night. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

The study shows low number of pedestrians present in Chinatown during mornings than any of the other recorded periods especially on weekends. The number of pedestrians hardly registers beyond 1,000 people per hour during these times. As most of the local retail businesses in Chinatown only begin operating after 10am and the catering industry from 12 noon daily, the pedestrians during weekday morning rush hour tend to be non-Chinese passersby on their way to work in the West End. Similarly, on the weekend, deliveries to restaurants take advantage of the low foot traffic to resupply local businesses on Saturday mornings between 9.00am and 10.00am.

The busiest times for Chinatown on the weekday and weekend are during mealtimes, i.e. lunch and dinner. The highest footfall appears to be consistently focused around the intersection of Gerrard Street with Newport Place. Since Gerrard Street is pedestrianised and densely lined with Chinese restaurants on both sides, this pedestrian-friendly stretch of the road provides for the highest number of dining selection than any other street in the area observed. The number of pedestrians increase significantly during mealtimes on weekend (exceeding 4,000 people per hour) compared with weekday. This is augmented by the large numbers of pedestrians of Chinese ethnicity found to be present from weekend midday. Further into the evening, the larger proportion of pedestrians begins to shift away from Gerrard Street onto Wardour Street, which connects to Leicester Square and Soho, where late night entertainment can be found in abundance. It appears that the pattern of pedestrian occupation in Chinatown is directly related to the operating hours of the local businesses, where trading times in general is busiest between 12 noon to 12 midnight.

Another crucial facet to the data gathering exercise is to try to use the information to reveal how the Chinese community move around and occupy the streets in Chinatown. These also identified pedestrians who were of Chinese ethnicity³ and those who were not.

The following series of maps show the average proportion of Chinese pedestrians coloured according to corresponding percentile ranges: three categories in the blue colour range signify a Chinese majority presence of 50% and above; the other three categories in the red colour ranges represent a higher non-Chinese presence (or Chinese presence of less than 50%). The colour-coding system used here is based on George Arkell's⁴ "Jewish East London" map of 1890 (for Russell and Lewis' book "The Jew in London", 1900) which was used to show by colour the proportion of the Jewish population to other residents in the area on a street by street scale. However, unlike Arkell's map⁵ which showed the lowest and top percentile groups as "Less than 5% of Jews" and "95% to 100%", the lowest and highest groupings in the Chinese pedestrian population studies have been adjusted to show "Less than 10% of Chinese" and "90% to 100%" respectively to provide for clearer visual distinction in the maps' colour gradation.



Figure 4.17a: Map showing proportion of ethnic Chinese pedestrians during weekday morning. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

³ Being of ethnic Chinese origin and able to recognise Chinese dialects, the author has used this to distinguished pedestrians of Chinese heritage through one of three methods: (1) facial features, (2) spoken language and Chinese dialect (on their mobile phones or with each other) or (3) seen carrying printed material in Chinese.

⁴ Arkell also worked with Charles Booth on his famous 1889 London Map of Descriptive Poverty which has been discussed in the previous chapter of this report.

⁵ A copy of the map is included in this report as Appendix 7.1.3 for reference.

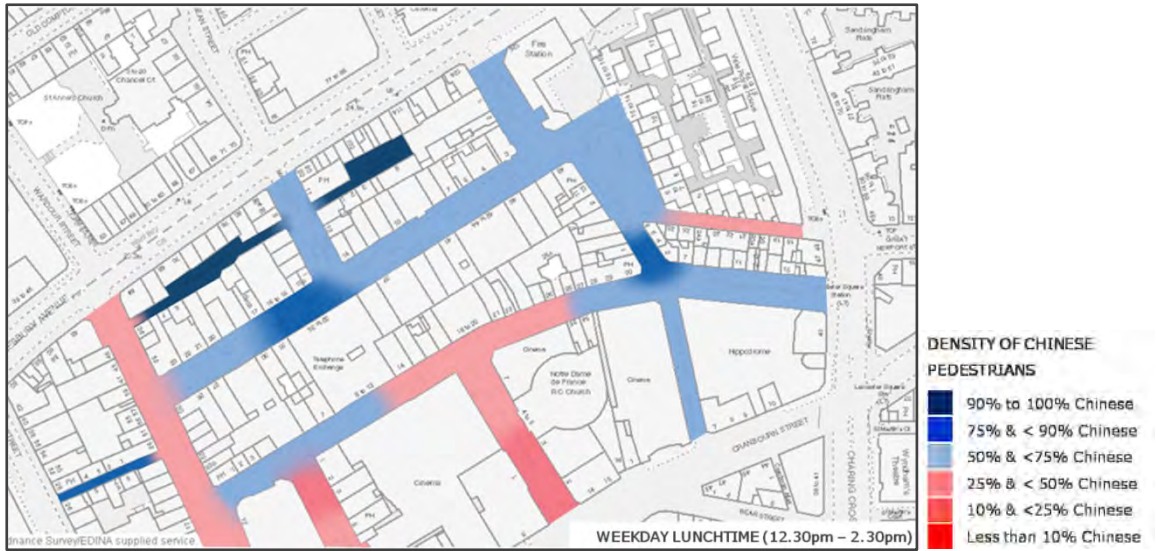


Figure 4.17b: Map showing proportion of ethnic Chinese pedestrians during weekday lunchtime. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)



Figure 4.17c: Map showing proportion of ethnic Chinese pedestrians during weekday dinner time. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

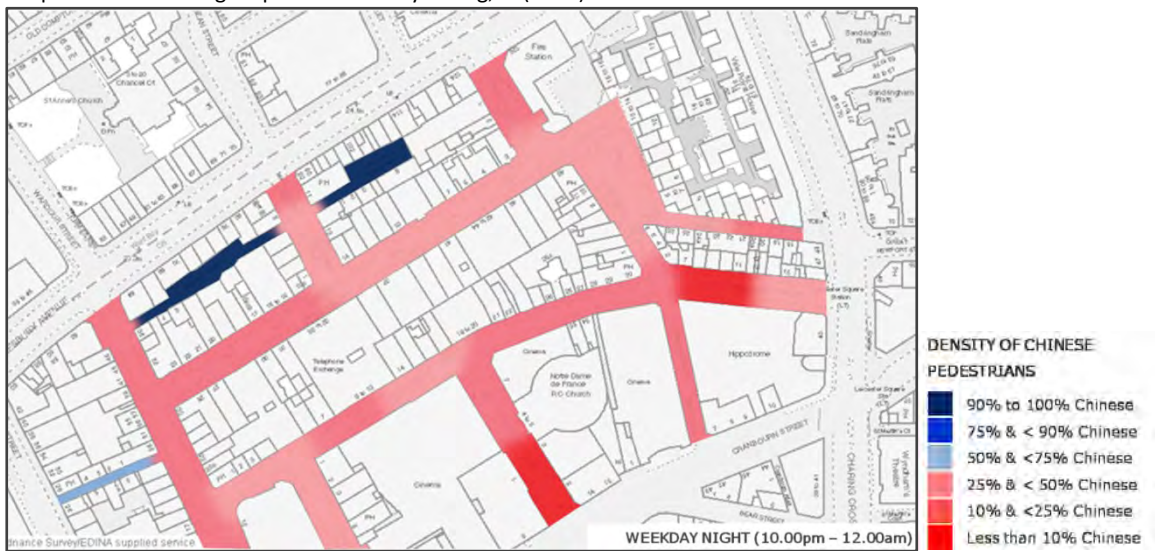


Figure 4.17d: Map showing proportion of ethnic Chinese pedestrians during weekday late night. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)



Figure 4.18a: Map showing proportion of ethnic Chinese pedestrians during weekend morning. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

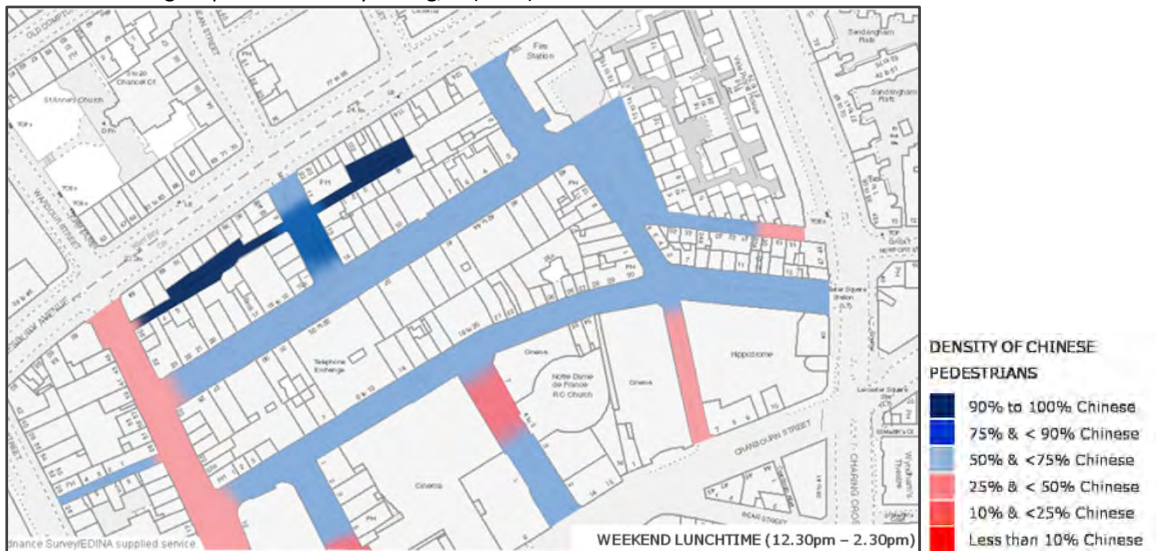


Figure 4.18b: Map showing proportion of ethnic Chinese pedestrians during weekend lunch time. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)



Figure 4.18c: Map showing proportion of ethnic Chinese pedestrians during weekend dinner time. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)



Figure 4.18d: Map showing proportion of ethnic Chinese pedestrians during weekend late night. Background OS map source: Edina Digimap. Illustration by Chung, S. (2008)

In general, the maps seem to illustrate the prevalence of non-Chinese accessing Chinatown at most times of the day. As the Chinese make up the smallest ethnic minority group in England at only 0.4% of the national population and 2.7% of London's population⁶, this is not a surprising phenomenon. The proportion of Chinese pedestrians increases significantly during lunchtime on weekdays particularly along Gerrard Street and sections of Lisle Street (Figure 4.17b). However, the presence of the Chinese community is found to be most dominant on weekends where they are seen meeting with friends and families at restaurants that serve "dim sum", conducting grocery shopping in oriental supermarkets or running errands in Chinese-owned shops in the area. During this period, there is a consistent spread of over 50% Chinese pedestrian occupancy throughout Chinatown (Figure 4.18b).

Spatially, the majority of Chinese pedestrians (as marked by sections of streets with 50% and above Chinese street occupancy) tend to be concentrated along Gerrard Street, Newport Place, Little Newport Street and both ends of Lisle Street. Dansey Place and Horse and Dolphin Yard, sandwiched between Shaftesbury Avenue and Gerrard Street, are almost always only accessed by Chinese pedestrians.

On the other hand, the lack of Chinese pedestrians accessing Wardour Street seems to suggest further analysis is required in order to ascertain if they may be consciously avoiding it in their journeys. In fact, a richer vein of information can be gained by scrutinising the pedestrian movement data in tandem with the density of Chinese presence by layering them on top of

⁶ Office of National Statistics, Census 2001

one another into another set of composite images for weekday (Figures 4.19) and weekend (Figures 4.20).

In terms of access, the preferred route of entry into Chinatown used by the Chinese is from Macclesfield Street via Shaftesbury Avenue. The secondary entry, most likely used by those arriving from Leicester Square underground station, is from Little Newport Street. Rupert Court appears to be a destination for lunchtimes only and Chinese patrons would usually arrive and leave in the direction of Piccadilly Circus. On weekdays, visits by the Chinese population to Chinatown are made during mealtimes in Gerrard Street and Newport Court, where the majority of small cafes and middle-sized restaurants are located, which is convenient for those who work nearby. On weekends, the Chinese are seen to cluster around Gerrard Street, Newport Place and Lisle Street from noon until dinner time.

These observation studies translated into coloured maps provide visual evidence to support the hypothesis that the Chinese ethnic community inhabit Chinatown in a spatial as well as temporal pattern which is distinctly different from the non-Chinese visitors. This emergent pattern of movement that is ethnically exclusive alludes to how their differing patterns of occupation reflect the community's level of social integration with its host society.



Figure 4.19: Composite of combined weekday observed pedestrian movement and density of Chinese presence for morning (top left), lunchtime (top right), dinner time (bottom left) and late night (bottom right). Source of background map: Edina Digimap.



Figure 4.20: Composite of combined weekend observed pedestrian movement and density of Chinese presence for morning (top left), lunchtime (top right), dinner time (bottom left) and late night (bottom right). Source of background map: Edina Digimap.

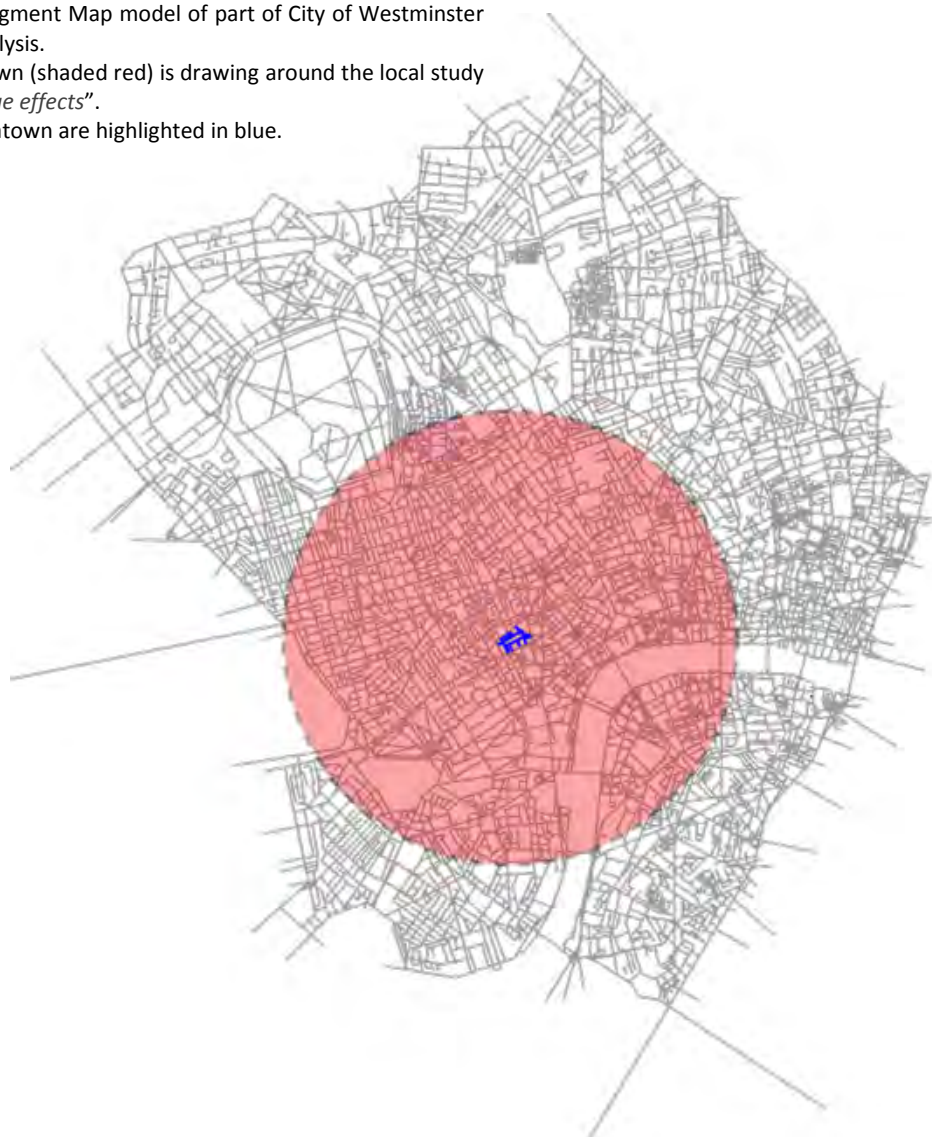
4.5 Spatial Analysis

In order to run segment analysis using Space Syntax methods⁷, a map of street segments around the area of Soho's Chinatown is created with a 2km buffer around it in order to reduce "edge effects"⁸ (Figure 4.21). Just as before, the integration analysis is applied at the global scale and local scale (in this case, at radius 500m⁹) to predict the general pattern of movement in the urban layout.

Figure 4.21: The Segment Map model of part of City of Westminster used for spatial analysis.

A 2km buffer is drawn (shaded red) is drawing around the local study area to reduce "edge effects".

The streets of Chinatown are highlighted in blue.



⁷ This is similar to the approach applied in Chapter 3.

⁸ In order for the model used for analysis to be manageable, another smaller map is extracted from the original London axial map (©Space Syntax, 2008) to include the area of study and the extent of its natural boundaries. A sizeable buffer is included to allow for distortion of spatial measures on the edges of the model due to the deleted subsequent connections beyond the model's boundaries.

⁹ This relates to the scale of pedestrians and 500m is roughly the distance easily covered on foot in 10 minutes.



Figure 4.22a: Global Integration of the Segment Model. Inset: Close-up of Chinatown.



Figure 4.22b: Local Integration of the Segment Model (500m). Inset: Close-up of Chinatown.

The results are shown as Figures 4.22a and 4.22b respectively. The global integration measures show that Oxford Street and Charing Cross Road form the dominant east-west and north-south integrators in the west. At this scale, Chinatown is segregated as a pie-shaped “*traffic island*” surrounded by the highly integrating roads of Shaftesbury Avenue (north), Charing Cross Road (east) and Cranbourn Street/Leicester Square (south). The local integration analysis, which begins to pick up local sub-centres in the system, shows the street which now carries the most potential for use by pedestrians has shifted from Charing Cross to St. Martin’s Lane. Even at this level, Chinatown distinctly remains a segregated island located just behind the more integrated routes in the local sub-centre.

When the spatial measures of the system are compared against those of Chinatown (Table 4.3), all the street segments within Chinatown are found to be on average more integrated globally and locally. They are also more accessible on average in terms of mean depth at both scales than the rest of the system. Because of Oxford Street’s dominance in the system, pockets of more segregated streets that are poorly connected to the main integrators such as Soho have emerged over time as local sub-centres (Vaughan, 2007: 239). The street segments within Soho (which includes Chinatown)¹⁰ and Marylebone Village¹¹, considered local centres to the south and north of Oxford Street respectively, also display similar spatial attributes as those within Chinatown. However, the average local integration measure for Soho (including Chinatown) is significantly higher than that of Marylebone Village. By virtue of the shorter street segments in Soho (Figure 4.23) and thus smaller block sizes, the reduced visual field within the area would tend to encourage a localised pattern of movement and social interaction (ibid: 244). The local history of Soho and Chinatown’s spatial characteristics hence reinforces Vaughan’s point of how these areas would traditionally serve as strategic cradles for specific sub-cultures.

¹⁰ Defined in Vaughan (2007: 238) as the area bordered by Cranbourn Street to the south, Oxford Street to the north, Charing Cross to the east and Regent Street to the west.

¹¹ In Hillier (1999: 06.6), this is centred on Marylebone High Street and is the area bordered by Oxford Street to the south, Marylebone Road to the north, Portland Place to the east and Baker Street to the west.

	Global Integration	Local Integration	Global Mean Depth	Local Mean Depth
All Segments Range	1.56575 - 7413.47	1.56575 - 583.137	0.235677 - 11.4765	0.235677 - 7.16944
All Segments Average	4680.61	149.191	4.91898	2.1972
Segments Around Chinatown Range	6058.84 - 6467.583	297.2598 - 513.4296	3.492691 - 3.671797	1.321796 - 1.61926
Segments Around Chinatown Average	6180.225	415.1052	3.465122	1.38788
Soho Segments inc Chinatown Range	3292.397 - 6367.583	50.70364 - 497.1013	3.492691 - 6.754957	1.485937 - 4.081466
Soho Segments inc Chinatown Average	4947.728	203.2258	4.579724	2.223603
Chinatown Segments Range	4621.227 - 5773.219	204.4318 - 389.7075	3.852271 - 4.812575	1.619336 - 2.49472
Chinatown Segments Average	5208.339	305.158	4.292711	2.065179
Marylebone Village Segments Range	3637.108 - 5974.24	56.35129 - 184.6647	3.722649 - 6.114749	2.475643 - 3.367945
Marylebone Village Segments Average	4914.442	116.2735	4.581393	2.021329

Table 4.3: Spatial measures showing range and averages for the system and street segments located within Chinatown, compared against those within Soho and Marylebone Village.

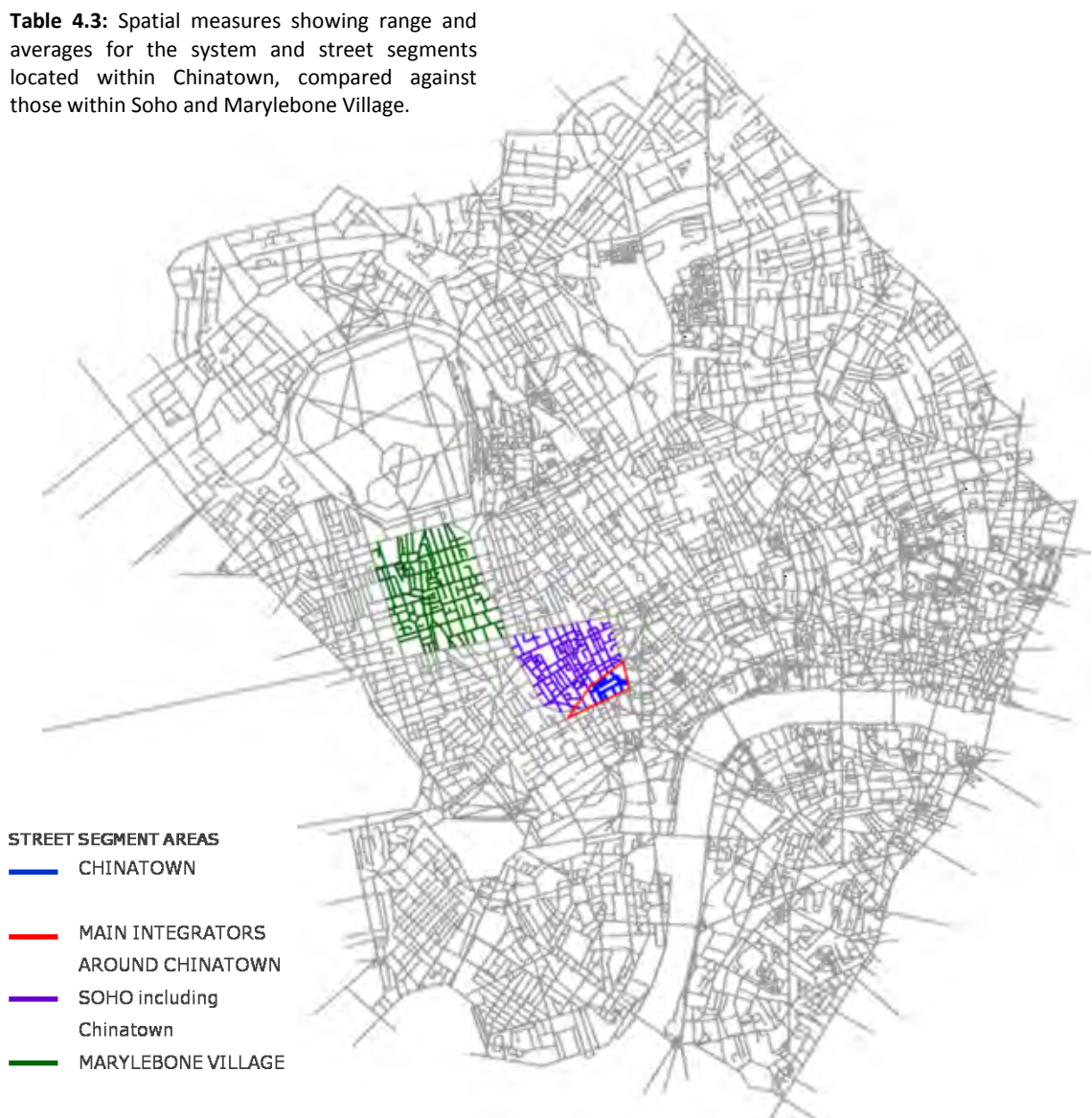
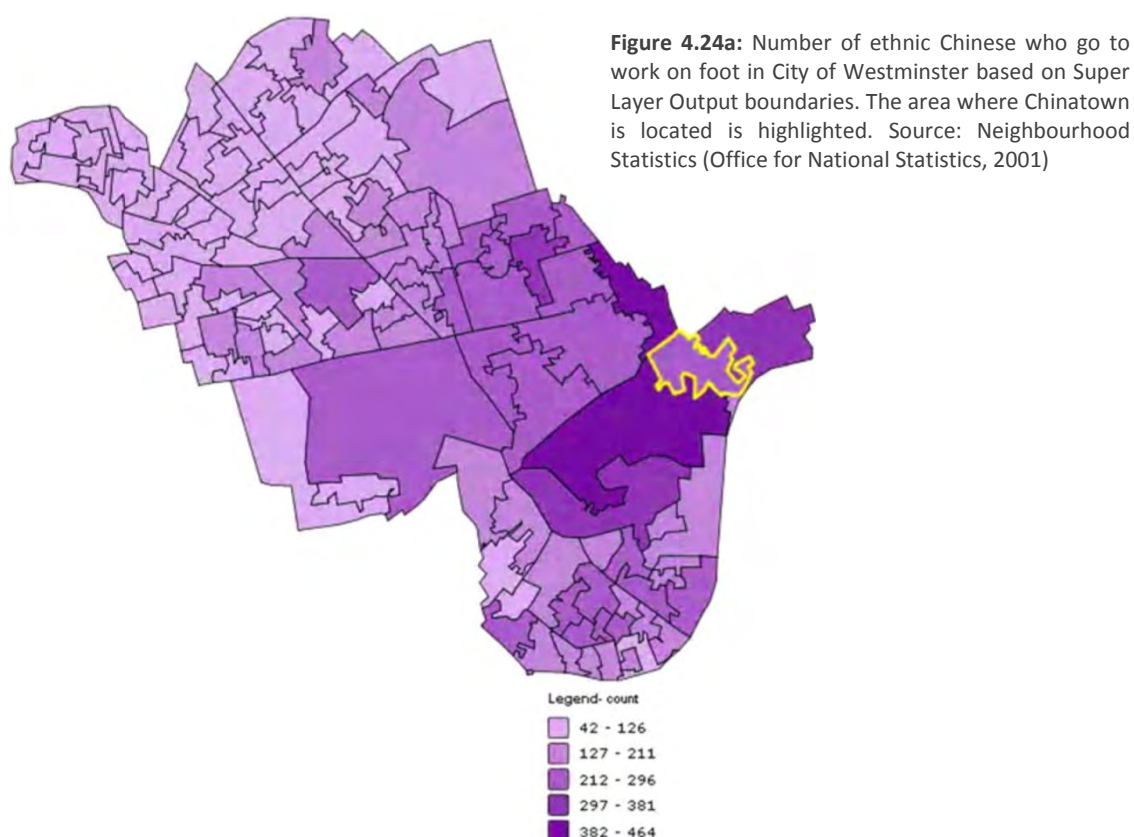


Figure 4.23: Segment map of Chinatown, Soho and Marylebone Village areas

Based on the 2001 census data (Figure 4.24a), a majority of City of Westminster residents who say they go to work on foot live in the vicinity of London's Chinatown. With the majority of London's working age Chinese population living in this borough, there is a high likelihood that those who work in Chinatown also live nearby. Zhou and Logan (1989: 811) have found that Chinese immigrants living in New York City are more likely to work in enclave economy than those living outside which accounts for the concentration of Chinese population in the Lower East Side of Manhattan adjacent to New York's Chinatown.

In the City of Westminster's administrative ward of St. James' B (where Chinatown is also located), all 66 registered Chinese-occupied households (Rogers, 2006: SJB) are found to be located within 500m (around 10 minutes walk) from Gerrard Street (Figure 4.24b). This supports the fact that in London, most immigrant Chinese workers who live a comparatively more marginalised existence are likely to be found working in niche economies such as the restaurant trade or Chinese-based services and would prefer to live near to their places of employment such as Soho Chinatown.





DISTANCE FROM GERRARD STREET

- 0 to 50m from Gerrard Street
- 50 to 100m from Gerrard Street
- 100 to 150m from Gerrard Street
- Registered Chinese household addresses

Figure 4.24b: Map showing walking distances from Gerrard Street: 500m (10minutes), 1000m (20minutes) and 1500 (30 minutes). Locations of all registered Chinese-occupied households in 2007 in St. James' Ward B included. Data source: City of Westminster Register of Electors 2007 Volume 2.

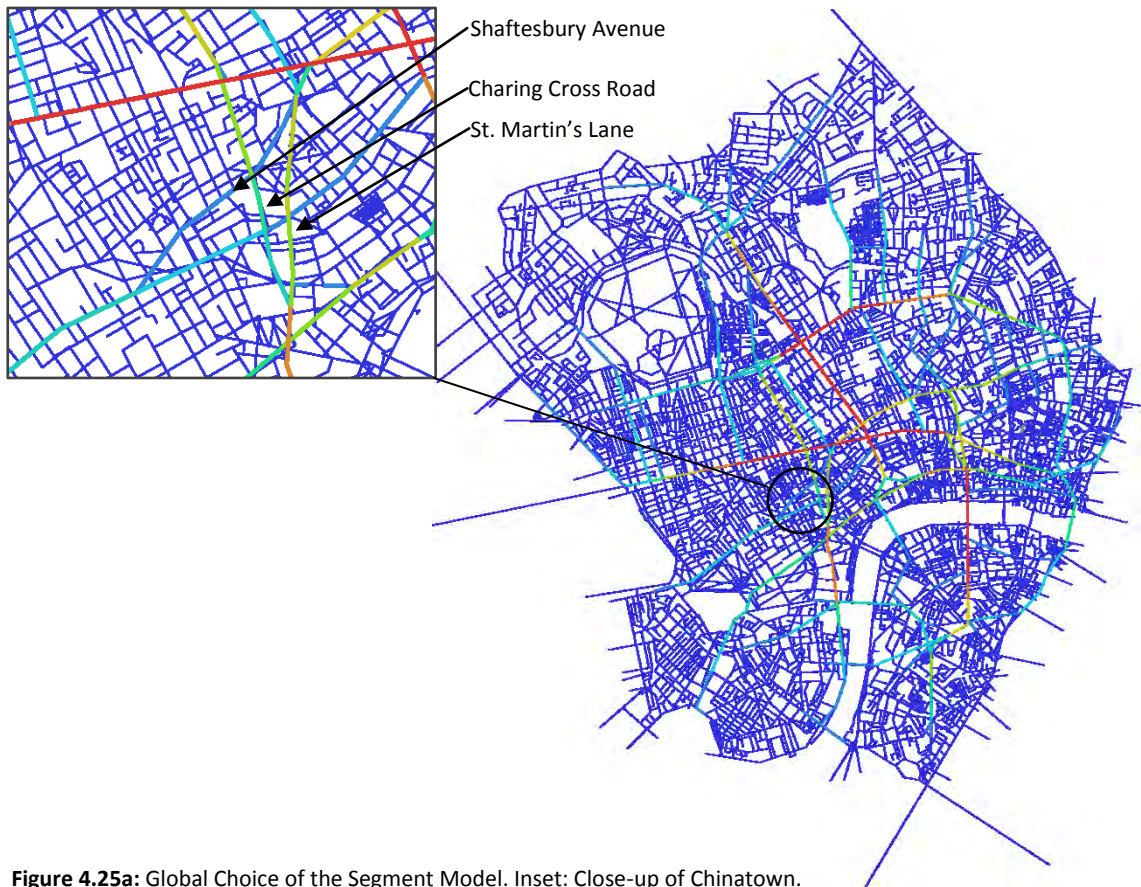


Figure 4.25a: Global Choice of the Segment Model. Inset: Close-up of Chinatown.



Figure 4.25b: Local Choice of the Segment Model (500m). Inset: Close-up of Chinatown.

Another measure, called Choice, predicts of the likelihood of a space in the street network being used as part of a route from all possible origins and destinations (Vaughan, 2006: 291-292). Hillier suggests that choice may be a better predictor of movement for 'inhabitants' with a better knowledge of the layout (Hillier *et al.*, 1987). The choice analysis at both global (Figure 4.25a) and local (Figure 4.25b) scales appears to follow the integration pattern, implying that locals are predicted to move around no differently than the general flow of traffic. Even those who are familiar with the territory are still no more likely to access Chinatown than visitors to the area. Yet, stepdepth taken from Charing Cross Road (Figure 4.26a), Shaftesbury Avenue (Figure 4.26b) and from both (Figure 4.26c) supports the mean depth average by showing that all parts of Chinatown can be accessed from any of the main streets with less than a 3-step directional change.



Figure 4.26a: Stepdepth taken from Charing Cross Road. Depth of street segment furthest away within Chinatown (boundary shown) included. Source of map: Edina Digimap.

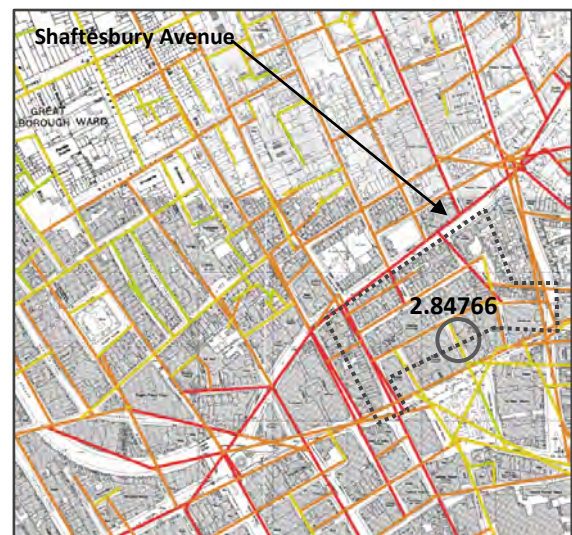


Figure 4.26b: Stepdepth taken from Shaftesbury Avenue. Depth of street segment furthest away within Chinatown (boundary shown) included. Source of map: Edina Digimap.



Figure 4.26c: Stepdepth taken from Charing Cross Road and Shaftesbury Avenue. Depth of street segment furthest away within Chinatown (boundary shown) included. Source of map: Edina Digimap.

The quality of Chinatown’s spatial structure can be further analysed by running a series of regression plots to test the relationships between syntactic measures. Synergy, the correlation between global and local integration, reflects how strongly the structure of the city is reflected within the local sub-centre. Intelligibility, which correlates global integration with connectivity, defines the part-whole aspect of the city. “If locally well-connecting lines are also integrating lines, then the correlation will be strong and the system will have ‘intelligibility’.” (Hillier et al., 1987: 237) And for this reason, the syntactic measures carried by the street segments within Chinatown are tested separately from the rest of the system in order to compare how this particular local sub-centre performs. It appears that Chinatown has a strong synergistic relationship ($R^2 = 0.7598$) than the rest of the system ($R^2 = 0.376$). However, its lower intelligibility would account for why Chinatown appears to be spatially segregated and thus more difficult to locate from the main integration lines despite its shallow depth from the core.

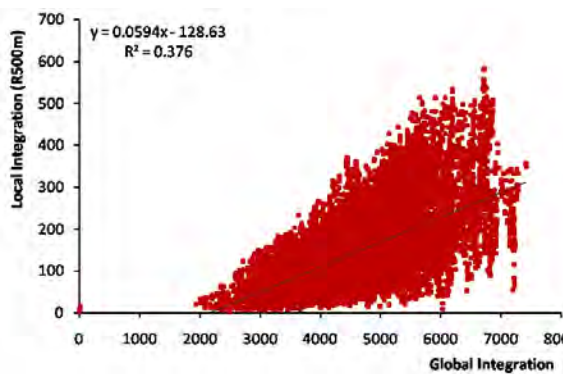


Figure 4.27a: Synergy plot of all segment lines.

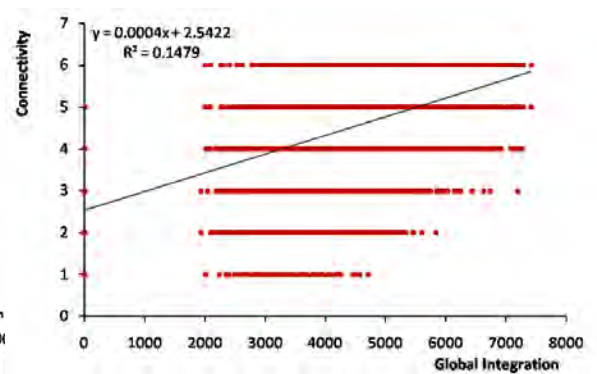


Figure 4.27b: Intelligibility plot of all segment lines.

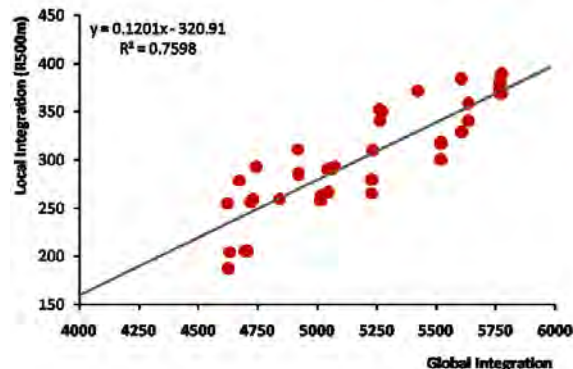


Figure 4.28a: Synergy plot of street segments contained within Chinatown.

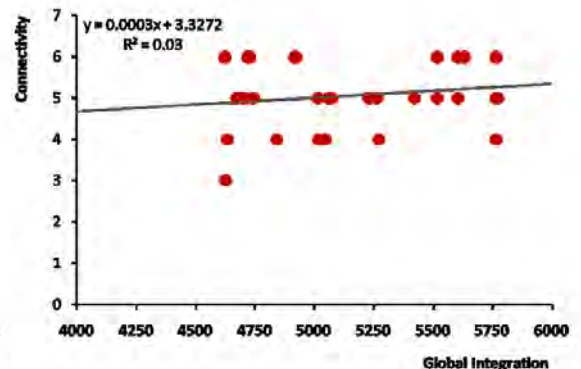


Figure 4.28b: Intelligibility plot of street segments contained within Chinatown.

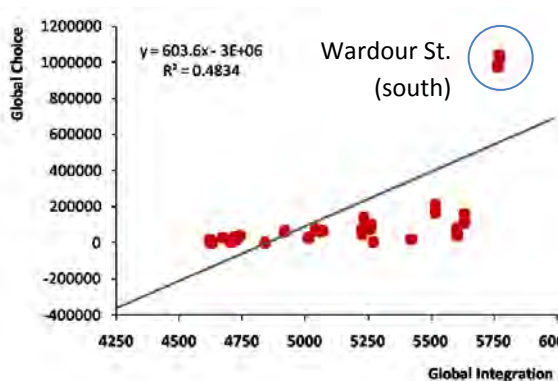


Figure 4.29a: Regression plot showing relationship between global integration and global choice of street segments within Chinatown.

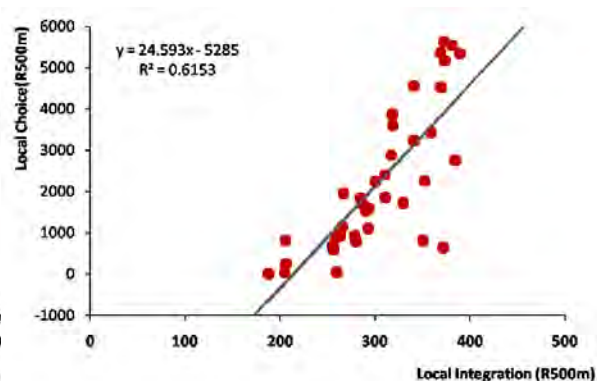


Figure 4.29b: Regression plot showing relationship between local integration and local choice of street segments within Chinatown.

Producing regression plots of choice against integration measures provides an indication as to whether locals who are familiar with the area would move around Chinatown differently than non-locals or passersby. At the global scale, the southern segment of Wardour Street which connects to Leicester Square outperforms all the other segments in Chinatown, suggesting that this is an important link for locals traversing between Chinatown and Leicester Square (Figure 4.29a). On a local scale, it appears that local and non-local (including tourists) pedestrians would most likely move around the area in a similar pattern (Figure 4.29b).

By marrying the Space Syntax data with the recorded pedestrian movements around Chinatown, this will reveal if underlying social rules of correspondence apply that compels members of a certain social group – in this case the Chinese population – to overcome predicted spatial behaviour. “*It is how space is overcome that is the essential linkage between society and space*” (Hillier and Netto, 2002: 184). Although correlation between total pedestrian movement¹² against both global and local integration measures are not very strong (Figure 4.30 for weekday and Figure 4.31 for weekend), the graphs reveal how Gerrard Street outperforms its expected spatial behaviour with a far higher pedestrian rate than predicted. On the other hand, Dancy Place and Horse and Dolphin Lane with its movement rate are the underperforming outliers in Chinatown.

¹² Movement rates in regression plots against syntactic measures need to be logged. Previous Space Syntax research shows that the effect of attractors such as shops will shift a basically linear relation between integration and movement into a logarithmic one (See Hillier, B., Penn, A., Hanson, J., Grajewski, T. & Xu, J., 1993. *Natural Movement: Or, Configuration and Attraction in Urban Pedestrian Movement. Environment and Planning B*, 20, 29-66. P.4).

When the total Chinese only observed pedestrians are plotted against integration, the correlation becomes significantly weaker (Figures 32 and 33). Although it is by no means conclusive, this can be read as an indication that there is a conscious attempt by the Chinese group to overcome space in an opposing fashion.

The spatial configuration analysis of the area of Chinatown indicates that by virtue of its relation to all other spatial relations within the system, its lack of intelligible connections to the urban layout makes it a naturally segregated location. Yet it has been purposefully nurtured into a place with its own cultural identity that the Chinese community in London relates to as a spatial manifestation of ethnic and communal solidarity. In this respect, it is its marginal spatial attributes that makes it an ideal location to host a marginal society.

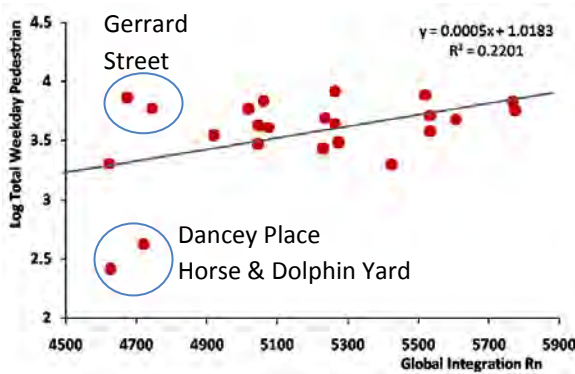


Figure 4.30a: Regression plot showing total weekday pedestrians and global integration measures of street segments within Chinatown.

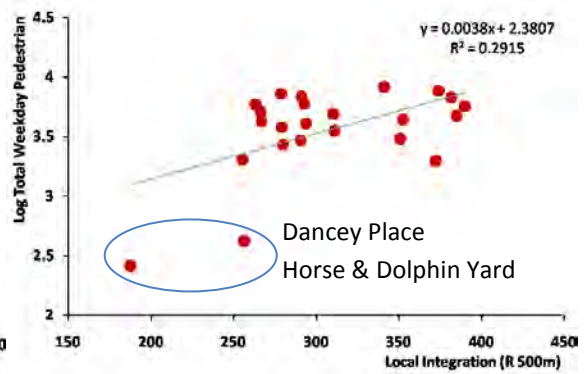


Figure 4.30b: Regression plot showing total weekday pedestrians and local integration of street segments within Chinatown.

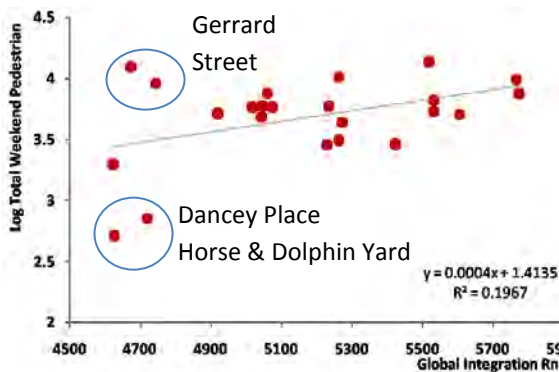


Figure 4.31a: Regression plot showing total weekend pedestrians and global integration measures of street segments within Chinatown.

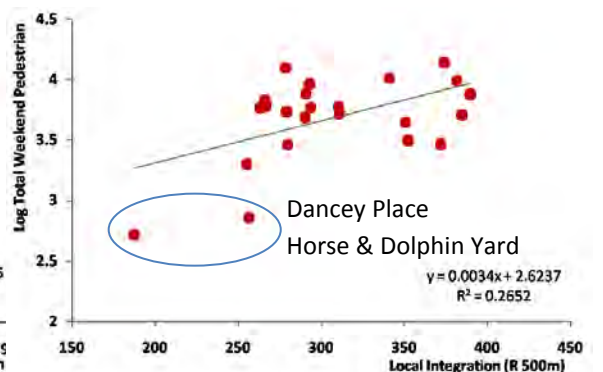


Figure 4.31b: Regression plot showing total weekend pedestrians and local integration of street segments within Chinatown.

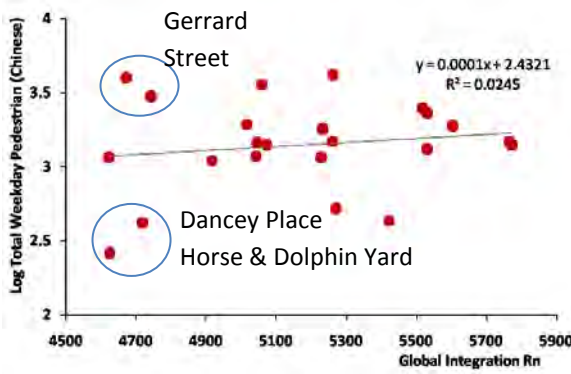


Figure 4.32a: Regression plot showing total weekday Chinese only pedestrians and global integration measures of street segments within Chinatown.

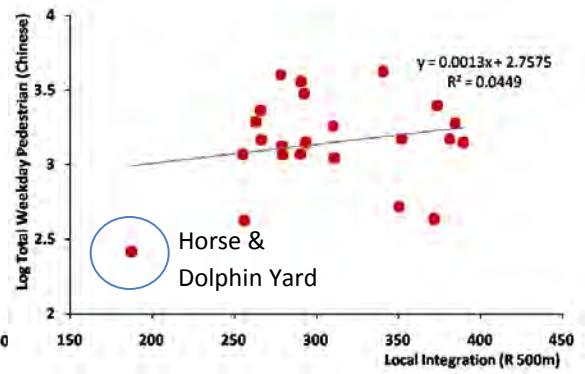


Figure 4.32b: Regression plot showing total weekday Chinese only pedestrians and local integration of street segments within Chinatown.

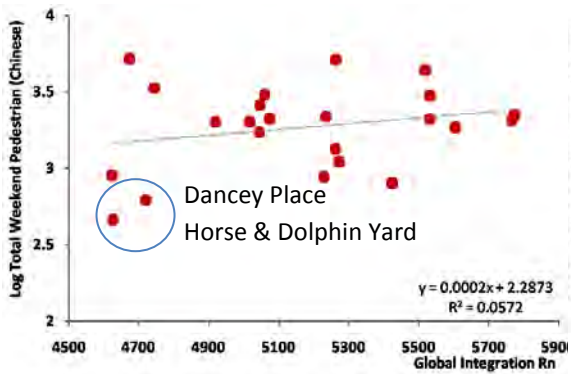


Figure 4.33a: Regression plot showing total weekend Chinese only pedestrians and global integration measures of street segments within Chinatown.

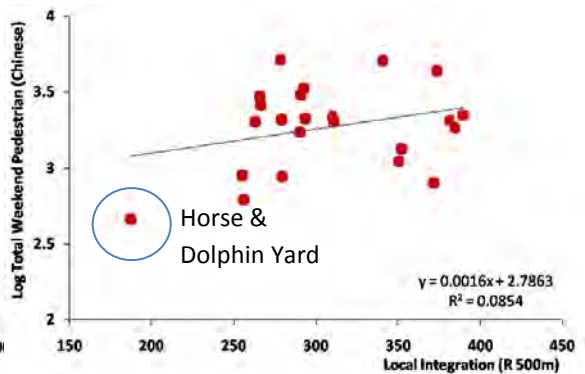


Figure 4.33b: Regression plot showing total weekend Chinese only pedestrians and local integration of street segments within Chinatown.

5.0 Discussions and Conclusions

5.1 Limitations on Study

The basis for selecting the methods for research is largely influenced by the limitation of available resources and the constraint of time to conduct field observations, survey returns and the execution of spatial analysis. With the exception of a few classical texts that have been written about the Chinese in London and the United Kingdom (Ng, 1968, Watson, 1975, Shang, 1984) and more recently (Seed, 2006), most of the other studies in the subject still frequently revert to quoting these texts.

The complications which arose from non-standard methods of census data collection, as previously discussed in Chapter 3, made comparing numerical information like-for-like virtually impossible and educated assumptions had to be relied on in order to achieve an acceptable estimate.

Attempts to initiate cooperation from local Chinese employers have been compounded by a pervading sense of mistrust amongst the Chinese themselves as a result of pre-existing intensive rivalry as can be expected among co-ethnic businesses operating within the same locale. Furthermore, earlier efforts to establish customer profile through observation methods in a few restaurants in Chinatown had also incited much discomfort amongst some of the Chinese patrons who are evidently still disconcerted and understandably concerned for their own immigration status following a police raid in five restaurants in Chinatown on 11 October 2007¹ (BBC News, 2007a, BBC News, 2007b).

In general, there appears to be a substantial proportion of tourists present in Chinatown when observation studies were carried out in June². There was originally concern that the figures would have been distorted if this was taken during the peak tourist season. It has however, since been confirmed by one of the restaurant proprietors interviewed that their clientele now are predominantly students followed by walk-in tourists, irregardless of the calendrial cycle³.

¹ The raid on illegal workers in Chinatown resulted in 49 Malaysian and Singaporean Chinese detainees and an undisclosed fine to the restaurant employers involved in hiring them.

² As part of the original fieldwork proposal, the author had planned to include a tourist category. This has not been possible to achieve in light of the difficulty of discerning actual tourists from overseas, within the country or even visiting business folk.

³ See Appendix section 7.4.1.

5.2 Discussions

The findings of this study crucially outline two important contrasting qualities between the historical and the current London Chinatowns examined. The first is defined by the inherent structural quality of the space they each inhabit. In historic Limehouse, Chinese-owned businesses progressively and linearly followed a distinctive pattern of expansion along the more locally integrated segments in Pennyfields and Limehouse Causeway over the years with the same logic that governs premise occupation of other non-Chinese businesses in the vicinity. This can be seen to support sociological claims that the émigré Chinese residents had over time assimilated with their host society. If this is taken to be true, then it would also be fair to assume that all the local businesses in the area, irregardless of ethnicity, would exploit the potential of the more spatially integrating lines in the grid as the prime determinant of movement, as defined in Hillier's "*theory of natural movement*"(2004: 125), to serve as prime location for enterprise.

On the other hand, the spatial configuration of Soho Chinatown, being globally and locally segregated, appears to have been of strategic importance for the conception of such an ethnic enclave. It is this spatial property that have allowed a niche economy and its ethnic community to be equally nurtured and sheltered from the host environment whilst allowing the area's social, cultural and economical networks to be developed. The dichotomous nature of both Chinatowns reviewed in this study thus concurs with Brigg's statement that "*space is decidedly a two-edged sword facilitating the development of strong communities of interest and face-to-face exchange...or preventing such contact*" (2005: 86)

At the same time, Qadeer (2005: 50) also credits the spirit of entrepreneurship within ethnic enclave and economies as important to promoting flow of capital and labour beyond its natural borders. Its commercial and cultural importance has not been overlooked by the area's main property freeholder, Shaftesbury PLC⁴, in the economic plan review for the area (Page Reference Ltd., 2004: 4 & 12).

The other distinctive differences between the two Chinatowns are their size and level of influence. Although both were already well-known during their time as centres for the Chinese community, the demise of the former Chinatown was in part due its consistently small population size. Unlike its predecessor, the current Chinatown has weathered economic and

⁴ The properties within Chinatown constitute up to 27% of their portfolio.

social changes and continues to be recognised as an important landmark in London by both Chinese and non-Chinese alike. The results from the postcard survey in Chapter 4 conclusively show that even non-Chinese visitors who patron the location frequently have exercised a mental map of the area as well as the Chinese population who do.

Despite its low intelligibility correlation in the spatial analysis due to its relatively weak connections to the rest of the urban system, it nevertheless functions successfully as a point of local destination as evidenced by the observation exercise in the case study. The correlations between spatial measures and the Chinese only pedestrian movement also suggest that the occupation and movement imprint of this ethnic group is contradictory to predicted general movement. This is further supported by the distinctively incongruous temporal and spatial occupation pattern displayed by the Chinese and non-Chinese groups.

On the economic front, there have been recent concerns that the restaurant industry in Chinatown is struggling to survive due to the combined factors of congestion charges for incoming vehicles into the city (implemented in 2003 by the previous Mayor of London), the decrease of car parking spaces in the West End and spiralling property prices (due to its prime location). Car-travelling Chinese families living in London suburbs now prefer to frequent the new satellite Chinatowns in Queensway and Colindale⁵ that are located outside the congestion zone. But, as Bourne observes, "*(t)he main thing that distinguishes Soho Chinatown from either Queensway or the remnants of the Limehouse Community is the sheer range of services and facilities.*" (1981: 38)

The London Chinese Community Centre based in Gerrard Street also stresses the importance of its role to the migrant ethnic Chinese community in the access and provision of welfare services⁶. Because of self-imposed limited exposure to its host society, language barrier and mistrust resulting from years of business rivalry with others in the same profession, many first generation immigrants who have since retired from working in the catering industry live in isolation (Yu, 2000: vi). Social activities run by the centre are catered towards native Chinese speakers whilst at the same time English language proficiency classes are conducted for new migrant workers. Rather than defining individual difference, it produces a coming together

⁵ Oriental City has since closed down from 1 June 2008, evicting 40 shops, restaurants, supermarket and the North London Chinese Association community centre. The building owner, Nereus Limited, is redeveloping the site as a £450 million mixed use commercial project to include luxury apartments, a school and typical high street retail units.

⁶ See Appendix subsection 7.4.2.

between individuals with a common interest to engender a closer relationship than previously existed (Giddens, 1972: 151).

Yet in spite of its housing institutional functions for the Chinese community⁷, results of the fieldwork study confirm that Chinatown is not the exclusive centre for the Chinese population. The inhabitation patterns observed by the Chinese are intrinsically distinct in physical space and time from the general population. Although programmatically more flexible, this pattern of occupation nevertheless conforms to Peach's definition of a voluntary plural model of an ethnic enclave (2005: 45). It is the continuing importance placed by the ethnic Chinese community in London and beyond that establishes the likelihood that London's Chinatown will perpetuate as a "*persistent enclave*" (ibid), much like its current San Franciscan and New York equivalents. For the newly migrant Chinese visitor, being in a physically defined Chinese-dominant place such as Chinatown helps provide a sense of environmental safety and feeling of ethnic solidarity.

⁷ The Chinese Chamber of Commerce, London Chinatown Chinese Association and Chinatown Chinese Community Centre are all located here.

5.3 Conclusions

Although the findings are still by no means wholly conclusive, they do point to the fact that London's Chinatown still functions to serve the Chinese community. The aforementioned high level of mistrust by locals confirms the importance they place on the area as a haven for the Chinese. At its interface, the relationship that exists between the ethnic community and non-ethnic visitors is far more complicated than can be superficially observed. Its complex social dynamics extends beyond the realm of social studies alone and as this report has shown, it also embodies a spatial and temporal realm.

It is evident that by appreciating that mainstream commercial viability is insurance for its continual existence, the ethnic population are able to maintain their sense of ethnic solidarity by adjusting their social practices around the demands of popular cultural consumption. This form of ethnic affiliation thus gives a whole new meaning to social integration. It is one centred around the importance of constructing a common ground of institutions and services to suit a diverse range of communities (Qadeer, 2005: 61).

6.0 References

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Website Resources

1889 Descriptive Map of London Poverty	http://www.umich.edu/~risotto/credits.html
BBC News	http://news.bbc.co.uk/
Edina Digimap	http://edina.ac.uk/digimap/
Google Maps	http://maps.google.co.uk/
Moving Here	http://www.movinghere.org.uk
National Statistics	http://www.statistics.gov.uk
Neighbourhood Statistics	http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk
Survey into Life and Labour in London: Original Survey Notebooks	http://booth.lse.ac.uk/

Software

For Analysis:	Autocad, UCL Depthmap, Microsoft Excel and Powerpoint 2007
For Presentation:	Autocad, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3, Endnote XI, Microsoft Word and Powerpoint 2007

7.0 Appendix

7.1 Maps: Areas of Study

7.1.1 Booth Map of Descriptive Poverty 1889

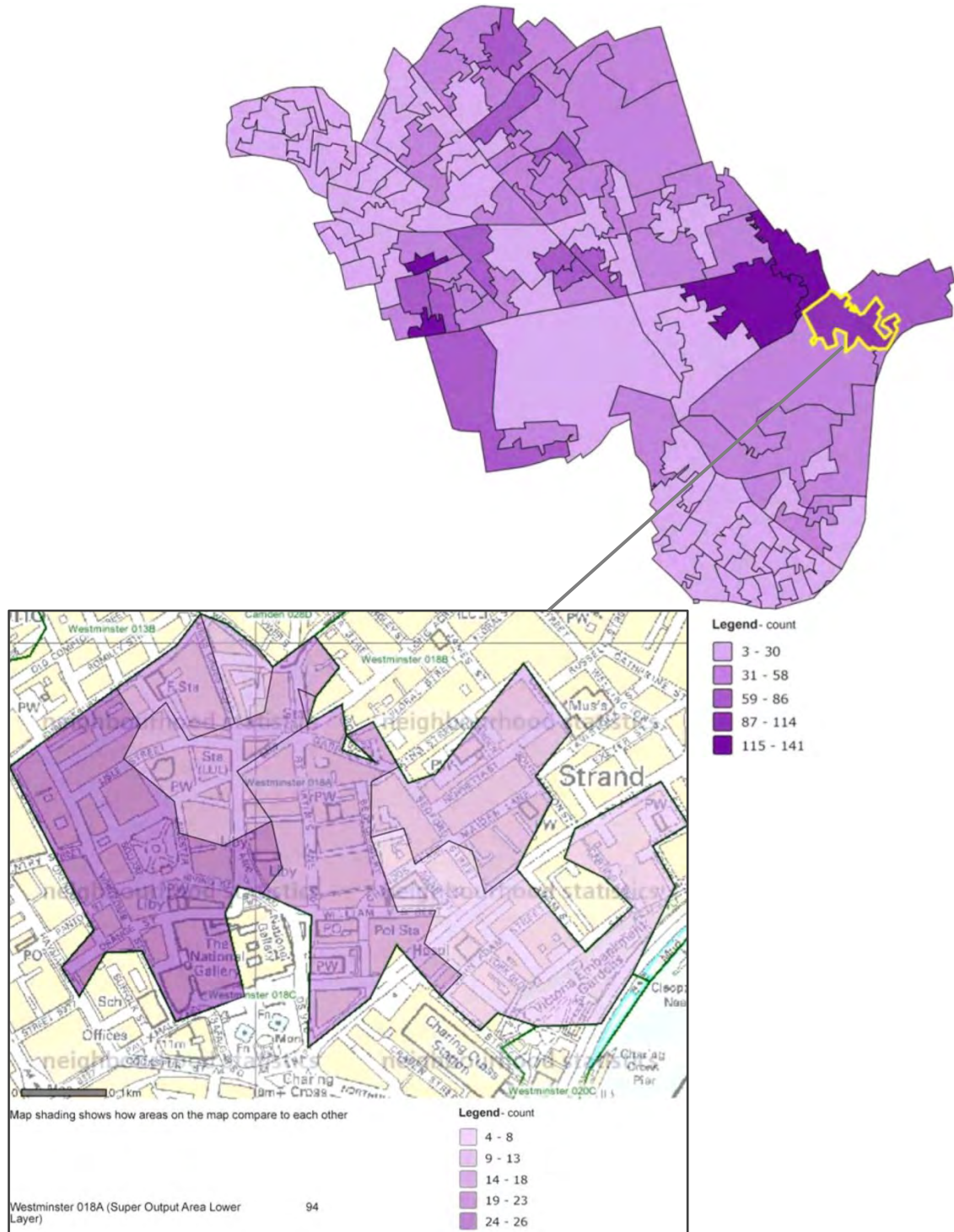
Part of the Booth Map used for analysis and discussion in Chapter 3. ©Sabina Ahmad (July 1999)



7.1.2 Super Output Area Map 2004

Boundary area used by Neighbourhood Statistics for Super Output Area in Westminster 018A (this includes Chinatown in its output area).

Downloaded from www.neighbourhoodstatistics.gov.uk



7.1.3 Arkell's Jewish East End Map 1890

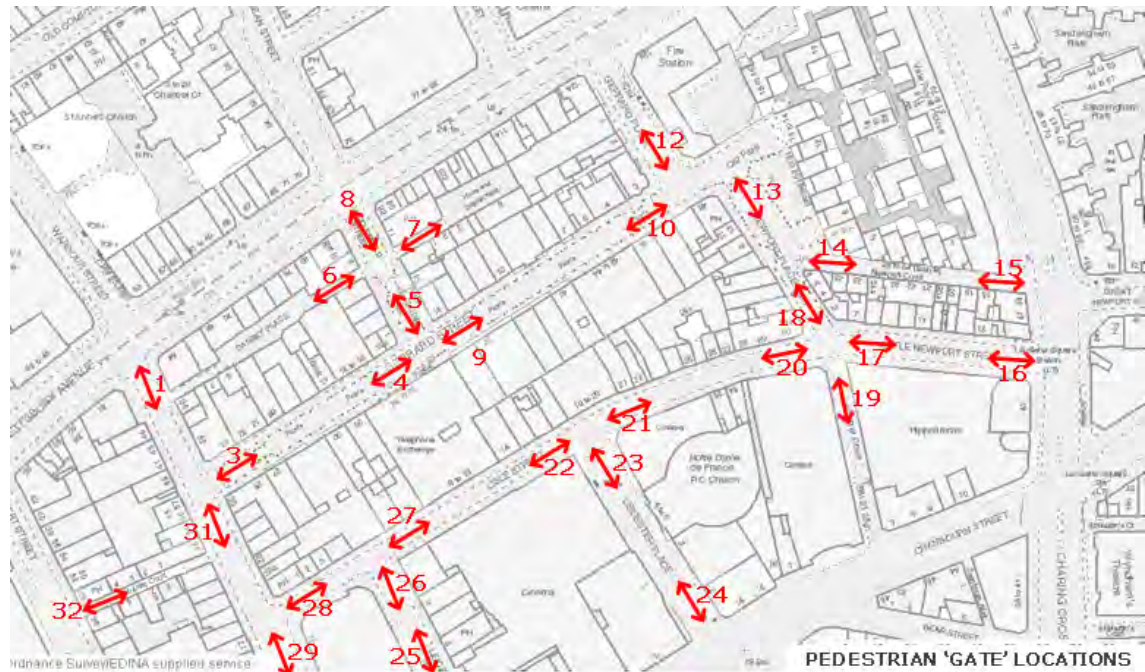
This map was created by George E. Arkell and originally published in "*The Jew in London*" by Lewis and Russell (1900).

Source: ©Jewish Museum, London (Catalogue Reference: JML/2002.05, Image Reference: 1)



7.3 Local Study Area

7.3.1 Observation: Pedestrian Gate Count Locations



7.3.2 Pedestrian Gate Count Results (Weekday)

Weekday Morning (8.30am – 10.30am)

1	2	40	44	880	46	920	0	0	46	920	4.3
2											
3	4	80	5	100	9	180	0	0	9	180	44.4
4	2	40	4	80	6	120	0	0	6	120	33.3
5	5	100	11	220	16	320	0	0	16	320	31.3
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0
8	1	20	10	200	11	220	0	0	11	220	0.0
9	6	120	6	120	12	240	0	0	12	240	0.0
10	6	120	15	300	21	420	0	0	21	420	0.0
11											
12	1	20	28	560	29	580	0	0	29	580	3.4
13	9	180	32	640	41	820	0	0	41	820	22.0
14	6	120	8	160	14	280	0	0	14	280	42.9
15	10	200	11	220	21	420	1	20	20	400	47.6
16	4	80	17	340	21	420	0	0	21	420	19.0
17	7	140	28	560	35	700	2	40	33	660	20.0
18	19	380	34	680	53	1060	0	0	53	1060	35.8
19	2	40	9	180	11	220	0	0	11	220	18.2
20	2	40	3	60	5	100	0	0	5	100	40.0
21	2	40	6	120	8	160	0	0	8	160	25.0
22	7	140	7	140	14	280	0	0	14	280	50.0
23	1	20	4	80	5	100	0	0	5	100	20.0
24	0	0	5	100	5	100	0	0	5	100	0.0
25	1	20	8	160	9	180	2	40	7	140	11.1
26	1	20	8	160	9	180	0	0	9	180	11.1
27	2	40	5	100	7	140	0	0	7	140	28.6
28	1	20	14	280	15	300	0	0	15	300	6.7
29	8	160	12	240	20	400	0	0	20	400	40.0
30											
31	6	120	22	440	28	560	4	80	24	480	21.4
32	0	0	7	140	7	140	2	40	5	100	0.0
GATE	Chinese 3min	Chinese 1hr	Non-Chinese 3min	Non-Chinese 1hr	Total 3min	Total 1hr	Tourists 3min	Tourist 1hr	Local 3min	Local 1hr	% Chinese

Weekday Lunchtime (12.30pm – 2.30pm)

1	31	620	51	1020	82	1640	13	260	69	1380	37.8
2											
3	84	1680	48	960	132	2640	29	580	103	2060	63.6
4	80	1600	23	460	103	2060	34	680	69	1380	77.7
5	62	1240	28	560	90	1800	12	240	78	1560	68.9
6	10	200	0	0	10	200		0	10	200	100.0
7	1	20	0	0	1	20		0	1	20	100.0
8	33	660	23	460	56	1120	17	340	39	780	58.9
9	104	2080	55	1100	159	3180	25	500	134	2680	65.4
10	78	1560	65	1300	143	2860	26	520	117	2340	54.5
11											
12	36	720	33	660	69	1380	13	260	56	1120	52.2
13	101	2020	45	900	146	2920	20	400	126	2520	69.2
14	44	880	48	960	92	1840	15	300	77	1540	47.8
15	39	780	47	940	86	1720	17	340	69	1380	45.3
16	47	940	30	600	77	1540	10	200	67	1340	61.0
17	29	580	24	480	53	1060	19	380	34	680	54.7
18	80	1600	24	480	104	2080	15	300	89	1780	76.9
19	23	460	8	160	31	620	16	320	15	300	74.2
20	28	560	16	320	44	880	4	80	40	800	63.6
21	12	240	19	380	31	620	7	140	24	480	38.7
22	22	440	24	480	46	920	8	160	38	760	47.8
23	13	260	23	460	36	720	14	280	22	440	36.1
24	5	100	26	520	31	620	10	200	21	420	16.1
25	9	180	19	380	28	560	4	80	24	480	32.1
26	5	100	23	460	28	560	0	0	28	560	17.9
27	26	520	14	280	40	800	5	100	35	700	65.0
28	33	660	32	640	65	1300	3	60	62	1240	50.8
29	22	440	65	1300	87	1740	6	120	81	1620	25.3
30											
31	47	940	90	1800	137	2740	31	620	106	2120	34.3
32	51	1020	15	300	66	1320	30	600	36	720	77.3
GATE	Chinese 3min	Chinese 1hr	Non-Chinese 3min	Non-Chinese 1hr	Total 3min	Total 1hr	Tourists 3min	Tourist 1hr	Local 3min	Local 1hr	% Chinese

Weekday Dinner time (6.30pm – 8.30pm)

1	23	460	107	2140	130	2600	28	560	102	2040	17.7
2											
3	64	1280	59	1180	123	2460	38	760	85	1700	52.0
4	43	860	73	1460	116	2320	10	200	106	2120	37.1
5	31	620	67	1340	98	1960	8	160	90	1800	31.6
6	6	120	0	0	6	120	0	0	6	120	100.0
7	11	220	0	0	11	220	0	0	11	220	100.0
8	21	420	55	1100	76	1520	15	300	61	1220	27.6
9	76	1520	67	1340	143	2860	26	520	117	2340	53.1
10	61	1220	54	1080	115	2300	31	620	84	1680	53.0
11											
12	33	660	63	1260	96	1920	23	460	73	1460	34.4
13	72	1440	89	1780	161	3220	13	260	148	2960	44.7
14	39	780	39	780	78	1560	2	40	76	1520	50.0
15	28	560	64	1280	92	1840	14	280	78	1560	30.4
16	22	440	60	1200	82	1640	15	300	67	1340	26.8
17	54	1080	87	1740	141	2820	23	460	118	2360	38.3
18	49	980	54	1080	103	2060	17	340	86	1720	47.6
19	29	580	43	860	72	1440	4	80	68	1360	40.3
20	37	740	87	1740	124	2480	16	320	108	2160	29.8
21	35	700	69	1380	104	2080	6	120	98	1960	33.7
22	18	360	24	480	42	840	7	140	35	700	42.9
23	20	400	69	1380	89	1780	8	160	81	1620	22.5
24	10	200	91	1820	101	2020	4	80	97	1940	9.9
25	5	100	44	880	49	980	4	80	45	900	10.2
26	6	120	24	480	30	600	7	140	23	460	20.0
27	22	440	48	960	70	1400	3	60	67	1340	31.4
28	28	560	68	1360	96	1920	27	540	69	1380	29.2
29	27	540	87	1740	114	2280	8	160	106	2120	23.7
30											
31	49	980	76	1520	125	2500	8	160	117	2340	39.2
32	5	100	19	380	24	480	2	40	22	440	20.8
GATE	Chinese 3min	Chinese 1hr	Non-Chinese 3min	Non-Chinese 1hr	Total 3min	Total 1hr	Tourists 3min	Tourist 1hr	Local 3min	Local 1hr	% Chinese

Weekday Late Night (10.00pm – 12.00 midnight)

1	18	360	60	1200	78	1560	9	180	69	1380	23.1
2											
3	16	320	50	1000	66	1320	14	280	52	1040	24.2
4	5	100	30	600	35	700	0	0	35	700	14.3
5	17	340	35	700	52	1040	4	80	48	960	32.7
6	5	100	0	0	5	100	0	0	5	100	100.0
7	1	20	0	0	1	20	0	0	1	20	100.0
8	11	220	35	700	46	920	4	80	42	840	23.9
9	15	300	35	700	50	1000	8	160	42	840	30.0
10	23	460	57	1140	80	1600	4	80	76	1520	28.8
11											
12	4	80	22	440	26	520	3	60	23	460	15.4
13	27	540	37	740	64	1280	5	100	59	1180	42.2
14	18	360	35	700	53	1060	0	0	53	1060	34.0
15	5	100	32	640	37	740	0	0	37	740	13.5
16	17	340	47	940	64	1280	4	80	60	1200	26.6
17	6	120	58	1160	64	1280	3	60	61	1220	9.4
18	31	620	51	1020	82	1640	4	80	78	1560	37.8
19	4	80	17	340	21	420	0	0	21	420	19.0
20	6	120	33	660	39	780	2	40	37	740	15.4
21	6	120	27	540	33	660	0	0	33	660	18.2
22	12	240	28	560	40	800	8	160	32	640	30.0
23	2	40	16	320	18	360	2	40	16	320	11.1
24	1	20	18	360	19	380	0	0	19	380	5.3
25	9	180	17	340	26	520	0	0	26	520	34.6
26	7	140	12	240	19	380	0	0	19	380	36.8
27	8	160	28	560	36	720	4	80	32	640	22.2
28	8	160	19	380	27	540	0	0	27	540	29.6
29	13	260	50	1000	63	1260	8	160	55	1100	20.6
30											
31	22	440	71	1420	93	1860	13	260	80	1600	23.7
32	2	40	2	40	4	80	0	0	4	80	50.0
GATE	Chinese 3min	Chinese 1hr	Non-Chinese 3min	Non-Chinese 1hr	Total 3min	Total 1hr	Tourists 3min	Tourist 1hr	Local 3min	Local 1hr	% Chinese

7.3.2 Pedestrian Gate Count Results (Weekend)

Weekday Morning (8.30am – 10.30am)

1	2	40	8	160	10	200	1	20	9	180	20.0
2											
3	3	60	2	40	5	100	0	0	5	100	60.0
4	17	340	2	40	19	380	0	0	19	380	89.5
5	11	220	2	40	13	260	0	0	13	260	84.6
6	2	40	0	0	2	40	0	0	2	40	100.0
7	6	120	2	40	8	160	0	0	8	160	75.0
8	5	100	2	40	7	140	0	0	7	140	71.4
9	18	360	11	220	29	580	10	200	19	380	62.1
10	11	220	1	20	12	240	0	0	12	240	91.7
11											
12	1	20	7	140	8	160	0	0	8	160	12.5
13	9	180	1	20	10	200	0	0	10	200	90.0
14	3	60	2	40	5	100	0	0	5	100	60.0
15	2	40	3	60	5	100	0	0	5	100	40.0
16	4	80	11	220	15	300	2	40	13	260	26.7
17	3	60	6	120	9	180	0	0	9	180	33.3
18	11	220	5	100	16	320	0	0	16	320	68.8
19	0	0	1	20	1	20	0	0	1	20	0.0
20	10	200	7	140	17	340	4	80	13	260	58.8
21	2	40	0	0	2	40	0	0	2	40	100.0
22	4	80	6	120	10	200	0	0	10	200	40.0
23	0	0	2	40	2	40	0	0	2	40	0.0
24	2	40	2	40	4	80	1	20	3	60	50.0
25	5	100	9	180	14	280	4	80	10	200	35.7
26	1	20	4	80	5	100	2	40	3	60	20.0
27	0	0	4	80	4	80	0	0	4	80	0.0
28	5	100	7	140	12	240	1	20	11	220	41.7
29	0	0	12	240	12	240	3	60	9	180	0.0
30											
31	7	140	19	380	26	520	6	120	20	400	26.9
32	2	40	0	0	2	40	0	0	2	40	100.0
GATE	Chinese 3min	Chinese 1hr	Non-Chi 3min	Non-Chi 1hr	Total 3min	Total 1hr	Tourists 3min	Tourist 1hr	Local 3min	Local 1hr	% Chinese

Weekday Lunchtime (12.30pm – 2.30pm)

1	29	580	40	800	69	1380	18	360	51	1020	42.0
2											
3	67	1340	63	1260	130	2600	47	940	83	1660	51.5
4	108	2160	48	960	156	3120	2	40	154	3080	69.2
5	85	1700	17	340	102	2040	2	40	100	2000	83.3
6	22	440	2	40	24	480	0	0	24	480	91.7
7	8	160	1	20	9	180	0	0	9	180	88.9
8	55	1100	34	680	89	1780	6	120	83	1660	61.8
9	115	2300	56	1120	171	3420	9	180	162	3240	67.3
10	133	2660	79	1580	212	4240	5	100	207	4140	62.7
11											
12	38	760	22	440	60	1200	1	20	59	1180	63.3
13	130	2600	67	1340	197	3940	40	800	157	3140	66.0
14	54	1080	43	860	97	1940	0	0	97	1940	55.7
15	29	580	36	720	65	1300	11	220	54	1080	44.6
16	61	1220	37	740	98	1960	1	20	97	1940	62.2
17	54	1080	48	960	102	2040	2	40	100	2000	52.9
18	90	1800	49	980	139	2780	2	40	137	2740	64.7
19	13	260	25	500	38	760	0	0	38	760	34.2
20	85	1700	38	760	123	2460	0	0	123	2460	69.1
21	44	880	29	580	73	1460	0	0	73	1460	60.3
22	43	860	39	780	82	1640	1	20	81	1620	52.4
23	16	320	54	1080	70	1400	10	200	60	1200	22.9
24	32	640	27	540	59	1180	0	0	59	1180	54.2
25	5	100	24	480	29	580	0	0	29	580	17.2
26	25	500	17	340	42	840	0	0	42	840	59.5
27	61	1220	27	540	88	1760	0	0	88	1760	69.3
28	59	1180	38	760	97	1940	1	20	96	1920	60.8
29	44	880	58	1160	102	2040	0	0	102	2040	43.1
30											
31	74	1480	76	1520	150	3000	0	0	150	3000	49.3
32	26	520	20	400	46	920	0	0	46	920	56.5
GATE	Chinese 3min	Chinese 1hr	Non-Chi 3min	Non-Chi 1hr	Total 3min	Total 1hr	Tourists 3min	Tourist 1hr	Local 3min	Local 1hr	% Chinese

Weekday Dinner time (6.30pm – 8.30pm)

1	49	980	167	3340	216	4320	45	900	171	3420	22.7
2											
3	50	1000	106	2120	156	3120	37	740	119	2380	32.1
4	51	1020	123	2460	174	3480	43	860	131	2620	29.3
5	36	720	76	1520	112	2240	32	640	80	1600	32.1
6	7	140	0	0	7	140	0	0	7	140	100.0
7	8	160	0	0	8	160	0	0	8	160	100.0
8	36	720	50	1000	86	1720	35	700	51	1020	41.9
9	130	2600	232	4640	362	7240	52	1040	310	6200	35.9
10	58	1160	122	2440	180	3600	18	360	162	3240	32.2
11											
12	19	380	65	1300	84	1680	20	400	64	1280	22.6
13	39	780	104	2080	143	2860	14	280	129	2580	27.3
14	46	920	89	1780	135	2700	10	200	125	2500	34.1
15	31	620	65	1300	96	1920	27	540	69	1380	32.3
16	29	580	59	1180	88	1760	6	120	82	1640	33.0
17	27	540	55	1100	82	1640	9	180	73	1460	32.9
18	35	700	95	1900	130	2600	19	380	111	2220	26.9
19	15	300	36	720	51	1020	1	20	50	1000	29.4
20	29	580	86	1720	115	2300	17	340	98	1960	25.2
21	32	640	80	1600	112	2240	13	260	99	1980	28.6
22	23	460	85	1700	108	2160	35	700	73	1460	21.3
23	19	380	59	1180	78	1560	18	360	60	1200	24.4
24	21	420	62	1240	83	1660	15	300	68	1360	25.3
25	14	280	56	1120	70	1400	3	60	67	1340	20.0
26	12	240	30	600	42	840	12	240	30	600	28.6
27	22	440	74	1480	96	1920	21	420	75	1500	22.9
28	25	500	90	1800	115	2300	42	840	73	1460	21.7
29	51	1020	111	2220	162	3240	31	620	131	2620	31.5
30											
31	108	2160	216	4320	324	6480	42	840	282	5640	33.3
32	10	200	27	540	37	740	0	0	37	740	27.0
GATE	Chinese 3min	Chinese 1hr	Non-Chi 3min	Non-Chi 1hr	Total 3min	Total 1hr	Tourists 3min	Tourist 1hr	Local 3min	Local 1hr	

Weekday Late Night (10.00pm – 12.00 midnight)

1	23	460	176	3520	199	3980	4	80	195	3900	11.6
2											
3	20	400	124	2480	144	2880	15	300	129	2580	13.9
4	20	400	116	2320	136	2720	9	180	127	2540	14.7
5	17	340	92	1840	109	2180	14	280	95	1900	15.6
6	0	0	3	60	3	60	0	0	3	60	0.0
7	1	20	0	0	1	20	0	0	1	20	100.0
8	9	180	81	1620	90	1800	14	280	76	1520	10.0
9	26	520	122	2440	148	2960	0	0	148	2960	17.6
10	30	600	111	2220	141	2820	6	120	135	2700	21.3
11											
12	9	180	46	920	55	1100	4	80	51	1020	16.4
13	79	1580	87	1740	166	3320	41	820	125	2500	47.6
14	10	200	45	900	55	1100	6	120	49	980	18.2
15	10	200	45	900	55	1100	6	120	49	980	18.2
16	15	300	83	1660	98	1960	10	200	88	1760	15.3
17	17	340	84	1680	101	2020	10	200	91	1820	16.8
18	16	320	82	1640	98	1960	6	120	92	1840	16.3
19	16	320	39	780	55	1100	0	0	55	1100	29.1
20	6	120	39	780	45	900	2	40	43	860	13.3
21	23	460	52	1040	75	1500	3	60	72	1440	30.7
22	9	180	42	840	51	1020	0	0	51	1020	17.6
23	14	280	54	1080	68	1360	2	40	66	1320	20.6
24	7	140	71	1420	78	1560	4	80	74	1480	9.0
25	18	360	42	840	60	1200	0	0	60	1200	30.0
26	0	0	29	580	29	580	0	0	29	580	0.0
27	11	220	38	760	49	980	0	0	49	980	22.4
28	17	340	54	1080	71	1420	4	80	67	1340	23.9
29	17	340	86	1720	103	2060	3	60	100	2000	16.5
30											
31	30	600	165	3300	195	3900	0	0	195	3900	15.4
32	7	140	8	160	15	300	0	0	15	300	46.7
GATE	Chinese 3min	Chinese 1hr	Non-Chi 3min	Non-Chi 1hr	Total 3min	Total 1hr	Tourists 3min	Tourist 1hr	Local 3min	Local 1hr	% Chinese

7.4 Interviews

7.4.1 Chinese Restaurant Proprietors

Interview conducted with Mr. Kevin Yeung, Managing Director of Laureate Restaurant (KY) and Ms. Yick-Kwan Yeung-Lam, Financial Director of Royal China Group (YY) on Friday 13.06.2008 @ 7pm at Laureate Restaurant (64 Shaftesbury Avenue, London W1D 6LU)

When did you start your company?

YY: My company was started by my father 17 years ago in London.

KY: I started this restaurant in 2004.

What was your family history like and what was the reason for coming to London or the UK?

YY: My whole family came here in 1991 from Hong Kong where I was born for immigration purposes and better living conditions. My siblings and I came here for education.

KY: I was born here. My parents met here in London at the Empire club (in Leicester Square) when they were young. After they were married my dad emigrated here and my mum subsequently followed with her family. Their reasons for coming to the UK are the same as Yick-Kwan's family.

How did both of you end up working in the catering industry?

YY and KY: Family business.

Why did you locate your business premises here?

KY: This is a very central location – in fact it is a prime location in the West End. This was even before I moved in, although the area was quieter then, it has picked up quite a bit since.

What would you say is the size of your restaurant/restaurants and how many customers can it accommodate?

YY: My company's restaurants range between small to medium with the small businesses being able to take in up to 80 people at one time. The medium sized ones can seat between 120 and 200 people each.

KY: My restaurant is a small business with just under 40 staff working here. We have a seating capacity of 120 people.

Are your employees specially hired? Are they hired locally or abroad?

YY and KY: There is a mixture of both local and abroad. The ones from abroad come from Malaysia, China and Hong Kong. However the specially hired ones are the chefs and they are hired dependent on their skills, not where they come from. We need chefs who are specialised in '*dim sum*' and barbeque.

Do you think Chinatown currently exists for the local Chinese community or for tourists?

KY: Before it was mostly tourists, but now we have more students who can afford to eat regularly in Chinese restaurants. Ten years ago most of our customers were the local Chinese in London. But since the congestion charge was introduced (2003), it has pushed most of the business from Chinese customers out of the central London away from the congestion zone. Plus the price in parking has gone up in London and rental prices in this area have shot up considerably. Now a lot of restaurants have relocated outside central London, which has incidentally improved the quality of the cuisine typically found in Chinese restaurant in the suburbs and become as competitive as the ones we have here. As there are also fewer parking spaces in central London than before, this has dissuaded a lot of Chinese families to come into the city for dinners.

I can say off the top of my head that now our customers are divided between 40% from students, and 25 to 30% from tourists, who are mainly walk-in customers. We have stopped taking in arranged tour group dinner reservations as the tourist companies only deal on credit and have been very bad in making payments when they are due.

What do you think is the future of Chinatown? Is having a Chinatown sustainable?

KY: I think the amount of businesses in Chinatown is slowly going down and moving away. The younger generation are also not keen to work in the catering industry – it is after all very hard work. Most of them want to take up white-collar professional jobs. Those that do stay in this industry tend to come from families who are already involved in the catering business, such as ours.

7.4.2 Chinatown Chinese Community Centre Director

Summary of interview with Ping Hayward, Centre Director on Sunday 29.06.2008 @ 12.30pm at the Chinese Community Centre office (2nd Floor, 28-29 Gerrard Street, London W1D 6JP).

What are the busiest times for the centre?

Every day is very busy for us here: On Mondays to Thursdays we have a luncheon club. On Saturday mornings, there will be lifelong learning classes; at noon, painting and mandarin classes; and in the afternoon from 12 noon to 4pm there are two music classes on traditional Chinese instruments such as the 'Er-hu' (a stringed instrument) and a dance group in the evening. Sundays are primarily reserved for the Youth Club.

Who are the ones mostly using the facilities of the centre?

They are all from very different categories. Our most popular facilities are the lifelong learning classes, activities for the elderly and advice centre. The elderly are usually Chinese immigrants who arrived into the country to work in the catering industry around the 1960s and are now retired. The new wave of immigrants arrived around 1990 and more recently after year 2000. The advice centre always receives queries from refugees or asylum seekers who have settlement status or are in the process of being granted this in the United Kingdom.

Do you think in the future Chinatown will remain as a centre for the Chinese community in London?

Chinatown will always be important for the Chinese community. It has always been a place of gathering for the Chinese people and as a place for making social connections. In itself, it helps to promote equality and integrate the Chinese community into the city.

Now our focus is more on community coherence by maintaining contacts with other organisations and to promote multi-lingual diversity. That is why we provide training especially in language skills. Although a lot of Chinese migrants come in with higher education, there are still as a high proportion of new immigrants cannot speak English.

When we first opened in 1980, we had about 1,000 visitors in the first year. Now we currently have 30,000 people from all over London visiting each year. We even have people calling in from Bristol requesting for advice. However, our services are directed at the Chinese community living in all the 33 London Boroughs. This is because more than half our funds are given by the London government and the remaining mostly from Westminster City Council.

Although there are 10 to 11 community centres that have services available to the Chinese community in London, only 2 or 3 are well-established amongst the Chinese themselves and the most important service that can be provided is on benefit advice as it has a very complex system.

We used to open 6 days a week – most community centres are only open 5 days – but since last year we have had to change to everyday due to the increasing demand for service. My colleagues and I operate on a rota schedule. For me, I work from Sundays to Thursdays.

My observation on pedestrian street occupation is that there seems to be more non-Chinese around in Chinatown than there are Chinese. What are your views on that?

It is very important that Chinatown is also a tourist attraction as it helps to raise the profile of Chinatown as a centre for the Chinese people so that it can continue to exist and serve the Chinese community.

Restaurant owners have told me that the implementation of the congestion charge in central London has severely reduced the number of Chinese people eating at the local restaurants. Has this affected the number of people visiting the community centre?

No, the congestion charging has not affected the amount of people and the regulars who come to use the facilities at all. It is only the business side of Chinatown that has been affected. Our community centre is already established as the centre for the Chinese community and most of the people who come here use the public transport.

ADDITIONAL NOTE: The following reports and information were supplied by the community centre in addition to the interview.

- Chinese people in the UK: Meeting Community Needs. A Research Report by the Chinese Community Centre, March 2005.
- Domestic Violence in the UK Chinese Community. A report by the Chinese Community Centre, March 2007.
- Chinese Community Centre 06/07 Report
- Chinese Community Centre Newsletter Summer 2008

7.5 Glossary

Acculturation	Stage in the assimilation process where new norms, values, and behaviour patterns are incorporated over time to become accepted into the host society without integrating
Assimilation	The disappearance of ethnic differences either through conforming to a dominant structure or through merging
Choice*	A measure of the likelihood of a space in the street network being used as part of a route from all possible origins and destinations
Configuration*	Relations between at two spaces taking account a third, and, at most, the relation between all spaces in a complex taking into account all others
“Dim Sum”	Traditional Chinese cuisine involving a wide range of light dishes usually served in the mornings alongside Chinese tea
Ethnic enclave	Communities of an ethnic group inside an area where another ethnic group predominates i.e. the host society
Ethnicity	Means by which states and scientists can identify and categorise people, and through which people can identify themselves
Fujian	South-eastern province in China bordered by Zhejiang to the north, Jiangxi to the west, Guangdong to the south and Taiwan to the east across the straits
Gate count	Total number of people crossing an imaginary ‘gate’ perpendicular to a street in a specified period of time located on a specific street segment
Global Integration*	How deep or shallow each line is in relation to all other lines within the system
Guangdong	Large province in the south of China formerly referred to as Canton Province
Guangxi	Mountainous province in the south of China bordered by Yunnan to the west, Guizhou to the north, Hunan to the northeast, and Guangdong to the southeast; also bounded by Vietnam in the southwest and the Gulf of Tonkin in the south
Intelligibility*	Correlation between connectivity and global integration
Local Integration*	How deep or shallow each line in is from all lines up to two steps (r=2) or a certain distance away within the system
Lascars	Formerly used to describe a sailor from India and other countries east of the Cape of Good Hope

Mean Depth*	Average physical distance one would have to travel from this location to get to any other
Segment map*	Derived from an existing fewest line axial map which is then disaggregated at intersections to form a segment network in which the distance cost between two line segments is measured by taking the ' <i>shortest</i> ' path from one to the other
Stepdepth*	Measure of the number of visual turns taken to get from one location to another
Sojourner	One who clings to one's cultural heritage of one's own ethnic group and tends to live in isolation, hindering assimilation in the society in which one resides
Synergy*	Correlation between global and local integration
" <i>Tongs</i> "	Chinese associations originally created for mutual support and protection, especially from other local ethnic groups hostile to the migrants. Now it is more commonly used for a type of secret society found among Chinese

* Symbol used to denote Space Syntax terminology

7.6 Key Dates and Events

1839-43 and 1856-60	Opium Wars (China) also known as Anglo-Chinese Wars of the trade dispute between China's ruling Qing dynasty and the United Kingdom
1899-1900	Boxer Uprising (China) by members of the Chinese Society of Right and Harmonious Fists fighting against foreign influence
1905 & 1914	Aliens Restriction Act (UK); later amended in 1919
1923	Dangerous Drugs Act (UK)
7 September 1940	Black Sunday (London)
1959-75	Vietnam War or Second Indochina War
1962	Commonwealth Immigration Act (UK)
1975	Conservation Area Protection for Soho including Chinatown
2003	Congestion Charging Zone implemented in central London
2003	Chinatown Action Plan