

A Study of the Pattern of Settlement of the Chinese Community in East London

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Abstract

This thesis aims to study the pattern of settlement of the Chinese Community in the United Kingdom: taking samples mainly from the Chinese community in Tower Hamlets in East London. It examines in details the behavioural pattern and traditional values of the Chinese culture and the various sociological factors that may have influenced the Chinese people in their choice of places to settle. Various concepts and theories on ethnic minorities and the sociological issues of the Chinese community in London have been explored. I believe that it is impossible for us, as town planners, to plan for a society without a thorough understanding of the behaviour of its parts.

The increased concern of planning (in housing and the local government generally) with ethnic minorities can be disastrous and dangerous if it is based on ill-defined stereotypes ignoring the great diversity of the various groups identified in the 1991 Census. One aim of the thesis is thus to explain some of the key features of one particular minority group – the Chinese. I believe it is an essential basis for better planning.

I am interested in the Chinese community because with a population of around 57,000, it is the smallest ethnic minority group in the UK; hence very little attention has been paid to them. The reason for choosing Tower Hamlets is because it used to be home to the first Chinese immigrants. The London dock area around Tower Hamlets (as it is called today) was the first point of entry for a lot of the earlier Chinese settlers in the UK as many of them jumped ship and settled there.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Aims and Objectives

This thesis aims to study the pattern of settlement of the Chinese Community, taking the Chinese community in Tower Hamlets in East London as the main focus. It examines the Chinese culture and sociological factors that may have influenced the Chinese people in their choice of places to settle in the UK. The reason I have explored in detail the various concepts and theories and the sociological issues of the Chinese community in London, using samples taken from Tower Hamlets, is because I think it is impossible for us, as town planners, to plan for a society without a thorough understanding the behaviour of its parts.

The increased concern of planning (in housing and the local government generally) with ethnic minorities can be disastrous and dangerous if it is based on ill-defined stereotypes ignoring the great diversity of the various groups identified in the 1991 Census. One aim of the thesis is thus to explain some of the key features of one particular minority group – the Chinese. I believe it is an essential basis for better planning.

In order to achieve this aim, the focus of enquiry is the Chinese community in Tower Hamlets. I hope to gain the following insights:

- Examine in detail the factors making for migration of ethnic minorities on the whole
- Why the Chinese immigrate to the UK and the factors, which they have taken into consideration, prior to settling down at the place they are at now.
- Look into the cultural issues and factors encouraging ethnic minorities and the Chinese population in the UK to cluster or disperse

I am interested in the Chinese community because with a population of around 57,000, it is the smallest ethnic minority group in the UK; hence very little attention has been paid to them. The reason for choosing Tower Hamlets is because it used to be home to the first Chinese immigrants. The London dock area around Tower Hamlets (as it is called today) was the first point of entry for a lot of the earlier Chinese settlers in the UK as many of them jumped ship and settled there.

1.2 Process of Migration

The thesis starts by examining the various factors that cause people to migrate. Since the end of the Second World War, from 1945 onwards, international migration has grown in volume. This is mainly due to the large-scale expansion of production in highly developed countries. Chapter 2 looks into the factors making for migration and the various types of migration; in particular discusses the classes of migration classified by Petersen (1970). It then applies Bohning's (1984) four-stage model to examine the pattern of migration of the Chinese immigrants in detail. The chapter then looks at the various models and theories suggested by various authors that contribute to the relationship between the ethnic minorities and the nations. It concludes with an insight into factors affecting migrants' choice of destination.

1.3 Migration from Asia

Migration from Asia did not pick up until the 1970s when most of the Asian countries experienced rapid economic growth and modernisation. Western penetration through trade, aid and investment created the material means necessary for migration. However, the economic transition from rural to industrial economies took place in a very uneven way within the region hence migration was thought to be the solution and a way out of these uncertain economies. These issues are further examined in Chapter 3,

which starts by examining the reasons and factors making for migration since 1945 then focuses on migration from the Asian Pacific Regions.

1.4 Culture and identity

A necessary starting point for an analysis of the experiences encountered by ethnic minorities in the housing issue is to consider the concepts and terms that are widely used in the literature to which reference have been made. Chapter 4 examines the race and ethnicity concepts and aims to clarify these terms. It then looks at two theories of segregation or assimilation, proposed by Peach et al. (1981), which looks at the reasons and factors of international migration in increasing diversity within a society.

1.5 Chinese Population in the UK

Chapter 5 starts with a summary of the quantitative information obtained in the 1991 Census. It looks at the ethnic distribution and the geographical concentration of the ethnic minorities across the UK. It looks further into the diversity of the Chinese. The Chinese stems from a wide range of geographical origin, with the majority originating from Hong Kong. Despite the fact that the Chinese immigrants call themselves Chinese, they come from various Asian countries hence have different traditions and cultures.

1.6 Policies

Chapter 6 looks at the various immigration Acts, from the 1905 Aliens Act to the 1981 Nationality Act, and examines how the changes have affected the rate of immigration into the UK. Changes in the direction of immigration regulation have been made as a result of the pressure of events, external to Great Britain rather than as the outcome of the country's anticipation and purposeful planning. In the period of European labour shortage, making colonised people into subjects of the British crown was a way of legitimating

colonialism and it also seemed a convenient way of bringing in low-skilled labour from the British colonies. However, citizenship for the people from the colonies became a liability when permanent settlement took place and labour demand declined in the UK. In order to alleviate this problem, Britain removed the right of citizenship from their former colonial subjects and put these people on a par with foreigners.

1.7 The Chinese in Tower Hamlets

Chapter 7 focuses the analysis of ethnic minorities and the Chinese population to Tower Hamlets, East London. It gives the history of the Chinese population in Tower Hamlets and how this group has developed since the arrival of the first Chinese in the dock area.

In terms of settlement, the Chinese is spread very thinly across London and throughout the country, partly because of the demands of the catering trade. Chapter 9 examines the social behaviour of the first generation Chinese immigrants and see how their traditional values and occupations may have influenced the way they settle in the UK. The occupations undertaken by these first generation Chinese are discussed in details in chapter 10. Chapter 11 further examines the reasons why the majority of the ethnic minority groups, using US examples, prefer to be self-employed. Many Hong Kong Chinese who migrated to the UK between the 1960s and 1970s were guaranteed jobs offered by their family members or relatives who had already settled and started Chinese restaurants; this issue will be elaborated in chapter 12.

1.8 Pattern of Settlement and Dispersal of the Chinese Community

The regional distribution of the Chinese is characterised by the concentration (53% of UK's Chinese population) in the South East and a wide dispersion in other parts of Britain. Although there is a high

percentage of Chinese living in inner London, this is not replicated in the other regions, where they are very dispersed.

However, the regional distribution and the settlement pattern, which is discussed in chapter 13, of the Chinese varies with the country of origin and is affected by employment patterns. The Hong Kong Chinese, who have the highest percentage of caterers, are most widely dispersed across the country. Their level of concentration in the South East is the lowest among all Chinese immigrants. The Chinese from South East Asia have the highest level of concentration in the South East, containing 66 per cent of the total this segment of the Chinese population.

Chapter 14 highlights the housing problems encountered by the first generation Chinese. Information for this chapter has been extracted from various Government publication discussing issues on housing ethnic minorities and old people. The majority of the information is gathered through detailed interviews with the first generation Chinese from Tower Hamlets and numerous volunteers at relevant Chinese Community Centres in Tower Hamlets.

Chapter 15 examines whether religion has any affect on the pattern of settlement of the Chinese in the UK. It draws upon the information gathered through the detailed interviews with the Chinese people in Tower Hamlets and information on the various religion in the UK.

1.9 Methodology

For any account of the experiences of the Chinese community, it is necessary to obtain first hand information from members of the group. The required information has been obtained using an interviewer-administered questionnaire to answer the research aims and objectives outlined previously. An interviewer-administered open-ended questionnaire has

been selected because it is the most practical option for a sample of this size. The interviews were based on a list of questions (in Appendix 1) which have been set out to find out the required information about each members of the Chinese community.

There are currently two Chinese Community Centres in Tower Hamlets; East London Chinese Community Centre based in All Saints and the Chinese Association of Tower Hamlets (CATH) based in Westferry. Both of them provide lunches to the Chinese people three times a week. They offer them a place for recreation such as to play majong or cards. The helpers also translate letters or bills for their members.

The subjects of the research are the Chinese people who help out and those who attend lunches at either of the two Chinese Community Centres in Tower Hamlets mentioned above. The points of focus are:

- Background information e.g. where is their country of origin, their occupation at present and/or previous
- Reasons for migration
- Reasons for choice of destination
- Reasons and factors which had been considered when choosing the location of their current residence

A quota of twenty interviews was set as this was thought to be an appropriate number for a snap shot survey. Usually there would need to be careful consideration of interviewing location, time of day etc. to avoid the introduction of bias. It has been noted that members who do not attend the lunches at the two Chinese Community Centres have been omitted but for the purpose of an overview, this was considered irrelevant as the size of the survey meant that any inferences made would not be able to be tested, however, as far as possible respondents were selected randomly.

Background information of the Chinese community was obtained through long interviews with the volunteers and the board members of several Chinese Community Centres. The interviews aimed to find out more as to what the centres have to offer for the Chinese people; whether they are first generation immigrants or not. I have also interviewed someone from the Camden Chinese Community Centre because I have been told that they are the largest Chinese Community Centre in London. Unlike other Chinese community centres, they assist and help the Chinese people to fill in the necessary council housing application forms. I have also interviewed volunteers from Newham Chinese Community Centre, Chinese Information and Advice Centre (CIAC) in Bloomsbury and the Chinese Christian Gambling Rehabilitation Centre.

In designing the questionnaire the following points were considered:

- The questions needed to be meaningful to the respondents,
- The number of questions needed to be kept to a minimum due to time constraints whilst still collecting enough information for meaningful analysis,
- All questions included in the questionnaire needed to link directly to the overall aims of the research,
- Overly complex and loaded questions were to be avoided,
- The results obtained by the questionnaire needed to be easily analysed.

The nature and purpose of the questionnaire was introduced to respondents before administering the questionnaire. The questionnaires for the Chinese people have been conducted in the Chinese language since the majority of them have little or no knowledge of English. The questionnaires for the volunteers and board members were conducted in a mixture of English and Chinese.

2 Immigration

2.1 Introduction

The United Kingdom has been the recipient of large net population inflows (Rees, 1982). One of the most obvious changes in British society since the Second World War has been the growth of identifiable minorities in the population. This is due to millions of people who seek work, a new home or simply a safe place to live outside their countries of birth. People move, often from less developed, countries in search for better employment opportunities and social conditions. For many of those from the less developed countries, emigration is one aspect of the social crisis which accompanies integration into the world market and modernisation (Castle, S. and Miller, M.J., 1998). Due to the rapid population growth and the 'green revolution' in rural areas people began to move to burgeoning cities. However, massive urbanisation outstrips the creation of jobs in the early stages of industrialisation therefore some of these rural-urban migrants embark on a second migration seeking to improve their lives by moving to another, which are usually more or highly developed, countries. According to Castles and Miller (1998) these movements take many forms: people migrate as manual workers, highly qualified specialists, entrepreneurs, and refugees or as family members of previous migrants. Whether the initial intention is temporary or permanent movement, many migrants become settlers eventually.

2.2 Factors Making for Migration

International migration is hardly ever a simple individual action in which a person decides to move in search of better life-chances, pulls up his or her roots in the place of origin and quickly becomes assimilated in the new country (Castles and Miller, 1998). Migration and settlement is a long-drawn-out process, which will be played out for the rest of the migrant's life, and affect subsequent generations. It can be seen as a collective action, arising

out of social change and affecting the whole society in both sending and receiving areas. It is seen as a collective action as people are constantly seeking to improve their standard of life.

The Home Office (2001) has identified several factors that enter into the migration decision; these are:

1. Economic incentives
2. Labour market conditions in both the source and destination countries
3. Laws and policy in both countries
4. Information and information flows
5. Chain migration effects
6. Transport and transaction costs
7. Capital constraints (the initial cost required to immigrate)
8. Other factors affecting the desirability of living/working in the destination as opposed to source country, from ethnic or political violence to climate.

As can be seen from the list above, migration is not entirely determined by policy of the source or host countries. Rossi (quoted in Jansen 1982) has identified the importance of the 'work' motive in the immigrants' decision to move and choice of destination. However, 'work' can take on a very broad spectrum in the context of migration (Jansen, 1982). There is the first scenario whereby a person who is completely jobless might migrate to another area in the hope of finding any kind of work. On the other hand, a person might have a job in one place but he might migrate in search of a better job: a job with better pay, a job in healthier surroundings, a job which is more suited to his particular abilities. Whatever the reason it may be, the person will only migrate if the prospects for them are better in the new country.

However, work is not the only motive for migrating. Jansen (1982) mentioned the importance of 'family' motives. Alongside the 'work' motive, it accounts for

a large number of all moves. Kinship and family relationships are strong motivating forces in the decision to move. A larger proportion of persons move in order to rejoin families or relatives. Rossi, from his study (in Jansen, 1982), also noted that a large number of families move in order to improve opportunities in schooling, training and jobs for their children. However, some people migrate in response to a change in conditions, in order to retain what they have had; they move geographically in order to remain where they are in all other respects.

Castles and Miller (1998) suggested that large-scale movements of people arise from the accelerating process of global integration. They argued that migration is not an isolated phenomenon: movements of commodities and capital almost always give rise to movements of people. However, the growing inequalities in wealth impel increasing numbers of people to move in search of better living standards. Political, ecological and demographic pressures may also force many people to seek refuge outside their own countries; increasing political or ethnic conflict in a number of regions could lead to mass flights: and the creation of new free trade areas will cause movements of labour, whether or not this is intended by the governments concerned (Castles and Miller, 1998). This can be justified by the figure below. It shows an increase in the number of migrants coming to the UK between the periods of 1991-1995 and 1996-2000.

Figure 1: Average annual international migration: by main reason for migration, 1991-1995 and 1996-2000 in the United Kingdom in thousands

	1991-1995			1996-2000		
	Inflow	Outflow	Balance	Inflow	Outflow	Balance
Work-related	45	64	-19	81	77	4
Accompany/join partner	74	58	16	71	50	20
Formal study	49	11	38	77	11	66
Other ¹	47	45	2	72	64	8
No reason stated	24	35	-11	22	30	-9
All reasons	239	213	26	322	233	89

¹ Includes those looking for work

Source: Office for National Statistics

Figure 2: Average International Migration: by region of origin in thousands

	1974	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	1997	1998
Asia	18.3	34.6	30.0	22.8	25.2	27.9	25.6	30.1
Africa	7.9	8.6	4.1	4.1	9.6	13.0	13.2	16.1
Americas	9.0	7.7	6.3	6.4	7.2	8.5	7.8	10.8
Europe	12.8	9.5	6.6	5.2	5.6	7.5	7.7	7.6
Oceania	3.0	5.0	4.5	5.4	2.4	3.5	3.1	3.7
Other	17.9	15.4	7.5	3.8	3.9	1.4	1.3	1.5
All regions	68.9	80.7	59.1	47.8	53.0	61.7	58.7	69.8

Source: Home Office from www.national-statistics.org

2.3 Types of Migration

Petersen (in Jansen, 1970) has classified migration into five broad classes.

They are:

1. Primitive,
2. Forced,
3. Impelled,
4. Free and
5. Mass.

Primitive migration is one that results from natural disasters hence it is an ecological push, whereby movements are related to man's inability to cope with natural forces. This can be seen as a reaction to deterioration in the existing physical environment. This can be either remedial actions or emigration, depending on the technology available to the people concerned.

In forced migrations, the activating agent is the state or some functionally equivalent institution. The migrants do not have any power to overthrow the decision of the states/institutions; they have to leave. Migrants retain some powers to decide whether or not to leave in impelled migration. This is the case for the Hong Kong Chinese during the period of the 'green revolution' in the rural areas. The farmers from the New Territories had a choice whether to migrate to the UK or remain in Hong Kong. This has been suggested by Jansen (1982), whereby when a person is jobless, he or she would migrate for any type of work.

Free migration is when the will, of the migrants, to move or to stay is the decisive element. It relates to individuals who are strongly motivated to seek improvements of their current lives. Free migration evolves to mass migration when it becomes a collective behaviour of the groups.

From the information gathered from various literatures and from the interviews conducted, the Chinese followed the trend of impelled, free and mass migrations. Most of them came over to the UK as economic immigrants. A lot of them came to the UK during the 'green revolution'; where the majority lost their jobs and farmland. They emigrated in the hope of leading a better life and they had nothing to lose by coming to the UK. They fall under mass migration because after the father arrives in the UK, the family follows suit. This creates a pattern of chain migration, which is discussed in the next section.

2.4 Pattern of migration

Castles and Miller have identified that most migrations are initiated by young, economically active people. They are, to their terms, the 'target-earners' who want to save enough in a higher-wage economy to improve conditions at home, by buying land, building a house, setting up business, or paying for education or dowries (Castles and Miller, 1998). From their observation, they noticed how after a period in the receiving country, some of the 'primary migrants' either return home or prolong their stay. This may be because of relative success: they find living and working conditions in the new country better than in the homeland. But it may also be of relative failure: migrants find it impossible to save enough to achieve their aims, necessitating a longer sojourn (Castles and Miller, 1998). Alternatively, as time goes on, many of the earlier temporary migrants send for their spouses or they will find partners in the new country. From my interviews, most of the Chinese immigrants sent for their spouses and children after they have settled in the UK. With the birth of their children, the original plan or intentions for settlement would take on a more permanent character. This is because with the birth of their children comes education and over time, the family becomes more established and connected to the host society.

2.4.1 Four Stage Model

Bohning (1984, quoted in Castles and Miller, 1998) has summarised the patterns of migration in a four-stage model:

Stage 1:

The initial stage involves the temporary labour migration of young workers. There will be remittance of earnings and continued orientation to the homeland.

Stage 2:

Prolonging of stay and the development of social networks based on kinship or common area of origin in the host society and the development of the need for mutual help in the new environment.

Stage 3:

Family reunion, growing consciousness of long-term settlement, increasing orientation towards the receiving country, and emergence of ethnic communities with their own institutions (associations, shops, cafes, agencies, professions)

Stage 4:

Permanent settlement which, depending on the actions of the government and population of the receiving country, leads either to secure legal status and eventual citizenship, or to political exclusion, socio-economic marginalisation and the formation of permanent ethnic minorities.

The long-term effects of immigration on the receiving society emerge at the last stage of Bohning's four-stage model, permanent settlement. Through the application of Bohning's four-stage model to the Chinese community, we can see how they, as an ethnic group, are between stages 2 and 4. The Chinatowns set up in London and Manchester are clear indicators of their progression to the third stage. The majority of the first generation Chinese immigrants are slowly leaving the catering industry, which currently employs around 60 per cent of the Chinese population in the UK. This is not because they are moving to a new industry but because they are reaching the retirement age. The lack of English skills of the first generation Chinese in the UK had limited the diversity of their career paths. Those who are in the catering industry are either first generation Chinese or the more recent

Chinese immigrants from China or Vietnam. The second generation Chinese, with better education and early participation in the host society is able to compete with members of the host population. They are more upwardly mobile than the first generation Chinese. This shows how the Chinese minority group is slowly assimilating into the host society.

Then Bohning went on further to explain that the outcomes depend on the actions of the state and population of the receiving society. The state can act in two extremes ways, these are:

- Openness to settlement, granting of citizenship and gradual acceptance of cultural diversity, allowing the formation of ethnic communities, or
- Denial of the reality of settlement, refusal of citizenship and rights to settlers and rejection of cultural diversity, leading to formation of ethnic minorities, whose presence is regarded as undesirable and divisive.

However, most destination countries fit somewhere between these two extremes. The UK has accepted the Chinese immigrants into its society through granting them citizenship. From a number of old people who I have interviewed, they receive pensioner's benefits and are able to go to the doctors and receive treatments free of charge, similar to the members of the host society. The Government also recognised their need for socialising and recreation therefore has permitted the setting up of the numerous Chinese community centres across the UK.

Parkin (1979) is right in saying that the fate of a relatively small minority is likely to be determined principally by decisions taken within the majority, and that the collective actions of the minority are in large part reactions to the majority. This explains why the position of ethnic minorities within a society cannot be explained by focusing on the minority alone; the reaction of the whole society is important. Many crucial changes result from struggles within the majority about the proper treatment of the minorities. The majority can

either accept the immigrants as part of the society and allow them to share similar benefits or can treat them as separate entities. The latter usually lead to the development of sub-economies whereby the ethnic minority groups do not want to have much to do with the host society. They create an environment in which they are able to survive and live their lives accordingly. Therefore it is right to say that the departure of the immigrants from the sending country may have considerable consequences for social and economic relationships in the area of origin. In the country of immigration, settlement is closely linked to employment opportunities and is almost always concentrated in industrial and urban areas, where the impact on receiving communities is considerable. Migration thus affects not only the migrants themselves, but also the sending and receiving societies as a whole.

The first generation Chinese immigrants, with little or no knowledge of English, concentrated in the catering industry whilst the opposite is true for the second and the successive generations who seem to fit into and are accepted by the host society.

2.5 Minorities and nation

Below are three models of how the state and the receiving population react to ethnic minority groups.

2.5.1 The differential exclusionary model

Differential exclusion is to be found in countries in which the dominant definition of the nation is that of a community of birth and descent. The dominant group, hence the receiving society, is unwilling to accept immigrants and their children as members of the nation. This unwillingness and hostility are expressed through exclusionary immigration policies, restrictive naturalisation rules and the ideology of not being countries of

immigration. Differential exclusion means that, although immigrants are incorporated into certain areas of society, they are denied access to others such as welfare systems, citizenships and political participation. Hence, immigrants become ethnic minorities, which are part of civil society but are excluded from full participation in economic, social, cultural and political relations.

2.5.2 The assimilationist model

Assimilation may be defined as the policy of incorporating migrants into society through a one-sided process of adaptation: immigrants are expected to give up their distinctive linguistic, cultural or social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population. The role of the state is to create conditions favourable to this process, through insistence on use of the dominant language and attendance at normal schools for migrant children. In most cases, explicit assimilation policies have been abandoned over time, and replaced with 'integration policies'. This happened in the 1960s in Australia, Canada and Britain as it became clear that immigrants were both becoming concentrated into particular occupations and residential areas, and were forming ethnic communities. Integration strategies stress that adaptation is a gradual process in which group cohesion plays an important part. None the less, the final goal is still absorption into the dominant culture, so that integration policies are often simply a slower and gentler form of assimilation.

Essentially the assimilationist model permits people who have become members of the civil society to join the nation and the state at the price of cultural assimilation. It is believed that the assimilationist model has been applied in all highly developed immigration countries to some extent. In some countries there has been an evolution, starting with differential exclusion, progressing to assimilation, moving on to ideas of gradual integration.

2.5.3 The multicultural model

The final category is multiculturalism, which implies that immigrants should be granted equal rights in all spheres of society, without being expected to give up their diversity, although usually with an expectation of conformity to certain key values. In multicultural country, membership of civil society, initiated through permission to immigrate, should lead to full participation in the state and the nation. There are two main variants. In the laissez-faire approach typical of the USA, cultural difference and the existence of ethnic communities are accepted, but it is not seen as the role of the state to ensure social justice or to support the maintenance of ethnic cultures. The second variant is multiculturalism as a government policy, as in Canada, Australia and Sweden. Here, multiculturalism implies both the willingness of the majority group to accept cultural difference, and state action to secure equal rights for minorities.

From looking at the three models proposed by Castles and Miller (1998) multiculturalism appears to be the best method in order to rapidly incorporate large groups of culturally diverse immigrants into the host society.

Ethnic group formation takes place everywhere across the world, but the conditions under which this happens vary considerably between countries. This leads to different outcomes: in some countries ethnic group become marginalised and excluded minorities, whereas in others they take the form of ethnic communities which are accepted as part of a pluralist society. Exclusion of ethnic minority groups is most severe in former 'guestworker' countries such as Germany and Switzerland. On the contrary, multicultural models are applied in countries with explicit policies of permanent settlement and pluralism: for example Australia, Canada and Sweden. Although, Britain

recognises the reality of permanent settlement but it is unwilling to accept long-term pluralism.

Firstly, temporary migrant labour recruitment is likely to lead to permanent settlement which in turn leads to the formation of ethnic groups. Secondly is that the character of these future ethnic groups will be determined by what the state does in the early stages of migration. Policies which deny the reality of immigration by tacitly tolerating large-scale illegal movements lead to social marginalisation, minority formation and racism. Thirdly, the ethnic groups arising from immigration need their own associations and social networks, as well as their own languages and cultures. Policies which fail to recognise the importance of these tend to lead to further isolation and separatism. Fourth, the best way to prevent marginalisation and social conflicts is to grant permanent immigrants full rights in all social spheres. This means making citizenship easily available, even if this leads to dual citizenship.

From interviewing the Chinese in Tower Hamlets, it seems that Britain falls between the multi-cultural model and the assimilationist model proposed by Castles and Miller (1998). Unlike the assimilationist model, Britain does not force the Chinese immigrants to give up their cultural identities. It provides the immigrants and their children with the benefits enjoyed by its citizens. Like the multicultural model, Britain promotes the Chinese tradition and culture through the erection of Chinatowns. The Chinese are not discriminated by the Government in anyway, for example in housing allocation. The Government also acknowledges the need for Community Centres catering for the Chinese population.

Castles and Miller (1998) has also identified three main theories of migration. They are:

2.5.4 Neo-classical equilibrium theory and its perspective

The neo-classical equilibrium perspective emphasises the tendencies of people to move from densely to sparsely populated areas, or from low- to high- income areas, or link migration to fluctuations in the business cycle. These approaches are commonly known and understood as the push-pull theories; they perceive the causes of migration to lie in a combination of push factors (impelling people to leave their areas of origin) and pull factors (attracting them to certain receiving countries). Examples of push factors include demographic growth, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities and political repressions. Pull factors may be demand for labour, availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedoms.

This perspective highlights the importance of the individual's decision to migrate, which is based on rational comparison of the relative costs and benefits of remaining in the area of origin or moving to various alternative destinations (Castles and Miller, 1998). This perspective, it is believed, has a lot in common with neo-classical economics. An example taken from Castles and Miller (1998) where Borjas (1989, 1990) puts forward the model of an immigration market:

Neo-classical theory assumes that individuals maximise utility: individuals search for the country of residence that maximises their well-being... The search is constrained by the individual's financial resources, by the immigration regulations imposed by competing host countries and by the emigration regulations of the source country. In a sense, competing host countries make 'migration offers' from which individuals compare and choose. The information gathered in this market place leads many individuals to conclude that it is 'profitable' to remain in their birthplace.... Conversely, other individuals conclude that they are better off in some other

country. The immigration market nonrandomly sorts these individuals across host countries. (Borjas, 1989)

According to Borjas, individuals tend to search for what they deem is the 'best' country for immigration and/or settlement. If this is the basis of our judgements then one would expect the most disadvantaged people to move from poor countries to richer areas. He went on to argue that with this view in mind, the mere existence of economic disparities between various areas should then be sufficient to generate migrant flows. Therefore, in the long run, such flows should help to equalise wages and conditions in underdeveloped and developed regions, leading towards economic equilibrium.

However, empirical study conducted by Castles and Miller (1998) shows that it is rarely the poorest people from the least developed countries who move to the richest countries; more frequently the migrants are people of intermediate social status from areas which are undergoing economic and social change. Although the push-pull model emphasises the importance of the individual's decision to migrate, it fails to explain why a certain group of migrants goes to one country rather than the other.

The push factors that instigated the Chinese for immigration in the UK are firstly, the uncertainties of the economies at their country of origin, mainly in Hong Kong. Secondly, since the majority of the Chinese immigrants are from Hong Kong or descendants of Hong Kong Chinese, is because Hong Kong was part of the British colonies therefore it was easier for them to obtain citizenship for the UK. The majority came over because they already knew someone in the UK. Their immigration pattern is like a long chain of migration whereby one follows another and another.

Stark (1991) and others had put forward an alternative economic approach which highlights the 'new economics of labour migration'. Stark argues that

the markets rarely function in the ideal way as suggested by the neo-classicists. Migration cannot simply be explained by income difference between two countries, but one should look into other relating factors such as chances of secure employment, availability of capital for entrepreneurial activity, and the need to manage risk over long periods (Castles and Miller, 1998).

The neo-classical model tends to treat the role of the state as an aberration which disrupts the normal functioning of the market (Castles and Miller, 1998). But examination of historical and contemporary migrations shows that the states (particularly receiving countries) play a major role in initiating, shaping and controlling movements. The most common reason to permit entry is the need for workers. The main pull factor for the Chinese immigrants was the growing demand for ethnic cuisine over here in the UK.

Zolberg (1989) suggests the need to analyse labour migration 'as a movement of workers propelled by the dynamics of the transnational capitalist economy, which simultaneously determines both the pull and the push factors (Zolberg, 1989 in Castles and Miller, 1998).

However, the neo-classical equilibrium perspective neglects the importance of historical causes of movements and down plays the role of the state.

2.5.5 The historical-structuralist approach

This approach stresses the unequal distribution of economic and political power in the world economy. Migration is seen as a way of mobilising cheap labour for capital. It perpetuates uneven development, exploiting the resources of poor countries to make the rich even richer (Castles and Kosack, 1985; Cohen, 1987; Sassen, 1988 in Castles and Miller, 1998). Zolberg mentions how inequalities in resources and power between different countries, combined with the entry policies of potential immigration countries,

put great constraints on migrants' choice (Zolberg, 1989 in Castles and Miller, 1989) of destination.

The push-pull theories, applied to the neo-classical equilibrium perspective, tended to focus on mainly voluntary migrations of individuals. Historical-structuralists take on a different perspective and look at mass recruitment of labour by capital. They argue that the availability of labour was both a legacy of colonialism and the result of war and regional inequalities within Europe. Labour migration was one of the main ways in which links of domination were forged between the core economies of capitalism and its underdeveloped periphery. Migration was as important as military hegemony and control of world trade and investment in keeping the Third World dependent on the First (Castles and Miller, 1998). This theory highlights the point that people move to where the capital and commodities are. They move in search of better opportunities, chances and standard of living.

Nonetheless, this approach saw capital as the all-determining factor for migration but it paid inadequate attention to the motivations and actions of the individuals and groups involved.

2.5.6 Migration systems theory

This theory emphasises international relations, political economy, collective action and institutional factors. A migration system, according to the theory, constitutes two or more countries which exchange migrants with each other. The migration systems approach involves the examination of both ends of the flow and studies all the linkages between the places concerned. These linkages can be categorised as 'state-to-state relations and comparisons, mass culture connections and family and social networks' (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987 in Castles and Miller, 1998).

This theory suggests that, firstly, migratory movements generally arise from the existence of prior links between sending and receiving countries based on colonisation, political influence, trade investment or cultural ties. For example the migrations from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh to Britain are linked to the British colonial presence on the Indian sub-continent (Castles and Miller, 1998). This is also the case for the Hong Kong Chinese whereby Hong Kong was part of the British colonies.

Secondly, the migration systems implies that any migratory movement can be seen as a result of the interaction between macro- and micro- structures. Macro-structures refer to the large-scale institutional factors, while micro-structure embrace the networks, practices and beliefs of the migrant themselves (Castles and Miller, 1998). The macro-structure includes the political economy of the world market, interstate relationships and the laws, structures and practices established by the states of sending and receiving countries to control migration settlement.

Thirdly, the role of international relations and of the states of both sending and receiving areas in organising or facilitating movements is also significant (Dohse, 1981; Bohning, 1984; Cohen, 1987; Fawcett, 1989; Mitchell, 1989; Manfrass, 1992 in Castles and Miller, 1998). Industrial states guard their borders and admit workers or refugees as exceptions, rather than the rule, so 'it is necessary to account for the wall they have erected as well as for the small doors they have provided in it' (Zolberg, 1989 in Castles and Miller, 1998).

The micro-structures, mentioned previously, are the informal social networks developed by the migrants themselves, in order to cope with migration and settlement. Informal networks include personal relationships, family and household patterns, friendship and community ties and mutual help in economic and social matters. These links, are believed, to provide vital

resources for individuals and groups, and may be referred to as the 'social capital' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992 in Castles and Miller, 1998).

Boyd supports this view by saying how informal networks bind 'migrants and non-migrants together in a complex web of social roles and interpersonal relationships' (Boyd, 1989). These bonds link migrants with non-migrants in their areas of origin, but also connect settlers with receiving populations in relationships of cooperation, competition and conflict. Such networks are dynamic cultural responses, which encourage ethnic community formation and are conducive to the maintenance of transnational family and group ties.

The family and community networks are crucial in the process of migration for the to-be immigrants. The social networks played an important role in Chinese immigrants' decision-making process for migrating to the UK.

Family linkages often provide both the financial and the cultural capital which make migration possible. Once a movement is established, the migrants mainly follow the 'beaten paths' (Stahl, 1993 in Castles and Miller, 1998), and are helped by relatives and friends already in the area of immigration. Networks based on family or on common place of origin help provide shelter, work, assistance in coping with bureaucratic procedures and support in personal difficulties. These social networks make the migratory process safer and more manageable for the migrants and their families. Migratory movements, once started, become a self-sustaining social process (Castles and Miller, 1998). As more immigrants come to the UK, the existing social network expands therefore attracting more people to immigrate.

Migration networks also provide the basis for processes of settlement and community formation in the immigration area. Migrant groups develop their own social and economic infrastructure: such as places of worship, associations, shops, cafes, professionals like lawyers and doctors, and other services. People start to see their life perspectives in the new country. This

process is especially linked to migrants' children: once they go to school in the new country, learn the new language, form peer group relationships and develop bi-cultural or trans-cultural identities, it becomes more and more difficult for the parents to return to their homelands.

The links between immigrant community and area of origin may persist over generations. Remittances will gradually fall off and visits back to home countries may decline in frequency, but familial and cultural links remain (Castles and Miller, 1998). However, over time economic relations may start with import of homeland foods and other products to the immigration area and export of manufactured goods in the other direction, leading to international business networks (Lever-Tracy et al., 1991). As cultural links persist as a two-way connection: the migrants' linguistic and cultural roots are maintained, while influences from the immigration country encourage value-change in the area of origin.

2.6 Choice of Destination

Jansen (1970) identified one important factor, which influences migrants' choice of destination, assuming that there is the freedom to make this choice. This follows the definition of free migration, suggested by Petersen (in Jansen, 1970), mentioned under section 2.3. Many people, if given the choice between two places, would prefer going to one where they already have relatives or friends or even acquaintances of their own friends. Very few like taking a 'plunge in the dark' (Jansen, 1970). This is the case for the majority of the Chinese immigrants who came under the 'work-voucher' system under the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962. The Act required them to have sponsors, who are residents in the UK, and jobs available for them in the UK before they are allowed to enter the country.

Knowledge of the host country's language does not seem to be an issue, as demonstrated by the Chinese immigrants in the UK. However, this may not be a barrier for those going into a particular industry, for example the catering industry for the Chinese because they know they will not need any knowledge of the host language to earn a living. However, for those who are not entering the catering industry but more skilled ones, language is not an issue either because they probably already speak and know the language. Hence the choice of destination is not affected by the person's knowledge of languages, people will move either to join families or to places where they know they will be able to earn a living no matter what type of jobs.

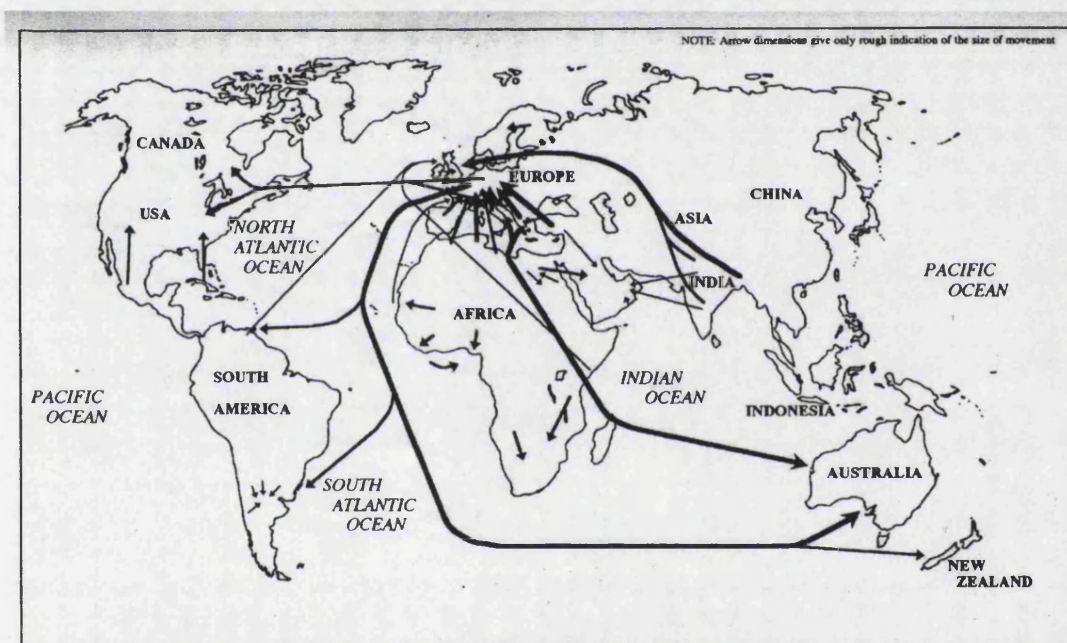
The decision to migrate and the choice of destination are influenced by factors at both the place of origin and place of destination. If one has many kin and family ties at the place of origin, one is less likely to go elsewhere. On the other hand, the fact that one has family or relatives in another part of the country may be very important in the decision to migrate as well as in determining choice of destination. For most Chinese, this is the only factor for their migration to the UK.

Jansen (1981) also noticed that in many cases of migration, it is the father of the family who migrates first and once he is settled the rest of the family joins him. Robinson (in Peach et al., 1981) also demonstrated how the earliest phase of Asian settlement in Britain was characterised by the small-scale migration of single males. In many cases the migration was spontaneous and motivated by a search for adventure and economic success. In most cases this is achieved by the young and the economically active people who have less attachments to their countries of origin.

3 Migration to highly developed countries since 1945

The various forms of international migration can be seen as an integral part of contemporary world developments. It is likely to grow in volume in the years ahead, because of the strong pressures for continuing global integration.

Figure 3: Global Migrations, 1945 –1973



Castles and Miller (1998) *The Age of Migration – International Population Movements in the Modern World* London: MacMillan Press Ltd.

3.1 Background Information

The period from 1945 to the mid-1970s was a time of rapid growth and widespread prosperity for the old industrial nations. This was possibly due to their financial and technological dominance and the lack of serious competition from the rest of the world (Castles, 2000). The need to maintain legitimacy in the face of the alternative political model provided by the Soviet bloc led to Keynesian anti-cyclical policies, full employment and the construction of welfare states (Castles, 2000). After the trauma of the great

Depression, fascism and the war, everything had to be done to maintain economic growth and reduce class conflict. Under these conditions employers faced serious difficulty in securing additional labour for expansion, while at the same time preventing wage inflation that might bring about recession. At the time, the most successful economies were those with abundant labour supplies. Therefore the same solution was adopted everywhere: the import of labour from the less-developed European periphery, Ireland or from more distant Third World countries, became a crucial factor in economic growth in all the core industrial economies (Castles, 2000).

Unlike other countries, Britain, France and The Netherlands made use of labour from their colonies or former colonies around the world. The political and cultural linkages created by colonialism made it possible for them to obtain low-skilled labour readily. Information on the work opportunities in the 'mother country', together with the availability of transport and the right to free movement, were sufficient to start and sustain migratory flows (Castles, 2000). By the 1960s, migrant labour had become a structural feature of Western Europe labour markets. Abundant labour with low social costs was a vital factor in the long boom, which also paved the way for subsequent family reunion and permanent settlement that was to lead to the multicultural Europe we know today (Castles, 2000).

'Nonetheless, economic, social and demographic disparities alone do not cause migration. Rather, the movements are an expression of the interdependence between sending and receiving areas within the political economy of the world market. Once movements start, they often lead to chains of migration, which continue even when the initial causes or policies have changed' (Castles, 2000). Most migration is based on existing economic and social links, very often the connection with colonialism, international trade and investment or previous migratory movements. Research by Sassen (1988) has shown that there are strong connections

between these: increasing mobility of capital in the contemporary world economy is a principal determinant of labour mobility, international migration is a collective phenomenon which arises as part of a social relationship between the less-developed and more-developed parts of a single global economic system (Portes and Borocz, 1989 in Castles, 2000).

Castles highlighted the point that many people believe that economic development of the countries of the South, or developing countries, will reduce emigration. However, it has to be noted that economic development tend to lead to increased emigration from the poorer countries. This is because the development process – that is, bringing less-developed areas into the world economy – leads to such severe disruption of existing societal structures of the poorer countries that previous ways of living become unviable and migration appears as the only solution. Castles (2000) has identified the stages in the development process, they are as follows:

- Increased links between less-developed and developed countries through colonialist, trade, aid and foreign investment.
- Rural development (the 'green revolution') leads to displacement of poorer farmers and to rural-urban migration.
- Rapid growth of large cities with poor social conditions and insufficient employment opportunities.
- Improved education but few jobs for graduates, leading to the 'brain drain'.
- Cultural influence of the developed countries through mass media.
- Tourism and commodification of cultural products.
- Better transport and communications.
- Temporary labour migrations.
- Permanent movements to developed countries.
- Establishment of links between migrant communities in immigration countries and areas of origin, strengthening the cultural influence of developed countries, and sustaining migratory chains.

3.2 Migration from the Asian Pacific Region

The Asian Pacific region has experienced a period of massive transformation in the past three decades. The massive growth in migration from this region from the 1970s was closely linked with the development of economic and political relationships with the industrialised countries in the post-colonial period. Western penetration through trade, aid and investment created the material means and the cultural capital necessary for migration (Castles, 2000). The dislocation of existing forms of production and social structures through industrialisation, the 'green revolution' and wars forced people to leave the countryside in search of better conditions in the growing cities or overseas. This vast and populous area has experienced economic, demographic, political and social change on a pace and scale almost without historical precedent (Castles, 2000). One of the most significant aspects has been a significant increase in international migration for all kinds of reasons. It is believed that family and community networks play major roles in the decision to migrate as mentioned in 2.6. Migration, therefore, is both a result of globalisation and economic change and it is a powerful factor helping to shape societies.

The major migration systems of the Asian Pacific region are:

- Migration from Asian countries to Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand.
- Contract labour migration to the Middle East.
- Labour migration within Asia.
- Mobility of highly qualified personnel.
- Movements of students.
- Movements of refugees and asylum-seekers.

Between 1945 and 1970s, three main types of migration led to the formation of new ethnically distinct populations in advanced industrial countries:

- 1) Migration of workers from the European periphery to Western Europe, often through 'guestworker systems'
- 2) Migration of 'colonial workers' to the former colonial powers
- 3) Permanent migration to North America and Australia, at first from Europe and later from Asia and Latin America

These three types all led to family reunion and other kinds of chain migration overtime. All the highly industrialised countries of Western Europe used temporary labour recruitment at some stage between 1945 and 1973. One common feature in the migratory movements of the 1945-73 period is the predominance of economic motivations as majority of immigrants migrated from developing to developed countries in search of a better life.

3.2.1 Asian migration to Western Countries

Asian migration to Western Europe has been limited. It was not until after 1945, when movements to the UK, France and the Netherlands from former colonies began, but these virtually ceased by the 1970s. More recently, there has been some migration of both highly skilled Asian workers and of low-skilled workers. There were also refugee movements after the Vietnam War and asylum-seeker inflows between the 1980s and 1990s.

However, migrations from Asian Pacific regions to the USA, Canada and Australia began after the removal of discriminatory restrictions in the 1960s and 1970s in these countries, which is combined with the additional stimulus from Indo-Chinese refugee movements. However, the countries of origin of the immigrants have been largely the same, with increasing participation of China and Hong Kong.

3.2.2 Contract labour migration to the Middle East

Large-scale migration from Asia to the Middle East developed rapidly after the oil price rise of 1973. Labour came at first mainly from India and Pakistan; in the 1980s also from the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand and the Republic of Korea and later from Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. By 1985, there were 3.2 million Asian workers in the Gulf States.

3.2.3 Labour within Asia

From the mid-1980s, rapid economic growth and declining fertility led to significant shortage of labour hence there was a considerable demand for migrant labour in some of these Asian countries, including Japan, the Republic of Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore and Brunei.

3.2.4 Highly qualified migrants

Another growing movement has been that of professionals, executives, technicians and other highly skilled personnel. Increasingly, business people and professionals sought employment in international labour markets, and were willing to move in search of higher rewards, better living conditions and working environment. Immigration countries, such as the USA, Australia and Canada put increasing emphasis on skilled and business migrants and offered inducements to attract them.

One form of skilled migration is the 'brain-drain': university-trained people moving from under-developed to highly developed countries. This is an economic loss for the poorer sending countries, which have covered the costs of upbringing and education of these people. On the other hand, many of the migrants are unable to find work in their home countries therefore they opt for emigration.

Majority of the highly qualified migration consists of executives and professionals sent by their companies to work in overseas branches or joint programmes, or experts sent by international organisations to work in aid programmes. Highly skilled migration grew rapidly in the 1980s and 1990s, and is a key element of the process of globalisation. Much of the movement is of a fairly short-term nature and involves interchange of personnel between highly developed economies of Japan, the USA and Western Europe.

3.2.5 Students

Considerable numbers of Asians have gone to developed countries as students in recent years. Student movement to developed countries may be part of the 'brain drain', since many do not return (Skeldon, 1992 in Castles, 2000). In the long term, it is likely that those who do return play a role in both technology transfer and cultural change.

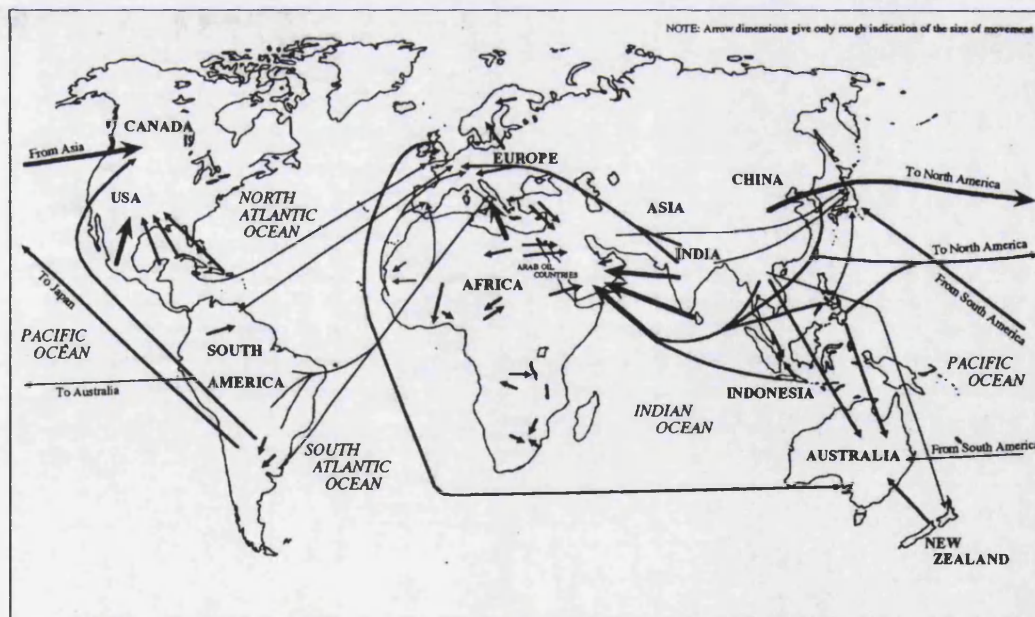
3.3 Migration from Asia

Since the end of Second World War, international migrations have grown in volume and changed in character. As mentioned before, the head of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) ventured an estimate of 120 million persons in 1994, including all types of migrants whether undocumented or not (Purcell, 1995 in Castles and Miller, 1998). There have been two main phases of migration. From 1945 to the early 1970s, the chief economic strategy of large-scale capital was the concentration of investment and expansion of production in the existing highly developed countries. As a result, large numbers of migrant workers were drawn from less-developed countries into the fast-expanding industrial areas of Western Europe, North America and Australia. The end of this phase was marked by the 'oil crisis' of 1973-4. The second phase is the temporary migrant labour

recruitment which led to permanent settlement of at least a proportion of the migrants which in turn led to the formation of ethnic groups.

The upsurge in migration from Asia from about 1970 resulted from a constellation of economic, demographic, social and political factors in both sending and receiving countries (Castles,2000). The Asian countries experienced rapid economic growth and modernisation, first in Japan, then in the 'tiger economies' (Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and South Korea) and then in other South-east Asian countries such as Thailand, Brunei, Malaysia and Indonesia (Castles, 2000). The development of migration (initially from Asia to other areas, notably overseas contract workers to the Gulf oil States and of permanent migrants to the USA, Canada and Australia) is the result of uneven economic transition within the region. This was followed from the 1980s by mass labour movements within the Asian Pacific region.

Figure 4: Global Migratory Movements from 1973



Castles and Miller (1998) *The Age of Migration – International Population Movements in the Modern World* London: MacMillan Press Ltd.

The Asian Pacific is home to 57 per cent of the world's population. There has been a massive growth in population in recent decades, and this is particularly marked with regard to people of working age (15-64) and young

adults (15-34) who are in a group most likely to migrate (Hugo, 1998 in Castles, 2000). However, this growth has been very uneven. The countries with the fastest economic growth have also had the most rapid declines in fertility. The result is that certain fast-growing economies have run into labour shortages, while other countries have stagnant labour forces, fast-growing working-age populations and massive labour surpluses. The economic growth in certain economies acts as the chief 'pull-factor' whilst the demographic growth in others is the major 'push-factor' in the process of migration.

Migration from Asia had been low in the early part of the twentieth century owing to restrictive policies by immigration countries and colonial powers. However, external movements started to grow from the 1960s. This was encouraged when firstly, discriminatory rules against Asian entries were repealed in Canada (in 1962 and 1976), the USA (in 1965) and Australia (in 1966 and 1973). This generated the largest migration flow. The number from Asia increased from 17,000 in 1965 to an average of more than 250,000 annually in the 1980s (Arnold, Minucha and Fawcett, 1987), and over 350,000 per year in the early 1990s (OECD, 1995). Secondly, the sharp increase in foreign investment and trade helped to create the communicative networks needed for migration. Thirdly, the Vietnam War caused large-scale refugee movements across the world. Fourth, the openness of the USA, Canada and Australia to family migration meant that primary movements, whatever their cause, gave rise to entries of permanent settlers. Finally, rapid economic growth in several Asian countries also led to movements of both highly skilled and unskilled workers. This is because migration requires resource, both finance and capital.

Three European countries experienced Asian migrations connected with decolonisation: from the former Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia) to the Netherlands, from Vietnam to France and from the Indian subcontinent and Hong Kong to Britain. These movements had virtually ceased by the late

1970s. More recently there has been some migration of highly skilled workers from Asia to European countries, as well as recruitment of low-skilled workers due to globalisation.

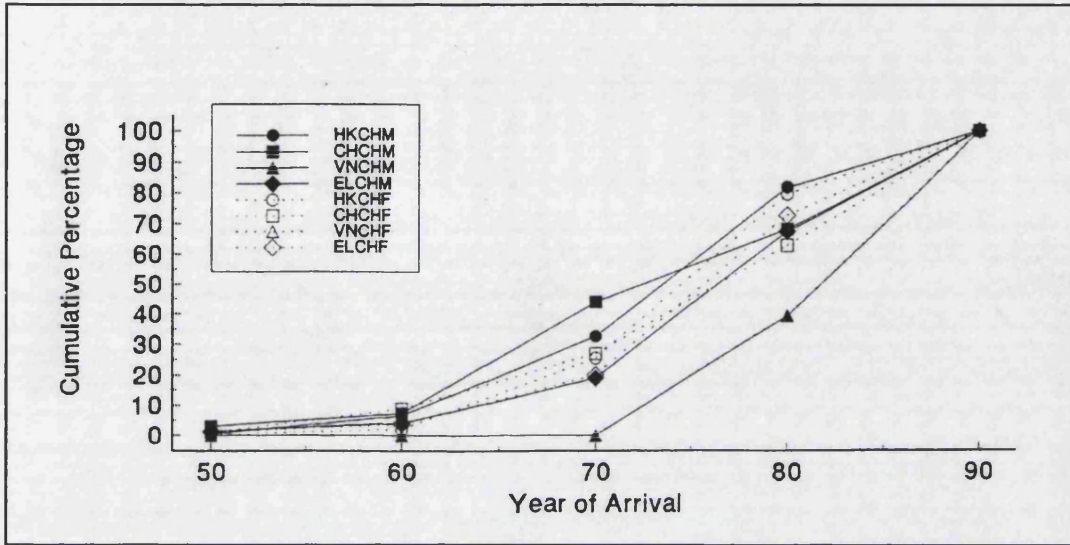
3.4 Immigrants: When they come to Britain

Not all immigrants have the same migratory experience, nor do they come to Britain at the same time. It is believed that variations in the year of arrival are due to a combination of factors: there are the different social and political forces over the years which had prompted the migration from different areas: also the migrants came from a diverse variety of societies, which produced different patterns of migration.

For example the Irish had already been in Britain a few centuries before the Commonwealth immigrants arrived during the post-war boom. The latest group, the Vietnamese refugees of Chinese origin, did not migrate to Britain until the mid-1970s. Britain received about 20,000 Vietnamese refugees as part of an international resettlement effort (Home Office, 1982).

The Chinese migration into Britain followed the classic pattern of economic migration. Up until the Second World War, Chinese immigration, which consisted mainly of single male immigrant labours, remained a trickle. The second wave of migration brought into Britain the majority of today's Chinese population. This was due to the post-war British demand for ethnic cuisine coupled with deteriorating economic conditions in rural Hong Kong formed the major push-pull factors. Although this resurgence of Chinese immigration started as early as the 1950s, the large influx of Chinese did not follow until the 1960s. Chinese immigrants have a shorter duration in Britain on average than most of the other immigrant group because they have not been in the UK as long as they have.

Figure 5: Cumulative Percentage by Year of Arrival: Chinese (Male/Female)



Key:

- HKCHM = Hong Kong Born Chinese Male
- CHCHM = China Born Chinese Male
- VNCHM = Vietnam Born Chinese Male
- ELCHM = Elsewhere Born Chinese Male
- HKCHF = Hong Kong Born Chinese Female
- CHCHF = China Born Chinese Female
- VNCHF = Vietnam Born Chinese Female
- ELCHF = Elsewhere Born Chinese Female

4 Race and Ethnicity

For an analysis in the pattern of settlement of the Chinese community, it is necessary to understand the concepts rose in various literature, to which reference are made, about ethnic minorities. It is important to understand whether the reasons for the Chinese population to cluster or disperse have anything to do with their ethnicity or not. Race and ethnicity are modern concepts, which have their origin in the global expansion of European societies which gathered pace from the late fifteenth century (Mason, 2000). The continued exploration of other parts of the globe meant that Europeans were increasingly coming into contact with other human societies, ranging from small isolated groups of hunter-gatherers to large, complex states and empires (Mason, 2000). In particular, Europeans were struck by phenotypical differences (these are differences which can be seen, such as skin colour and physiognomy), the most striking of these being skin colour and an early distinction emerged between those who had what was described as a 'black' in contrast to a 'white' skin (Mason, 2000).

4.1 Race

Racial ideology has often been framed around the application of race categories in social contexts with an accompanying attribute of invariable characteristics to category members (Husband, 1982 in Thomas, 2000). In sociological terms, race does not refer to categories of human beings (whether biologically or socially constituted). Rather, race is a social construction in which structural positions and social actions are ordered, justified and explained by reference to systems of symbols and beliefs which emphasise the social and cultural relevance of biologically rooted characteristics (Mason, 1995).

4.2 Ethnicity

On the other hand, ethnic minority denotes a category of people whose recent origins lay in the countries of the New Commonwealth and Pakistan, hence those from the former British colonies in the Indian subcontinent, the Caribbean, Africa and sometimes the Far East (Mason, 2000). Mason argues that the essential characteristic for being an ethnic minority, or being a member of an ethnic minority group, in this sense, is to have a skin colour that is not 'white'. In order to qualify for designation as an ethnic minority, a category of people must exhibit a degree of 'difference', to that of members of the host society, that is regarded as significant. An unstable combination of skin colour and distinctive culture is ultimately the criterion that marks off 'ethnic minorities' from the majority population in Britain (Mason, 2000). Ethnic minorities are frequently seen to have more in common with one another than with the majority, simply through the colour of their skin.

Thus ethnicity represents one possible way of conceptualising social divisions and cleavages by the person's skin colour. Ethnicity is usually seen as an attribute of minority groups, but most social scientists argue that everybody has ethnicity defined as a sense of group belonging, based on ideas of common origins, history, culture, experience and values. These ideas change only slowly, which gives ethnicity durability over generations and even centuries. However it is important to understand that the idea will only change slowly over time if the ethnic minority groups stay together and live as collectives. When they do not live as collectives then the process of them being assimilated into the host society speeds up. This is the case for the Chinese population in the UK, as they do not cluster like other ethnic minority groups. Combined with the fact that it is the smallest ethnic minority group in the UK and its tendency to disperse, they are more assimilated into the host society.

Yinger (1986) mentioned that ethnicity is a term to which a variety of uses can be ascribed. It can be used to refer to anything from a sub-societal group that clearly shares a common descent and cultural background, to persons who share a former citizenship although diverse culturally or indeed, to pan-cultural groups of persons of widely different cultural and societal backgrounds who can however be identified as 'similar' on the basis of language, race or religion (Yinger, 1986).

Cohen and Bains (in Mason, 2000) argue that ethnicity, unlike race, refers to a real process of historical individualisation – namely the linguistic and cultural practices through which a sense of collective identity or roots is produced and transmitted from generation to generation, and is changed in the process. In this light, we see how members of each ethnic group share the same tradition and form of language for communication and understanding of each other. Pias Lee, from the Camden Chinese Community Centre, pointed out that it is basic human nature to live and want to live close to people whom share the same form of language or dialect. It is difficult for the Chinese to cluster like the other ethnic minority groups because there are different dialects being amongst the Chinese in the UK. Although the Chinese look distinctive, as a group, many different dialects are spoken amongst them.

Ratcliffe (1996) identified three approaches which can be used to define, or to help us understand, the term 'ethnicity'. The first sees ethnicity as essentially primordial. The second sees it in a more dynamic and explicitly contemporary sense as involving attachment to co-ethnic but embodying a sense of continual change. The third sees ethnicity as essentially 'situational' (Ratcliffe, 1996). When ethnicity is seen as primordial, it involves a sense of communal attachment to the past, sometimes expressed as 'memories of a shared past' (Bulmer, 1986). It also involves 'common ancestry and aspects of group identity based on 'kinship, religion, language, shared territory, nationality or physical appearance' (Ratcliffe, 1994 in Ratcliffe, 1996).

However, under the second definition ethnicity is seen as a continually evolving entity where the essential elements of ethnic identity and ethnic group membership shift over time (Ratcliffe, 1996). Therefore, in this sense, ethnic categories are not fixed. On the other hand, they may change radically over the decade between successive censuses (Ratcliffe, 1996). From this definition, ethnicity adapts and changes according to the surrounding. Hence their traditions evolve to better suit their needs over a period of time through the successive generations. The third, 'situational' view of ethnicity presents even greater problems in defining it in empirical terms. It suggests that there may be no single unambiguous 'true answer' to a question about one's ethnic identity.

Geertz, who used a definition similar to that from Ratcliffe (1996), sees ethnicity as a 'primordial attachment' which results 'from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom and so on are seen to have an ineffable and at time, overpowering coerciveness in and of themselves (quoted in Mason, 2000).

Thomas (2000) outlines the arguments of Khan (1982), which is on the same line as the second approach raised by Ratcliffe (1996). Khan (1982) suggests that ethnic identity is not fixed, constant, nor single stranded, it is flexible and shifting in different levels according to situation and context and thus it changes collectively over time. Peach (1996) supports the third argument raised by Ratcliffe (1996), stating that ethnicity is contextual rather than absolute. He writes 'One may be Welsh in England, British in Germany, European in Thailand, White in Africa. A person may be Afro-Caribbean by descent but British by upbringing so that his or her census category might be either Black-Caribbean or Black-Other.' Ethnicity is then situational. The implication is that people have different identities in different situations (Mason, 1995).

Like Ratcliffe (1996), many anthropologists use the concept of 'situational' ethnicity. This occurs when the member of a specific group decides to 'invoke' ethnicity, as a criterion for self-identification, in a situation where such identification is necessary or useful (Castles and Miller, 1998). The markers chosen for this definition are variable, generally emphasising cultural characteristics, such as language, shared history, customs, religion and so on, but sometimes including physical characteristics.

Ethnic minority is not an automatic result of immigration but rather the consequence of specific mechanisms of marginalisation, which affect different groups in different ways (Castles and Miller, 1998). Ethnic minority groups are given these descriptions by members of the host society. Members of the host society regard them as different. Ethnicity leads to identification, of an individual with a specific group, through its visible markers for example phenotype, language, culture, customs, religion, behaviour are used as criteria for exclusion by other groups. For example, in England, Chinese are regarded as an ethnic minority group because members of this group have specific skin colour, share the same language and traditions. However, if Whites go to China, the reverse would be true. Whites will be regarded as the minority group for they do not share any similarities with members of the host society. Ethnic minorities become ethnic minorities when they do not share much in common with the indigenous or the majority host population. This often leads to marginalisation by the host population because they have brought with them completely different traditions, language, religion and culture to the host country. When people encounter something they have no previous knowledge of they would discriminate against them at the same time be protective of themselves and their traditions.

Some sociologists see ethnic identification or mobilisation as rational behaviour, designed to maximise the power of a group in a situation of market competition (Castles and Miller, 1998). Such theories have their roots in Max

Weber's concept of 'social closure' whereby a status group establishes rules and practices to exclude others, in order to gain a competitive advantage (Weber, 1968). This introduces the idea of basic human survival instinct. As a group they become stronger and able to resist any form of discrimination or negative treatments.

Along the same line, US sociologists Glazer and Moynihan (1975) and Bell (1975) emphasize the instrumental role of ethnic identification: phenotypical and cultural characteristics are used to strengthen group solidarity, in order to struggle more effectively for market advantages, or for increased allocation of resources by the states (in Castles and Miller, 1998).

The Chinese community, though not a religious one, feel they belong together as a group through their distinctive features and skin colour and they follow similar traditions and culture. Although there are many dialects of the Chinese language, they are linked by the written language.

4.3 Theories of Assimilation or Segregation

International migration does not always create diversity. Some migrants such as Britons in Australia or Austrians in Germany are virtually indistinguishable from the receiving population. Other groups like western Europeans in North America are quickly assimilated. 'Professional transients', that is highly-skilled personnel who move temporarily within specialised labour markets – are rarely seen as presenting an integration problem. But these are exceptions; in most instances, international migration increases diversity within a society. This occurs as an increasing range of people from various backgrounds and country of origin settles in one place.

Peach and Smith (in Peach et al., 1981) have separated the theory of assimilation into two schools, the spatial and the aspatial. The aspatial school saw spatial segregation of groups as an incidental by-product of

social attitudes and economic and social discrimination. Whilst spatial sociologists saw the distributions as having a much more dynamic effect on process and not simply occurring as a result of process.

4.3.1 The Aspatial School of Thought

Milton Gordon, the main contributor to the aspatial school of thought, has defined the process of assimilation into seven stages. They are:

1. Cultural,
2. Structural,
3. Marital,
4. Identificational,
5. Attitude receptional,
6. Behaviour receptional and
7. Civic (Gordon, 1964 quoted in Peach et al., 1981).

These stages are divided into cultural and structural steps. Cultural assimilation or acculturation, according to Gordon, involved 'accommodating to the outward requirements of the host society, in dress, behaviour, civic law observations and so forth' (Peach and Smith, 1981). Structural assimilation 'involved social integration of the minority group with institutions, but more particularly the large-scale entry into friendship groups with the host society' (Peach and Smith, 1981).

4.3.2 The Spatial School of Thought

The spatial school argues that the cultural values from a group is passed to an individual who is born into that group through the process of interaction between the individual and group members. Cultural values include language, accent, values and religion. It is believed that clustering is the most efficient spatial distribution to increase interaction if a minority group is

small. In this case, dispersal would lead on the whole to increased interaction with non-ethnic group members and to a dilution of ethnic values.

4.3.3 Functions for Ethnic Segregation

Following the two schools of thoughts, Boal (1981) considered ethnic residential segregation and ethnically segregated areas as resources in situations of ethnic conflict. Four basic functions for ethnic segregation can be outlined (Boal, 1972; 1976).

1. First, the physical defensive role of the cluster, which has its roots based in Weber's concept of 'social closure'. By joining the ethnic cluster, members of a particular group reduce their isolation, and the existence of the group itself, within a clearly defined area, enables an organised defence to be developed.
2. The second function is the avoidance function of ethnic residential segregation. Kramer (1970) indicates that the ethnic minority community may be the only place in which its members feel at ease. She assumed that they opt for ethnic enclosure in an alien world in order to create a 'haven of refuge in unfriendly surroundings'. It is psychologically supportive to have neighbours from a familiar background (Hiro, 1973). Porter (1975) refers to the psychic shelter of ethnic affiliation.
3. The third function is that of preservation and promotion of an ethnic group's own cultural heritage. This, of course, may be part of an avoidance mechanism, but it also appears for many groups to be something more positive. Dahya, in his discussion of Pakistani ethnicity in industrial cities in Britain notes that 'the functions which are related to the community's need are to create, manifest and defend its ethnic identity' (Dahya, 1974). This preservation function is enhanced by the development of ethnic institutions (schools, religious establishments, clubs, etc). The development is facilitated by concentrated residence by the ethnic group.

4. Lastly, the spatial concentration of ethnic residential segregation can provide an ethnic group with a secure base for action in the struggle of its members with society in general.

Cater and Jones (1979) highlighted the importance of the 'principle of minority group autonomy'. This argues that ethnic minority group segregation from the white majority should be seen not so much as a consequence of white rejection but as an expression of minority free choice. Dahya in his study on Asian communities noticed that a key factor in Asian social behaviour in Britain has been the wish to preserve ethnic identity, a wish which has operated to maintain divisions both between the distinctive Asian linguistic and religious groups and between Asians as a whole and white society (Dahya, 1974).

From looking at the functions for ethnic segregation, the behaviour and the mentality of the Chinese in the UK, we can see that the purposes of their clustering or dispersal are very different to other ethnic groups, as mentioned above. Their pattern of settlement in the UK was largely dependent on the nature of the catering industry in which the majority of the first generation Chinese immigrants settled for and a lot of them are still involved.

Firstly, the majority of the Chinese are dispersed throughout the country although there are large concentrations in the South East and West Midlands. From the interviews that I have conducted, I have found that the Chinese prefer to settle where their jobs are. The reason for the majority of the Chinese to cluster in these two regions is because these are where most of the jobs can be found. They do not cluster, apart from around the Chinatown area in London. This will be elaborated in more detail in Chapter 7. Secondly, the Chinese do not usually like to seek assistance from anyone outside the family and they do not talk to others much about their feelings therefore they have no desire to cluster. Thirdly, although the Chinese are very proud of their own identity, they do not actively pursue this in the host

society. They prefer to educate their children (with the majority born in the UK or in the West) the Chinese heritage by sending them to Chinese classes, which are organised by the Chinese Community Centres, every week. However, because of the efficiency of transportation, they can travel any distance to get to these Chinese classes therefore do not have the need to cluster. Unlike other ethnic minorities the Chinese like to mind their own business and do not like people to interfere. Although they are more dispersed than other ethnic minority groups, the Chinese do gather together to celebrate certain events like the Chinese New Year or the Autumn Moon Festival. Other times, they focus their attention on their work and their families.

4.4 Development of Ethnic Minority Groups

Brooks and Singh (1979 in Peach et al., 1981) proposed that similar push factors operate within ethnic minority groups to encourage overseas migration. The most common is the increased pressure on the land in the sending areas caused by increasing population density and fragmentation of holdings. Employment on British ships or direct migration to the UK was seen as a way of reducing this pressure and providing an additional source of income for the household. A lot of the first generation Chinese immigrants chose to migrate because of better career prospects, which would allow them to send more money back home.

However, migration cannot be adequately explained by the interaction of push and pull factors. For a 'migration system' linking certain countries to develop, a complex social process is necessary' (Kritz et al., 1992 in Castles, 2000). This social background to migration has several aspects. A migratory flow can be initiated or stimulated in various ways: through labour recruitment, historical and cultural linkages, political or military relationships, investment flows and refugee movements. Once established, a migratory flow generates its own social networks through which migrants and their

families cope with the changes involved. A 'culture of migration' may develop, in which the temporary migration of a family member and the remittances he or she sends home can be a vital part of family strategies for improving security and maximising income. Such social networks can perpetuate flows even if the original causes cease to be relevant or if government policies change.

It has been argued that the development of ethnic minority areas in British cities is due to the simultaneous occurrence of push and pull factors from the sending and the receiving country respectively. Their unison encouraged a period of mass migration (Peach et al., 1981). For example, the 1950s witnessed a major boom in the British economy. The social stigma and lack of financial inducement to working in the less attractive industries and occupations created a vacuum at the base of the employment hierarchy which was filled by both West Indian and Asian immigrants (Peach, 1968; Robinson, 1980 in Peach et al., 1981). The combination of these economic opportunities and the social and economic push factors in the sending society thus coincided to stimulate much more widespread migration.

4.4.1 The London Scenario

As a result from its long tradition of accommodating immigrants and refugees and because it is a part of a multi-racial Commonwealth, Britain contains a diversity of people. In London, students and business people from overseas add to the numbers of nationalities resident here and the city is among the most multi-racial in the world. It has been estimated that some 160 languages and dialects are spoken by children in London schools. For many centuries, a variety of people have been absorbed into British society, having come to Britain in search of better economic opportunities or to escape political or religious persecution.

The majority of those accepted for settlement are spouses or dependents of people who are British citizens or who are settled or settling in Britain. In recent years, around a half of those accepted were wives and children and about a further sixth were husbands. Of the total accepted for settlement in 1989, 22,900 (47 per cent) were citizens of the New Commonwealth; 7,900 (16 per cent) were citizens of Old Commonwealth countries; and 18,300 (37 per cent) were from other countries. The geographical areas from which the largest number came were the South Asian sub-continent (12,400) and the rest of Asia (9,400), Australasia (6,800) and Africa (6,400) (Peach et al. 1981).

4.4.2 Types of Settlers

Three categories of settlers may be distinguished in immigration countries.

- 1) Some settlers have merged into the general population and do not constitute separate ethnic groups. These are generally people who are culturally and socio-economically similar to the majority of the receiving population. E.g. British settlers in Australia, Austrians in Germany
- 2) Some settlers form ethnic communities: they tend to live in certain neighbourhoods and to maintain their original languages and cultures although they are not excluded from citizenship, political participation and opportunities for economic and social mobility. The ethnic community may have developed partly due to initial discrimination, but the principal reasons for membership today are cultural and psychological. E.g. the Irish in Britain
- 3) Some settlers form ethnic minorities. Like the ethnic communities they tend to live in certain neighbourhoods and to maintain their languages and cultures of origin. But, in addition, they usually share a disadvantaged socio-economic position and are partially excluded from the wider society by such factors as weak legal status, refusal of

citizenship, denial of political and social rights, ethnic or racial discrimination, racist violence and harassment. E.g. Asian immigrants in Australia, Canada or the USA, Afro-Caribbean and many Asians in Britain.

Looking at the types of settlers, it is noticeable how phenotypical difference (skin colour, racial appearance) is the main marker for minority status. The maintenance of language and culture is seen as a need and a right by most settler group. Many of the associations set up in the processes of ethnic community formation are concerned with language and culture: they teach the mother tongue to the second generation, organise festivals and carry out rituals. Language and culture not only serve as means of communication, but also take on a symbolic meaning which is central to ethnic group cohesion. In most cases, language maintenance applies in the first two to three generations, after which there is a rapid decline. A lot of the ethnic minority group centres or associations organise cultural events and language classes so to immerse the new British-born generation in the traditional culture. It is very easy for the new generation to lose the cultural symbols for they receive British education and are in constant contact with members of the host society and other ethnic groups.

4.4.3 Labour Market Segmentation

Labour market segmentation is part of the migratory process. For example, when people come from poor or developing countries to the rich developed countries, without any local knowledge or social networks, lacking proficiency in the language and unfamiliar with local ways of working, then their entry point into the labour market is likely to be at a low level. This is because their lack of host language skills forces them to enter industries where knowledge of the language is of no importance. These are usually low- and unskilled jobs in the host society or they may be jobs within their specific ethnic minority groups, for example waitressing in Chinese restaurants.

4.4.4 Ethnic clustering

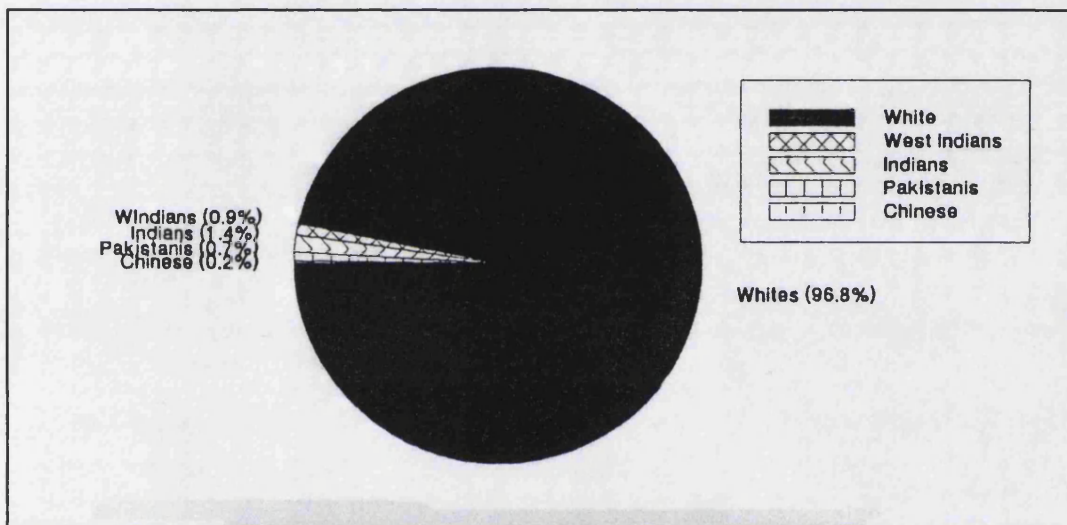
Jeffery (1976) pointed out several factors that encouraged the concentration of new Asian migrants in existing locations. First, the impermanence and economic orientation of migration was reflected in the continued demand for privately rented accommodation. The reason for clustering is because the presence of such accommodation was only limited to certain parts of the cities. Secondly, chain migration and sponsored passages ensured that new arrivals entered existing areas of settlement near kin and friends. This will, over time, result in the increase in size of the existing Asian communities in certain parts of the cities hence clustering of the ethnic minority groups. Thirdly, the desire to maintain social encapsulation encouraged voluntary clustering; propinquity allowed regular interaction between fellow migrants and facilitated the construction of new pseudo-traditional social networks (Jeffery, 1976 quoted in Peach et al., 1981). Increasingly, then, Asians became more concentrated in inner-city areas, where the first immigrants settled.

Immigrants cluster together for economic and social reasons arising from the migratory process, and are often forced out of certain areas by racism. But they frequently want to be together, in order to provide mutual support, to develop family and neighbourhood networks and to maintain their languages and cultures. Ethnic neighbourhoods allow the establishment of small businesses and agencies which cater for immigrants' needs, as well as the formation of associations of all kinds. In a sense, members of the ethnic minority groups try to recreate the environment of their home countries in a foreign country. In the long run, if the environment is replicated well, new immigrants would not need to learn the host language, instead they can retain the lifestyle prior to arrival in the host country. Residential segregation is thus both a precondition for and result of community formation.

5 The Census 1991

The ethnic composition of the population varies greatly within Great Britain. The bulk of people from ethnic minority groups live in the most populous areas of England and these ethnic groups are also more geographically concentrated than people from the White ethnic group within these regions.

Figure 6: Ethnic Composition in Britain from 1991 Census



Source: Coleman, D. and Salt, J. (ed.) (1996) *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census – Volume One*

The ethnic minority population of Great Britain has grown rapidly since the end of the Second World War and more particularly since the mid 1950s. Before this time, the ethnic minority population was small and largely confined to a small number of dockland areas (Little, 1947; Banton 1955; Halliday, 1992 quoted in Peach, 1996), but thereafter it became an industrial and service industry replacement labour force located in the main urban centres, particularly those which had difficulty in maintaining their White labour force (Peach, 1996).

The 1991 census puts the ethnic minority population at just under 4.0 per cent of the total population in Britain. It also shows while the overall minority percentage in Great Britain is 4.0 per cent, they are concentrated in England, where they form 7.0 per cent of the population. Over 70 per cent of the

combined ethnic minorities are found in just two standard regions of Great Britain, the South East and North West which together contain 40 per cent of the total population. Not only is the minority population unevenly distributed regionally it is also highly concentrated in the largest urban centres.

Figure 7: Ethnic Distribution in the 1991 Census in England

Ethnic group	Number	Per Cent
White	51,873,792	93.09
Black-Caribbean	499,964	0.96
Black-African	212,362	0.38
Black-Other	178,401	0.32
Indian	840,255	1.51
Pakistani	476,555	0.86
Bangladeshi	162,835	0.29
Chinese	156,938	0.28
Other-Asian	197,534	0.35
Other-Other	290,206	0.52
Persons born in Ireland	837,464	1.5
Total	55,726,306	100

Source: OPCS/GRO(S) (1993) Volume 2.

More than half of all people from ethnic minority groups lives in the South East standard region, compared to less than a third of people from the White ethnic group (Owen in Coleman and Salt, 1996). Greater London alone contained 44.8 per cent of all people from ethnic minority groups in Britain, though it only contained 10.3 per cent of the White population. 43 per cent of London's minority population were born in the United Kingdom. For each ethnic group, London had lower proportions of people born in the United Kingdom compared to all other areas of Great Britain. This is likely to be because London is often the place where people first arrive from abroad: indeed it has more temporary residents such as overseas students and diplomats than other areas of Great Britain (Storkey and Lewis in Ratcliffe, 1996). There is a very high proportion of the ethnic minority population concentrated into a relatively small number of districts. The London Borough of Brent has the highest percentage of its population comprised of ethnic

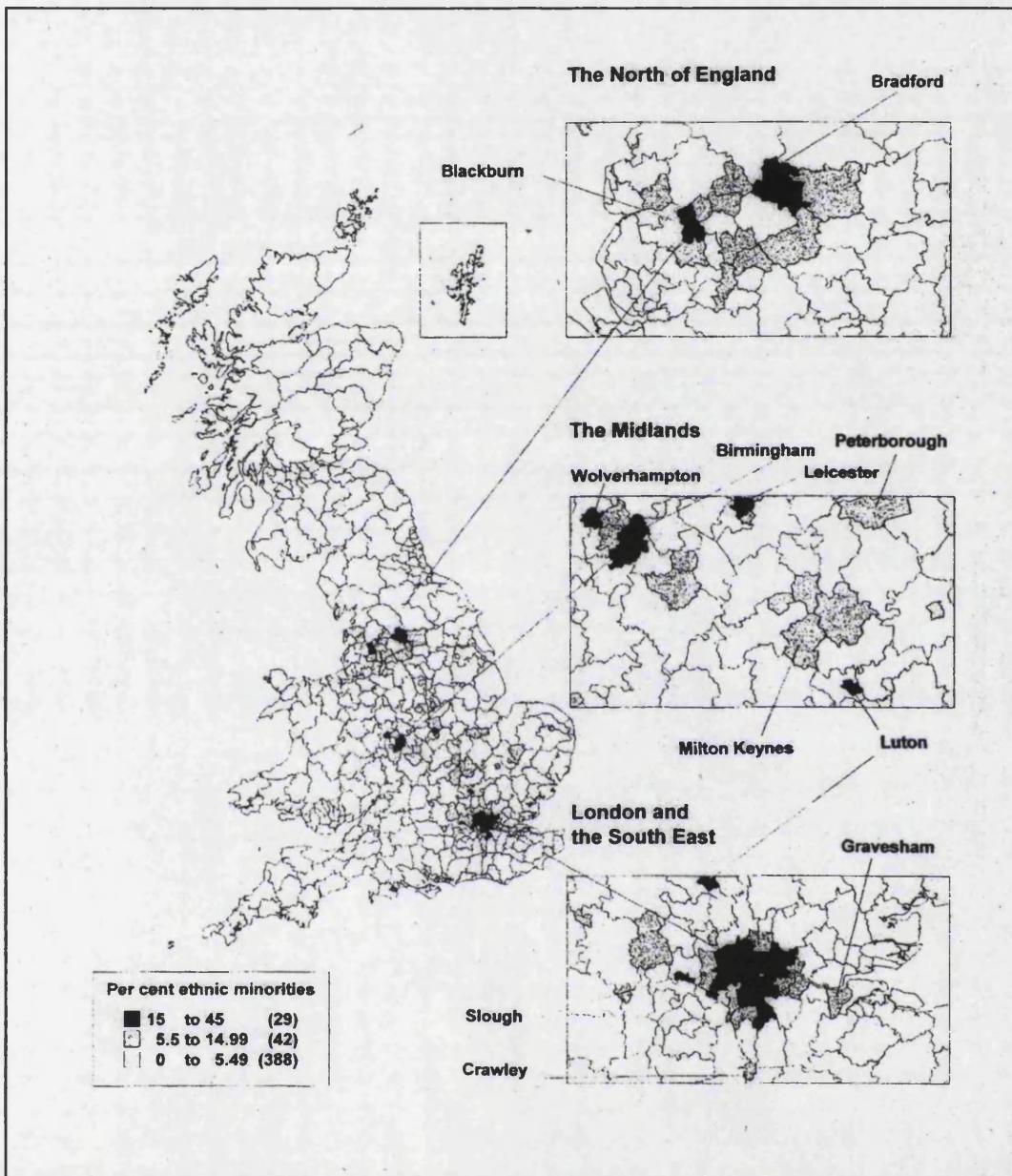
minority groups at 44.8 per cent, followed by Newham (42.3) and Tower Hamlets (35.6).

Figure 8: Regional ethnic group distribution of Total Population of Great Britain, 1991

Region or Metropolitan county	Percentage of resident population		
	Entire Population as % of GB	White Population as % of GB White Population	Chinese Population as % of GB Chinese Population
South East	31.4	29.9	53.3
<i>Greater London</i>	12.2	10.3	36.1
East Anglia	3.7	3.8	2.4
South West	8.4	8.8	4.3
West Midlands	9.4	9.1	6.1
<i>West Midlands MC</i>	4.6	4.2	3.9
East Midlands	7.2	7.3	4.8
York & Humberside	8.8	8.9	5.2
<i>South Yorkshire</i>	2.3	2.4	1.4
<i>West Yorkshire</i>	3.7	3.6	2.5
North West	11.4	11.6	11.1
<i>Greater Manchester</i>	4.6	4.5	5.3
<i>Merseyside</i>	2.6	2.7	3.6
North	5.5	5.8	3.2
<i>Tyne & Wear</i>	2.0	2.1	1.8
Wales	5.2	5.4	3.1
Scotland	9.1	9.5	6.7

Source: 1991 Census Local Base Statistics within Great Britain (ESRC purchase); Crown copyright

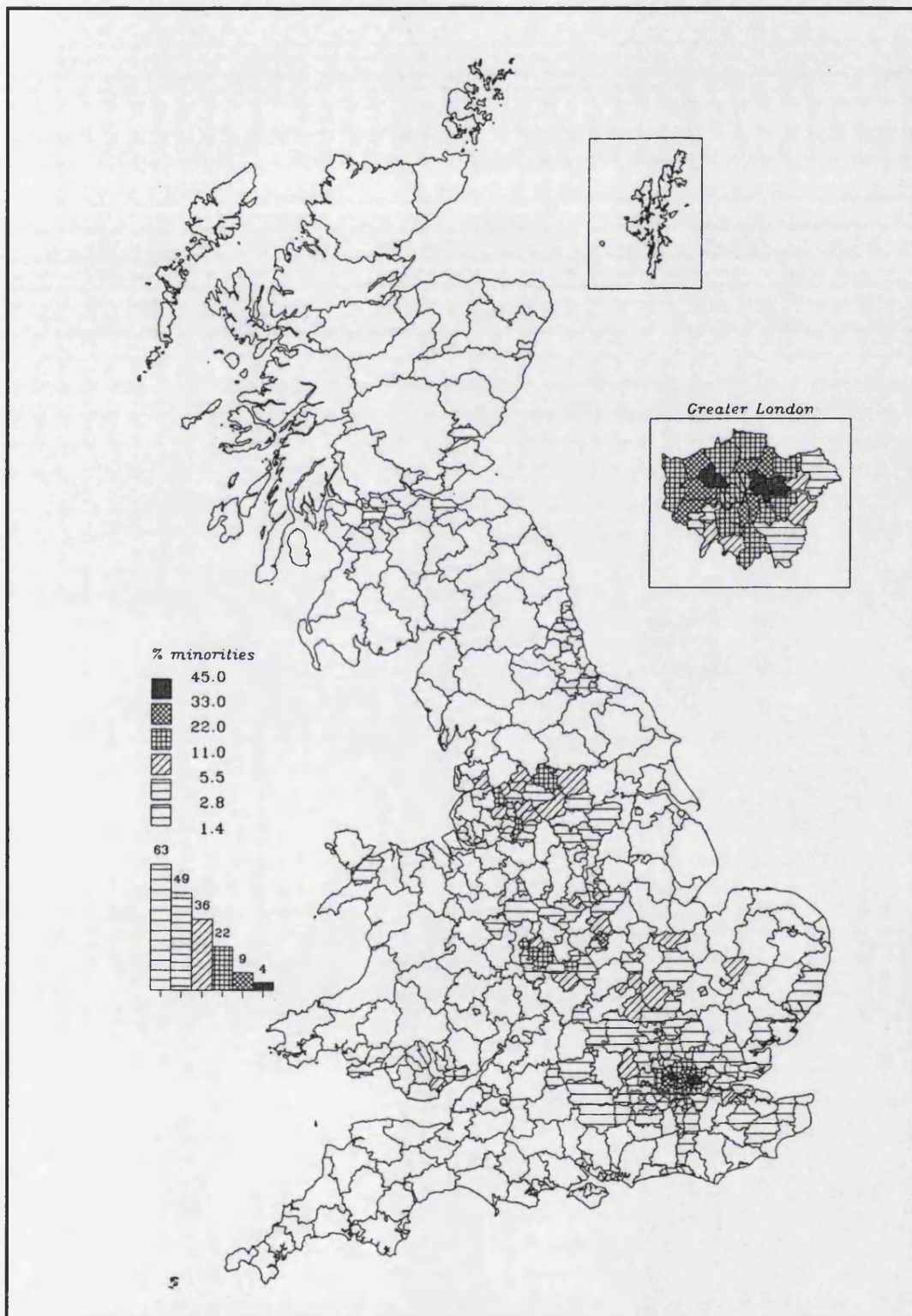
Figure 9: Distribution of Ethnic Minorities in Great Britain, 1991



Source: Coleman, D. and Salt, J. (ed.) (1996) *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census – Volume One*

The other main concentration of people from ethnic minority groups occurred in the West Midlands; in particular the former metropolitan county centred upon Birmingham. This region accounted for more than 14 per cent of all people from the ethnic minority groups, but only 9 per cent of the white population. Further North, West Yorkshire and Greater Manchester had the next highest relative concentrations of people from ethnic minority groups.

Figure 10: Percentage of District Population from Minority Ethnic Group, 1991

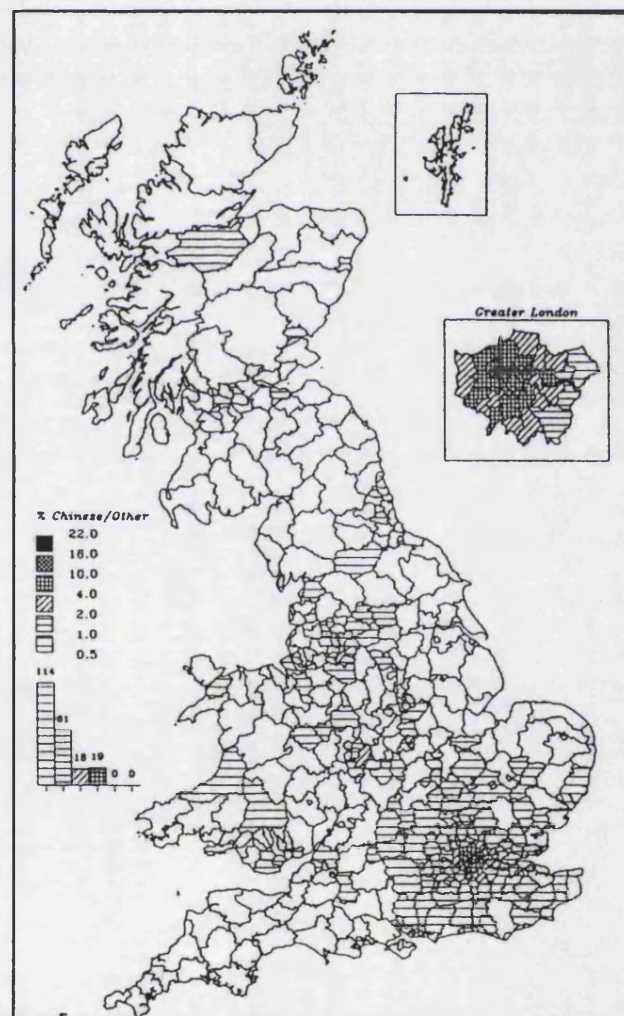


Source: Coleman, D. and Salt, J. (ed.) (1996) *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census – Volume One*

5.1 The Chinese Population

The Chinese arrived on the British scene later than most immigrant groups. The Chinese group, with some 57,000 members, is the smallest ethnic minority group identified in the census and demonstrates a wide range of geographical origin and they are the least concentrated compared to other ethnic groups.

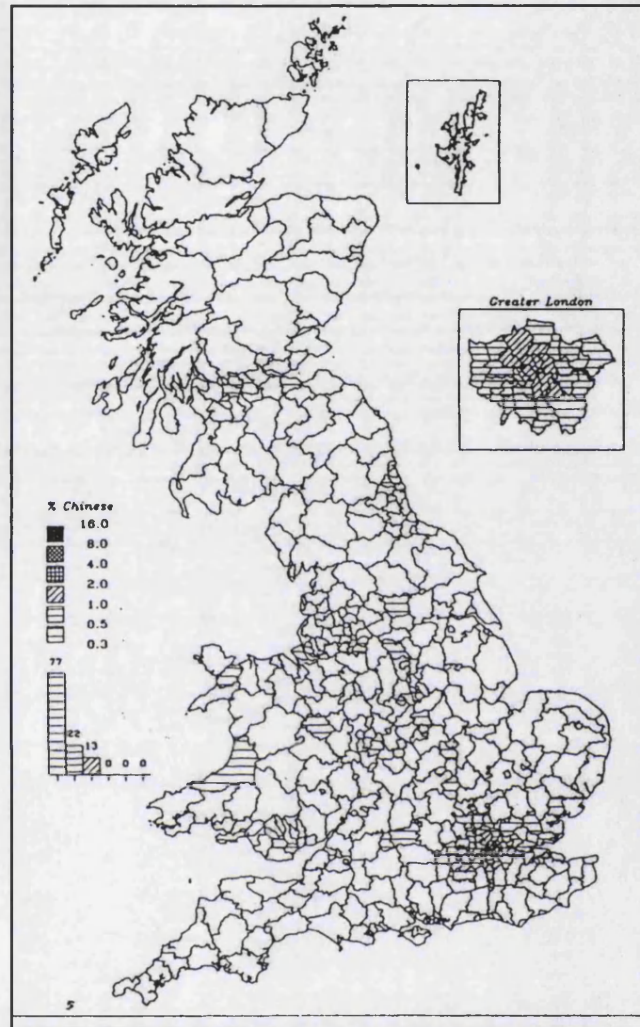
Figure 11: Distribution of Chinese and Other Ethnic Group in the UK



Source: Coleman, D. and Salt, J. (ed.) (1996) *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census – Volume One*

As can be seen from Figure 11, there is an even spread of Chinese across the South East.

Figure 12: Distribution of Chinese in the UK



Source: Coleman, D. and Salt, J. (ed.) (1996) *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census – Volume One*

The Chinese group itself may be divided into several subgroups possessing different demographic profiles. Those answering Chinese to the ethnic group question, in the 1991 census, seem to have accepted the concept of Chinese ethnicity, since only 10 per cent were actually born in China. The UK-born account for 26 per cent of the group, 26 per cent were Hong Kong-born, 14 per cent born in Malaysia, 10 per cent in Vietnam and 4 per cent in Singapore. Chinese people in the UK are a heterogeneous community made up of members from diverse origins and speaking different dialects, such as

Cantonese, Hakka, Mandarin, Vietnamese, Wai-tou and Hokkien. There are 127 different dialects spoken in China alone. Members of the Chinese group speak many different dialects but are linked by the written Chinese language (Shang in Storkey and Lewis in Ratcliffe, 1996). The group which came from Hong Kong constitutes one third of the population; about a quarter were born in the UK, the rest coming from Singapore, Malaysia, Taiwan, Vietnam and mainland China (Chan and Chan, 1997 in Yu, 2000). The refugees from Vietnam only form a small proportion of the total Chinese population

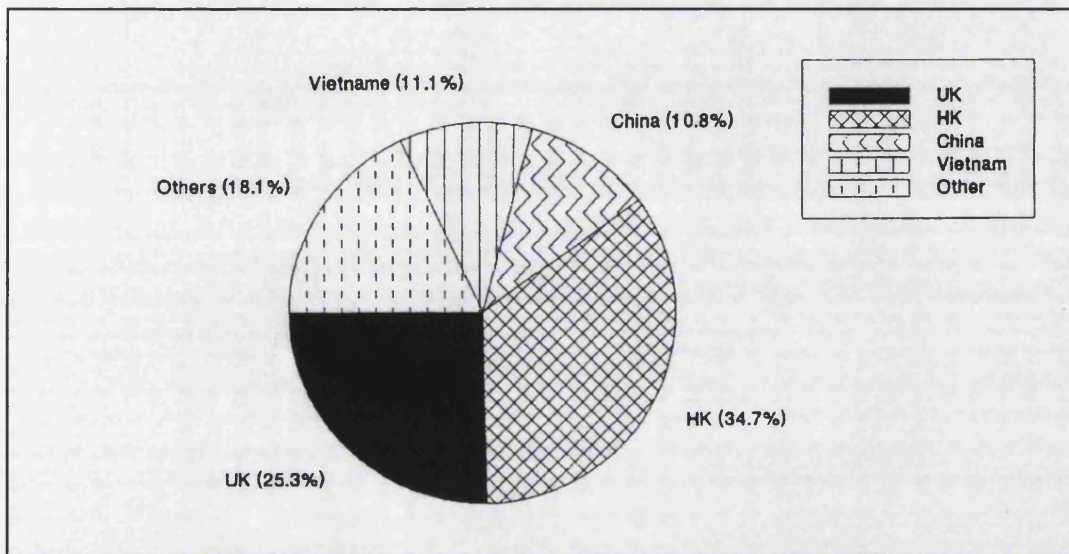
Figure 13: Ethnic Group by Countries of Birth, 1991

Born in (country)	Percentage
Chinese	
SE Asia (NC)	44
Hong Kong	26
Malaysia	14
Singapore	4
UK	26
China	10
Vietnam	10
Rest of World ¹	4
Mauritius	2
Taiwan	2
Caribbean (NC)	1
Other-Asia	
Rest of World ¹	33
Japan	14
Philippines	10
Thailand	2
Burma	1
UK	21
Sri Lanka	19
Mauritius	6
East Africa (NC)	6
Kenya	3
Uganda	1
Tanzania	1
Vietnam	5
SE Asia (NC)	3
Malaysia	3
India	2
Caribbean (NC)	1

Notes: NC = New Commonwealth; ¹ Rest of World = All countries outside UK, Euro Commonwealth, USA, China and Vietnam

Source: LBS Table 51 and Special Table LRCT 14

Figure 14: Country of Origin - Chinese in Britain

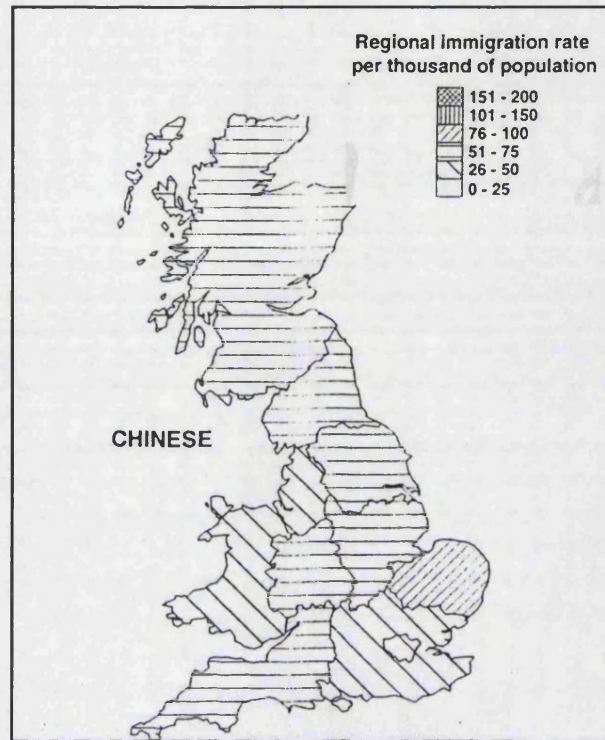


Source: Coleman, D. and Salt, J. (ed.) (1996) *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census – Volume One*

Compared to other ethnic minorities, the native-born form a smaller proportion of the Chinese population. The 1991 Census had shown that the majority of the Chinese immigrants in the UK were from Hong Kong. The reason for this would be the attachment Hong Kong had with Britain through colonialism¹.

¹ Hong Kong is no longer part of the British colonies. It was handed-over to China in July 1997.

Figure 15: Regional Immigration Rate per Thousand of Population for Chinese



Source: Coleman, D. and Salt, J. (ed.) (1996) *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census – Volume One*

Figure 16: The Dozen Districts with the Largest Chinese Population

District	1991
Barnet	4,038
Liverpool	3,536
Birmingham	3,302
Lambeth	3,224
Manchester	3,205
Southwark	2,914
Westminster City	2,910
Glasgow City	2,903
Camden	2,652
Brent	2,641
Ealing	2,538
Lewisham	2,500

Source: Ratcliffe, P. (ed.) (1996) *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census – Volume Three*

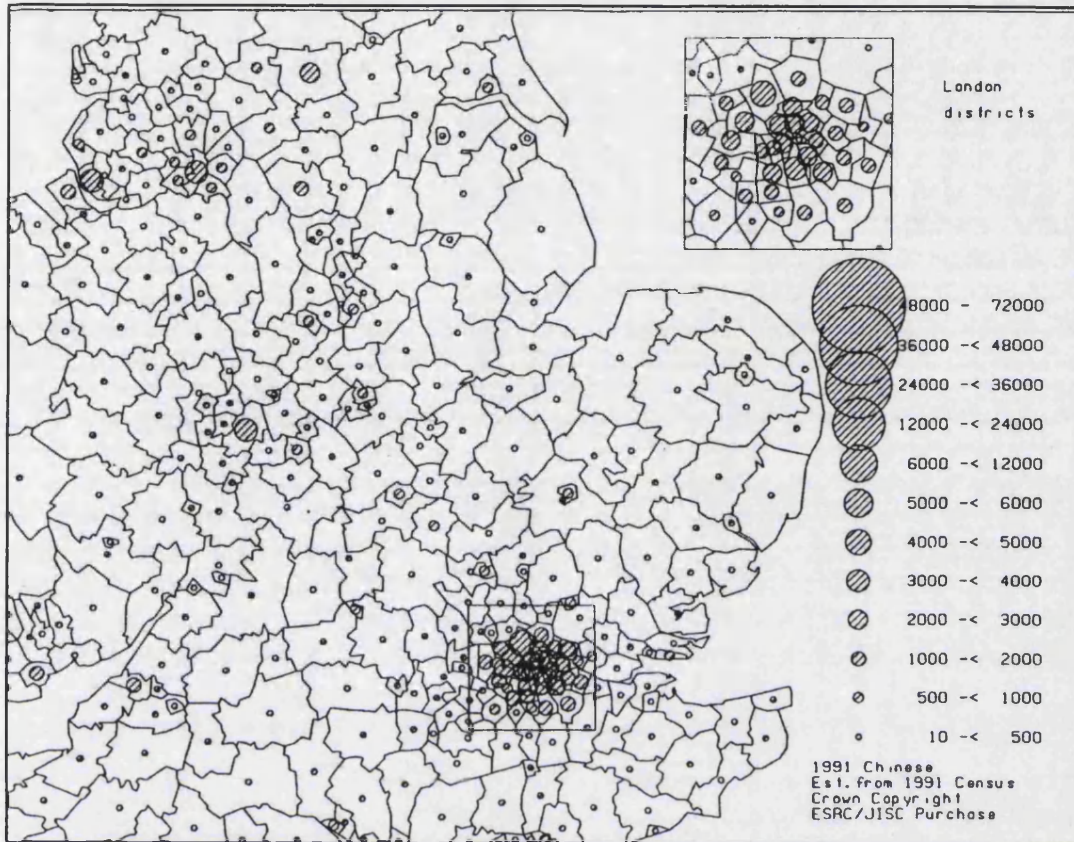
Figure 17: 1991 Census: Ethnic Group of Resident as percentage of Total Population in London

	Ethnic Group - White	Ethnic Group - Chinese
Greater London	79.8	0.8
Outer London	83.1	0.7
Inner London	74.4	1.1
City of London	92.7	1.4
Camden	82.2	1.5
Hackney	66.4	1.1
Hammersmith and Fulham	82.5	0.7
Haringey	71.0	1.1
Islington	81.1	1.3
Kensington and Chelsea	84.4	1.1
Lambeth	69.7	1.3
Lewisham	78.0	1.0
Newham	57.7	0.8
Soutwark	75.6	1.3
Tower Hamlets	64.4	1.1
Wandsworth	80.0	0.8
Westminster, City of	78.6	1.6

Source: Office for National Statistics

The share of Chinese and other ethnic groups in the resident population in 1991 was greatest in north west London boroughs, where it was five times higher than the British average. Concentrations of these ethnic groups were also found in the Home Counties on the north, west and south sides of London. Elsewhere, in the cities of the south and east of England, including Brighton, Cambridge, Ipswich and Peterborough, a relatively high percentage of their population was from the Chinese and Other ethnic groups. In the Midlands, local concentrations occurred in Northampton, Birmingham and Leicester. Chinese and other minority ethnic groups were also strongly represented in Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Blackburn, Newcastle and Cardiff.

Figure 18: Geographical Spread in 1991: Chinese Group



Source: 1991 Census

Figure 19: Relative concentration of the Chinese population in selected metropolitan counties, Great Britain, 1991

Great Britain	156,938
Greater London	56,579
West Midlands metropolitan county	6,107
Greater Manchester metropolitan county	8,323
West Yorkshire metropolitan county	3,852
Percentage Chinese group in named areas	47.70

Source: OPCS/GRO(S) (1993), Volume 2, Table 6.

Chinese settlement in London dates back perhaps 200 years, and in 1814 legislation was enacted to force the East India Company to provide lodging for Chinese and other migrant sailors. The growth of the Chinese population in London and Great Britain was linked to the growth of the Chinese catering trade, which is originated by ex-sailors. Subsequent migration by family dependents, the development of business activity surrounding catering and

the resettlement of the Vietnamese 'boat people' – at least half of them ethnic Chinese – have all helped to shape the development of the community. In terms of settlement, the Chinese are spread thinly across London, partly because of the demands of the catering trade. There are only two wards in London where the community amounts to more than 4 per cent of the total population. Two small concentrations emerge: one is in the area from Soho north to Kings Cross, and the other is an area around Deptford and north of New Cross (in Lewisham).

The Chinese, despite the stereotypes of Chinatowns which suggests high levels of segregation, tend in practice (at ward level) to be the least segregated, with small clusters of households spread across many towns and cities. This can be explained in large part by their distinct socio-economic profile, being more dependent than most in the restaurant or take-away trade, which will be elaborated later on in the thesis. The Chinese population is not a homogeneous one. Nearly all the voluntary migrants of Chinese origin came to Britain to improve their economic opportunities, but there was already a marked difference in their economic status at the time of migration and hence different expectations. There are the Chinese who came in the 1960s from rural Hong Kong who consist primarily of economic immigrants in the traditional sense. The majority of them came over and set up take-aways and other related business. Then there are those from South East Asia who are more likely to be second time migrants, whose forbearers left China a long time ago. These people, who were more economically prosperous than the former group (the Hong Kong Chinese), came to Britain for better education and greater career opportunities, which their first country of settlement could not provide. In the mid-1990s, there was another influx of Hong Kong Chinese immigrants who were granted British passports as part of the 'hand-over' of Hong Kong to mainland China (July 1997). These new immigrants are relatively better educated and have better professional skills and/or significant wealth.

The Chinese immigrants can be divided into three main groups. They are the Chinese from Hong Kong, the Chinese from South East Asia (such as Malaysia and Singapore) and the other Chinese, which consists of those from China, Vietnam and Taiwan. Some researchers have pointed out that the Chinese chain migration and concentration in catering were heavily shaped by the admission requirements imposed by the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962. Many Hong Kong Chinese migrated to the UK through the voucher system. They came with guaranteed jobs offered by their family members or relatives who had already settled and started Chinese restaurants. The route to employment, which was secured by the family, encapsulated the Chinese in the traditional catering trade and prevented them from competing for more highly regarded jobs in the wider labour market.

The South East Asian Chinese in Britain were mainly drawn from the Chinese communities in Malaysia and Singapore. For many decades, the Chinese in those countries were only familiar with the traditional way of life they had brought with them from China. The introduction of western technology and ideology in the 1950s, however, modernised both material and social life among the Chinese community in those countries. Education in English schools was highly valued because of its vital role in obtaining highly rewarded jobs. Migration to Britain was a means towards better western education, greater career opportunities and aspirations for wealth that could not be fulfilled at home.

The rest of the Chinese in Britain came from China, Taiwan and Vietnam. Migration from China to Britain started as early as the late 19th century. The pioneers of today's immigrants from China migrated during and after the civil war, which came to an end in 1949. Since the 1980s, there has been a resurgence of immigration from mainland China. Various categories of students and scholars arrived in Britain, after mainland China was opened to the western world. Many stayed on after completing their education. This

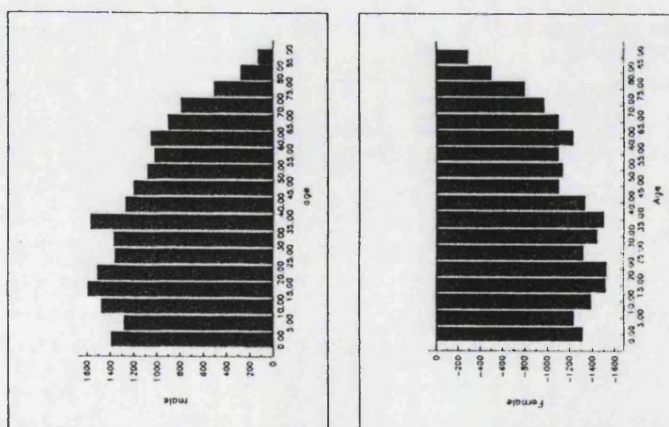
group, which is small in number but rapidly growing, comprises the most highly qualified Chinese immigrants Britain has ever received.

The Vietnamese Chinese came to Britain as political refugees. After the fall of Saigon in 1975, the Chinese in Vietnam were persecuted and many had to flee the country. Britain received 20,000 Vietnamese refugees as part of an international settlement effort (Jones, 1982). Because of the relatively non-selective system of admittance, few of the British Vietnamese possess transferable skills and their knowledge of English is poor. As a result, only few are employed casually within the Chinese catering business, or consigned to other areas of menial work. Most of them remain unemployed due to lack of qualifications or deficiencies in governmental resettlement policies (Peach et al., 1988).

5.2 The Age and Sex of Chinese Population

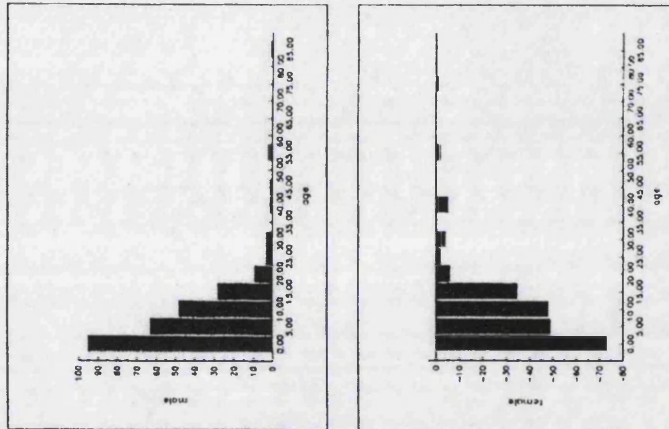
The Chinese community contains relatively low proportions of children compared to other ethnic minorities. This reflects the recent occurrence of their immigration into the UK.

Figure 20: Age by Sex: British-born Whites



Source: Cheng, Y. (1994) *Education and class: Chinese in Britain and the US* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited

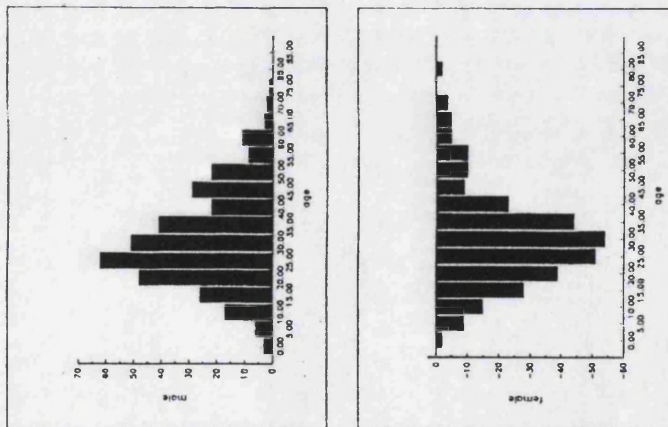
Figure 21: Age by Sex: British-born Chinese



Source: Cheng, Y. (1994) *Education and class: Chinese in Britain and the US* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited

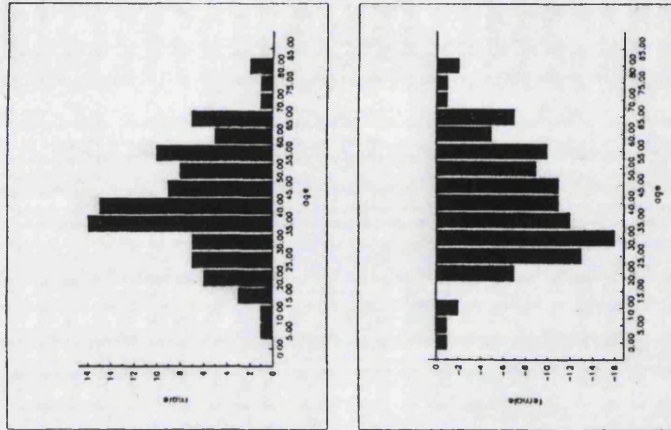
The pyramid for the second generation Chinese presents a different shape. It has a wide base that sharply narrows into a tapering top. The British-born element is most marked in the younger age groups and decreases sharply with increasing age. It is a group which primarily consists of youths and children. Only a tiny proportion of this group are above age 20 and even fewer above age 35.

Figure 22: Age by Sex: Chinese Born in Hong Kong



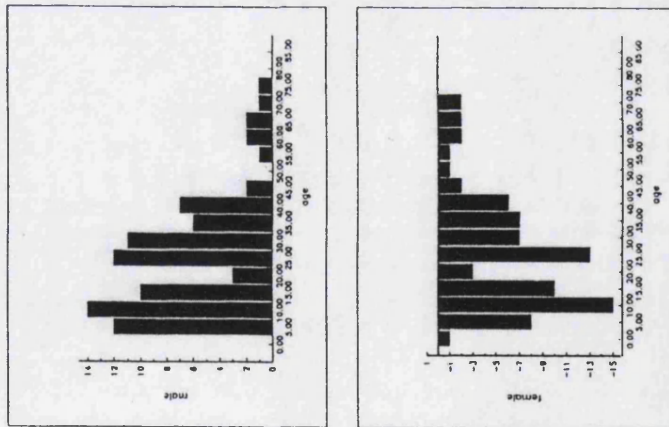
Source: Cheng, Y. (1994) *Education and class: Chinese in Britain and the US* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited

Figure 23: Age by Sex: Chinese Born in China



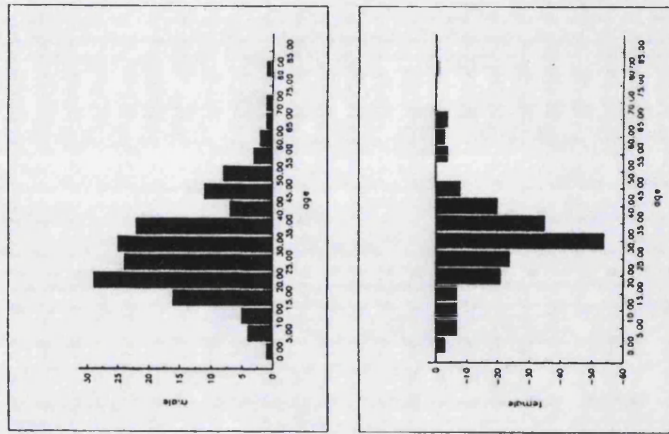
Source: Cheng, Y. (1994) *Education and class: Chinese in Britain and the US Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited*

Figure 24: Age by Sex: Chinese Born in Vietnam



Source: Cheng, Y. (1994) *Education and class: Chinese in Britain and the US Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited*

Figure 25: Age by Sex: Chinese Born Elsewhere



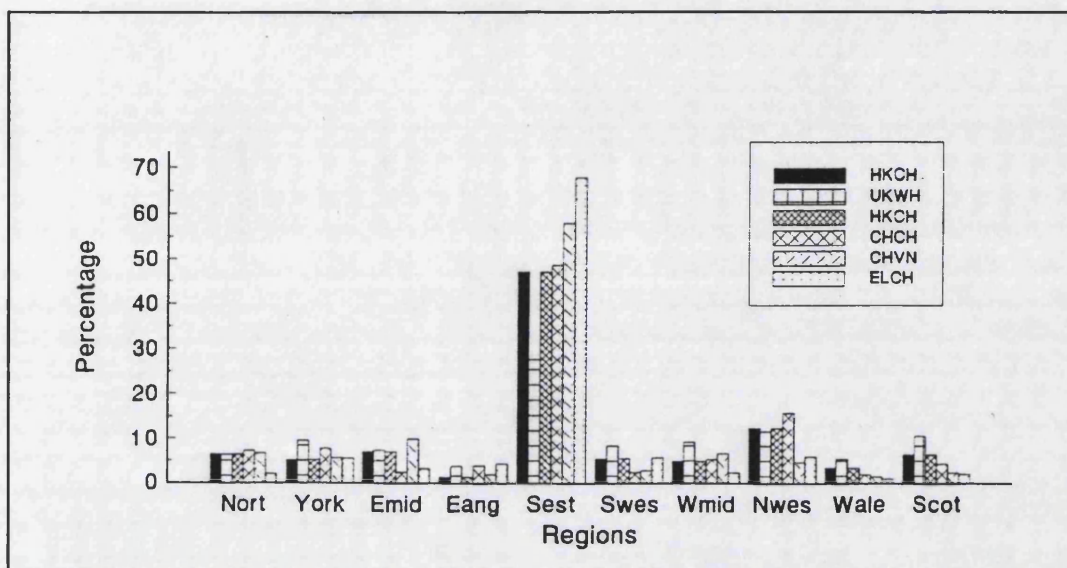
Source: Cheng, Y. (1994) *Education and class: Chinese in Britain and the US* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited

The slopes representing the foreign-born Chinese are more rugged. The pyramids of the Chinese immigrants have narrow base, a very wide middle portion and a tapering top.

5.3 Regional Distribution of the Chinese Population

The regional distribution of the Chinese is characterised by the concentration in the South East and wide dispersion in other parts of Britain. Altogether 53% of the Chinese live in the South East. There is a high percentage of Chinese living in inner London. There is a wide dispersal of the Chinese in all other regions. The reason for this will be touched upon later.

Figure 26: Percent Regional Distribution: British vs. Chinese



Key:
 UKCH – UK Chinese
 UKWH – UK White
 HKCH – Hong Kong Chinese
 CHCH – China Chinese
 CHVN – Chinese Vietnamese
 ELCH – Elsewhere Chinese

The regional distribution of the Chinese varies with the country of origin and is mainly affected by employment patterns. The Hong Kong Chinese, who have the highest percentage of caterers, are most widely dispersed across the country. Their level of concentration in the South East is the lowest among all Chinese immigrants. This is because the demand for ethnic cuisine encouraged the gradual diffusion of the Chinese into progressively smaller towns and even villages across the country (Livesey, 1988).

The Chinese from South East Asia have the highest level of concentration in the South East. Altogether 66% of this segment of the Chinese population live in this region. This pattern might be explained by the fact that many people from this group are either professionals or have technical skills. Therefore, they are more likely to work in the South East where such jobs are more readily available than in other parts of the country. The concentration in the South East is also notable for the Chinese from other parts of the

world. This group is mixed. Their pattern of settlement is due to a combination of the Vietnamese refugees who, in spite of the government's intention of dispersal, came to live in London (Peach et al., 1988), and the qualified Chinese from China who hold professional or skilled jobs.

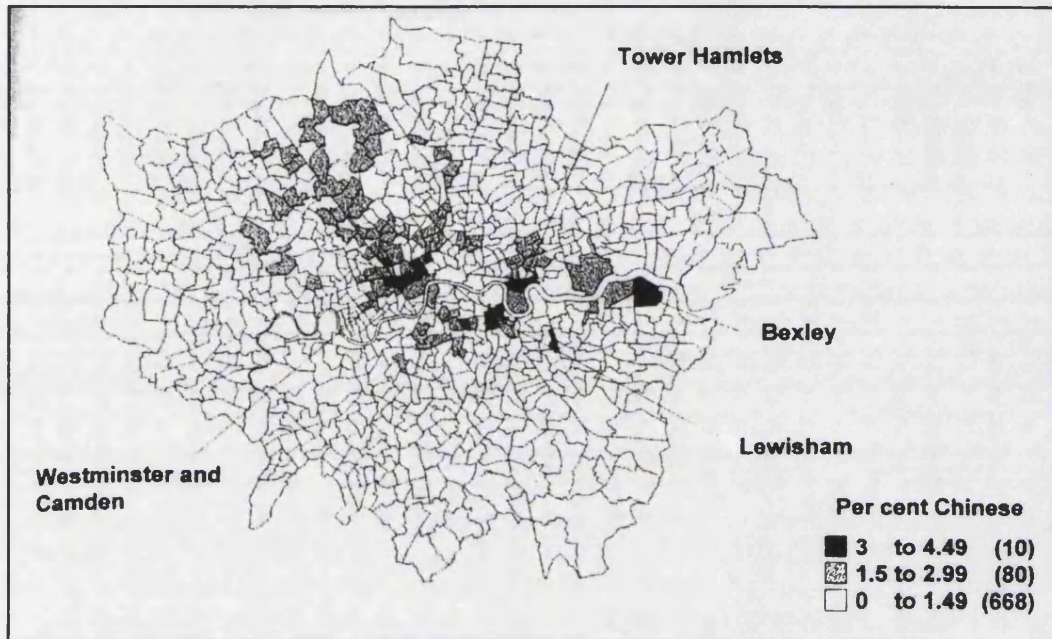
Figure 27: Regional distribution of Chinese of different regional origin, Great Britain, 1991

Region	Whites	Chinese total population	Chinese UK-Born	Chinese Hong Kong-Born	Chinese SE Asia-Born	Chinese born elsewhere
North	5.6	2.8	3.5	3.9	0.9	1.7
Yorkshire and Humberside	8.7	6.0	5.6	6.1	4.0	7.4
East Midlands	7.5	4.6	4.2	5.3	4.3	4.2
East Anglia	3.9	2.3	1.6	2.4	3.8	2.2
Inner London	3.3	17.2	15.9	12.6	22.3	22.5
Outer London	6.4	17.7	17.0	13.9	25.7	19.4
Rest of SE	20.1	17.7	18.4	19.4	18.1	14.1
South West	9.1	5.3	4.7	6.1	5.1	4.7
West Midlands	9.0	6.3	7.0	6.7	4.9	5.6
North West	11.3	10.5	13.4	11.1	3.8	10.2
Wales	5.3	3.1	2.5	4.6	2.8	2.0
Scotland	9.8	6.5	6.2	8.0	4.3	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Two per cent individual SAR.

The northwest has the second largest concentration of Chinese after the southeast. From the 1991 census, there were 11% of the Hong Kong Chinese and 10% of the Chinese from other parts of the world living in the northwest. However, only 4% of the South East Asian Chinese were found in this region, a pattern reminding us again of the differences in employment patterns.

Figure 28: The Percentage of Chinese in London's Wards, 1991



Source: Ratcliffe, P. (ed.) (1996) Ethnicity in the 1991 Census – Volume Three

6 Policies

The UK has primarily considered itself a country of emigration, at least twice within the last one hundred years; it has been the recipient of large net population inflows (Rees in Husband, 1982). The main lines of British policy towards immigration, both in respect to control and in respect to social policies towards immigrants, have traditionally been laissez-faire. Changes in the direction of immigration regulation and positive provision, or negative exclusion, have largely come about under the pressure of events, external to Great Britain rather than as the outcome of the country's anticipation and purposeful planning. The natural bias of the system, therefore, has consistently been not to interfere with existing arrangements, with the result that the pattern of immigration has often been conditioned by historical circumstances several years precedent to the immigration itself (Rees in Husband, 1982).

Migration policies have been premised on the belief that movements could be divided up into neat categories, such as economic migration, family reunion, refugees and illegals. Economic migrants in turn were subdivided into unskilled labour, highly skilled employees and business migrants, while refugees were separated into 'convention refugees' and asylum-seekers. Another distinction regarded as highly significant has been between temporary migrants and permanent settlers. Such categories have been central to a variety of migration systems, including the Australian immigration programme, the US preference system, the German 'guest-worker' programme and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees framework (Castles, 2000).

Today, these distinctions are collapsing. Migratory chains, once established, continue, even when the original policies on which they were based are changed or reversed. For example, when the German federal government decided in 1973 to stop labour migration and to encourage return migration,

the main migratory chain – that from Turkey – continued to develop, initially in the form of family reunion, then through refugee entries (Blaschke, 1990 in Castles, 2000). Similarly, what appears as entrepreneurial migration may in fact be a form of permanent family movement, as in the case of some South-east Asian migration to Australia, Canada and the USA.

However, immigrants from former British colonies have, mostly, received preferential treatment and who have often been citizens at the time of entry were generally accepted (though with some exceptions) for permanent immigration and family reunion has been permitted. However, one important change has been the erosion of the privileged status of migrants from former colonies in Britain. Making colonised people into subjects of the British crown was a way of legitimating colonialism.

In the period of European labour shortage, making colonised people into subjects of the British crown was a way of legitimating colonialism and it also seemed a convenient way of bringing in low-skilled labour from the British colonies. However, citizenship for the people from the colonies became a liability when permanent settlement took place and labour demand declined in the UK. In order to alleviate this problem, Britain removed the right of citizenship from their former colonial subjects and put these people on a par with foreigners.

One of the most important effects of immigration policies is on the consciousness of migrants themselves (Mason, 2000). In countries where permanent immigration is accepted and the settlers are granted secure residence status and most civil rights, a long-term perspective is possible. Where the myth of short term sojourn is maintained, immigrants' perspectives are inevitably contradictory. Return to the country of origin may be difficult or impossible, but permanence in the immigration country is doubtful. Such immigrants settle and form ethnic groups, but they cannot plan a future as part of the wider society. The result is isolation, separatism

and emphasis on difference. Thus discriminatory immigration policies cannot stop the completion of the migratory process, but they can be the first step towards the marginalisation of the future settlers.

6.1 The Beginning

From the 19th century, Britain's industrialisation increasingly led to the immigration of people from 'less developed' (or peripheral) economies to fill specific niches or labour shortages (Mason, 2000). Numerous factors facilitated Britain's capacity to draw on this source of labour supply.

The 1905 Aliens Act aimed at regulating the inflow of foreigners – specifically those judged as 'undesirable' and 'destitute' (Mason, 2000). The imminence of the First World War led to the passing of much more restrictive immigration control legislation targeting those deemed as 'aliens'. It gave the Home Secretary powers to exclude or deport those thought undesirable and introduced a requirement for registration with the police. However, British subjects, and hence the population of British colonies, was exempt. Following the 1905 Act is the Aliens Restriction Act of 1919, which aimed at limiting those with limited financial resources and placed an obligation on anyone admitted without substantial means of support to obtain a work permit (Holmes, 1988).

However, in the post second World War period, citizens of Commonwealth countries were granted special immigration status. The British Nationality Act of 1948, being the most liberal, conferred them the right freely to enter, work and settle with their families. Through the 1950s and 1960s increasing numbers of Commonwealth migrants began to arrive, first from the Caribbean and subsequently from India, Pakistan, parts of Africa and the Far East. The patterns of settlement were enhanced by the tendency of later migrants to join those already settled, and for the latter to play a key role in facilitating entry to the labour market and in the provision of accommodation

(Mason, 2000). New immigrants have the tendency to settle in places where the previous immigrants are. This provides them a sense of security as for a majority of them, it may be the first time away from their country of origin.

Peach (1965, 1968) showed that the rate of West Indian immigration in the 1950s was closely matched to the availability of vacant jobs in the UK. When vacancies fell in late 1956 and again in late 1958, arrivals fell well below 3000 per quarter, while, when vacancies soared in late 1959, arrivals rose to a peak before falling back. Arrivals grew in 1960-1 because it was apparent that the government was moving towards controls.

The control over immigration began to develop in 1962. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 established controls on the entry of Commonwealth citizens for the first time. This act was brought into force mainly as a result of a campaign against black Commonwealth citizens already here (Phelan, 1997). It was designed largely to limit Black immigration to Britain and achieved its object. It eliminated the right of Commonwealth citizens to come to Britain; henceforth those coming for work could come only with special permission in the form of a work-voucher. It introduced a system under which any such migrants required a voucher before being given leave to enter. Peach (1968) argues that the Immigration Act of 1962 changed the nature of migration from the movement of single workers, arguably with the intention of returning home, towards the movement of their dependants. The act changed what had been intended as short-term labour migration into permanently settled minority communities. During the first six months of 1962, thousands of beat-the-ban immigrants rushed into the UK before the July 1st deadline of the first commonwealth immigrants Act of 1962 (Patterson 1969). The Act restricted the number of commonwealth workers who could enter Britain and introduced a voucher system requiring each new employee to have a job waiting for him upon arrival. Large numbers of work-vouchers were issued in the early years: but following a 1995 White paper, numbers were progressively cut to no more than a few hundred a year

(Phelan, 1997). Although Commonwealth citizenship no longer entitled the holder to free entry into the UK it did give holders of work-vouchers the right to settle and bring their wives and children to Britain. The Act also took away the right of entry into the UK from those citizens of the UK and colonies (CUKCs) whose citizenship derived from a still dependant territory. For example, citizens from Hong Kong would require a work-voucher to enter the UK for work.

The Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1968 created a distinction between those UK passport holders who had the right of entry and abode in Britain and those who did not. Its practical effect was to retain a right of entry for many citizens of old Commonwealth countries such as Australia and Canada while removing this right from many UK citizens resident in the New Commonwealth. It is clear that the intention was to differentiate between those skin colour was thought of as 'white' and those skin was not. The Act created a group of people who were effectively stateless (Mason, 2000).

The main purpose of this Act was to subject Asian CUKCs from East Africa to immigration control. They had been largely unaffected by the 1962 Act, because East African countries like Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Malawi and Zambia were no longer dependent territories. Under the Independence Constitutions of such countries, many Asians retained UK citizenship on exactly the same basis as the European settlers and many chose not to give this up for local citizenship because they thought it offered them greater security. When East African governments adopted policies of giving preference to their own citizens many of these Asian UK citizens decided to leave for Britain. Many of the white settlers had by then already left for countries like White Rhodesia and racist South Africa, where they could continue their privileged existence on the backs of black people and where their ideas of racial superiority and racial segregation were more welcome (Phelan, 1997). The 1968 Act deprived the Asian citizens of the right of entry into the UK; but undertakings were given by both major political parties that

all CUKCs who were 'heads of households' in East Africa could come to Britain with their families, their rate of admission being subject to a quota restriction.

In order to exclude these East African Asians, the Act distinguished for the first time between CUKCs with a 'direct connection' with the UK itself and those UK citizen with no connection.

The 1971 Immigration Act came fully into force on 1 January 1973, established a full system of immigration control for both Commonwealth citizens and aliens. It restricted still further the opportunities for migrants from the New Commonwealth to enter Britain. All those who did not qualify for the right to abode under the 1968 Act now required a work permit whether they were aliens or Commonwealth citizens. Such permits were issued for twelve months and had then to be renewed. Those working on such permits could be deported for breaching the conditions of the permit or if they were deemed to be undesirable. After four years they could apply to have the time limit and conditions lifted. It removed the rights given to Chinese restaurant workers under the 1962 Act. It removed the automatic right of entry to wives and children of men already established in Britain. This prompted a 'beat the ban' wave of dependents' immigration, such that between 1971 and 1973 dependents accounted for upwards of 90% of total immigration from HK (Baxter, 1986).

The 1981 Nationality Act enabled those who qualify for right of abode under the 1968 and 1971 Immigration Acts to become British Citizens. Two other categories of citizenship were created: British Dependent Territories Citizenship and British Overseas Citizenship. Neither of these two carried right of entry or settlement. However, there was the exceptional granting of such a right to a limited number of citizens of Hong Kong. It also laid down that after 1983 citizenship would only be granted if the parents were legally settled in the UK. Restrictions on bringing in dependents were further

tightened, making additional difficulties for older children and parents, making some admissions subject to the ability to support them. The Act also convinced many Chinese of the need to remain in Britain and call for their families to join them if they have not already done so. Assuming that China regains sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1977, those Hong Kong Chinese holding British passports would in effect be stateless if they do not opt for Chinese citizenship.

Mason (2000) introduces the idea that the principal intention of the immigration controls introduced from 1961 onwards was increasingly to exclude potential immigrants who were not 'white'.

6.2 Results from the Policies

Castles and Kosack (1973) revealed that every other country in Europe had also experienced immigration from less developed countries. The crucial cause of migration into Europe was European capital's shortage of labour. Britain recruited many coloured colonial citizens in the first war, an action repeated by Britain in the Second World War. Not only was it the case that migrant workers were being pulled in to fill job vacancies but it was also argued that they would be left with the most unpleasant and unrewarding jobs.

The early Chinese settlers suffered the restrictive racist legislature, which initiated a trend towards self-employment amongst the ethnic community. The 1905 Aliens Act limited their activities once they were admitted. Further legislation in 1914 and subsequent amendments extended the discretionary powers of immigration officers and restricted both the geographical movement of aliens and the extent of their industrial militancy.

Prior to 1962, New Territories emigrant workers were permitted to enter the UK free from restrictions because they were British subjects, as Hong Kong

was a member of the British colonies. The restaurant workers also benefited from a general colonial policy that encouraged emigration as one solution to the growing problem of unemployment in the New Territories. At the same time, the colonial government also encouraged emigration to the UK and other parts of Western Europe as part of the general program to ease unemployment in their countries.

Peach (1966) showed that the migrants were acting as a 'replacement' population – they were largely doing unskilled and unpleasant jobs which the native British were not available to do or do not want to do. As a consequence, this led them to concentrate in the areas where these jobs were available, notably London and to occupy poor, inner city housing. The pattern of settlement confirmed that jobs were the central cause; relatively few immigrants went to areas where long-term economic decline held back job growth. Some immigrants came over to the UK with little or no knowledge of the language and the culture. As a result, they find jobs which requires no in depth knowledge of the language, and these are usually the unskilled service jobs such as cleaning. On the other hand there are those who have family and relatives over here. The reason they settle where they are is because of the contacts over here in the UK. Most new immigrants are dependent on their forebearers such that they stay with them. As a result they develop their social network within that specific community.

Work was the fundamental reason for the immigrant's presence. Bohning showed that as they became more permanent as immigrant workers and longer stays would lead to family reunion, the birth of children who might have the new nationality and would be at least partially socialised as Europeans. By the early 1970s, the economic downturn led all European governments to place restrictions on further labour migration. Castles (1984) showed that Europe was no longer dealing with labour migrants but with racial and ethnic minorities that were here for good.

Rex (1981) noted that there is an underlying assumption of much government policy in Britain, that many of the problems of ethnic minorities arise from the fact that they live in the inner city and that they share these problems with all of the inner-city poor. The problems of ethnic minorities do not arise solely from their isolation in the inner city. They arise partly from the simple fact that the minorities are relatively new immigrants and much more from racial discrimination. The consequence of these processes affecting the minorities is that they are located in the inner city. In coming to be located there, they find their own problems exacerbated, while at the same time contributing a new ethnic dimension to the inner-city problem (Rex, 1981).

Racial discrimination against ethnic minorities meant, in the 50s and 60s, they were denied access to the main forms of housing available to the native-born middle and working classes i.e., to mortgages, which would make them owner-occupiers, and to council tenancies.

The bar against immigrants involved indirect discrimination and forced them into the private housing market. Entry into this market was controlled by the building societies and prior to the 1968 Act there was nothing to stop building societies discriminating against coloured people.

Once a discriminatory system operates, many potential applicants will take it for granted that it is not worth applying. Secondly, once discrimination produces residential concentrations of minorities, other members of those minorities will actually prefer to live in the concentrated areas.

At the time of the 1991 Census, there were 156,938 Chinese in Great Britain, representing about 0.29% of the British population. Home office statistics show a steady rise in immigrants from Mainland China since 1989 and a steady fall in immigration from Hong Kong since 1991.

7 Ethnic Minority Groups in Tower Hamlets

The distribution of ethnic minorities within Tower Hamlets is far from uniform, and some wards show large concentrations. The proportion of residents born in the New Commonwealth and Pakistan is particularly high in three wards in the western part of the Borough: Spitalfields (45.1² per cent), St. Katherine's (28.7 per cent) and St. Mary's (24.9 per cent). The high proportions where they occur are largely composed of residents who were born in Bangladesh: Spitalfields (37.1 per cent), St. Katherine's (23.1 per cent) and St. Mary's (17.8 per cent). At the other end of the scale four wards, Bow, East India, Millwall and Park, have less than 1 per cent of residents born in Bangladesh.

The proportion of residents living in households headed by persons born in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan show a similar pattern. The wards with the largest communities were again: Spitalfields (63.1 per cent), St. Katherine's (40.3 per cent) and St. Mary's (36.0 per cent).

As with the distribution of the ethnic minority population there are some very significant proportions of New Commonwealth and Pakistan households living in sub-standard accommodation. In Spitalfields 77.5 per cent of New Commonwealth and Pakistan households were living at more than one person per room and in St. Mary's the proportion was 78.9 per cent. Again in St. Mary's 53.4 per cent of New Commonwealth and Pakistan households lacked exclusive use of a bath. St. Katherine's and Spitalfields also have a high proportion of New Commonwealth and Pakistan households living in accommodation without the exclusive use of a bath and/or toilets.

The proportion of the population economically active does not vary significantly between the wards in Tower Hamlets. Economic Activity is

² Data obtained from 1991 Census

greatest in St. Katherine's (67.8 per cent) and Millwall (67.4 per cent) and lowest in St. Dunstan's (59.3 per cent) and Holy Trinity (61.2 per cent). Of those economically active persons who are in employment there were some marked variations between the wards as to their composition in terms of socio-economic groups. Relatively high concentrations of non-manual, professional workers, employers and managers were to be found in Grove (45.4 per cent), St. Katherine's (41.2 per cent) and St. James (39.4 per cent). Relatively high concentration of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers were to be found in Spitalfields (63.1 per cent), Limehouse (60.9 per cent) and St. Dunstan's (62.1 per cent).

Figure 29: The Racial Origin of Residents in 1991– Tower Hamlets Wards

Ward	White		Chinese	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Blackwall	3,068	64.2	168	3.5
Bow	6,724	82.0	65	0.8
Bromley	6,088	63.2	166	1.7
East India	5,228	76.0	78	1.1
Grove	4,170	80.5	44	0.8
Holy Trinity	6,130	65.1	66	0.7
Lansbury	6,308	75.2	148	1.8
Limehouse	5,492	64.8	103	1.2
Millwall	10,899	79.1	367	2.7
Park	4,502	84.9	8	0.2
Redcoats	4,500	68.5	28	0.4
St. Dunstan's	5,168	51.6	88	0.9
St. James	4,684	78.9	20	0.3
St. Katherine's	7,488	54.2	73	0.5
St. Mary's	2,735	48.3	46	0.8
St. Peter's	6,714	64.8	67	0.6
Shadwell	5,373	53.5	133	1.3
Spitalfields	2,413	27.2	65	0.7
Weavers	6,083	62.3	47	0.5

Source: OPCS Census, Local Base Statistics

7.1 Chinese Community in Tower Hamlets

7.1.1 History

The London dockland area has always been home for ethnic minorities. 'Immigrants have always come to the East End, partly because the port landed them there, but also because the area was outside the commercial jurisdiction of the City and the ecclesiastical control of the Bishop of London' (Widgery, 1993). With the coming of the seamen, a Chinatown began to form in the 1880s in the Limehouse District bordering the West India Docks in London. Streets such as Limehouse Causeway and Pennyfields had Chinese grocery stores, eating houses and meeting places. Names of Chinese cities were given to the streets, such as Peking, Nanking and Canton. At a later date, similar communities of sailors and illegal immigrants (those who jumped ship) also emerged in Liverpool and Cardiff. However, the Chinese community in the Docklands is one of Britain's oldest, dating back to the mid 1800s. Chinese seamen formed the first Chinese communities in Britain in the 19th century.

Successive phases of Chinese immigration have had different motivating factors. Watson (1975) has identified three distinct types of emigrants, they are 1) the sailors who became jumped-ship immigrants, 2) the initial restaurant founders, and 3) the contemporary restaurant employees. A new type has emerged in the late 1990s, they are the highly skilled and the professionals.

7.1.2 The Beginning

The earliest Chinese immigrants in Britain during the 18th century were merchant seamen who arrived on ships with the Chinese trades and chose to settle in the port areas of London, Liverpool, Cardiff and Bristol. They lived in the dock areas of these cities. They were recruited, mainly from New Territories villages, in Hong Kong's rural areas, to serve abroad European

freighters, but most jumped ship at the first opportunities. Following the end of East India Company's trade monopoly in 1834, the acquisition of Hong Kong by Britain following the opium wars and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, recruitment of cheaper Chinese workers by British trading companies increased. The need to service off-duty seamen passing between ports around Britain eventually led to the development of small Chinatowns in many coastal cities. These establishments, for example boarding houses, social clubs and laundry shops, catered exclusively for the needs of the Chinese sailors. By 1931, there were over five hundred Chinese laundries throughout Britain, with the majority owned and run by Chinese men. However, automation and the widespread ownership of domestic washing machines and launderettes had put the Chinese laundry trade into decline. So by the 1960s hardly any were to be seen. Nevertheless, these ex-sailors formed the crucial foothold in Britain which the immigrants needed in order to initiate a successful transition to large-scale emigration.

Then during the First World War, some 100,000 Chinese men were recruited by Britain and France to work as labourers on the Western Front. What was characteristic of all these migrants was their dream of returning home to their native land one day, with wealth and newly acquired status. They saw themselves as 'sojourners' rather than immigrants to a foreign country. By 1930, more than 8 million Chinese had settled throughout the world.

It was not until the Second World War that large numbers of Chinese began to arrive. Many of them were unable to return to China following the Japanese conquest of Hong Kong and the main coastal areas and ports of China (Chan, 1999). It was during this time that these immigrants were drawn into catering on a massive scale. This was in response to the sudden need for publicly provided, ready-cooked meals caused by the new demands of a society at war. Chinese in Britain during this period entered the burgeoning catering trade along with other European migrants.

At around the same time, the destruction of the local agricultural economy in Hong Kong also prompted hundreds of thousands of economically displaced Chinese to migrate to the rapidly developing urban centres or developed countries in search of work. Many Chinese joined the older-established Chinese residents in the UK and initiated the move into catering after the War. With the return of thousands of Englishmen from abroad back to the UK, a new market was created for foreign food. The result was the Chinese restaurant boom of the 1950's and 1960's.

From 1946 to the late 1950s, alongside the destruction of the local agricultural economy in Hong Kong, Britain was suffering a chronic shortage of labour. The British government made strenuous efforts to alleviate this shortage in the immediate post-war period by admitting refugees from Eastern Europe, and then by actively seeking European Volunteer Workers.

Rose (1969, quoted in Hamnett et al., 1989) wrote: *'between 1946 and 1950 this country experienced immigration on a scale not matched either previously or at the height of the entry from the commonwealth ten years later.....Twenty years later, the very existence of this migration is almost forgotten and the term immigrant automatically suggests colour – although now, as before, coloured faces are in a minority among new comers.'*

It was during this period that the need for labour to staff the restaurants coincided with the rapid developments and economic restructuring in Hong Kong. Rapid industrialisation in Hong Kong outstripped the food supplies produced by its rural hinterlands, the New Territories. The Hong Kong government was keen to develop the manufacturing sector and secure prosperous trading, it concentrated on building the infrastructure and public facilities in urban areas; little attention was paid to the needs of residents in rural areas. It also took an active role in buying agricultural products from mainland China, in order to lower the cost of production in Hong Kong

(Schiffer, 1991). It was a time when an influx of refugees from China increased competition in both the agriculture industry and urban expansion and development. Not only did these refugees imported cheap rice from Thailand which undercut local Hong Kong farmers, they drew labour and financial resources away from agriculture. The pressure for industrial, commercial and housing land in the rural areas also hastened the disintegration of the local economy. This forced many traditional farmers in the New Territories in Hong Kong to look elsewhere for a living. Faced with competition from the Chinese from mainland China, and the apathetic attitude of the Hong Kong government to their livelihood, many people in rural areas felt that taking the risk of coming to the UK was the only way to solve their economic difficulties as it was the time when Britain needed cheap, colonial workers to staff new jobs in the post war boom.

The early Chinese restaurants in Britain began during the 1930s as small noodle shops and cheap diners catering to Chinese seamen in the dock areas of Liverpool and London. However, the Chinese restaurant boom in Britain during the late 1950s and early 1960s generated a great demand for reliable emigrant labour. The restaurateurs preferred to hire fellow lineage members to work in their restaurants whenever possible because they were thought to be more trustworthy than other Chinese immigrants.

The key aspect of overseas Chinese communities at this time was the importance of kinship ties, based on blood, marriage and sometimes adoption. This was largely due to the demographic organisation of their native villages in South China, which often were inhabited by one clan or a single lineage of the clan. Kinship loyalties were partially, overridden by ties of dialect and district, as it was common for migrants from villages in a particular district or dialect-area to migrate to the same place.

Most of the newcomers arriving in the 1950s were young, unmarried men from rural areas of Hong Kong. The married ones left their wives at home

and came here alone (Federation of Chinese Association in Britain, 1985). This was because their wages were not sufficient to support their whole family comfortably. However, many factors led to the outflow of able-bodied males from their native villages. This pattern was logical, in that the male migrants planned to spend only a limited number of years in Britain, working hard and saving profusely, until they had enough to return home to a comfortable retirement. The economic motive was primary for most Chinese migrants going abroad.

As mentioned previously that before the Second World War, there was a Chinatown, mainly to serve the small Chinese seafaring community, in the Limehouse area. However, German bombers obliterated the two streets of that Chinatown, and it never re-emerged after the war (Ng, 1968). It was not until 1965, that five Chinese restaurants opened in rapid succession on Gerrard Street (Wong, 1967). These Chinese restaurants catered almost exclusively to the growing Chinese population at that time. Hence Gerrard Street has taken on the functions of a Chinatown and has become the London Chinatown as we know today.

By the early 1960s, an increasing number of male migrants, who came on their own, were secure enough economically and felt sufficiently confident to ask the wives, children and in some cases elderly parents to join them. This was mainly in response to the Amendment to the Commonwealth Immigration Act, which required both parents of a child to be resident in the UK as a precondition for giving the child the right of abode (Taylor, 1987). By this time, a number of Chinese restaurant workers had acquired their own small restaurant or take-away and so it made good sense for their families to come over to help out in the business. The tightening of immigration control through successive Immigration Acts also persuaded many Chinese of the need to call for their families to join them in Britain. The peak of family immigration was between 1963-1973. This period saw the development of

Chinese associations and societies, some specifically to cater for the growing educational and welfare needs of the community.

The Chinese immigrants arriving during the 1960s were subject to the work voucher system imposed by the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act. This legislation further channelled these incoming Chinese migrants into the 'ethnic' fast food industry. 'By the latter part of the 1960s and early 1970s, the majority of permits were issued to workers in the hotel and catering industry and in hospital employment' (Rees, 1982). Under the terms of the Act, men were allowed to bring their wives and dependents under the age of 18 to join them. Migration under these conditions was predominantly male-led, whilst other members of the family remained in HK and lived off the money sent home from abroad unless and until they followed the migrant male.

8 Culture, identity and Community

The migrations of the last half-century have led to growing cultural diversity and the formation of new ethnic minority groups in many countries. Such groups are visible through the presence of different-looking people speaking their own languages, the development of ethnic neighbourhoods, the distinctive use of urban space and the establishment of ethnic associations and institutions.

Cultural differences serves as markers for ethnic boundaries. Ethnic cultures play a central role in their particular community formation; for example when ethnic groups cluster together, they establish their own neighbourhoods, which are marked by distinctive uses of private and public spaces of their particular culture. The Chinatown in London, with shops and services catered for the Chinese population, is a good example of this. For members of the ethnic minority group, culture plays a key role as a source of identity and as a focus for resistance to exclusion and discrimination by the host society. Reference to the culture of origin helps people maintain self-esteem in a situation where their capabilities and experience are undermined. In this case, migrant cultures cannot be seen as static and primordial, otherwise this cannot be achieved. It is able to provide orientation in a hostile environment. The dynamic nature of culture lies in its capacity to link a group's history and traditions with the actual situation in the migratory process. Hence that migrant or minority cultures are constantly recreated on the basis of the needs and experience of the group and its interaction with the actual social environment (Scheirup and Alund, 1987; Vasta et al., 1992).

Fishman points out: (Fishman, 1985)

Characteristic of post-modern ethnicity is the stance of simultaneously transcending ethnicity as a complete self-contained system, but of retaining it

as a selectively preferred, evolving, participatory system. This leads to a kind of self-correction from within and from without, which extreme nationalism, and racism, do not permit.

Cultural isolation has been bolstered by adherence to language and religion and by the device of self-segregation, both social and spatial. Important surveys of Bradford (Dahya, 1974) and Glasgow (Kearsley and Srivastava, 1974) stress minority choice rather than majority-imposed constraints as the prime cause of residential segregation (Aldrich, 1981). Segregated and tightly clustered ethnic neighbourhoods support cultural exclusiveness by fostering close social contact between group members and by acting as protective spaces within which an Asian need rarely be exposed to non-Asian contact (Brooks and Singh, 1978-9). Unlike some of the other ethnic groups, which are held closely by their religious beliefs, the Chinese population is not. The Chinese community are composed of Chinese from a diverse range of countries and a large number of atheists³. Not all of them speak the same dialect of the Chinese language. However, they disperse or cluster for different reasons compared to the others. Their pattern of settlement is completely for economic purposes due to the nature of the catering industry in which the majority are involved.

One major point I have picked up during my research is the weight given to the knowledge of the host country's language, in this case English. For the majority of the Chinese immigrants the knowledge of English is not an important issue. The majority of them who came over in the 1960s were immediately absorbed into their dominant industry, where the knowledge of English was not necessary. This is the case for majority of the ethnic minority groups when they have a secure community to go into.

³ Any form of religion was wiped out when China went under Communism under Chairman Mao. Religion became illegal. Most of them and their descendants are atheists.

However, members of the host society perceive the language barrier as a problematic issue. The phenotypic differences of the ethnic minority groups will arouse people's awareness of their knowledge of the host language.

9 Social behaviour

Typical migrants do not 'acculturate' themselves in their new surroundings: they 'import' their culture and beliefs from their place of origin (Jansen, 1970). Integration of the migrant could be facilitated in cases where he knew friends at the place of destination before migrating. Studies (in Jansen, 1970) have shown that in many cases the migrant's closest friends are other migrants. These are people in similar circumstances and have faced similar problems to his own. The working migrant is likely to make friends among workmates before meeting neighbours. The reason for this is because he will spend majority of his time at his workplace. The Chinese immigrants follow this behavioural pattern.

In Jansen's (1970) study of the pattern of settlement of ethnic minority groups he touched upon the social behaviour of the ethnic minority groups. He noticed how when a couple migrates to the host society, the husband's first contacts are most definitely amongst his workmates. It is generally more difficult for the wife to make friends, as she tends to stay at home rather than becoming a part of the host society. For the majority of the Chinese who are in the catering industry, they befriend others employed at the restaurant that he or she is working at. For some of them, they may be the only friends they have or will be having as they do not have time to venture out of the established social network.

It has to be noted that the Chinese people maintain an informal attachment to their own community. Although most Chinese people identify themselves as the same group culturally, they would only come together occasionally to celebrate Chinese festivals. However, few or no Chinese would deal with their problems on a community basis nor would they actively promote their interest as a community. Most of their concern is limited to their family; little attention is paid to anything beyond this boundary. They do not reveal too

much of their interests to the public. This results in the maintenance of a double-attachment to the host society and their own community; their attachment to the former is mainly achieved by participating in the private market and the relationship is basically commercial; their attachment to the Chinese community is mainly achieved through the family or working in the Chinese restaurants.

The economic niche, namely in catering, that the Chinese control allows the migrants to live, work and prosper without changing their way of life to suit British social expectations. According to Ng (1968) and Broady (1955), the Chinese are by far the least assimilated of all the immigrant minorities in Britain. Their arguments, from my opinion, stem from observations of the first generation Chinese who make few efforts to participate in the host culture. The low level of English comprehension and speaking ability among the restaurant workers and/or the first generation Chinese immigrants illustrates this. For example, the cooks and kitchen helpers have few or no opportunities to learn or practice English because they work long and unsociable hours. There is simply no opportunity for them to leave the social network established within the catering industry unless they leave it completely, but for most of the Chinese immigrants with low level of English comprehension, it is near impossible if they need jobs. The restaurant workers also prefer to keep a low public profile and do not seek close personal ties with members of the host society. However, this is not the case for the second-generation Chinese. These are those who were born and educated in the UK and may not have as strong ties, compared to their parents, to their country of origin. Amongst the second generation Chinese, most of them do not get involved in the catering industry. Most of them have received better education than their parents so they are able to compete with members of the host population in other fields. The active participation of the second generation Chinese in the host society activities, for example work, speeds up the process of assimilation.

Going back to the first generation Chinese immigrants, I have found, from my interviews with the older Chinese people in Tower Hamlets, a majority of them cannot speak English although they have lived here for over fifty years. They do not find the need to learn or speak the language, as they are happy getting on with their lives on their own. They know how to get to the usual places such as Chinatown and the Chinese community centres for lunches. They do not have many friends in London. They look forward to having lunches in Chinese groups during the week though. A majority of them are dependent on the helpers at these Chinese Associations to read letters and bills for them. A couple of them were dependent on their children when they first came over here but as time goes by they can now get around London on their own without any knowledge of the English language. The majority of them need to be accompanied by an 'advocat'⁴ when they go to see the doctors. Appointments need to be arranged months in advance, for they need to coordinate the advocat and the doctor. If they feel uncomfortable outside the appointment times, all of them said that they have to suffer and quietly hope the pain will go away. They do not seek help because they do not want to cause inconvenience for anyone. For the majority of the Chinese in the catering industry, they do not see the need to learn English nor do they have the time to learn the language. The reason they do not have the desire to learn the language is because they spend most of their time working at the restaurants and they befriend people in the same industry where the majority of them have similar backgrounds and/or speak the same language. Very few of them socialise outside their work place.

The Chinese have become a settled community in Britain. The arrivals of the migrants' families from Hong Kong and the uncertainty over the territory's future have no doubt influenced the move towards permanent settlement. However, some of the New Territories migrants still consciously think of

⁴ Advocat is someone of who is able to speak fluent English and other foreign languages. They are trained to know medical terms and conditions. They are not nurses but simply translators with medical knowledge.

returning to their home villages to retire. Despite the fact that they have acquired a degree of permanence in Britain having bought a house here and even having children and grand children born in this country. One reason why some restaurant workers still harbour the aim of returning home is that they feel a need to be recognised and respected for their achievements. The Chinese have always been conscious of the need to openly display the signs of material or academic success, so as to enhance the status of their families within the community.

In most cases the first generation migrants are not particularly interested in making English friends or in changing their way of life. Chinese culture, in their view, is infinitely superior to the European cultures they have encountered. In comparison to other minorities, the Chinese sense of ethnic identity has changed very little as a consequence of life in Britain. This is mainly due to the industry they are in, which shields them from outside influences. The Chinese caterers, including even the younger migrants, have not begun to redefine themselves as a consequence of exposure to British society and culture.

Below are Five Factors which together constitute a barrier to full participation in British life for the Chinese:

1. Lack of English
2. Ignorance of rights
3. Cultural differences
4. Scattered settlement
5. Long unsocial working hours

9.1 Inter-Ethnic unions

Berrington (in Coleman and Salt, 1996) found that the formation of inter-ethnic unions has been seen as an important indicator of the degree of assimilation

or integration of an ethnic minority into a host society (Gordon, 1964 in Berrington). As Colman (1994) points out, inter-ethnic unions clearly indicate the extent to which individuals are able to mix in the marriage market and inter-marriage itself promotes further breakdown of separate identities and barriers between ethnic minorities by the creation of a mixed ethnicity population.

The vast majority of couples contain individuals of the same ethnic group. Overall, only 1.3 per cent are inter-ethnic unions, the majority of which are between an ethnic minority individual and a White individual. There is little mixing within the Asian ethnic minorities and only a very modest number of unions between the different Black ethnic minorities.

According to Jade Cheng from the Chinese Information and Advice Centre, from her observation for living in London for the past 15 years, she said that the Chinese are the most willing, of all the ethnic minority groups in the UK, to get involved in inter-ethnic unions. Her explanation is because the Chinese are not bound by strict religious traditions to marry someone from their cultures or traditions. They have a choice on what they want to do rather than being restricted. Another factor which may contribute to this is the pattern of settlement of the Chinese in the UK. The Chinese, being the most dispersed of all ethnic minority groups, are in a situation where they are less likely to encounter someone from similar backgrounds. They are more assimilated into the host society since there are less of them concentrated in one place.

10 Occupation of Chinese

Figure 30: Per cent distribution of Employment Status by Ethnic Origin: Those Born abroad, 1994

	Self-employed	Employee	Total
Chinese	31.3	68.8	100
Indian	20.9	79.1	100
Pakistanis	23.9	76.1	100
African Asian	22.3	77.7	100
West Indian	5.4	94.6	100
Irish	13.6	86.4	100
British Whites	12.5	87.5	100

Source: Cheng, Y. (1994) *Education and Class: Chinese in Britain and the US*

From a survey conducted by Cheng (1994), 31 per cent of Chinese are self-employed, which is the highest proportion of all ethnic groups. The percentage of self-employed is the lowest for foreign-born Chinese, compared with all other foreign-born ethnic minorities and whites. Only 3 per cent claim to be self-employed.

Figure 31: Per cent distribution of Employment Status by Ethnic Origin: Those Born in the UK

	Self-employed	Employee	Total
Chinese	3.0	97.0	100
Indian	9.9	90.1	100
Pakistanis	11.3	88.7	100
West Indian	3.7	96.3	100
British Whites	10.4	89.6	100

Source: Cheng, Y. (1994) *Education and Class: Chinese in Britain and the US*

The rapid inter-generational reduction in the proportion of self-employed among Chinese may be due to one or both of two factors. One factor is that the second generation managed to escape the traditional catering business, where most of the Chinese self-employment takes place, as they are better educated therefore able to find jobs elsewhere. Alternatively, the second generation, like their parents, may still be caught in catering – working as

employees, since many of them are still too young to take up self-employment.

Figure 32: Percent Distribution of Industrial Group within Chinese and British Whites

	Chinese – Born Abroad	British Whites
Agri. Forest. fish	0.5	2.1
Energy. Water. Supply	0.7	3.3
Mineral extraction	0.9	3.5
Metal goods	3.5	11.0
Other manufacturing	2.8	9.3
Construction	0.9	7.7
Catering related	56.7	17.0
Transport	3.2	6.5
Banking	7.9	8.9
Other Service	22.9	30.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Cheng, Y. (1994) *Education and Class: Chinese in Britain and the US – Chapter 5*
Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited

The figure above shows the Chinese ethnic minority group has the highest proportion engaged in catering. Over half of Chinese, or 57 per cent, work in distribution, catering, hotel and repairs. The next biggest concentration of Chinese immigrants (23 per cent) is found in other service, which consists of public administration, education, medical health, recreational and personal services.

**Figure 33: Percent Distribution of Industrial Group by Ethnic Origin:
Those Born in the UK**

	Chinese	British Whites
Agri. Forest. Fish	0.0	2.1
Energy. Water. Supply	0.0	3.1
Mineral extraction	0.0	3.3
Metal goods	0.0	11.0
Other manufacturing	9.1	9.7
Construction	3.0	7.7
Catering related	51.5	19.2
Transport	3.0	6.1
Banking	18.2	9.8
Other Service	15.2	28.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Cheng, Y. (1994) *Education and Class: Chinese in Britain and the US – Chapter 5*
Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited

There are very few native-born Chinese working in any of the industrial groups. Of these Chinese, the single largest concentration of 51 per cent is still found in the catering related group. Their percentage in banking is also higher than that of all other ethnic groups. It seems that the majority of British-born Chinese are still engaged in catering, where they might be too young to take up self-employment yet.

10.1 Self-Employment

The 4th National Survey of Ethnic Minorities (1994) found that self-employment among South Asians, which had taken off in the late 1970s, had continued to grow, especially among Pakistanis. A third of the Pakistani, Indian and African Asian men in paid work were self-employed. While the same is true for Chinese men, it contrasted with a fifth of the White and

Bangladeshi, and an eighth of the Caribbean men in paid work who were self-employed (Modood et al., 1997).

While some have explained entry into self-employment as the lack of satisfactory alternatives driving ethnic minorities into self-employment, with racism playing a part (Aldrich et al., 1981; Ram, 1992; Jones et al., 1994 in Modood et al., 1997), others have identified cultural factors as playing a major role. The cultural factors that ethnic relations research has tended to focus on are however, very different to the sociological debate about political individualism and whether there exists an 'enterprise' culture.

Waldinger et al. (1991 in Modood et al., 1997) have identified networks of friendship and kinship as both predisposing people towards and assisting self-employment. The importance of the family in particular has emerged from a number of studies of migrant ethnic groups in the US. They have suggested that the family is an institution that embodies an important form of social capital that immigrants draw on in the pursuit of economic advancements (Sanders and Nee, 1996 in Modood et al., 1997). The same applies to the Chinese in the UK. The majority of the Chinese from Hong Kong came to Britain between 1960s and 1970s when the work voucher system was enforced. Immigrants had to have a place to stay and a job before their arrival in the UK. This encouraged those who already have contacts to come over to the UK.

Religion, as pointed out by Modood (1997), may affect business in many ways, affecting the owners' general outlook on life and depending on the religion, prescribing and proscribing certain activities. However, a family history of self-employment gives individuals familiarity with the demands of self-employment. It may also enable individuals to develop skills important to business development and provide access to advice, as well as encouragement. Indeed, family involvement in self-employment has been shown to be a strong indicator of whether other members of the family go on to enter self-employment (Basu, 1995 in Modood et al., 1997). While a family history of self-employment might encourage and assist self-employment, the quality of the family and business connections are also important indicators as to whether the business will be carried on by the next generation.

11 Business development and self-segregation (the US example)

Aldrich (1981) mentioned the importance of the ownership and control of small businesses by groups such as the Chinese, Japanese and Jews in the US. It has shown to be a vital instrument of social mobility, a starting block from which these minorities have propelled themselves towards a measure of economic parity with majority society (Light, 1972, quoted in Aldrich, 1981).

From Aldrich's (1981) study he found that the Chinese in America appear to have followed a sequence of business development followed in outline by many successful minorities. Initially the Chinese were concentrated in arduous tasks such as domestic service and construction. Discrimination ensured that self-employment in retailing was seen by ambitious Chinese as perhaps the only route to self-advancement (Saxton, 1971, quoted in Aldrich, 1981). At first Chinese businesses concentrated on the provision of specialist services to the Chinese community, but by the 1930s the majority had come to cater for the population at large, albeit in low status arduous trades such as laundries, restaurants and groceries. This was an important step since the initial ethnic market was clearly limited in size whereas penetration of the white market in effect created an 'export' sector for the Chinese community. As the number of Chinese businesses increase over

time, the broadening of the existing market seemed to be an inevitable move as it is the only way for them to carry on the business. No matter how large the ethnic population is, there comes a time when the market becomes saturated. Resources gained were used to finance education for the next generation and thereby opened alternative routes to occupational mobility that achieved virtual parity with majority society (Newman, 1973, quoted in Aldrich, 1981).

Like the Asian minorities, the Chinese stand largely outside the mainstream of the British society but they work towards autonomously defined goals. Both from the individual and collective viewpoints, commercial activity seem to be operating on the terms of the minority rather than the majority population (Aldrich, 1981). However, for a growing number of individuals this provides an ideal opportunity to by-pass the barriers imposed by a white-dominated job market.

Drawing from researches conducted on Asian communities (in Aldrich, 1981) it is believed that Asian self-employment is partly motivated by a desire to avoid low-status jobs in the white labour market. Upon their arrival in Britain, many had been forced into menial wage-earning tasks before being able to enter business. Self-employment, apart from conferring the usual rewards of personal satisfaction and social status, is clearly one of the few escape routes from the discrimination customarily faced by non-white job seekers. As mentioned before, the Chinese also share this mentality. They feel the

need to be recognised and the need to openly display their achievement and wealth to others.

Commercial strength is seen as a force in maintaining ethnic identity in an alien environment. Aldrich (1981) argues that the preservation of minority identity depends first on isolation from the dominant culture and secondly on the ready availability of goods and services which form an integral part of that identity. By removing the need for customers to venture into white-owned shops in white areas, it reinforces the insulating effect of residential segregation and by supplying special food, clothing and personal services, it ensures that dietary habits and other customs essential to traditional Muslim, Sikh and Hindu cultures can be maintained without inconvenience.

Therefore cultural independence is strongly linked to the minority group's economic independence in the host society. Through ownership of the bulk of shops patronised by Asians together with certain wholesaling and manufacturing firms, the minority has to some extent gain control of its own sub-economy. British Asians control a sub-economy sufficiently large and far-reaching to re-circulate much Asian income within the group (Aldrich, 1981). The pattern is one of income earned in the white economy and spent in the Asian sub-economy.

Unlike the Asian community, the Chinese Community is one, which mainly caters for the needs of the host society rather than to their own. Apart from

the Chinatowns in London and Manchester, the Chinese are in general very much spread out throughout the country, whereby there is a Chinese take-away or chip shop in every town or village throughout the city. As demonstrated by the Chinese Americans case, the key expansion lies in entry into the White market with its larger size and per capita income.

Breaking into the white market usually requires the ethnic minority shopkeepers or owners to adopt one or both of the following strategies:

1. entry into branches of retailing which are being steadily abandoned by the white shopkeepers on account of their low return;
2. adopting highly competitive practices, such as opening at unsocial hours, which increases the real costs incurred.

A keynote of Asian social behaviour in Britain has been the wish to avoid overt conflict with majority society and to expose themselves only minimally to situations where they might be discriminated against (Hiro, 1971).

12 Restaurants and Pattern of Dispersal

In response to the decline in demand for laundry services, the Chinese started to work in the Chinese restaurant business and run Chinese take-aways, which had a fast growth in the 1960s. The rapid expansion of Chinese take-aways was assisted by the mass arrival of the children and wives in the mid-1960s and 1970s. Take-aways are the preferred option as a huge amount of capital is required to set up restaurants, but for a fraction of the costs, a Chinese-family could set up and run their own take-away business in a small town or in the suburbs of a city. In order to maximise profits they used the traditional ways of securing standardised, efficient and low-cost products by:

1. working long and unsocial hours,
2. recruiting labour from family and emotional ties between employer and employees and
3. accepting a low monetary return for their efforts.

It was during this period, between the mid-1960s and 1970s that the Chinese restaurant, chip shops and take-aways start to become a common feature of towns and cities throughout the country. Not only is the Chinese community concentrated in the fast food catering industry but also in the ownership as well as the staffing firms. This was confirmed by a Home Affairs Committee report in 1985 which estimated that about 90% of Britain's Chinese were

employed in the catering industry and that of these, 60% were employed in small, family shops.

The restaurant boom and the influx of Chinese immigrants, created various new openings of specialised shops and opportunities, for example travel agencies, car hires, gambling halls, specialised grocery shops, food processing and distribution and cinemas. Some of these services are directed at the larger community of catering workers. This is especially the case of gambling halls, which create a form of entertainment for those who work unsocial hours.

The vast majority of Chinese immigrants are associated with the family restaurant trade and are thereby dispersed in urban neighbourhoods, suburbs, and small towns throughout the country. Unlike other ethnic minority communities, the Chinese have not stayed together and cluster in some towns or cities. As most of the Chinese in this country are in the catering business, they are more inclined to live and work in areas where they have easy access to a large middle-class clientele. As a result, this creates dispersal throughout the country.

12.1 Restaurants to Take-aways

The mid-late 1970s witnessed the simultaneous decline of Chinese restaurant and the rapid spread of Chinese take-aways and fish and chip shops around the country. This is because from mid-1970s, Chinese restaurants faced competition from the rising number of fast food chains such as KFC and McDonalds. The falling profitability of restaurants transformed the Chinese catering economy into one that is composed of smaller capital units, hence take-aways which operate on lower running costs but have a similar level of profitability to restaurants.

Many Chinese families have to convert to run Chinese take-aways to earn their living. The need to avoid competition makes them keep each other at a distance hence dispersal across the country. This strategy increases their target market and at the same time reduces their chances of interaction and contact with each other.

12.2 Chinese and the Catering Industry

The degree of cohesion of the Chinese community is much less than is commonly assumed. Although many Chinese people still identify themselves as members of the same community in that they share the same heritage, culture and languages, but the ability of these elements to bind them

together is undermined by potential conflict of interest. First, the Chinese community is shaped, not only by cultural factors, but also by the ways in which the Chinese seek economic survival. Second, their ways of seeking economic survival, especially in the catering industries, undermine their chances of building a cohesive community.

To further explain the issue one should start by dividing the Chinese catering trade into two types: Chinese restaurants and Chinese take-aways. As a result of free entry into the market and high price elasticity of demand for Chinese foods, the owners of Chinese restaurants face keen and fierce competition. In order to secure survival in the catering industry, the Chinese typically adopt two kinds of strategies. The first is to stick together in a small district, such as the Chinese restaurants in the Chinatowns of London and Manchester. As a consequence to the intense competition the restaurants often result in selling similar food. The restaurant owners, on the other hand, have to be careful in deciding their prices, because any bad decisions will inevitably result in losing customers to their rivals. Moreover, they have to continuously change what they sell in order to attract customers' attention. Because of the increasing demand and increasing competition restaurants owners have to improve the quality of their food or find an alternate market niche. As a result, more authentic Cantonese and Beijing-style foods have been available since the 1970s. Moreover, people also run themed restaurants in China Towns.

As a matter of fact, the high concentration of restaurants in a small district brings attractive economic benefits. The district can build its reputation as a meeting point for the Chinese and a site for interest for tourists. This is exemplified by the Chinatown in London in which there are not only top-class Chinese restaurants for international tourists but also a number of travel agencies, barber's shops, grocery stores, book shops and solicitors' offices which provide services for the local Chinese (Watson, 1977). Since Chinatown has become a well-known place, its restaurants will continually secure a steady number of international and local customers.

The second strategy is to resort to a geographic differentiation (Lipseu, 1993). The main aim of this strategy is to avoid competition. To achieve this, the Chinese take-aways try to keep a reasonable distance away from each other. This is important to the survival of the Chinese take-aways, since most are run only on a limited amount of capital and are not able to hire first class chefs (Shang, 1984), they cannot afford to make large-scale innovations nor to differentiate their menus from their rivals to any great extent. As a result, the meals sold by Chinese take-aways are virtually the same, which is why Chinese take-aways have become dispersed widely across Britain (Yu, 2000).

It is also important to note that the Chinese take-aways are usually family-based – almost every Chinese take-away is run exclusively by a single family and the family members provide the main supply of labour (Baxter, 1988;

Song, 1995). The scattered distribution of take-aways also means the scattered distribution of the Chinese families because most families live above or near to their shops. As observed by Owen (1994), there is relatively little regional variation in the Chinese resident population. This explains why the Chinese community is not a strong territorial group and Chinese people lack a common territorial affiliation (with the exception of Chinatowns) (Yu, 2000).

Taylor (1987) proposed that physical distance implies social distance. The Chinese are not only geographically divided, they are also socially divided (Taylor, 1987). While the owners of Chinese take-aways are in a sense members of the same community, they are at the same time potential competitors for the same group of customers. This attitude affects their approach to getting on with each other (Herald Europe, 1998 in Taylor, 1987). Researchers in Chinese studies have cited evidence that the Chinese attempt to hide personal and business information from each other (Taylor, 1987). Cheung (1975) also noted that Chinese proprietors avoid visiting their potential rivals' working places. In fact, attempts to prevent potential rivals from gathering clear market information are commonly used as a way to erect market barriers against newcomers. Instead of creating ethnic clustering, the competitive nature of the catering industry keeps the Chinese apart. The reason this occurs is because each restaurant owner will need to make a living and survive.

13 Settlement Pattern

From the interviews with various members of the Chinese Community Centres in Camden, Newham and Tower Hamlets and the Chinese Information and Advice Centre (CIAC), I have found that not all of them help people find places to live. Of these places, only the Camden Chinese Community Centre and the CIAC help Chinese people to look for housing and places to stay whilst others organise luncheons on a weekly basis and help Chinese people read or write letters. They will help and assist those who have no knowledge of English to fill in council housing application forms as well. However, they do not act on behalf of the relevant councils nor allocate housing to them. Once the relevant forms are filled in they hand them in to the relevant councils on these Chinese people's behalf. Pias Lee, from the Camden Chinese Community Centre, said that the Camden council allocates housing to the Chinese people in the normal way, as they would do to other applicants. The council allocates housing on the basis of the applicant's preference and requirements. However, the principal objective of an allocation scheme⁵ (2000) is to meet housing need in the area. The other main objectives are to make the most effective use of the housing stock, to establish stable local communities and to create sustainable tenancies (2000). It is advisable for schemes also to include a range of secondary objectives e.g. to meet the preferences of applicants; to

⁵ Details of the framework of the allocation scheme can be found in Appendix 2.

be sensitive to special circumstances; and to be readily understandable by applicants. A scheme should also aim to treat all applicants equitably (2000). The Chinese are not treated in any special ways nor do they get priorities⁶ over others. Therefore when the preferred housing becomes available the council will notify them. Then the applicants can accept or refuse the available housing. Pias also mentioned that the wait for available housing could span from immediate to 10-20 years. Some people may never get to live in council housing. He said that in order to obtain a housing as soon as possible, the best way is not to have too much requirements or preferences. However, the Chinese people are very strict as to where they want to live, they prefer to live in places not too far from the centre and somewhere where it is easily accessible.

Apart from helping the Chinese people fill in housing application forms, they do not have the responsibilities to find private places for them to stay. The Chinese are left on their own to find places to live in the meantime. Most of them stay with their families or relatives who are already in the UK. There isn't a housing association specialising in housing Chinese people. However, there is one called LienViet, which deals mainly with Vietnamese people but does not rule out the Chinese if they seek their assistance.

Most of the Chinese in the UK have chosen to come to the UK because they already have members of their families or relatives in the country that they

⁶ The priorities in the allocation scheme can be found in Appendix 3.

can stay or live with. For the majority of the Chinese immigrants who came in the 60s, they already know someone over here who could be their sponsors, someone who will offer them jobs and assist them in obtaining work permits to come over to the UK. According to Pias Lee from the Camden Chinese Community Centre, he said that if these immigrants do not know anyone over here, they would not have chosen to migrate to England in the first place. Not many people like taking a 'plunge in the dark' (Jansen, 1970). This theory is illustrated by the examples given later in this chapter.

Most of my interviewees mentioned the Chinese people's preference to live near their jobs, hence live where the source of income is. This can be justified by the large number of Chinese people living in the South East and the North West of the UK and the dispersed settlement pattern of the Hong Kong Chinese who are involved in the catering industry. As for the older Chinese people, they are happy just living where they are now at the place they are familiar with. They simply want to enjoy their lives as they have worked very hard when they were younger. They have no desire to leave the area where they are now. The majority of the older Chinese people have chosen to settle and live in London because they want to be close to Chinatown and their friends and family, who are in London or close by to the city. Another reason is because they have been in the areas all their lives.

Most of the Chinese immigrants who came over to the UK in the 80's, came over for education. They are better educated and after graduation they tend

to avoid working in the catering industry but find white-collar jobs in large cities instead. This explains why there is a high concentration of them in major cities in the UK such as London, Newcastle, Leeds, Manchester and Edinburgh. This group are also more assimilated into the host society than the Chinese who came over in the 60s. Their settlement pattern does not deviate from the members of the host society. They do not cluster like other ethnic minority groups. From my observation, I believe that the reason they do not appear to cluster is because there isn't a lot of them concentrated in one part of the cities therefore any form of clustering will not have tremendous impact on the environment.

The Chinese immigrants of the 1960s, although some have knowledge of the English language with the majority having little or none, tend to stay in areas and hang out in places where they do not need much knowledge of the language. They tend to choose to settle in places which are easily accessible and straight forward for them to get to other places.

For those who came over during the Second World War, the busy docks in London (parts of it is now known as Tower Hamlets) were the first point of entry in the UK. Like many others who arrived after the Second World War, Tower Hamlets according to Mr. Chang has always been his home. He has been in London for over 50 years. He came over as a seaman, from Hong Kong, on the boats during the Second World War. The reason he chose to settle in Tower Hamlets is because it was where the ship first landed and he

had been involved in all sorts of jobs from kitchen work, cooking and scrubbing floors to cleaning machines. Since the day he arrived, he had been working and living in the area. He is used to the area and does not want to leave the borough. He feels very settled in London and has no desire to go back to Hong Kong although he is currently living on his own in Tower Hamlets, near the Chinese Association of Tower Hamlets. A number of people feel this sense of attachment to the place of their first arrival. They have got used to the area and prefer to stay on for they know how to get from place to place. They do not want or have the intention to leave.

People settle where they are because they have relatives who were already settled at the place prior to their arrival in the UK or in London. For example for Florence Hing, who is an advocate working for the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, the reason she chose to settle in Tower Hamlets is because her sister was in London before she came over. It wasn't her choice to live in Tower Hamlets upon her arrival in London about forty years ago. When she first arrived, she lived with her sister until she found somewhere to move to. She has got very used to living in the borough now that she has no desire to leave. She has established herself in the borough, with a job and a house, which will make it very difficult for her to move elsewhere and re-establish herself.

Continuing Jansen's theories on people's choice of countries to migrate to. Another interviewee, Mrs. Chang, came over to London after she got

married to her husband in Hong Kong twenty years ago. Her husband, who owned a restaurant in London, asked her to come over here to help him out. She said at that time, she had nothing to loose by coming over here. She had no family or relatives in Hong Kong so was able to pack her things and come over with her husband. The reason she immigrated to England is because she knew someone who had established himself over here and she is able to obtain the necessary documents easily.

Along the same line as Mrs. Chang, Mr. Chung, another interviewee who has also been in London for over 20 years, came to London because his brother was already here. Prior to his arrival in London, his brother worked in the catering business. At the time his business was booming and he needed assistance to man the restaurant therefore he applied for him to come over. He has been in Tower Hamlet all this time. After five years of being here, Mr. Chung applied for his wife and sons to come over. He fits into Castles and Miller's (1998) observation that young and economically active people initiate most migrations. They are, to their terms, the 'target-earners' who want to save enough in a higher-wage economy to improve conditions at home (Castles and Miller, 1998). From their observation, they noticed how after a period in the receiving country, many of the migrants send for their spouses. After Mr. Chung has established himself in London and knew the 'rules of the game', he sent for his family.

Another example is Mrs. Siu, who decided to come to London because her daughter was in London. Initially she lived in Hammersmith with her daughter, whom left for Hong Kong a year ago, but now she lives in Hackney. The reason she has to move out of Hammersmith to Hackney is because the tenant of her flat in Hammersmith had been caught renting out the flat illegally therefore she had to move and find somewhere else to stay. She chose Hammersmith in the first place because her daughter found a place there that was near her job. It was not her choice to live in Hackney for she wanted to stay on in Hammersmith, because she was so used to the area and getting to places from there, but was unsuccessful in finding somewhere to live there. She moved to Hackney because that is where the flat is and because there is an old person's club there that she goes regularly to. She doesn't speak much English therefore goes to old person's clubs events regularly throughout the week. Although she doesn't speak English, she is able to get around places by herself. She is used to go to the various places on her own but doesn't venture elsewhere.

The last four examples illustrate that the most important deciding factor in choosing where to go is the knowing of someone in the immigration country. This gives the new immigrant a degree of confidence prior to emigration. He will have somewhere to stay and able to live in an environment that vaguely resembles that of 'home'. This also eliminates the need to be fluent in the English language.

From the various interviews I have conducted, there does not seem to be a sign of clustering amongst the Chinese. This could be due to several reasons.

1. The councils do not deliberately house the Chinese applicants together.
2. The Chinese gets treated in the same manner as other applicants, if they do apply for council housing⁷.
3. The majority of the first generation Chinese has accumulated enough wealth to purchase their own homes in this country. The reason I came up with this rationale stems from my interviews with the first generation Chinese in Tower Hamlets, with the majority of them in their 60s, I have found that nearly all of them are home-owners. The factors, which influence their choice of place are:

- proximity to the immigrants' places of work.
- proximity to the immigrants' social activities.
- accessibility of the area.
- the place is where the immigrants' families and relatives have chosen to settle prior to their arrival. In this case they do not know the host country therefore their own choice does not bear great weight.

⁷ The Chinese do not really seek assistance from the council. The first generation Chinese are more inclined to purchase their own homes so they can pass it down to their children.

4. Due to the nature of the catering industry, the majority of the Chinese have spread out across the country in order to capture a decent-sized market and to avoid competition with each other.

14 Housing the Chinese People

14.1 Involving the Chinese

In the document 'Quality and Choice for Older People's Housing' (DETR, 2001a), the Government seeks to increase the diversity of people within the workforce and governing bodies and put a greater focus on identifying needs. In response to this I think the Government needs to involve members of the Chinese group, as they are currently under-represented in the governing bodies. The Government may not see the urgency and importance for representation of the Chinese group since they do not cause problems for the host population. The Chinese was the smallest ethnic minority group identified in the 1991 Census. The majority of them came over to the UK under impelled migration to seek economic success. They spend majority of their stay in the UK achieving this goal and live in harmony with the host society. However, as a consequence, their needs are not so much addressed. The reason for this is mainly due to the fact that they, as a group, prefer to live at peace with the host society⁸. Very little attention, compared to the ones given to other ethnic minority groups, has been devoted to the Chinese. Much attention is paid to other ethnic minority groups such as the Asians and Blacks. In order to address the needs and aspirations of the Chinese group, the Government needs to involve more

⁸ This is the feeling I got from my interviews. They do not like to cause inconvenience and are happy to simply get on with their lives.

members from this ethnic group and encourage them to participate in various events. This would enable the Government to gain insight to the needs of the Chinese immigrants.

14.2 The Older Chinese people

The Government recognises the need to tackle social exclusion and the 'tremendous importance to older people in particular that their cultural needs and preferences are understood and respected in the provision of housing and related services' (DETR, 2001a). They have also noticed the fact that the number of old people from ethnic minority groups - a group often marginalised from mainstream policies – are rising. Therefore it is quite important to address their needs.

From my interviews with the older Chinese people I have found, together with the Government's report, that accessibility within their homes and environment is a key issue when dealing with their needs. They, like members of the indigenous population, need to be located where they are able to have easy access for public transport for their social and leisure trips. The majority of them do not drive therefore are very dependent on the public transport. All of them have travel cards, which allow them to travel around London. Although most of them have little or no knowledge of the English language, they are able to get to places though they are restricted to places they know.

This is where the clarity and quality of information becomes a major factor. In the Government's report (DETR, 2001c) on social exclusion, it mentioned that information 'was not a major issue among the sample of public transport users; it would seem that those who are dependent on a service tend to know their way around in some detail. However, this applies to journeys regularly undertaken; there seems to be more of a problem with information for unfamiliar journeys. Even regular public transport users are not aware of other possibilities open to them'.

The older Chinese people, though they do not seem to mind the fact that they have only a limited number of places to go to, need to be offered the opportunity to go to other places. Their inadequate knowledge of English restricts them within their own social environment as there is no one to tell them of new and exciting places to go to.

It is important that the Chinese people are given the same opportunity as others. They need to be housed where they can have easy access to the public transport and information, which may need to be in their own languages.

The functions of travelling for older people (2001c) and the Chinese older people, include:

- entertainment – participants enjoy getting out of the house and often travel ‘just to see people around’ and not because they have a destination in mind
- participation – they are involved in a number of organisations, including Church and community groups.
- Independence – they do not want to have to rely on friends and family to take them to the shops, bank, etc.
- Social interaction – travelling provides an opportunity to meet friends and neighbours en route.

Figure 34: Frequency of Each Activity Performed by Old People

	Once a week %	Less than once a week %	Never %	Don't know/not answered %
Food shopping	86	6	7	1
Post Office	60	24	14	2
Visit friend's homes	35	30	31	5
Meet friends elsewhere	34	24	36	6
Visit family	32	37	25	6
Other shopping	19	61	15	6
Bank/building society	20	47	29	5
Cash machine	13	11	70	6
Leisure/sport	12	4	78	6
Work	8	3	76	12
Day centre visit	7	2	86	6
Visit others in hospital	7	27	54	13
Go to GP	3	80	10	7
Got to hospital	2	46	39	13

Base: All (1445) from DETR (2001c) *Older people: their transport needs and requirements*

14.3 Housing Design

The 'Better Government for Older People' programme aims to provide a focus for addressing the particular needs of older people in general. One of the messages, which have been picked up in relation to housing and support, include the designs of new homes. The designs should take into account the needs of older people, including those from ethnic minority communities. The Government's overall housing policy objective is to offer everyone the opportunity to have a decent, affordable and appropriate home so to promote social cohesion, well-being and self-dependence (DETR, 2002). As older people become frailer, particular housing issues arise as the physical and location characteristics of their living situation, coupled with the interface with care and support services, become more important (DETR, 2002). The Government has also recognised that the housing options that are available need to reflect the inhomogeneity of the housing needs of older people. The sharp increase in the number of ethnic minority households than the remainder of the population is also an issue being recognised.

This will affect certain demands for specific types of housing or a rise in demand for housing in a particular area⁹. From my interviews I have found that the Chinese, in general, prefer to live close to their workplace. However, for the older Chinese people, this is not an issue. They like to live in places that are readily accessible, mainly for their own benefits, so they can get out and about easily. I think it will be beneficial for the older Chinese people if they are housed near to the Chinese community centres. This will allow them to be close to their social networks.

⁹ For example, from my observation, there could be a rise in demand for housing in Tower Hamlets as the Asian population increases over time.

14.4 Language Barrier

Firstly, from the numerous old Chinese people, or the first generation Chinese who came over to England many years ago, whom have been interviewed, the majority of them have little or no knowledge of the English language. The reason being that upon their arrival to the UK, they stayed with their family or relatives who were here before them. After settling in, the majority started working in the catering industry, which got them tied up to work most of the time. They worked very hard, through those unsocial hours, which made it impossible for them to socialise with members of the host population. A lot of them worked in the kitchen which requires no knowledge of English, some were waitressing in Chinese restaurants. Even their English is very limited to simply taking down customers' orders correctly. Their working environment and their social network did not provide them the opportunities to come in contact with the majority population in the UK. At the same time, those family-run take-aways in villages and towns across the country also did not provide them the opportunities to socialise outside their own family circles. However the opposite is true for the second-generation Chinese immigrants, those who are born and educated in the UK.

The lack of knowledge of English affects their general awareness of what they are entitled to or their benefits. The government is aware that many elderly members of black and minority ethnic (BME) communities do not access the available support services (DETR, 2001b). The main reason they came up with is because often they are unaware that help is available. On the other hand there may be religious or cultural barriers to seeking help outside the family. There is the Supporting People¹⁰ programme that introduces a new funding and policy framework which places on local authorities the responsibility for planning housing support services for

¹⁰ The Supporting People programme offers vulnerable people the opportunity to improve their quality of life through greater independence. It promotes housing-related services which are cost-effective and reliable (DETR, 2002).

vulnerable groups. The importance of ensuring that local authorities' allocation schemes do not discriminate, directly or indirectly, against BME groups – in particular in the way in which schemes operate in practice so as to avoid fuelling undesirable segregation and in landlords producing information on allocation and choice based letting approaches in a range of ethnic languages appropriate to the area and accessible to BME people (DETR, 2001b) – has also been recognised. It is necessary to improve the provision of information in ethnic minority languages, to make them more aware of what is available to them. The Government needs to provide the old people with better access to advice and information on housing options.

The Government recognise the important fact that the advice and information made available should be in various settings, formats and languages that are appropriate to the old people. Not only is it important to provide the information in the ethnic minority language, it is also important for the volunteers or workers at the various Chinese community centres or association to be informed and aware of the changes or benefits that old people are entitled to. This will also be a way of informing those who may be illiterate. Another reason for this is because a lot of the old people are dependent on the volunteers at these centres for information and the translation of their letters or bills. They have built up some form of trust therefore will be willing to accept advice from these people¹¹.

14.5 Living on their own

Another issue, which I have found, is that there are quite a number of the old Chinese people in London who are living on their own. There are various reasons why they are living on their own currently. The reasons being;

¹¹ From my observation and interviews with the older people at the Chinese community centres.

1. Their children have moved elsewhere and left them to live on their own because they want to live near their work;
2. Their other half have passed away or divorced them;
3. Have always been on their own since their arrival in the UK;
4. Prefer not to live with their children;
5. Want to stay in London.

It would be better for these people to be clustered in certain areas firstly, is so they will not feel so lonely. Despite the lunches organised by various Chinese Community Centres during the week, over the weekends some of them get a bit lonely because there is nowhere for them to go. They visit Chinatown on Gerrard Street or they will simply stay at home and watch television. They do not venture out of the areas they know. Some of the old people really look forward to the lunches, a lot of them will go from one Chinese Community Centre to another over the week to have lunches and meet people. Secondly, it will be nice for them to live near each other, although there is currently no such arrangement, so they can keep each other company when there are no activities on at the Community Centres. Thirdly, it will give them a peace in mind so that they know that if anything happens to them someone will know. It is important to keep track of the old people because anything can happen to them over night and it is vital that they get immediate attention when necessary. It would be better for them to live within close proximity to each other so they can lead fuller, richer lives. At the moment, I get the feeling that their lives revolve around the Community Centres, where most of their socialising takes place.

14.6 Getting Used to the Area

From my interviews with these old people who visit the Chinese Community Centres on a regular basis, they enjoy getting on the underground and travelling around London (as mentioned in 14.1). The main reason being that they have nothing else to do apart from getting from their homes to the

community centres or Chinatown. I get the feeling that most of these old people do not like to move out of the area where they are used to. For example, Mrs. Siu really wanted to stay in Hammersmith but had to leave the borough because there is no housing available there. If given the choice, she would have stayed on in Hammersmith. The first generation Chinese immigrant all show an interest in remaining in the part of London where they first settled. I suppose this is because they do not like to change to another environment. Moving means having to go through the whole process of getting familiar with the surrounding and finding their way around London again. I feel that they simply do not want any more challenges; they are set in their own ways.

Although they have no desire to learn English, they have no intention of returning back home to their country of origin. All of them think that the British welfare system is the best in the world. They are content with what the British government has to offer. They do not want more or less. Although most of them go back to Hong Kong on a regular basis (once a year), they do not really want to go back there to live. They are not used to the lifestyle back in their country of origin. All of them said that they feel very settled over here. To my surprise, they do not find their lack of English skills holding them back in anyway. Perhaps it is because they have never done anything outside what they are used to and what they are aware of that they do not feel they need to do anything more. A lot of them carry their addresses on them to prepare themselves for times when they might get lost in London.

15 Pattern of Settlement and Religion

There is a great religious diversity in the UK. In general, Christians form the numerically largest religious group followed by Muslims, then Hindus, Jews and Sikhs, then Buddhists and then Baha'is, Jains and Joroastrians then many smaller communities. The members of each religious community share in common many beliefs and practices, but there are also significant difference of tradition, organisation, ethnicity and language within each of the larger religious communities.

There are also areas of religious life which are more fluid with regard to the boundaries between religious traditions (Weller, 1993). For example, within this category come significant sections of the religious life of ethnically Chinese people in which, sometimes, tradition of Taoism, Confucianism and also Buddhism can be found in intermingled forms (Weller, 1993).

The UK also has a significant proportion of people whose religious life is often described as 'folk religion' or 'residual Christianity' (Weller, 1993). These are people who would only turn to active involvement in Christian religious life at times of crisis or personal significance such as birth, marriage and death or at festivals such as Christmas.

There are also a large number of people who, whilst upholding strong ethical and moral values do not profess any form of religious belief and life, including humanists, some of whom may be agnostics or atheists.

However, Christianity is the country's principal religious tradition. Although, the Jewish community has a long standing presence but they have suffered intermittent expulsions and persecution in various countries. Its community managed to extend rapidly at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of

the 20th century, when there was large-scale migration from Russia and Eastern Europe.

It has to be noted that religious diversification increased rapidly with the immigration to the UK. This was particularly the case after the Second World War, when significant numbers of people from the New Commonwealth countries of the West Indian islands, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Hong Kong, and in the 1960s and 1970s of the South Asians from Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya immigrated to this country. With these migrations came the founding of significant communities of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Jains and others and also new varieties of Christian belief and practice (Weller, 1993).

Most of UK's religious communities are ethnically diverse: they have members whose original roots are from varying parts of the world. For example, the Christian community includes people of Africa, Afro-Caribbean, Chinese and South Asia backgrounds. Similarly, there are Muslims with South Asia, Middle Eastern and Far Eastern roots, just as there are Hindus with ethnic origins in the Caribbean and Fiji as well as India.

15.1 Pattern of Settlement

As a result of various patterns of migration and of settlement, some parts of the UK have developed a more multi-faith character than others. England has the widest and proportionately greatest variety of religious communities, followed by Scotland and Wales then Northern Ireland (Weller, 1993). The greatest religious diversity is to be found in cities, metropolitan boroughs and some towns. However, the cosmopolitan nature of London as a capital city means that the religious diversity, as well as ethnic and linguistic diversity, is at its greatest here (Weller, 1993).

Seaports such as Liverpool and Cardiff often have the oldest local minority religious communities. This is because of the international trade that had led to the settlement of seafarers from other countries. Many old industrial towns

and cities of the English Midlands and North have communities which were established as a result of migration from particular areas of Commonwealth countries in response to the invitation to working in British industries during the post-Second World War labour shortage (Weller, 1993).

If we examine the pattern of settlement at the local level, we can find that local communities often exhibit a considerable degree of homogeneity in terms of ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. In some cases, the bulk of the community may, for example, be Muslims from Pakistan, or in others, Muslims from Bangladesh. 'Even where there is religious diversity there may be common ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. For example in Preston the Muslim community is largely Gujarati and so is the local Hindu community. This homogeneity in different localities is likely to diminish slowly as people increasingly move their homes within the country' (Weller, 1993).

These variations in size, concentration, ethnicity and language do not only apply to the religious communities in which the ethnic minorities in the UK belong. They also apply to the Christian community. Different parts of the UK exhibit different forms of Christian religious life in both denominational, cultural, ethnic and linguistic terms (Weller, 1993). For example, throughout England, Scotland and Wales, Roman Catholic Christians are predominantly concentrated in urban areas and in England the Church of England has a more widespread presence in rural areas than any other Christian church (Weller, 1993). The Christian community is also composed of a variety of ethnic groupings with African and Caribbean Christianity becoming an increasingly important aspect of UK Christian life (Weller, 1993).

The following section will explore the behavioural pattern relating to the main religions in the UK. It will also look at the ethnic composition of each.

15.2 Religions in the United Kingdom

15.2.1 Buddhism

Throughout the UK there is a variety of Buddhist organisations, reflecting both the variety of ethnic groups and also the different schools of thought and practice to be found amongst Buddhists. It is now estimated that, including a high percentage of the ethnically Chinese people of the UK as Buddhists, there are around 130,000 Buddhists in the UK out of an estimated world Buddhist population of 327,000,000 (Weller, 1993).

Although Buddhist activity is not as focused upon religious buildings as some other religious traditions, there are approximately 130 viharas, monasteries and other Buddhist centres in the UK (Weller, 1993).

More and more individuals are beginning to develop and show an interest in Buddhism as a philosophy and a way of life. During the 1950s and 1960s increased immigration from New Commonwealth countries strengthened Buddhism in the UK with the arrival of various minority ethnic communities of Chinese and other Asian origins who followed Buddhist religious practice.

15.2.2 Christianity

Christianity is the principal religious tradition of the UK in terms of the numbers of its adherents and the length of its historical presence. There are approximately 37,600,000 people in the UK who regard themselves as Christians (Weller, 1993). For England and Wales there are 29,539 places of Christian worship other than those of the Church of England and Church in Wales which together have 16,562 places of worship (Weller, 1993).

The Christian scene in Britain has been renewed and diversified. Today, Christianity in the UK is found in various organisational forms and is

ethnically diverse. Through a variety of migratory movements, groups of Christians have arrived bringing their own distinctive forms of Christianity with them. There are also groupings of Chinese Christians from Hong Kong, and of Asian Christians with ethnic origins in the Indian sub-continent.

Together with the total community numbers of 37,600,000 the total active membership of the various Christian churches stands at 7,023,000 (Weller, 1993).

15.2.3 Hinduism

A small number of Hindus have visited and worked in the UK for centuries. However, it was not until the 1950s and 1960s that significant numbers of Hindus settled here. Some migrants came to Britain directly from India. Others came from the countries to which their foreparents had previously migrated, such as Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Malawi. Between 1965 and 1972 some of these came as economic migrants and others came seeking refuge from persecution.

Hindus are now settled in most large towns and cities in the UK with the largest Hindu communities being in Greater London (especially Wembley and Harrow), Birmingham, Coventry, Leicester and Manchester. There are around 130 Hindu places of worship in the UK (Weller, 1993).

15.2.4 Jews

The Jewish population of the UK is estimated at around 300,000 (Weller, 1993). The Jewish community in the UK is composed of both Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jewish communities (Weller, 1993). Sephardi Jews came originally from Spain and Portugal. However, the majority of Jews in the UK today are descendants of two waves of immigration by Ashkenazi Jews of Central and East European origins who migrated to England for economic

reasons or who fled from persecution in the Russian Empire between 1881-1914, and from 1933 onward during the Nazi persecution in Germany and other European countries.

At present, the largest concentration of British Jews is in the Greater London area. Two-thirds of the Jewish community are affiliated to a synagogue. The Registrar General's list of certified places of worship records 354 Jewish places of worship in England and Wales (Weller, 1993).

15.2.5 Muslims

There has been a significant Muslim presence in Britain since the early nineteenth century when Muslim seamen and traders from the Middle East began to settle around major ports.

The size of the community significantly increased with the arrival in the 1950s and 1960s of workers from the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, seeking employment in the mills and factories of industrial Britain where there was a shortage of workers in the aftermath of the Second World War.

With a global Muslim population of around 961,500,000, it is estimated there are around 1,500,000 Muslims in the UK, based on recent extrapolations from the 1991 Census (Weller, 1993). In England and Wales the Registrar General lists 487 mosques which are certified as places of worship (Weller, 1993).

Approximately two thirds of the Muslims in the UK have ancestral origins in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, coming to Britain either directly or via earlier migrations to East Africa and the Caribbean. The remaining one third of the Muslims in the UK have ethnic and national origins in a variety of other countries and regions, such as Cyprus, Malaysia, Iran and the Arab world.

Communities became established and continued to thrive and grow, particularly in the West Midlands, West Yorkshire, Lancashire, Greater London and Glasgow. The ethnic backgrounds of the Muslim community in the UK are quite diverse and therefore a number of different languages are spoken among Muslims. Knowledge of Arabic is considered very important as this is the language of the Qur'an. In addition to English, Urdu, Malay, Gujarati, Hausa, Bengali, Turkish, Panjabi, Farsi, Pushto and Arabic are among the most commonly used languages among Muslims in Britain today. The community includes a number of converts from the indigenous population who have become Muslims in adult life.

15.2.6 Sikhs

Most Sikhs in the UK came directly to the UK from the Punjab, although a significant minority came via East Africa and other former British colonies to which members of their families had initially migrated.

The size of the Sikh community in the UK is estimated to be around 400,000 and, as such, it is the largest Sikh community outside the Indian subcontinent (Weller, 1993). Sikhs are mainly to be found in most large towns and cities in the UK but the largest communities are to be found in Birmingham, Bradford, Cardiff, Coventry, Glasgow, Leeds, Leicester, London (especially in Southall) and Wolverhampton. There are about 180 Gurdwaras in the UK in which the Sikhs can worship (Weller, 1993).

15.3 Chinese and Religion

From studying the social behaviour of the Chinese population and other ethnic minority groups in the UK, I have noticed how the importance of religion can contribute to the study and understanding of the pattern of settlement of the Chinese community in the UK. Research has clearly established that religion represents a major component in the formation of an

ethnic identity, particularly among the migrant South Asian population (Modood et al., 1994 in Modood et al., 1997). Compared to other ethnic minorities, the Chinese are the least religious. Religion does not play and is not regarded as an important part of their lives. From my interview with Jade Cheng, from the Chinese Information and Advice Centre, she highlighted the point that the various political movements that occurred in China in early to mid 1900s (when Communism was first introduced) all forms of religion have been erased from the country. Pias Lee, from Camden Chinese Community Centre, mentioned that the Chinese culture never stemmed from religion in the first place that is why, till today, religion does not have a major role in people's lives. The Chinese are more into the way of life and philosophy than into religion.

Religion, however, is not a priority for the majority of the Chinese. Jade mentioned how she thinks the Chinese are more practical in their way of life. The Chinese immigrants in the UK may have so much other things to worry about that they simply do not have the time for any form of religion. Their main worries are whether they are earning enough money for their family in the UK or back at home in their country of origin.

However, I am not saying that all Chinese are atheists. From my observations and interviews I found that the main religions amongst the believers are either Buddhists or Christians. As mentioned previously, Buddhist activity is not as focused upon religious buildings as some other religious traditions. Some Buddhists pray and worship at home. Therefore there are no strict requirements for Buddhists to live near a temple or places of worship. This increases the degree of dispersal amongst the Chinese population for they are able to settle where they deem suitable and where they want to without being limited or restricted within a certain proximity from temples. The second main religion amongst the Chinese is Christianity, which is also the principal religious tradition in the UK. Peter Chan, from the Christian gambling rehabilitation centre, said that there are no requirements

from the Christianity faith, for the followers to live close to places of worship. Just in England and Wales, there are over 46,000 places of Christian worship. Simply from the number of places of worship for the Christians, we can see how widespread one can be from one another as there is a vast amount of churches scattered across the UK. Followers are welcomed to visit any churches they want and worship anywhere they want hence their choices of places for settlement are not affected. Another point raised by Peter is the availability of public or private transport. A lot of the places of worship are very easily accessible therefore impose no restrictions on the followers as to where they can live.

Other religious traditions, such as Hinduism, Jewish and Muslim require their followers to worship and pray at regular intervals, which affects their choice of places of settlement. Most of these religious followers have ancestral origin in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent or Africa. These religious communities have established themselves in various urban centres across the UK. Their clustering may be a result of their religious traditions. Followers of these religious traditions may have special dietary requirements or practice their religion strictly that is necessary for them to live within close proximity from one another. When there is a large number of people who share the same culture, traditions or beliefs, it is more likely that shops and other related industries will evolve nearby to cater for this specific marketing group. The Jews regard their specific religious tradition as an important part in their lives. They need to visit synagogues frequently, and because there is not a lot of synagogues in the UK, they need to be within close proximity to one. Hence this affects their choice of places to settle.

16 Conclusion

16.1 Migration

I have spent chapter 2 examining the reasons why we have this contemporary phenomenon of such vast people movement. I have addressed issues such as the 'green revolution' which generates a whole fresh round of economic migration where the decision to move is taken upon maximisation of utility. This partly explains the apparent ironic situation that if a developing nation starts to prosper economically, there is a simultaneous rise in emigrants. In chapter 3, I have noted how Castles picked up on this and identified the key stages in the development process for the sending country, which encourage emigration. It has to be noted that both white-collar and blue-collar workers' movements are hugely influenced by the mass media, tourism and commodification of cultural products and improved transport and communications links between developing and developed countries. This appraisal goes some way to explaining the massive growth in Asian migration since the 1970's. A personal observation, made during the analysis, is that this also means that there are two very different social categories of Chinese migrants that are entering the UK, which probably resemble UK's working and middle classes. For example there are those who enter the catering industry, which required little or no skills and those who enter the highly skilled or professional industries. The major difference between the two classes is their knowledge of and fluency in the English language. The latter are able to fit into the new environment for they have led similar lifestyles back in their countries of origin. They can be regarded as more 'westernised'¹² than the previous group. They can be distinguished in terms of their ability to adapt to the host society or to help maintain a functioning Chinese community.

¹² This term has been used to describe those who have been brought up in a western environment and lifestyles. They are more aware of the western culture than those who have been brought up the traditional way.

I would agree that the initial reasons for migration put out by the Home Office (as mentioned in section 2.2) are probably complete: with five of the reasons for moving being down to economic and family reasons. This highlights the fact that people are motivated to migrate if the immigration country will offer them better prospects for them and their families. The imbalance of wealth across the globe and people's awareness of this also encourages migration.

It has to be noted that the process of chain migration is largely responsible for the current volume of migration. What is noticeable is that this had never really been experienced in history, as highlighted by Britain's short-sighted approach to labour sourcing post Second World War. Perhaps this is excusable if one accounts for the dramatic advances in communication and transport technology over the last 60 years; not forgetting the vast comparable increase in wealth in the West, through the process of globalisation.

To return to Petersen's five class model (as mentioned in section 2.3), I would venture that the Chinese experience lies between classes 3 and 5 which all involve an element of free choice. This is supported by the relatively low number of asylum or refugee cases of Chinese origin, which would be typical of classes 1 and 2 of Petersen's model.

16.2 Pattern of migration

Castles and Miller's general characteristic of the immigrants are divided by their order of arrival. It is noted that the primary migrants are typically of pioneering characteristic: young and economically motivated. It is not surprising that the conclusions they have reached about their reasons for permanent stay are for economic and then the possibility of having their family moving to join them.

The main characteristic of these primary migrants that has not been mentioned is obviously that their original culture is secondary to monetary gain. Whether the same can be said about the wave of family that follows, this cannot be said. However, the reasons for the pioneers' family to migrate are different to theirs. Theirs were economically driven whilst the families would be driven by the desire to be with them and live as families. The conflict of character and intention of these immigrants might have also given rise for a need to exist in an environment that closely resembles that of 'home'. This can be justified by the erection of Chinatowns or the strong maintenance of own culture in the host society.

16.3 The four stage model

Bohning's model is interesting because it really acknowledges from stage 2 that there will always be a lasting influence on the host country, regardless of the host country's policy to the immigrants and their long-term perspective. The moment social networks and/or services are provided for the immigrants, there is immediately a familiar destination for future immigrants and that there is the start of a new industry which can lead to further services and products becoming available as seen in stage 3.

What it really demonstrates: is that a host country refuses to accept the reality of settlement at its peril because from stage 2; the issue of permanence of the impact of the minority group is a reality. This is demonstrated in chapter 6 where the conclusion is that the policies of the host nation only affect the level of marginalisation.

The three models that discuss the various approaches to minority groups are more of a stage by stage process of how a country might deal with ethnic minorities. What they fail to acknowledge is the experience of many of these countries. Historical perspectives would be very useful in explaining how the USA has more effortlessly approached assimilation than countries that are

differential. It also does not comment upon the capacity for these host countries to allow a pro-active multicultural position.

The underlying theme of the three models is the time factor and how long the country is willing to spend waiting for immigrants to assimilate. Factors such as recognisable cultural traits, language and education are key factors, as the Australian experience has shown. When immigrants, such as the elderly Chinese, decide not to be assimilated but rather to function and exist in their own communities, the ambitions of proactive multiculturalism seem to fall flat. The impetus being left on the individual to conform where necessary, such as in US experience, which might seem to answer that problem. However, it is also recognised that certain parts of US are also bi-lingual in their institutions. It is a complicated issue. However, this is beyond the scope of this thesis.

16.4 Theories of Migration

The neo-classical approach is as strong and weak as the economic type to free market economics: it is impossible to account for the impact of human institutions of past and present. This is where the historical-structuralist approach appears to step in.

The basic premise of maximisation of utility is acceptable, if a little simplistic. However, it is impossible to ignore the criticisms laid upon it by Stark (1991 in Castles and Miller, 1998) and Zolberg (1989 in Castles and Miller, 1998); or maybe such considerations are all part of the weighing up process for maximisation of utility. What cannot be ignored is that the push – pull theory is a bi-lateral relationship that is also bound in time. Therefore, what is key to such an approach is reliable information and access to it. The rapid explosion of the Chinese catering industry was due to the spread of information that the laundry industry was dead and there was demand for the cuisine.

Rather than political intervention, the biggest problem for this theory is that information is not reliable. Of course, the argument would hold that control and dissemination of information is a political issue and one that dominant countries would exploit.

Another of the failings of the neo-classical approach is its lack of appreciation of the poorer party in the push-pull relationship. There are other levels which are important in the decision making process of the immigrant. The historical-structuralist approach picked up on the political relationship. The migration systems theory is effective in that it picks up on this and on the other two very important human considerations of culture and socialising under its micro-structure. What the Chinese scenario highlighted in several instances was that immigrants are not cavalier in choosing their destination. The micro-structures make the destination seem more tempting, also make the stay more bearable. The experience of the elderly who rely on such services as the Chinese community centre make the micro-structures a necessary institution for the host country if it is trying to assimilate and not isolate its new citizens. Although informal, there is a formal recognition for the need of such a presence in the host country. This can go right up to governmental representation, as the host country seeks out how to assimilate the group most effectively. The second benefit that the micro-structure brings to the UK is the taste and exposure to Chinese culture. It would be impossible to deny that the UK has been affected by the Chinese community in the UK.

The choice of destination upon arrival follows logically from the micro-structure. This can be explained using Jeffery's three decisive factors as to why settlement is constant with the function of the micro-structure for attracting the immigrants. The two themes of orientation for the new arrivals and the offer of stability and security is nothing more than expected group behaviour. Chinatown is no exception and the research demonstrates that

decisions to move into Chinatown are based upon one of the two reasons just mentioned.

16.5 Migration to Highiy Developed Countries

In chapter 2 the discussion on the migration of people after the war demonstrated that there was an acute 'pull' from the West. Britain was able to take advantage of its colonial and historic links to attract the required labour force which can be made sense of through the historical-structuralist approach that underlined the Commonwealth interdependent relationship.

Most of the Chinese arrived in this country between 1945 and 1970s as part of the 'colonial worker' migration as opposed to the guestworker systems of other European countries. However, since 1970s the Chinese immigrant has developed a far more varied character. The list mentioned in 3.2 also includes forced and primitive reasons for movement.

Comparatively (as mentioned in section 2.2.1) the Chinese migration has been small but still from the same countries of origin with a noted increase in arrivals in the UK from Hong Kong and China.

16.6 Chinese Immigrants

Chapter 7 highlights the point that the destruction of the local agricultural economy in Hong Kong from mid 1940s coupled with the increasing demand for foreign food and publicly provided, ready-cooked meals contributed to the push-pull factors, which prompted hundreds of thousands of economically displaced Chinese to migrate in search of work. This follows the neo-classical equilibrium perspective, which perceived the causes of migration to lie in a combination of push and pull factors. It has to be noted that the Chinese who migrated had the freedom of choice. This was a combination of impelled and free migration, suggested by Petersen, whereby the migrants

believed the host countries will offer them better future for them and their children.

The majority of the Chinese immigrants followed the process suggested in stage three of Bohning's four-stage model of the pattern of migration. It suggests that the initial temporary migration is followed by family reunion over a period of time as the initial migrants start to plan for long-term settlement in the receiving country. The tightening of immigration control through successive Immigration Acts sped this process too. The main reason that the majority of the Chinese immigrants were channelled into the 'ethnic' fast food/catering industry is because they came during the 1960s when they were required work vouchers for entry to the UK. The '.... majority of permits were issued to workers in the hotel and catering industry and in hospital employment' (Rees, 1982). Many of them followed the classic pattern of chain migration in using kinship loyalties. The reason I have suggest this is because the majority chose to immigrate to the UK because they already have family or relative over here, who are able to start them off in a foreign country.

Part of the variation in the character of migration is the growth in highly-qualified immigrants and students. As the nature of the industries in the West has changed, so has the required labour market. A more technological and service based industries in the West have meant that many Asian countries has suffered an expensive 'brain-drain' process to the West. Students are included in this brain-drain because once trained in a Western system, the opportunities are far greater in the West than in their countries of origin which must be considered a motivating decision. Many prolong their stay in the UK.

The discussion on the Asian migratory experience not only highlights certain characteristics of the migrant in the UK, it also demonstrates the problems faced in the country of origin. The brain-drain has already been mentioned, but also problematic is the labour shortage in some of these East Asian

countries. The rapid social change can be attributed to opening up to the industrialised markets.

As well as economic push and pull factors influencing the migration of people, there has also been reactionary migration to the host country's legislation, which may be considered the parallel of impelled migration, i.e. to take an opportunity while it is available. This was witnessed by both the Hong Kong community and the West Indian community alike, before enactment dates for restrictive legislation came to pass (refer to Chapter 11).

16.7 Settlement Pattern

Chapter 12 sets about explaining the settlement pattern of the Chinese according to their type of work. The market forces of the catering industry, particularly of fast-food and ethnic cuisine show a strong correlation with :

- The dispersed pattern of Chinese settlement
- The strong migratory wave of family and kin to fill the labour intensive requirements
- The isolation from the mainstream society that many of the staff experienced due to the nature of their employment

The statistic of ownership also shows that there is a concentration of wealth and along with the services provided hence the emergence of a sub-economy. This seems to fit stage 3 of Bohning's four stage model (as mentioned in section 2.4.1). One observation is that this would also probably account for the relatively high presence of Chinese students going through higher education in the UK. Higher education has always been linked in this country to affordability. If this is true, part of the second generation Chinese population's ability to integrate into the main stream must be partly due to the financial success of the family's catering business.

The dispersal pattern due to market forces also supports the claim that the Chinese society is less cohesive than imagined. The distrust against the competitors and the need to keep competition at arms length means that there is no apparent central or binding form of authority. This is also combined with the nature of the relationship that caterers have with those clients who use their service. A form of social segregation, which is self-imposed, also appears to be taking place which is leading further to fragmentation in the society.

The distribution pattern of the Chinese is hugely affected by employment patterns. The Hong Kong Chinese, who have the highest percentage of caterers, are most widely dispersed across the country. This is because the demand for ethnic cuisine encouraged the gradual diffusion of the Chinese into progressively smaller towns and even villages across the country (Livesey, 1988). The Chinese from South East Asia have the highest level of concentration in the South East. This pattern might be explained by the fact that many people from this group are either professionals or have technical skills. Such jobs are more readily available in the South East than in other parts of the country. The majority of the Chinese from China came to Britain after Mainland China was opened to the western world, with the majority of them students or scholars. They are concentrated in the South East. The Vietnamese Chinese came to Britain as political refugees. Most of them remain unemployed due to lack of qualifications or deficiencies in governmental resettlement policies (Peach et al., 1988). They are mostly concentrated in the South East as well.

Chapter 10 demonstrates that the first generation Chinese is the most enterprising ethnic group. This is juxtapositioned to the smallest number of self-enterprising Chinese born in this country. The majority are finding employment in the host nation. This must be connected with their high levels of education and availability of employment in the family business. I would conclude that higher levels of education allow more of the Chinese to enter

the employment market of the host nation, thus establishing a relationship between education and assimilation. This conclusion seems to be emphatically supported by Aldrich's findings in chapter 11, following his research of the American experience.

16.8 Chinese and their Settlement Pattern

The Chinese community are phenotypically different to Europeans and exist as a 'race' in Mason's sociological terms. Ethnically, the Chinese are part of the colonies, although not always British. The Hong Kong connection and its common dialect in one part justify the tag of ethnic minority. But the Vietnamese, from the old French colony are also part of this same ethnicity in the UK. The fact that Chinese ethnicity encapsulates many from outside British or colonial territories is cleverly explained by the 'contextual' ethnicity.

What was of particular interest was the relationship between ethnicity and Geertz's recognition of a primordial attachment. The influence that the ethnic group has on an individual appears to form a barrier to the host country. This is also reinforced externally by the racism that is suffered from those outside their community because they are a group that is easily differentiated from the majority because they look different. It was suggested that by being more exposed to the host country and at the same time avoid group mentality, assimilation would be speeded up. Would this also mean a reduction in racism experienced as a result? The Chinese experience of being flung far and wide with the catering industry seems to have had a bigger impact on the school age generation who appear to be assimilating rapidly. It is probably the second and third generation Chinese who will experience the feeling of real assimilation. To this extent I would identify their progress with the spatial school of thought that dilution and inter-action with the majority has increased their rate of assimilation.

The aspatial school's approach to cultural assimilation seems unable to account for interaction between different cultures. As I discussed in chapter 8, the Chinese culture is very unfrontational, so there appears to be little conflict between the Chinese and the host society. The second generation of Chinese are probably more identifiable with the structural assimilation, which is really the same as the spatial approach.

However, what is undeniable is the continued reality, that no matter how spread out the Chinese ethnic group is, it is always going to be more effective for its members to be represented as a group for market advantage and assistance from the state.

Although dispersion and integration appear to be successful for assimilating ethnic minorities, it was also necessary to see why the ethnically segregated areas still have an important role for the minority. What we saw was that the Chinese settlement pattern was not too comparable with the defence and protectionist mechanism identified by Boal. Rather the Chinese are economically driven, independent small units and seek to educate their children in both the host country's tradition and in the Chinese culture. Although this might be in part down to the relative small number of the Chinese community, there is also a sense of satisfaction with what the state provides.

In examining the type of settlers (in section 3.4.2), the Chinese experience seems to fit in with that of the third group mainly. The one constant for the Chinese is phenotypical differences, as language and culture for the second and subsequent generations is no longer an issue. The Chinese community find themselves bound by the same experiences in the host country.

The Chinese also share a common economic experience with other ethnic minorities from non-English backgrounds: low income and having to send money home. This means that affordable and available housing and

available housing often comes through being part of a network. This is an added reason as to why the Chinese have clustered in certain areas as mentioned in chapter 5.

The arrival of ethnic minority groups also signifies increases in cultural diversity for the host country. Imported cultures are shown to affect the minority and majority in many different ways. For the minority it brings self-identity and stability to the group; the majority may regard it as threatening to their own culture and unprogressive. The most important factor that is brought out in the discussion about culture, is that it is dynamic and reactive to the majority culture. What is typifying of the Chinese culture is that it is perhaps less dynamic and reactionary than the other ethnic cultures. This may be down to the lack of religious conviction, the typical culture of non-confrontation or that of a more dispersed Chinese community. Perhaps more importantly it would not need to identify or stabilise the Chinese community for they will always be an entity in the host society.

Chapter 6.2 addresses the issue of the suffering and the marginalisation that the immigrants face due to the state's intervention and labour policies. As a result of acting as the replacement population and doing the unwanted jobs, entry policies that discriminate on phenotypical differences, effectively the state makes the immigrants targets for all forms of abuse. The immigrants plight is made all the worse by being forced into the inner city areas and sharing the same problems of poverty in the host nation because of their low income. The effect of this is surely to encourage the marginalisation of the ethnic community and reinforce its barriers to the host society. In this particular way, the day of assimilation into the host society is pushed further back.

However, the Chinese community does not fall into this. The Hong Kong Chinese, upon their arrival in the UK, have the desires for economic success. This motivates them to seek success wherever they can hence their

dispersal across the country. On the other hand, the Vietnam Chinese, whereby the majority came as refugees, are less skilled and motivated to seek economic success. This is mainly due to the different motive of their migration. They were forced to leave Vietnam.

In chapter 7, the study of social behaviour in effecting the way in which the Chinese settle into the host country is necessary to explain the turn around from being the least integrated ethnic group to the most integrated in the passing of one generation. This seems to confirm much of what is concluded in the examination of the catering industry and its effect on its workers. Namely, the work itself isolates the workers from the host community and fragments the Chinese community, and their commercial success allows the second generation to move on to higher education. The analysis of chapter 7 does not take into account the characteristics that constitute an immigrant as opposed to the second generation of employees. Maybe the environment is not conducive to the same pioneering characteristics of the first generation.

In their social behaviour the elderly Chinese who are not assimilated in language or culture, find that they are still able to do practically what they want. They do not feel a need to participate in the host country even after so many years.

Inter-ethnic marriages are a definite form of integration. It is interesting to note that although the number is small, there are more inter-ethnic unions amongst the Chinese than among any other race. This suggests that the Chinese are more willing to assimilate into the host society than other ethnic minority groups. However, the lack of weight and importance of religious beliefs and the lack of a central institution may have contributed to this.

The settlement pattern of the elderly Chinese in chapter 14 does not propose any anomalies. It is hardly surprising for instance that the some elderly feel burdensome on their families, do not want to leave their own haunts or to be

isolated from their support network. Their experience is probably no different to that of any other elderly person living in this country where the change in family structures has effected the extended family and where one does not want the risks of having to commute too far for their social network support. The elderly Chinese prefer to live in areas of their previous residence. The main reason for this is because they do not like changes in their lives.

What is noticeable is the lack of state initiative to settle people with ethnic similarities together. The benefits are probably enormous for those settled together, but for a community that has always been fragmented anyway, is this really an issue? Like the American laissez-faire approach, can the UK expect this elderly generation to have assimilated to the host society after all this time? Regardless of expectations, what is evident in the research is that without the support of the Chinese community centres many of the people interviewed would have difficulty surviving.

Chapter 13 takes up this issue and addresses the 'Better Government for Older People' programme which addresses the particular needs of older people. This would be seen as a pro-active multicultural position by the state, a position that is only adopted in few other countries. There is also support to try and encourage the elderly generation to claim the support that they are entitled to. The chapter really highlights the need for representation in the State from ethnic minority communities if it is really willing to address these issues.

Finally the issue of religion in chapter 14 is shown to have no real effect on the Chinese society. Mainly because religion does not feature in their lives in the same way as can be seen for other ethnic minority groups. Partly this is because Buddhism and Christianity, the two main religions are not restrictive on the where the immigrant should choose to live. Another factor is the number of places, which are readily available for members of these groups, to worship. This does not limit believers to certain areas.

However, I think what is of importance is not so much that religion is not a major factor for the Chinese, rather that there is no one/common central body which exerts authority over the whole ethnic group. This allows the Chinese to be individuals and not have to conform to any regulations or authorities hence the dispersal across the country.

What is interesting is the need for the Chinese to settle near the place of work. This might not always be an economic viable issue and further there are readily available transport links all around the UK. Perhaps this is because the Chinese are not used to living too far from their jobs (hence the size and commuting distance in Hong Kong) that travelling is a new phenomenon for them.

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Where is your country of origin?

How old were you when you came to England?

When did you come/immigrate to England?

How did you get to England? (Plane, ferry etc.)

Did you come over here on your own or with friends and family?

- Why did you decide to come over to England on your own? (if relevant)
- Did you ask your family to join you? (if relevant)

What makes you decide to come/immigrate to England?

- Family/friends

Where was your first point of entry in England?

Why have you chosen to stay in Tower Hamlets, London?

Ever considered moving elsewhere?

Where do you live now?

What factors had influenced you in choosing your current residence?

What do/did you do for a living?

Why do/did you choose to work in this industry?

If in catering industry,

- What job do/did you undertake?
- Where did you work?

If retired,

- How do you spend your days?

Do you feel that England/ London is your home?

Do you like living here?

Ever want to go back to your country of origin?

How often do you visit your country of origin?

Do you have relatives or family there?

Do you have any children?

Where were they born?

Where do they live now?

What are they doing for a living?

Appendix 2: Framework for Housing Allocation

Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions

Allocation of Accommodation and Homelessness

Draft Code of Guidance for Local Authorities

CHAPTER 2

Allocations - the framework

ALLOCATION OF SOCIAL HOUSING

2.1 Part VI of the Housing Act 1996 regulates the allocation of social housing. The expression 'allocation of social housing' (see s159 of the 1996 Act) for these purposes means:

- i) selecting a person to be a secure or introductory tenant of housing accommodation held by a local housing authority;
- ii) a nomination by an authority to such tenancies of accommodation held by another person (i.e. one of the authorities or bodies fulfilling the landlord condition mentioned in s80 of the Housing Act 1985); or,
- iii) a nomination to an assured tenancy of accommodation held by a registered social landlord (RSL).

Part VI applies to most allocations to new tenants. Transfers and exchanges between existing tenants are outside these provisions (see [annex 1](#) for a full list of exemptions).

QUALIFICATION FOR SOCIAL HOUSING

2.2 Part VI introduces the idea of qualification to the process of allocating social housing: only a qualifying person may be allocated social housing by a local housing authority. Certain classes of persons are, or are not, qualifying persons by virtue of the main provisions in the Act or secondary legislation made under those provisions (see [chapter 3](#)). Subject to these classes, it is for authorities to decide who does, or does not, qualify. Authorities are required to establish and maintain a housing register of people who are qualifying persons and who have applied to be placed on the register (see [chapter 4](#)).

ALLOCATION SCHEME

2.3 All allocations must be made according to a published allocation scheme that sets out the priorities and procedures for making allocations. The scheme must be framed to ensure that 'reasonable preference' is given to certain classes of persons and households (see [chapter 5](#)). The principal objective of an allocation scheme is to meet housing need in the area, in particular those categories of housing need reflected in s167(2) of the 1996 Act. The other

main objectives should be to make the most effective use of stock, to establish stable local communities and to create sustainable tenancies. It is advisable for schemes also to include a range of secondary objectives e.g. to meet the preferences of applicants; to be sensitive to special circumstances; and to be readily understandable by applicants. A scheme should also aim to treat all applicants equitably.

THE ROLE OF A SOCIAL LANDLORD

2.4 Both local authorities and registered social landlords are sometimes called collectively 'social landlords'. In its simplest sense, the term merely means landlords of social housing. In a wider policy context, however, a social landlord is distinguished from other landlords by having the principal objective of meeting housing need. This is an objective which is shared by local housing authorities and RSLs (although it should be noted that the Housing Corporation's Social Housing Standard on Lettings applies only to RSL housing provided with Social Housing Grant or Housing Association Grant, charitable donations and to stock transferred from local authorities). The Secretary of State believes that a local housing authority should assume a strategic responsibility for meeting housing need in their district and that authorities should work closely with RSLs and other housing providers to meet local housing need.

LOCAL HOUSING STRATEGY

2.5 An allocation scheme should be part of a district-wide housing strategy which includes:

- i) a lettings plan, which estimates supply and demand for different types of dwelling, analyses how demand can be met and sets general objectives and priorities;
- ii) formal or informal arrangements with other providers of housing in the area, in particular RSLs, but also the private and voluntary sectors, to meet the objectives in the lettings plan;
- iii) the setting up and co-ordination of advisory services to prevent homelessness; and,
- iv) the provision of general advice on rehousing to applicants on the housing register (see [chapter 4](#)).

2.6 Authorities are advised to ensure that their allocation policies and procedures are properly co-ordinated with those governing other related services such as the resettlement of people leaving care, the provision of support services to vulnerable people and the carrying out of adaptations to properties to make them accessible to disabled people (see [chapter 18](#)). Authorities should also ensure that their allocation policies and procedures, and how they are put into practice, are in line with the best value principles and the requirement to secure continuous improvements in service delivery.

TRANSFERS

2.7 Transfer policies, which are not subject to the provisions of Part VI of the

1996 Act, are often tailored to maximise the efficient use of stock (by reducing under-occupation); and to meet tenants' changing housing needs. An authority's strategic policies should aim to achieve a sensible balance between the overriding objective of meeting housing need (whether that of existing tenants or new applicants on the housing register) and the objective of using stock efficiently. Authorities are recommended to consider whether their overall strategies for meeting housing need might be best served if their transfer policies reflect the priorities set out in their allocation schemes.

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Appendix 3: The Allocation Scheme: Priorities

Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions

Allocation of Accommodation and Homelessness

Draft Code of Guidance for Local Authorities

CHAPTER 5

The allocation scheme: priorities

THE REQUIREMENT TO HAVE AN ALLOCATION SCHEME

5.1 A local housing authority is required to have an allocation scheme that determines the authority's priorities and the procedure to be followed in allocating housing. "Procedure" includes all aspects of the allocation process, including the people, or descriptions of people, by whom decisions are taken. An authority may decide the form of scheme they wish to use, for example, it may be based on a points system, provided it complies with s167 of the 1996 Act. It is essential, however, that the published scheme reflects all the authority's policies and procedures, including information on whether decisions are taken by elected members or officers acting under delegated powers.

THE REASONABLE PREFERENCE CATEGORIES IN SECTION 167(2)

5.2 In framing their allocation scheme, an authority is required to ensure that reasonable preference be given to:

- i) people occupying insanitary or overcrowded housing or otherwise living in unsatisfactory housing conditions;
- ii) people occupying housing accommodation which is temporary or occupied on insecure terms;
- iii) families with dependent children;
- iv) households consisting of or including someone who is expecting a child;
- v) households consisting of or including someone with a particular need for settled accommodation on medical or welfare grounds;
- vi) households whose social or economic circumstances are such that they have difficulty in securing settled accommodation; and,
- vii) households who are either being accommodated by the authority under a main homelessness duty or power, or who have been given advice about 'other suitable accommodation' under s197 within the last two years or are still occupying

accommodation secured with such advice (this is a summary of the provisions in the *Allocation of Housing (Reasonable and Additional Preference) Regulations 1997* (SI 1997 No.1902).

5.3 The first six categories above are set out in s167(2); the last was added by regulation 2 of the *Allocation of Housing (Reasonable and Additional Preference) Regulations 1997* SI 1997 No.1902. The effect of these regulations is to require local authorities to give reasonable preference in the allocation of housing to any people found by them to be unintentionally homeless and in priority need.

5.4 Section 167 also requires that additional preference be given to households consisting of or including someone with a particular need for settled accommodation on medical or welfare grounds who cannot reasonably be expected to find settled accommodation for themselves in the foreseeable future (see paragraphs [5.14](#) to [5.16](#) below).

NEEDS GROUPS INCLUDED IN THE PREFERENCE CATEGORIES IN SECTION 167(2)

5.5 Category (a) is self-explanatory. Category (b) covers two types of cases. The first is accommodation occupied by the applicant which is of a temporary nature, for example, a temporary shelter, hostel, women's refuge or a dwelling due to be demolished. The second is accommodation occupied on insecure terms by the applicant. This might cover forms of tenure such as an assured shorthold tenancy or a licence (whether express or implied). This category is not intended to cover only cases where people are at risk of losing their accommodation, although it is open to an authority to give a higher priority weighting in such cases. An authority may also take into account the likelihood of the accommodation continuing to be available for occupation by the applicant in determining how much priority to give to him or her. Categories (c) and (d) recognise the importance of a stable home environment to a child's development, although they are not in themselves categories of housing need.

MEDICAL OR WELFARE GROUNDS

5.6 Category (e) embraces households who need social housing to give or receive care, or because their personal circumstances make stability particularly important. Such households may include someone with a physical or learning disability; or someone who is elderly or mentally ill; or a person with a progressive condition such as Multiple Sclerosis; or a person with addictive behaviour or behavioural difficulties. Local housing authorities should take into account advice from medical professionals in considering whether an applicant has "medical grounds" which are relevant to his or her application for rehousing (see [chapter 18](#) of this code).

5.7 The term "welfare grounds" is intended to encompass not only care or support needs, but also other social needs which do not require continuing care and support, such as the need to provide a secure base from which a care leaver (i.e. someone being resettled by a social services authority under s27 of the Children Act 1989) or other vulnerable person can build a stable life. It could include vulnerable people with or without care and support needs, who could not be expected to find accommodation on their own initiative.

CHILDREN AND "MEDICAL OR WELFARE GROUNDS"

5.8 Category (e) households may include a child with a need for settled accommodation on medical or welfare grounds. Under s27 of the Children Act 1989, local housing authorities are required to respond to approaches for assistance from social services authorities, who have duties towards children under that Act (see s18). Section 17 of the Children Act 1989 imposes a general duty on social services authorities "to safeguard and promote the welfare of children within their area who are in need; and as far as is consistent with that duty, to promote the upbringing of such children by their families, by providing a range and level of services appropriate to those children's needs".

5.9 A child in need is defined in the Children Act 1989 as a person who "is unlikely to achieve or maintain, or to have the opportunity of achieving or maintaining, a reasonable standard of health or development without the provision of services by a local authority; (a person whose) health or development is likely to be significantly impaired, or further impaired, without the provision of such services; or (a person who) is disabled". A child in need may be a person with a need for settled accommodation on medical or welfare grounds: housing authorities should not decide the level of priority to accord in such cases without taking into account the views of the social services authority.

5.10 Category (f) reflects the particular difficulties that some households on a low income may have in obtaining settled accommodation for themselves in the private rented sector. Authorities may wish to consider giving priority to such households as part of their strategies to prevent homelessness in their districts.

NEW HOMELESSNESS CATEGORIES

5.11 The addition to the reasonable preference categories of people who are, or have been, owed a main homelessness duty by the 1997 Regulations (1997 SI No.1902) ensures that local authorities are able to address the problems that homelessness can cause by providing long term accommodation; the provision of such accommodation would in effect end any duties under Part VII of the 1996 Act. Allocation schemes should balance the needs of households to whom they owe a homelessness duty with those of households attracting reasonable preference on other grounds. Authorities will be aware however that homeless households often manifest various characteristics of underlying need that fall within the other reasonable preference categories. Giving greater preference in such cases would be legitimate. It is also open to authorities to take account of the costs of acquiring temporary accommodation to discharge Part VII duties in determining the level of priority to be given to homeless people under their schemes.

5.12 It is for each authority to consider how to reflect the categories set out in s167(2) in the allocation scheme which they devise. A number of possible indicators are given in annex 3. There is no requirement for authorities to give equal weight to each factor listed in s167(2). Generally, authorities will wish to ensure that their allocation schemes give greater preference to the more severe cases of need, whether manifested singly (for example, urgent medical cases) or through a spread of indicators. Each authority should have arrangements for determining priority in allocation between two households

with similar levels of need. It would be legitimate to employ some indicator that reflects the time spent waiting at a particular level of need. Whatever indicators are used, they should be set out clearly in the allocation scheme.

REASONABLE PREFERENCE

5.13 The idea of 'reasonable preference' means that authorities should give due weight to the factors set out above, but it does not restrict authorities to considering only such factors. A scheme should be flexible enough to allow the authority to add other factors of their own. For example, authorities may wish to give sympathetic consideration to the housing needs of extended families, particularly elderly members who wish to live nearer to relatives in order to help with looking after their grandchildren or to receive care and support from other relatives. An authority's scheme should be sensitive to the special needs of individual applicants. For example, in allocating accommodation to elderly people, it would be reasonable for an authority to take account of the companionship provided to an elderly person by his or her pet. Research recently published by the Anchor Trust, '*Losing a friend to find a home*' (see Bibliography) suggests that elderly people living in difficult conditions prefer to remain where they are rather than accept an offer of accommodation which requires them to abandon their pets. However, authorities should not allow their own secondary criteria to dominate their allocation scheme at the expense of the statutory priority categories. The priority given to the statutory categories should be reflected both on the face of an allocation scheme and be evident when accommodation allocated under the scheme over a period is analysed.

ADDITIONAL PREFERENCE

5.14 To secure that "additional preference" is given to a household consisting of or including a person with a particular need for settled accommodation on medical or welfare grounds who cannot reasonably be expected to find accommodation for themselves in the foreseeable future, an allocation scheme should ensure that such a household is accorded greater priority than households falling within the other priority categories. The provision does not require authorities to allocate the first available property of any sort in such cases, but it does assume that people meeting this description will have first call on suitable vacancies.

5.15 The provision is aimed at households comprising or including individuals who are particularly vulnerable, for example as a result of old age, physical or mental illness, and/or because of a learning or physical disability. These may also be people who could live independently with the necessary support, but who could not be expected to secure accommodation on their own initiative. It also includes cases where, for example, a carer living with such a person has to provide virtually around the clock care, or where all members of the household are elderly or infirm.

5.16 An authority may wish to take into account the availability of suitable accommodation, whether a package of care and support services is required to enable the applicant to take up an offer of accommodation, and decisions by social services or health agencies about how the vulnerable person's support, care or health needs should be met. Close and effective working between housing, social services and health authorities will be critical to deliver the most appropriate solution to the housing, support and care needs of people

who come into this category (see [chapter 18](#)).

FLEXIBILITY WITHIN AN ALLOCATION SCHEME

5.17 Authorities are required to manage the resources at their disposal prudently. They may wish to take into account the characteristics and behaviour of the people they select as tenants, both individually and collectively. For example, it may be legitimate for an authority to give less priority to an applicant with a history of rent arrears, or anti-social behaviour than another applicant with similar housing needs (see [paragraphs 31 and 32](#) below). This might also extend to selecting tenants for property on a new estate in a way that ensures a viable social mix on the estate.

5.18 There may be cases where the only way an authority can ensure full use of all vacant stock is by giving some preference to categories of persons whose characteristics are not reflected in statutory priority categories. For example, some authorities adopt special strategies on hard-to-let property, granting tenancies to whoever is willing to take the property, provided that there is no other way of letting the property and that the property is not suitable to meet the needs of persons or households falling within the statutory priority categories. When nominating to bodies such as RSLs, local authorities should recognise that those bodies will also wish to ensure that they are able to manage their own stock effectively.

5.19 Authorities should not operate their schemes on a purely formulaic basis. They must take into account all considerations relevant to the housing and social needs of individual applicants, and ignore irrelevant factors. It is open to an authority to establish, as part of their allocation scheme, a procedure for dealing with special cases on an exceptional basis. For example:

- i) if an applicant has a reasonable prospect of being offered accommodation within a relatively short period but suddenly lose their existing home as a result of a disaster, it would be open to an authority to make an immediate allocation to the applicant;
- ii) it is also important that authorities should continue to consider cases where they are approached by the police with a request to find suitable accommodation for a witness to, or victim of, a serious crime who is at risk of intimidation or harm and cannot remain in his or her current home. Authorities are recommended to establish local liaison arrangements with the police so that such allocations can be achieved quickly and confidentially;
- iii) victims of domestic violence or racial harassment who require urgent rehousing could be rehoused by invoking emergency procedures.

Authorities are reminded that they must include all such exception policies in their allocation schemes.

JOINT TENANCIES

5.20 Part VI does not apply to a joint tenancy where one of the joint tenants is already a secure, introductory or assured tenant and none of the others is a non-qualifying person under s161(2) or (3) (see s159(6) of the 1996 Act). The

Secretary of State considers that joint tenancies can play an important role in ensuring the effective use and equitable allocation of housing. In situations where the members of a household have a long term commitment to the home, for example, when adults share accommodation as partners (including same sex partners), friends or unpaid live-in carers, local authorities should normally grant a joint tenancy. In this way the ability of other adult members of the household to remain in the accommodation on the death of the tenant would not be prejudiced. Authorities will wish to be assured that there are no adverse implications from the joint tenancy for good use of authorities' housing stock, in particular for their being able to meet priority housing needs under the allocation scheme.

5.21 It is good practice for local authorities to ensure that applicants for housing (whether new applicants or existing sole tenants) are made aware that they can be granted joint tenancies. Authorities should also be prepared to advise applicants of the implications of having a joint tenancy. If an authority declines to grant a joint tenancy, it should inform the applicants in writing of its reasons for refusal.

5.22 Where a tenant dies and there is another member of that household who does not have the right to succeed to the tenancy, who either:

- i) had been living with the tenant for the year before the tenant's death, or
- ii) had been looking after the tenant, or
- iii) had accepted responsibility for the tenant's dependants,

the local authority should grant a tenancy to the remaining person or persons, either in the same home or in suitable alternative accommodation, where the local authority is satisfied that the allocation has sufficient priority under their allocation scheme.

USE OF QUOTAS IN SCHEMES FOR PARTICULAR NEEDS GROUPS

5.23 Many authorities have in the past made arrangements that effectively set aside a quota of anticipated allocations for groups with particular characteristics, and in some cases allocate the accommodation on the basis of referrals from social services departments, welfare bodies or specialised agencies dealing with rough sleepers. Establishing such quotas can form part of an authority's strategy to integrate the provision of housing with other social policies, for example as part of a care in the community package, or to enable individuals to move on from a hostel or women's refuge providing temporary accommodation. It is inherent in the provisions of s167 that authorities retain this discretion, provided that the persons who are subject to such arrangements fall within one (or more) of the "reasonable preference" categories or the "additional preference" category.

5.24 However, it is important that such arrangements are not seen as a substitute for affording additional priority to people with medical and welfare needs in the authority's mainstream allocation criteria. It would not be acceptable for authorities to delay consideration of such needs on the grounds that a quota had been filled. In addition to this, authorities should ensure that

any such arrangements form part of their allocation schemes adopted under s167 of the 1996 Act; that the qualifications for falling within a quota are clearly set out; and that allocations made on the basis of a quota go to persons whose names appear on the housing register. Where a group of authorities have common arrangements for receiving referrals from an outside agency, they will need to ensure that their individual allocation schemes are mutually compatible. The Secretary of State would particularly encourage authorities to consider the use of quotas on a collective basis with neighbouring authorities to contribute to addressing the needs of groups with significant housing needs, but who may not be long term residents of a particular area e.g. rough sleepers.

ROUGH SLEEPING QUOTAS

5.25 Within London, the Government intends to set up a new body to tackle rough sleeping. Its objective will be to reduce the level of rough sleeping in the capital by two thirds by 2002. This new body, which will be in place by 1 April 1999, will have a flexible integrated budget which draws together different central Government funding including the Rough Sleepers Initiative, the Homeless Mentally Ill Initiative and the DSS Resettlement programme. The new body will be responsible for ensuring that there is sufficient move-on accommodation to free-up hostel places and thus help to get people off the streets. Some of this move-on accommodation will need to be provided through local authority quotas, housing associations and the private sector.

5.26 The Government has also set a national target to reduce by two thirds the number of people sleeping rough by 2002. Outside London, the Government believes that local authorities are best placed to bring together the various agencies to tackle rough sleeping and single homelessness. The Government has therefore asked local authorities to provide a clearly defined contact point for rough sleeping, who will work closely with other local agencies. To support this work the DETR has announced a new £34 million Homelessness Action Programme of grants to the voluntary sector. The DETR will also work closely with the Department of Health to co-ordinate grants outside London available under the Homeless Mentally Ill Initiative and the Drug and Alcohol Specific Grant.

RENT (AGRICULTURE) ACT 1976

5.27 The Rent (Agriculture) Act 1976 requires a local housing authority to use their best endeavours to provide accommodation for a displaced agricultural worker. Section 27 of the 1976 Act requires the authority to be satisfied:

- i) that the dwelling-house from which the worker is displaced is needed to accommodate another agricultural worker;
- ii) that the farmer cannot provide suitable alternative accommodation for the displaced worker; and,
- iii) that they ought to rehouse him or her in the interests of efficient agriculture.

5.28 In reaching a decision, the authority are required to have regard to the advice of an Agricultural Dwelling-House Advisory Committee (ADHAC). The role of an ADHAC is to provide advice on the question of whether the

interests of efficient agriculture are served by the rehousing of the worker, and on the urgency of the application. If the authority are satisfied that the applicant's case is substantiated, it is their duty under s28 of the 1976 Act to use their best endeavours to provide suitable alternative accommodation for the displaced worker. In assessing the priority to be given to the application, the authority are also required to take into account the urgency of the case, the competing claims on the accommodation they can provide and the resources at their disposal.

5.29 An authority would not be properly discharging their duty under s28 of the 1976 Act if they refused to offer suitable alternative accommodation to a displaced worker on the ground that he or she did not have sufficient priority under the allocation scheme. There must be a proper consideration of all the relevant factors mentioned in s28 in the light of the ADHAC's advice. It is important, therefore, for authorities to include in their allocation schemes a policy statement in respect of cases arising under the 1976 Act.

OFFER POLICIES

5.30 In determining their offer policies - those policies governing the number of offers made to persons on their housing register - it is open to an authority to take account of a range of factors in addition to the various preferences expressed by applicants as to location or to type or size of property. Such additional factors might include, for example, the need to reduce voids and the need to reduce the cost of using temporary accommodation to discharge Part VII duties to homeless households. Authorities should also bear in mind the room and space standards used in the definition of overcrowding in s324, 325 and 326 of the Housing Act 1985. The Secretary of State considers that authorities should avoid adopting offer policies which lead to concentrations of vulnerable people or homeless people being rehoused in the less popular areas of a district. Thus, while it may be legitimate for an authority to operate a policy of making only one offer of accommodation under Part VI of the 1996 Act to a person owed one of the main duties under Part VII, while others on the housing register are made more than one offer, the authority should have the same regard for the homeless applicant's preferences as they would for those of other applicants.

5.31 Some authorities have adopted 'suspensions' policies in respect of certain people included in their housing registers. Such policies either suspend or withhold any priority that might otherwise accrue to such a person under the allocation scheme. In some cases, the application for housing is suspended for a specified period; in other cases, the period of suspension may be contingent on a change in the person's behaviour. For example, an applicant who owes rent will not be offered accommodation until he or she has arranged to discharge the debt.

5.32 Such policies may be vulnerable to a legal challenge if they effectively deny reasonable preference to an applicant who falls within one of the statutory preference categories. By contrast, there is no objection to an authority framing their allocation scheme to accord less priority to, for example, an applicant with rent arrears than an applicant with a similar level of housing need under the scheme who does not have rent arrears. However, rent arrears in themselves would not remove a person who is in a category to whom reasonable preference has to be given under s167(2) from such a category. Accordingly, where an authority have housing which is available for

allocation to an applicant who is subject to their suspensions policy and suitable to his or her housing needs, a decision not to make an allocation to him or her might be susceptible to challenge in the courts.

OFFERS OF ACCOMMODATION TO APPLICANTS RECEIVING CARE

5.33 In making offers of accommodation to applicants who receive care from carers who do not need to reside with the applicant, authorities should take account of the applicant's need, where appropriate, for a spare bedroom for the carer to ensure that carers are able to fulfil their responsibilities. For example, a carer may occasionally need to stay overnight to take the applicant to the hospital the next day, do the laundry or the shopping, or to cover at weekends where the social service department only provides care during the week. Authorities are advised to take careful account of the circumstances in which an applicant receives care when making an allocation.

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