

UNIVERSITY OF PARDUBICE
FACULTY OF ART AND PHILOSOPHY

ASIAN IMMIGRATION EXPERIENCE IN
TIMOTHY MO'S WORKS

VERONIKA MIFKOVÁ

BACHELOR THESIS

2008

UNIVERZITA PARDUBICE
FILOZOFICKÁ FAKULA

ASIJSKÁ IMIGRACE V DÍLE TIMOTHY MO

VERONIKA MIFKOVÁ

BAKALÁŘSKÁ PRÁCE

2008

Univerzita Pardubice
Fakulta filozofická
Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky
Akademický rok: 2006/2007

ZADÁNÍ BAKALÁŘSKÉ PRÁCE
(PROJEKTU, UMĚLECKÉHO DÍLA, UMĚLECKÉHO VÝKONU)

Jméno a příjmení: **Veronika MIFKOVÁ**
Studijní program: **B7310 Filologie**
Studijní obor: **Anglický jazyk pro hospodářskou praxi**
Název tématu: **Asian Immigration Experience in Timothy Mo's Works**


Z á s a d y p r o v y p r a c o v á n í :

Asian Immigration Experience in Timothy Mos Works
Veronika Mifková otevře svou bakalářskou práci obecným představením a analýzou života etnických menšin ve Velké Británii. Úvod bude zahrnovat rovněž vysvětlení základních pojmů jako např. multikulturalismus, asimilace, integrace, kulturní pluralismus apod. Poté se autorka detailně zaměří na otázky asijské migrace a život asijské komunity v Británii. Témata jako rozpor mezi tradicemi a novou identitou, tj. mezi integrací a zachováním původní kulturní identity bez vlivu majoritní kultury, budou analyzována a porovnána s literárním zpracováním těchto otázek v díle Timothy Mo Soursweet. Autorka vytvoří plnohodnotný akademický text s nosnou tezí která bude podpořena dostatečným množstvím relevantní primární a sekundární literatury.


Rozsah grafických prací:
Rozsah pracovní zprávy:
Forma zpracování bakalářské práce: **tištěná/elektronická**
Seznam odborné literatury:

National Identity, Anthony D. Smith
Multiculturalism in Global Society, Peter Kiristo
Philosophies of Integration, Adrian Favell
Soursweet, Timothy Mo
The meeting of East and West, F.S.C. Northrop

Vedoucí bakalářské práce: **Mgr. Olga Roebuck**
Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky
Datum zadání bakalářské práce: **30. dubna 2007**
Termín odevzdání bakalářské práce: **31. března 2008**


prof. PhDr. Petr Vorel, CSc.
děkan

L.S.


PaedDr. Monika Černá, Ph.D.
vedoucí katedry

V Pardubicích dne 30. listopadu 2007

Contents

Introduction.....	1
1. British society.....	2
1.1 Britain as a multicultural society.....	2
1.2 Ethnic minority population in Britain.....	3
2. Asian Immigration waves into the	5
3. Division of Asian nations and their reasons for emigration.....	7
3.1 South Asia.....	8
3.2 East Asia.....	9
4. Issues of Asian minorities.....	12
4.1 Integration and assimilation.....	12
4.2 Labour market performance.....	20
4.3 Education.....	25
4.4 Mixed Race – intermarriages.....	29
Conclusion.....	29
Resume.....	32
Bibliography.....	37

Abstract

The bachelor paper analyzes the life of ethnic minorities in multicultural Britain, especially which of the Asian community in contrast with old traditions and new identities. At the beginning there are introduced terms such as multiculturalism, ethnicity, migration and integration which indicate general views and introduce the reader to the problematic. Further the paper concentrates on Chinese minority issue, which have occurred throughout the history of mass migration since 1960s until the 21st century. The research of the paper is based on a literary work *Sour Sweet* by an Anglo-Chinese writer Timothy Mo and secondary quality sources.

Abstrakt

Tato bakalářská práce analyzuje život etnických menšin v multikulturní Británii, především životy asijských komunit v porovnání s jejich tradičními hodnotami a novou identitou. Úvodní část práce nastiňuje teoretický kontext zkoumané problematiky a vymezuje základní pojmy (multikulturalismus, etnicita, imigrace), které slouží k vytvoření všeobecného náhledu a uvedení do dané problematiky. Dále je práce zaměřena na život čínské minority v britské společnosti od počátku tzv. masivní imigrace v 60. letech 20. století do současnosti. K identifikaci změn v postavení této menšiny je použita novela *Sour Sweet* od anglicko-čínského spisovatele Timothy Mo a relevantní sekundární zdroje.

Poděkování

Děkuji především Mgr. Olze Roebuck za podporu a odbornou pomoc, kterou mi poskytla při zpracování této bakalářské práce, a za její cenné nápady a připomínky, kterými tuto práci obohatila.

Veronika Mífková

Introduction

Modern world has enormous diversity of cultures and the world's population has been on the move, people are leaving their places of origin for other destinations around the world and as a result some nations such as (Canada, Germany, France and Great Britain etc.) have turned into the multicultural states. There are many ways in which a multicultural society and the related term multiculturalism may be defined (Kivisto, 2006, p. 23). Multicultural society is a society consisting of many cultures with people of different skin colours, religious beliefs and traditions. However, sociologist Goldberg suggests that multiculturalism does not simply mean numerical plurality of different cultures but means of creating a public space in which these communities are able to interact with the existing culture and create a new consensual culture in which they recognize reflections of their own identity. Multiculturalism is about valuing everybody, not making everybody the same. It involves diverse communities living together in peace and acceptance (1994, p. 336). And as Kivisto noted, each nation has its own powerful ideological barrier that makes difficult the emergence of a notion of multicultural citizenship and it is clear that an ethnic factor plays a crucially important role in shaping the social life of the multicultural society, because new immigrants have cultural backgrounds sharply different from those of their host nations (2000, pp.187-188).

The aim of my bachelor paper is to analyze the life of ethnic minorities in Great Britain, especially the Asian community in contrast with the old traditions and new identities connected with integration and the interference of the major society. Paper focuses on minority issues which have occurred throughout the history of the mass immigration until the 21st first century.

The first part of the paper covers a general introduction to British society. The meaning of being "British" and describes all ethnic minorities in Great Britain including terms such as multicultural, multiculturalism, pluralism, assimilation, ethnicity, nation, race etc.

The second part of the papers focus on historical background of Asian migration to Britain, the starting point of immigration, the description of Asian arrivals, outlining a diversity of Asian populations, its nations and British reactions to the new cultures (immigrants) during the post-war period.

The final part of the paper is based on a detailed description of Asian life in Britain. The research is based on a comparative study of the literary work *Sour Sweet* by Timothy Mo and quality secondary sources. According to the article “Representation of Englishness”, Timothy Mo is an English novelist born in 1950 in Hong Kong. His writing focuses on the bi-cultural diversity reflecting Anglo-Chinese background. (Rahbek, 2000) The thesis should then highlight the mutual relation of Asians in Great Britain and their differences, the relation of the Asians and Britons and the assimilation of the first and second generation of Asians in Great Britain. The hypotheses analyzed in the research look at the improvements of Asian life in terms of assimilation, recognition, education and labour rights within the few decades after 1960’s and reviews past and current trends in immigration attitudes towards the host society as well as the attitudes of British society towards Asian ethnic minorities.

1. British society

At the outset of the paper it is important to explain the terms as multiculturalism and ethnic minority and at the same time introduce the British society with its minorities.

1.1 Britain as a multicultural society

In many respects Britain can be seen as a multicultural society since this entity was first created. The first approach to the multi-ethnic British society is suggested by Anderson in his book on nationalism *Imagined Communities*, where he points out that the present Britons are descended from various ethnic populations, mainly from the pre-Celtics, Celts, Romans, and Anglo-Saxons with the Normans influence. Moreover, Britain has been consisted of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland for many years (2006, p.88).

Second approach can be linked to the existence of the British Empire. During the imperial period, Britain was the largest Empire with many colonies around the world and these historical roots with colonies and economical instability after the post world period changed Britain into a racially mixed state. Enoch Powell in his speech Rivers of Blood drew a picture of British nation as “overrun by the coloured population that would soon make the white British majority “strangers in their own country”. (qvt. in: Kivisto, 2006, p. 143) Interesting point was made by Hall in his essay “Globalization and Ethnicity” where he stresses that when Britain convinced itself to decolonized, they had an idea to get rid of others and come back home. The terrible paradox is that British ruled the world over three hundreds years and when they made up their minds to climb out of that role, they expected others to stay out there in the rim, behave themselves, gone somewhere else, or found some other client state to stay, which actually never happened (1998, p. 24).

The latest approach to the multi-ethnic Britain is associated with the European Union and the free movement of its members, thus Britain has received many immigrants from the European continent. Out of these approaches can be used the description from National Statistic where is stated that Britain has a rich mix of cultures and communities. Some of these reflect long-standing history and heritage, while others reflect more recent and ongoing social changes and new ways of life (2002, pp.3-8). Britain now compromise a sizable population of “second generation” minority people and the assertions of “difference” and distinctive ethnic identities are not straightforwardly in decline in British multicultural society. (Song, 2003, p.1) And therefore ethnicity here is very important, because understanding people’s ethnicity is a key for understanding current economical and social trends (National Statistic, 2002, pp.3-8).

1.2 Ethnic minority population in Britain

The presence of many different ethnic groups and communities in Britain is a mark of the diversity and complexity of its culture. According to A Guide for a Collection and Classification of Ethnicity Data, defining of what constitutes an ethnic

group or an ethnic minority is more subject to discussion and has never been easy. define ethnic groups can be define as community whose heritage offers important characteristics in common between its members and which makes them distinct from other communities. There is as boundary, which separates “them” from others and the distinction would probably be recognised on both sides of that boundary. Ethnicity is a multi-faceted phenomenon based on physical appearance, subjective identification, cultural and religious affiliation, stereotyping and social exclusion. In addition there are available various possible ways of measuring ethnic groups. These include country of birth, nationality, language spoken at home, skin colour, religion etc. Moreover, it appears that ethnic groups, however defined or measured, will tend to change over time (2003, pp.7-8). The Simon’s analyses from 2001 illustrate all ethnic minorities living in Britain and shows that the overall number of all ethnic minorities is more than 8 per cent. (2001, p. 26) In Britain, ethnic groups of Asians, Blacks, Indians and etc. are referred to be ethnic minorities in relation to the British majority and this rises a further questions what it means to be British. In the view by Hall, being British means to be English and Englishness can stand for everybody in the British Isles. And in fact, the British Isles contain representatives of a large number of different cultures and there is no such thing as a single British way of life. They are just another ethnic group, hovering off the edge of Europe, with their own language, identity and like any other native people they have something which can be said in their favour, and of their long history (1998, pp. 20-21). Whilst Britons have seen themselves for a long time as a white society, during the past three decades the dominant definition of Britishness has been considerably deracialized, and one no longer has to be white or Christian to be accepted as British, British identity is increasingly being expressed in a plurality of images, and is capacious and heterogeneous enough to allow its different communities and regions to find their representation in it (Parekh, 2003, pp. 16-17). Yet, Abercrombie points out that there are many features of particular inequalities between ethnic groups, particularly those of Caribbean and Asian descent, even if many of them have been born in Britain; suffer social and material deprivation when compared with white population (1996, pp. 11-12). The issue of Asian minorities is explored further in the paper.

2. The Asian immigration waves into the UK

The beginning of this chapter is devoted to the general explanation of the term immigration and the second part of the chapter is concerned with the Asian immigration waves into Britain since 17th century.

There are various approaches to the study of migration, because it takes many forms for example, Ali describes migration is a movement from one locality to another distinct locality for settlement and it is a common phenomenon within the human history. Immigrants are very often from areas, which are undergoing economic and social change. Some sociologists also consider “the push and pull immigration theories”, certain factors “push” people away from the area of origin and other “pull” them to the area of destination. “Push factors” include demographic growth, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities and political situation; otherwise “pull factors” include demands for labour, availability of land and good economic opportunities (2006, p. 161).

The process of migration opens out a question of a “chain migration”. Peach describes the process of a chain migration in three stages. The first stage is a success of a single immigrant who encourages friends and relatives to join him. The second stage starts when migrants become established to call their relatives and children, which leads to the recreation of home culture. Traditions and customs of the place of origin are strongly rooted. The last stage comes when the community life becomes well established, and the news of this reaches the area of origin and entices the older and the less enterprising. Simply it is a process in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities and the previous immigrants provide them with help (2006, pp. 170-171). These theories of immigration can be well applied on the Asian immigration into the Great Britain.

According to Ansari the presence of Asian immigrants can be traced as far back as the beginning of the 17th century. The first settlers to arrive in England were associated with sailors companies and were in number no more than a few hundred, which was not any significant size. The first immigrant communities were established in Liverpool, Cardiff

and the East End of London (2006, p. 153). This period can be compared with the first stage of the immigration chain as the first Asian immigrants started to come into Britain basically without any previous experience. There were no wide communities and the attention of the majority society was negligible.

(Ansari) By the end of the 19th century Britain had a reputation of the land of opportunities. Many students were coming and the number of newcomers was growing steadily (there were about two hundred students in 1890 and more than 700 hundred in 1910). A variety of other immigrant came to search opportunities as teachers of Asian languages, doctors or merchants and traders who were involved in business between the UK and Asia. Then there were the maritime workers and domestic servants, who formed part of a transient population. They were employed on ships and mainly female servants who traveled with their employers to visit Britain. The Asians were not particularly evident in British cities and created only numerically small communities especially in port cities, including Bristol, Liverpool, London and Cardiff (2006, pp. 143-145).

Kivisto in his book *Multiculturalism in a Global Society* describes these immigrants as young men from rural backgrounds or from the British military service¹, who were often unskilled and illiterate, who hoped to accumulate their assets in order to improve their economic well-being and social status. They were prepared to work long, arduous shifts and viewed themselves only as temporary settlers with the belief of returning home after they reach the needed capital. However, many of them did not return to their country of origin and stayed permanently in Britain (200ž, pp.141-142). The period between wars and until the end of the Second World War can be considered as the second stage of the chain migration, although there can not be made any precise division between these stages. The period around 1950s and 60s can be also included in this stage as there were numerous streams of new immigrants entering Britain which led to the mass migration.

Ansari explains that the significant mass migration was the result of the Second World War (1947). There was a need to rebuild Europe's economy, which led to labour shortages in a number of countries, including the UK. The legislation allowed

¹ The Asians from Commonwealth countries served in the British military service during the First and the Second World Wars

immigrants from British Commonwealth countries to enter Britain without any difficulties due to their ownership of a British passport, which gave them a ready access to the country (2006, pp. 143-153).

The sociologist Abercrombie in his study *Contemporary British Society* points out that by the early 1960s; there was an increasing pressure for control over immigration. Acts of 1962 and 1968 were created to limit immigration from Commonwealth countries, but because the entry of dependent relatives of earlier immigrants was not restricted, the number of immigrants was still growing (1996, pp. 249-251). The survey in the publication *The British Population* by Coleman et al. shows that the Asian minority population (due to a high fertility and continued immigration) have increased rapidly from negligible numbers in 1945 to about 2.5 million in 1987, but the proportion of immigrants coming from the New Commonwealth has declined from 34.5 per cent to 23.8 per cent after 1975, that was the result of the other immigration Act. The Act of 1971 did not allow immigrants to enter Britain without work permission. These work permits would have been granted to allow immigrants to work in the health service and hotels, were there was a shortage of domestic workers. Between 1984 and 1986 the size of the ethnic population was around 2.4 million, about 4.5 per cent of the population in the UK (1992, pp. 501-502). This overview suggests that immigration has been growing over the decades and certainly has become an integral part of the British culture.

3. Division of Asian Nations and their reasons for emigration

The waves of Asian immigration, which were discussed in the previous chapter, had an obvious effect upon the British society. Asian immigrants tend to make the British population more diverse. In order to understand the Asian ethnic communities in Britain it is important to provide some information about Asia nations and their various reasons for emigration.

The Asia continent is very diverse and there can be found numerous nationalities which highly differ from each other in the question of religion, language, as well as in a visual appearance. For Northrop in his book *The Meeting of East and West*: “Asia is the

culture of Orient, which comprises many countries and these countries are separated by the highest mountain ranges of the world, by vast expanses of lands and by great differences of climate.” (1966, p.312) According to Alladina, Asia can be divided into two main parts South Asia including India and East Asia (1991, p.15)

3.2 South Asia

South Asia consists of India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and the British Indian Ocean Territory.

People of South Asia comprise a great diversity of religions, for example Hinduism, Buddhism and Sikhism, which originated in India. There is also a variety of traditions and languages; the approximate number of all languages is more than thirty with seven major languages; Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi, Sinhala, Tamil and Urdu (Alladina, 1991, pp.15-38).

The people from Bangladesh (and Bengali speakers) started to immigrate into Britain around 1950s and 1960s as a result of the political instability together with the various natural calamities, which have befallen Bangladesh in the second half of the 20th century. However, the job opportunities available to Bengalis tend to be very limited. The Bengali community has been growing rapidly in 1980s and is likely to continue to do so (Husain, 1991, pp. 77-78).

The immigration from India and Pakistan started much earlier than the immigration of the Bangladeshi. The people from Pakistan and India left their country for wide range of reasons, the most important of which were financial. They were escaping from the great poverty and hardship and their emigration involved considerable expense, some were sponsored by their families, others sold their belongings or rented their land to pay for their passage (Verma, 1991, pp. 104 -106). About half of the Indian ethnic population is Hindu, a quarter is Sikh and a fifth is Muslim. People from India have long historical links with Britain in the colonial and post-colonial periods. They are of South Asian origin, but not all of them came directly from India. About 30 per cent of Britain’s ethnic Indians come from, or are descended from East African Asians (Verma, 1991, pp.106-116).

The inhabitants of Sri Lanka began to leave their country for political and economical reason. Sri Lankans did not retain British citizenship but as the members of the British Commonwealth they were able to settle in Britain. Their emigration started after 1956 when Sinhala was made the official language of Sri Lanka. Some people felt unable to cope with changing conditions and others wished their children to have an “English” education. These emigrants were educated professionals, mainly nurses, doctors and lawyers (Zoysa, 1991, pp. 142-144).

Peach divided the immigrants from South Asia into the three national ethnic groups – Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi. The Indian population, in any case, contained a significant proportion of academic and medical elites. While both the Pakistanis and the Bangladeshis tend to have lower educational levels and their unemployment rates tend to be high. This polarisation of the three groups is due partly to differential success after arrival, but more to differences in their socio-economic starting points, capital and social capital on arrival (2006, pp. 178-181).

3.2 East Asia

Settlers in Britain from East Asia come from the wide range of social, educational and linguistic backgrounds. Japan, Philippines, Hong Kong, Vietnam, Singapore and Malaysia belong to the countries of East Asia and there can be find also many types of languages (Cantonese, Chinese, Vietnamese, Filipino, Japanese etc) and various religions as in the South Asia; the most common religions are Shintoism of purely Japanese origin, Taoism and Confucianism of Chinese origin Cantonese (Alladina, 1991, p. 150).

The Japanese immigration to Britain started around 1950s and the immigrants can be divided into two groups from the viewpoint of settlement. The majority of Japanese stay in Britain for a limited number of years, usually from one to ten years. They are either sent by Japanese companies or the government, or come to Britain for personal reasons such as study. The number of Japanese living in Britain showed a marked increase in 1970s and 1980s. The Japanese population is concentrated in the areas where Japanese companies (legally, UK companies) are set up (Namie, 1991, pp. 179-182).

Since the 1970s, Britain has been playing host to migrant workers from Philippines. The majority were women who had come in answer to the job advertisements placed by overseas employment agencies back home. They were escaping from unemployment and the ailing economic situation in the Philippines. When they came to Britain they took up lowly jobs, mainly as hotel workers, nursing auxiliaries in hospitals and domestics in private homes. Many of these were college graduates and teachers. Yet they were willing to take up employment in low-paid jobs because they could earn more in Britain than in Philippines. Filipinos came as migrant workers on fixed-term contracts and conditions of work and immigration rulers did not allow for them to bring their children and dependants, which meant that more than a quarter of population was dependent on the remittances from abroad. However, in 1986 the European Court of Human Rights agreed that married Filipino women should have right to bring their husbands and children into Britain. Because English is an official language in the Philippines, the Filipinos who have to come to Britain all possess a degree of knowledge of English. Their silence and invisibility here have been interpreted as easy integration into British society. They are called a silent and invisible minority in Britain (Thomson, 1991, pp. 164-168).

The immigrants from Hong Kong, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore and Korea are referred to as a Chinese community in Britain. The Chinese have the longest and the most continuous historical records of any existing nation. Even though these people are ethnically Chinese there is a striking difference between them. Just because there are people of Chinese origin it does not guarantee that they speak Chinese or adopt a way of life that is distinctively Chinese or necessarily eat Chinese food as often as possible. They may indeed do all these things, but equally may not. The Chinese from Hong Kong almost certainly will, but most Singaporeans or Malaysians probably will not.

The history of immigration from Singapore and Malaysian into Britain dates back to the 1930s. The number of these was, however, very small and even today their number is probably not very large in comparison with the other minority groups. They were mainly students and now the immigrants are engaged in the typical range of occupations as dentists, computer analysts, accountants, in other words, professional

occupations. Some of these immigrants are employed in non-professional occupations such as the catering trade. The Singaporeans or the Malaysians have little difficulty making the cultural adjustment in comparison with the other Chinese. There are politico-historical reasons for this, as English was the language of the ruling class in Malaysia and Singapore until 1960 (Chan, 1991, pp.209-215).

Unlike other Chinese in Britain, Vietnamese people were admitted to Britain as refugees in the mid-1970s. Their distribution seems to have been governed by the social welfare services or refugee organizations responsible for the settlement of refugees. Vietnamese people were offered no choice as to where they could live, for this reason they were distributed all over the Britain. The biggest group of Vietnamese in Britain are ethnic Chinese (Wong, 1991, pp. 221-223).

There are records showing that Hong Kong Chinese were brought into Britain early in the 19th century, although this Chinese community began to grow after the Second World War as the response to the local conditions. In the 1960s, the Hong Kong government requisition of land from farmers in the New Territories for development purposes, produce a shortage of farming land. The unemployment was quite serious and people from New Territories tried to look for jobs overseas. It is important to mention that unlike people from Hong Kong only a small proportion of people from the New Territories was educated beyond the primary level and the English skills of these immigrants was very low (Wong, 1991, pp. 190-192). The majority of the Chinese community in Britain is from Hong Kong, with a small proportion from China, Singapore, Malaysia and Vietnam. Chinese have created the fourth largest ethnic group in Britain since the 1950s.

It is vital to mention that these countries developed quite separate from the history of Europe and obviously their lifestyle, habits and life values differs completely from those of Europeans.

4. Issues of minorities

The following chapter focuses on the past and current issues of Chinese immigrants, based on a novel *Sour Sweet* by Timothy Mo, who is an Anglo-Chinese writer born in Hong Kong in 1950. He belongs to the group of post-war authors who depicted in their novels lives of ethnic minorities in Britain. He has drawn a picture of a Chinese family living in London in the 1960s and invites his readers to see all aspects of Chinese life, from their integration and assimilation, to their socio-economic position in British society while also explaining their relationship with the other Asians minorities in Britain.

The first section discusses integration and assimilation theories which are further applied in practise and compared with the prospects of the first Chinese immigrants and second generation British-born Chinese. The objectives of the following sections are mainly concerned with an examination of Chinese labour market in the UK, out of which is explored the question of Chinese education and the trend of mixed race in Britain.

4.1 Integration and assimilation

Integration and assimilation of ethnic minorities does not often meet the satisfaction of the host society. The process of integration is more likely to be connected with the individual and how he or she reacts with the work and social environment of the host Nation but also how individuals who are members of that society react with the minority grouping, it is about managing people expectation of each other. Assimilation is more linked to the mutual understanding of cultural and moral differences between major and minority communities. Yet, it is sometimes very difficult to draw a distinction between these processes as they share some common features, both stress the importance of equality in adapting and learning each others' culture and traditions. Mo stresses the difficulty with integration and assimilation through the whole novel; first there is a concentration on a Chinese man Chen who arrived into to the UK in 1960s, and after four years he still felt to be an interloper. His feelings were as follows:

Chen felt more rather than less a foreigner. He regarded himself as such. The English stared at him because he was Chinese and he squinted obligingly at them, while he shuffled his feet and waited for the bus. There was a reassuring anonymity about his foreign-ness and an unspoken complicity between himself and others like him, necessarily of his race. Chen understood: a lot of Westerners looked the same to him too. (Mo, 1992, p. 8)

According to the integrationists, immigrants should not keep looking at another society as their frame of reference; they should not segregate or isolate themselves from their country of settlement. They should participate in its common life like the rest of its members, and find ways of becoming an integral part of it (Parekh, 2003, pp. 11-13). These and other theories on integration are often omitting the participation of the receiving country, because this should be a two-way process. Britain's should be hospitable and tolerant to the ethnic minorities, respect them as equal members of their society and ensure that the immigrants feel included once they have allowed them to live in their country. On the other side the Chinese should respect "The British way of life" because it has been their free choice to settle in Britain.

However, the reality is often far from theory. Immigrants have been usually blamed for failing to integrate and they have been thought to do all necessary steps to adjust the major society. Indeed, from the expert above it is evident that there was a lack of participation on both sides. The English did not see the differences among Asian minorities; for them, they were nothing more than aliens (which is due to the fact that there was not much recognition of immigrants and lack of cultural awareness during the post-war period in 1960s)² Furthermore there was an unspoken issue of British superiority to the coloured immigrants, which were treated as "Others". However, on the other hand all Westerners (English) looked same to immigrants. Mo describes Chinese recognition of English as follows: "It is difficult except in certain obvious cases to distinguish between those bland, roseate occidental faces and how quickly their pink skins aged." (1992, p. 137)

²In 1960s – 80s there was a tendency to define immigrants only according to the two pan-ethnic labels – "Blacks" and Asians. Non-white immigrants were uniformly referred as Black and included mainly African-Caribbeans and South Asians. Asians were those immigrant groups from India subcontinent and Chinese, who have come primarily from the former British colony of Hong Kong (Kivisto, 2006, p. 142).

Obviously the first Asians ended in failure to integrate into the British society, and also the important part played the lack of support from the British public as they did not really create sensitive forms of acceptable multicultural participation, which is evident from the Enoch Powell speech from 1968 “Although minorities’ people may reside in Britain as UK citizens, they do not belong here and simply because West Indian or Asian was born in England, he did not become an Englishman. In fact he/she is a West Indian or an Asian still.”(qvt, in: Nayak, 2003, p.159) This all led to their social exclusion, which has been in some extent influenced by racial prejudice and stereotyped expectations.

From the research work “The Challenges of Immigration and Integration” by Saggar (which measured differences in racial prejudice in Britain since 1985 till 2001) it is apparent that racial prejudice is mainly influenced by age, level of education and time and is manifested in number of ways, including labour market opportunities, treatment by the police and physical assault. It has a negative influence on both the ability and desire for an individual to participate fully with the host society. In Saggar’s view better educated people have always been less prejudiced than others and according to the various indicators the proportion of the population with higher levels of education has been continually increasing. In the year 1985 approximately 37 per cent of English people under 30s reported themselves as racial prejudiced, nevertheless in the year 2001 the number dropped to 21 per cent. According to his research racial prejudice and abuse have been slowly declining and more than half of British people believe that Britain is a place with good relations between different types of people such as those from different ethnic backgrounds (2003, pp.10-12). These findings are supported by the Cowling’s survey where the questions of race relations in Britain are explored, out of these surveys; more than half of Asians think that Britain is more tolerant place than it had been 10 years ago and that immigrants make a greater positive contribution to Britain then before (BBC, 2008). Furthermore, in the view by sociologist Kivisto, the recent improvement is that there has been considerably more recognition of immigrant diversity on the part of British public and thus there is a tendency to define groups in terms of their national origin (2006, p. 142).

These theories and surveys on racial discrimination are very generalized and for understanding the generalization here, it should be explained that the surveys are considering opinions of Asian minorities altogether, which means that the Chinese voices are to some extent hidden behind the other Asian groups (Indians, Pakistani, etc.), whose presence in Britain is much more significant and widely recognized by the public. Obviously, they have been influential in a minority's integration but the story of Chinese minority is little bit different in comparison with other Asians groups in Britain.

It is widely believed that the Chinese have not been a racial target group and have not suffered from racial abuse in a multicultural Britain. In addition, the Chinese family pictured in Mo's novel has actually never experienced any strong signs of discrimination, racial attacks or violence, there were only the strange occasions as in the following examples, in which they did not feel comfortable or had a suspicion of a possible conflict.

Once she had smiled at young girl, and yet the girl towards whom she felt only kindness and pity had snubbed her, had stared insolent and rudely at Lily until she had been forced to drop her eyes (Mo, p. 136) Workmen came out, scraping their heavy boots on plank floor. Chen was wary of this class of Englishman; he used to think with fear and resentment. Mui and Lily stared at them with blatant curiosity which, Chen knew, could offend. (Mo, 1992, p.83)

However, it would not be right to consider the Chinese minority as a group, which has been free of racial abuse. It is true that racial attacks on their community have not been so significant as in the cases of "Black"³ minorities, but the racial abuse and violence have always been here and have been more often connected with Chinese enterprises rather than with individual members of their community. According to an article "Chinese go public over racial abuse", it numbers over 400 cases of racial attacks on the Chinese community in the past five years. Out of these attacks, 90% were on Chinese businesses while 10% were against individuals in residential areas. The abuse and violence has continued and is becoming more frequent in occurrence, especially in white

³ For example as the case of a black British boy Stehen Lawrence, who was stabbed to death in a racially-motivated attack in 1993. It is said that his murder was not unique- the Institute of Race Relations has documented 24 racially-motivated murders in Britain since 1991, but his case has caught the public eye and the media's attention (Barkham, 1999).

areas. Those responsible are often young people and the prosecution of the attackers has so far, not been very successful (Pai, 2006).

Here is an application of the theory by sociologist Saggat that racial prejudice is influenced by age, level of education and is manifested in various ways. However, his findings in other areas mentioned above are not really satisfactory in the case of Chinese, as was already stated, the results are generalized.

The theory by Kivisto is applicable only if it is taken into account, the fact, that the recent recognition of ethnic minorities helped the Chinese to bring their voices to the state's institutions and through the media, to also attract the attention of the wider public, to the racist's acts against their community.

“Racial attacks on Chinese remained unrecorded until recent recognition”(Pai, 2006) which, Song describes, “because they had not entered into a significant dialogue with wider British public, and have not presented themselves as a community, which is concerned with fighting racism and achieving a fuller participation in the British society”. (2003, p. 9) However, according to Pai, it has taken decades to bring this to the attention of these communities; it is because Britain and its media have seen the Chinese community as self-sufficient and have not recognized a Chinese contribution to British society. The Chinese have been regarded as being rather separate from both the White Britons and the “Black” (2006).

Chinese are still very much at the margins of British society, because there is little if any Chinese participation within political parties in Britain. They have only created regional communities and organizations⁴ and their political initiative does not go behind the regional level (Song, 2003, p.5). Anwar stresses that most Asians have a right to vote and stand for election both as British citizens and as Commonwealth citizens and also that the communities integration into the British political process is of a fundamental importance because thus they can influence and highlight their issues (2006, p.207).

⁴Some of these associations are for example:

Chinese Association of Tower Hamlets in London (CATH), which was founded in 1983 in East London, and provides help and support to disadvantaged people of Chinese origin to integrate with the host society. London Chinese Information and Advice Centre in London (CIAC) which is a UK charity offering free legal advice and support to disadvantaged Chinese people, which was established in 1982.

London Chinatown Chinese Centre, which is an organization established in 1980. This organization introduces Chinese culture and tradition to wide public, for example Chinese festivals in the UK

In order to understand why the Chinese have been considered self-sufficient and have been rather apart as a community in comparison with other minorities in Britain, it is necessary to broaden the knowledge of relations and attitudes among those societies from the point of assimilation theory.

In common with integration, assimilation attaches the issue of respecting society at various levels and therefore it is important to outline the attitudes of the Chinese people towards the host society and other Asian minorities in respect to their cultural and religious values. Pharekh studies the idea of assimilation and points out that human beings understand the world and their place in it in different ways but any society can not be cohesive and stable unless its members have some basic beliefs, values, customs, practices and attitudes (2005, pp. 11-13).

The fact is that the Chinese are largely a non-Christian society and unlike the British, their beliefs and values are not measured by their attendance, participation and involvement in some religious institution. According to the article “Untold Stories”, for the Chinese nothing is more important than family, they value the hierarchical structure of social life, the cultivation and morality of traditional family values. In many ways the family unit takes precedence over its individual members and the obedience among family members should be observed. Chinese religion is based on worshipping the good that derived from the Confucian philosophy, which has been influential in China over 2,000 years. Other religious influence is Taoism. (BBC Gloucestershire, 2008)

Unsurprisingly, the Chinese in Timothy Mo’s novel did not display much affection towards the British culture and its values; their thoughts of English were as follows:

How strange the English were, how indifferent, how careless of the consequences of their own deeds! And as for their attitude to their old people it was nothing less than shameful neglect, a national disgrace. What possible sense of decency and Lily honour could those people have? Really there was no question how superior Chinese people were to the foreign devils. (1992, p. 136)

This attitude is a resolution of the enormous difference between British and Chinese culture. Moodood describes the British view in a following way: “Their so-called

foreign ways of life, impenetrable languages, backward religious rituals and obscure exotic habits meant they have not been able to be properly assimilated into the British way of life". (2006 p. 68) This view is supported by Chinese themselves as in 1985, Song describes, some Chinese members reported that the basic problem, which they are facing, is to become a full part of the British society without abandoning their own distinctive culture and heritage (2003, p.2). "Many Asians are intent on religious retention rather than acculturation." (Kivisto, 2000, p.149)

With the examination of cultural differences it is important to note, as Parekh stresses that Asians were often criticized for refusing to assimilate because of their tendency to socialize among themselves. . And this latter concern is still relevant to the British-born Chinese today (2005, pp. 11-13). The paradox is that Chinese have neither socialized themselves with other Asian ethnic groups, especially with those from South Asia, nor much with other Chinese immigrants.

The issue of Chinese socialization is evident in Mo' novel, as the family was only in a rare contact with other two Chinese people and Lily never met the wives of Chen's colleagues, she knew the staff only by report. "Husband, don't you feel a little isolated here sometimes? Don't you feel hidden away from the rest of the world?" (Mo, 1992, p.147) It can be explained by the fact, as was already noted in the previous chapters, that Chinese population creates the fourth largest Asian ethnic group in Britain after the Indians, Pakistanis and the Bangladeshi, despite that they are the smallest group from all main ethnic minorities in Britain. Wong points out they are the most geographically dispersed minority and hardly find other Chinese counterparts in their neighbourhood (in 1991 they made up 0.3 per cent from the whole population in Britain), they have often been surrounded by non-Chinese speaking people and moreover, their community is not coherent as it may seem (1991, p.196). There is a significant presence of Chinese in the cities such as London, Cardiff, Liverpool and Manchester, in so called "Chinatowns", indeed, at the outset of their establishment these places were connected with variety of social problems, including those associated with gangs and drugs (Song, 2003, p. 5). As described by Mo: "Lily went to Chinese Street, there were many young men lounging against the railings, smoking and using a lot of swear words, *lan jai*, bad types." (Mo,

1992, p. 270) For that many Chinese families settled in far-flung places including suburban areas even villages, where they were often few Chinese or other minorities present (Song, 2003, p. 5). Out of this overview it is quite understandable why the first generation of Chinese have difficulties with assimilation and integration into the British mainstream.

In the view by Burdsey the early twenty-first century has witnessed a number of significant breakthroughs by second generation born Asians in a variety of popular cultural and media field (2006, p. 108). However, in the case of Chinese, the situation remains almost same. The article “Untold stories” reports that “today’s Chinese immigrants have not changed much, perhaps they have a better education than 30 or 40 years ago but the new arrivals still keep to themselves and assimilating fully into a British society seems as far away as ever.” (BBC. Gloucestershire, 2008) For example, they are seldom found gathered in city-centre public space such as Bigg Market, football ground or central pubs (Nayak, 2003, p.43). According to Song the British-born Chinese have virtually no presence in the arts or popular culture of Britain, while they heavily consume the contemporary Hong Kong culture. They are enjoying their Chinese satellite and cable channels (2003, p. 6), which were not available in the first years of their settlement in Britain. Mo observes that Chen family had only English programs and while they were watching they were unable to catch more than a few words. They were reaching the news from their country of origin only through gossips from other Chinese immigrants.

In general, today’s British-born Chinese have more opportunities to become part of British society than their parents. For example, London Chinatown Chinese Organization has promoted the most popular Chinese celebration of the Lunar Year in the British streets. This festival has been held over 30 years and every year the number of participant has been growing. However, Song argues that even though they have monthly bilingual magazine, *siyu*, which acts as a channel for cultural exchange and BBC radio Manchester, which has broadcast a weekly bilingual programme called *Eastern Horizonte* since December 1983, there is still relatively little home grown in Chinese media and popular culture in Britain in comparison with others (2003, p.6).

In this point there should be made a step back and open a discussion concerning the relation of Asian minorities in Britain. Generally, the Chinese have showed more sympathy to Asians than to Britons, as it is suggested in following extract:

Son make sure bus conductor is a black person, Indian person even better” (Mo, p.173) A huge West Indian bus conductor regularly undercharged him on his morning journey to work. He knew because the English one charged him threepence more. Chen was sure the black man’s mistake was deliberate. (Mo, 1992, p.1)

Yet, this sympathy is more or less connected with the status of being a minority, because they all came to Britain as “aliens” and have been facing similar problems. Relations of Asian minorities are not really tied, because as already described in the first chapters their religious beliefs and languages differs in some extent and also a different scale of their success in social, economical and political environment contributes to their separation in Britain. Thus some groups do far better than others as it is explored in the following section.

4.2. Labour market performance

In some respect, Asian minorities are sometimes portrayed as so-called “model minority” their values help them to make a rather successful economic adjustment. And as the Asian communities have grown, the numbers of their business have also grown. (Kivisto, 2006, p. 147) It is said that Asians have even higher level of self-employment than the British. The arising question is what motivated them to settle their businesses rather than worked in other industries?

Some of the explanations see Asian enterprises as a result of their inherent qualities because Asians have always been trading people. However, this theory has not been very successful as there is an inability to explain the business success of those groups who had no historical tradition of entrepreneurship.

Thandi emphasises that the growth of Chinese enterprises and their self-employment success have been a reaction to the socio-economic conditions on the both supply and

demand side of labour market. In general, their labour market opportunities were limited and it was largely out of necessity to concentrate their efforts in own businesses; they were generally poorly paid, and had actually no offers for career opportunities (2006, p. 223). Racial discrimination was also an important factor, which led Asians to self-employment, although the creation of the 1976 Race Relation Act and Sex Discrimination Act to eliminated discrimination of minorities and women in labour market. For example according to Thandi, for Asian women a barrier to labour market participation was the poor access to childcare, due to location, socio-economic status and affordability. There are also other important factors, which led to their labour disadvantage as for example their level of education, their skills and language fluency (2006, p. 225).

In Mo's novel, a Chinese family saw the opening of their own business as an opportunity for better future, the better future for their son, out of which they were excluded. Lily tried to encourage her husband to settle their business. There was no chance for her to work at that time besides she took care of her little son. In Mo's book women stayed in households and were dependent only on their husband wages. Moreover, not only was the whole Chinese family in Britain dependent on "husband" money, but they were also sending regular remittance to their parents back home. Not paying the remittance was out of the question, it was their duty to take care of their parents. Establishment of their own business was the only or best opportunity for them to work, fulfil their house duties and earn some extra money.

Lily was thinking in terms of a grocery store, although perhaps a take-away counter might be more sensible. It was for this she was saving money. Man Kee would have the opportunities from which she had been excluded herself. Rather than see him remain at her level she would risk all. (Mo, 1992, p. 7) “

It was not easy to gain finance for opening a family-based business. The Chinese usually experience previous years of hardship, in other catering jobs. “Her husband was working seventy-two hours at his restaurant, slept fifty six, spent forty hours with his wife, and child. It was hard and the money came at a cost but he wasn't complaining.”(Mo, 1992, p. 2)

As was already mentioned, Chinese showed more affection towards the other Asians rather than to the British, indeed, there was some kind of jealousy and competition among these groups in the economic success. The relation between Chinese and other Asian groups are depicted in Mo' novel as follows: "Who does business things better, Husband, Chinese man or Indian man?" (Mo, 1992, p.7) This inequality and rivalry among Asians groups have been derived from the fact that they have kept businesses to their family and very rarely employed labour across ethnic lines, as it is suggested in following way: "Among the employees there were two distinct groups: clansmen and outsiders. Chen was an outsider. Originally the boss had only employed men from his own village, preferably relatives." (Mo, 1992, p. 28) And this major disadvantage of labour opportunities fuelled those excluded to found their own business.

Thandi stresses that it would be simplistic to think that Asian enterprise is a one-dimensional success story. The vast majority of Chinese enterprises have been small; family owned and suffer from not only the same constraints as any other small businesses, but the additional ones arising from operating in deprived areas with the limited clientele and many continue to survive through long working hours (2006, pp. 228-229). "Chinese people work longer hours per a week than either White or any other minority Britons" (Song, 2003, p. 5) Chinese businesses have employed all members of family; even as children when labour was needed. As Mo describes in his novel, the whole Chinese family, including their 6 years old son, participated in running their small take-away restaurant.

Son was learning the business and under present circumstances any help she got was worth having. Clever Son had no difficulty working out the correct amounts. Man Kee was most useful at night when the room filled with customers. He never cried or complained, even though through some unfortunate coincidence he had a trick of falling asleep when his mother needed him. (Mo, 1992, p.195)

In many cases Chinese priority has been attached more for economic freedom and independence than for the need of material gain. For some, then, life on the margins is

better than subjecting oneself to the humiliation and drudgery associated with working in lowly paid, dead-end jobs (Thandi, 2006, p. 229).

It is also important to note that there are differences in economic success among these groups. Chinese had historically high rate of self-employment, followed by Indians, who were besides often employed in clothing industries and public transport. On the other hand Bangladeshi and Pakistanis were mostly employed in textile and clothing industries, their rate of self-employment was very low and belonged to the most disadvantaged of minorities in the labour market. Women from these ethnic groups were usually in households and their figures were not often included in the most national statistics. Furthermore, there have been no precise data available for self-employment and economic activity and inactivity of ethnic minorities. Their measurement has been difficult due to the fact that many labour contracts have not taken legal forms and also due to the language barriers Chinese and other Asian enterprises were often not paying taxes from their activities, and their entrepreneurships had not a legal form. On one side it was due to their unfamiliarity with British legal system and their disability to speak English made the situation even worst. As they tend to work within their own ethnic population, usually self-employed or as part of small family business, they communicated mainly in Chinese (and its variations) and their English was at very low level.

Lily wasn't even sure how tax was calculated." (Mo, 1984, p.163) "How many children do you have, Mrs ...Mrs Chen? "Well, you can claim child allowance for him because you have children you pay less tax. This is tax return, like the ones we send you. Do you know how to fill it in? No?" (Mo, 1992, p. 162)

On the other hand it was only an ignorance, which indicated their disapproval of British society. Mo describes their behaviour in following way: "We can cheat almost all tax! Tips need not be declared, ice-cream and drinks were invisible earnings. Cost of heating and provisions could actually be deducted from the tax liability! Idiots! (1992, p. 165) Not only the Chinese or Indians minorities were trying to escape from tax payments but their appearance was more evident and visible due to their high self-employment rates.

Interesting point is that stereotypes about their inability to speak English were on number of occasions a great advantage. Mo depicts the visit of tax officer in the following way:

There had already been unwelcome visitors. She took her head. "Not understand." "But I heard you talking in English to that girl just now" "No, not understand these thing, only small people." Well, can you tell me how many people live here?" Not understand small people only." (1992, p. 162)

Today, however, both English and Chinese organizations in Britain are supplied with translators. Non-English speaking Chinese or anyone can seek for help in special organization such as Chinese Information and Advice centre, which supplies clients with free-legal aid and offers advice on all welfare benefits in their own language. Even in Fourth National Survey of Ethnic minorities is stated "If you are unable to conduct an interview because of the language barriers, contact the Office immediately so we can arrange for another interviewer to visit." (1993, p. 34) and thus the collection of data is more reliable than in previous years as there are limited language barriers.

The present situation of the Chinese in the labour market seems to be quite stable, even though their traditionally high self-employment rates have been falling. According to the report "Ethnic minorities in the labour market" the Chinese population have, on average, relatively good prospects. The employment rate for men aged 25 is 79 per cent and the rate of unemployment is 5 per cent, which is very close to the British equivalents (2000, p.3). Their decline in self-employment is on account of better educational attainment for British-born Chinese. This fact is also related to the new immigration laws.

The Chinese widely discussed the issue of their takeaways and restaurants in relation to the new immigration law. A report "The immigration points system begins" describes the new process of immigration point-based system for immigrants outside the EU which is to come into the force in 2009. The accessibility of non-EU immigrants into Britain will be based on points, which candidates obtain from an English based test, their level of education and skills. All applicants are to pass the test unless they have a 1 £ million or more to invest. Any business who wants to bring in unskilled workers will

need a licence. (BBC, 2008) There are obviously far more restrictions in this new law and as Prime Minister Gordon Brown stated: “It is the biggest change in the United Kingdom’s immigration policy and the system does not specifically target Chinese workers. Our objective is to manage migration in the national interest.” (qvt. in: BBC, 2008) The Chinese population reacted very negatively and demanded to change this law. In the article “Low skill Chinese workers demand right to break the new immigration law”, The Chinese community reported that they may close their take-away restaurants as a result of this new law. It would exacerbate a labour shortage already experienced by the Chinese businesses in London (Fan, 2008). Their fear arise from the fact that unlike other Asian minorities in today’s Britain, the majority of Chinese population has grown mainly due to the migration and those new Chinese arrivals are low skill labours who are to be employed in takeaways or restaurants. Chinese catering businesses became very popular and expanded in great numbers all over the UK. However, working in these businesses is very hard and Chinese entrepreneurs are experiencing labour shortage. This shortage is balanced by new arrivals, for those Chinese, it is an opportunity to find a job without ability to speak English and other professional skills.

British-born Chinese are leaving their family businesses and they do not see their future in Chinese takeaways and restaurants as their parents did, because of their greater employment prospects According to Song British-born Chinese with university degrees seek employment in professional occupations and unlike other Asians, more than half of young Chinese are likely to go back to Hong Kong, where they are well placed to find professional jobs, which is as a result of Hong Kong/s position within the global economy(2003, p. 12).

This current trend of British-born Chinese is influenced by their bilingualism, which gives them better access to higher education and thus they can avoid the hardship and struggle experienced by their parents.

4.3 Education

The question of Chinese-British education is very interesting issue. According to report “Minority ethnic groups in the UK“, Chinese, Indian and other Asian groups are

more likely to have degrees than White people in the UK. Pakistani and Bangladeshi are most likely to be unqualified (National Statistics, 2002, p. 3).

However, the first Chinese immigrants were very rarely educated beyond the primary level and possessed only the knowledge of their mother tongue. However, the situation of young British- Chinese is very different from this of their parents. As was discussed previously, their access to the high education gives them the privilege to find better and professional jobs and thus there should be mentioned the process of obtaining their education in Britain.

Wong points out that most of Chinese parents in Hong Kong preferred their children to be educated in English. However, after arriving in Britain parent's choice of education for their children seems to have changed. British-born Chinese children were in early years of immigration, sent back to Hong Kong to be brought up by their grandparents. One of the reasons was that parents wanted to free themselves for work. The other reason was that Chinese parents were worried about their children education and that they would be assimilated by British culture if they went to school in this country (1991, p. 195).

Mo describes the issue concerning education through the whole novel. Chinese parents were confused about the best choice for their son.

But what sort of schooling should he have? This was vital. Should he stay here in Britain? Should he be sent back to Hong Kong? This would ensure he was imbued with correct Chinese qualities, veneration for parents, for instance. Many grandchildren lived in the village while their parents worked overseas. (Mo, 1992, p.167)

Chinese were often anxious about the fact that they will not receive respect of their children unless their children are educated in Chinese language by their teachers. In Chinese culture, school is the place where are children taught to respect their family and other important cultural values and the British education was for them far from the satisfaction

Man Kee's education, English style, continued on its eccentric way. Things, in Lily's view, were going from bad to much worse. Lily's philosophy of education

was simple. The main purpose was to train his character, foster diligence, teach him discipline and obedience. Acquiring knowledge was almost secondary to this. What does Man Kee learn here? They interrupted teacher, walked around. There were little or no discipline and minimal organization. It was perfectly disgraceful. (Mo, 1992, pp. 228-229)

Britain made statutory laws to ensure that ethnic minorities are not excluded from educational attainment. Same as for British children, the children from any ethnic minority have compulsory education and access to secondary or higher level of education. The Chinese were aware of this situation as Mo describes: “His education would have to be settled soon. In fact, it would be legally taken out of their hands. They had a bare period of grace before the state took their decision for them.” (1992, p. 166) However, in Mo’s novel, parents rather send their son to the Chinese school, where was about seventy or eighty children and appreciated this size more than English classes, which have about twenty children. The fact is that Chinese school in Britain have been only supplementary and the state schools have introduced only optional classes.

According to Wong, Chinese classes expanded in 1970s and early 1980s. However, these classes were mostly based on voluntary teaching, their teaching hours were limited and teachers were mostly unqualified (1992, p. 83). At the present the Chinese supplementary classes are still based on voluntary teaching, their teachers are often members of community centres or overseas Chinese students who are studying in the UK. These schools help children to learn Chinese language and to solve their communication problems with their parents and are held at the weekends (Wong, 1992, p. 86). It is said that almost all young British-born Chinese have problems with communication in their early age, they are sometimes unable to speak neither Chinese nor English. “Son, providentially, had not displayed any further disturbing tendency to speak English as well as Cantonese. It was not possible to hold quite complicated exchanges with him. He had an unusual vocabulary.” (Mo, 1992, p. 167)

Most of them have actually never learnt proper Chinese and their knowledge remains only on communicative level because they are using this language only within their family and as their community is so disperse they have very little opportunity to

use the language of their parents. Reading and writing skills of Chinese are learnt at the supplementary schools or in secondary classes at state schools but students often forget these skills. Wong describes that in order to be able to read Chinese newspapers, there is a need to have knowledge of 4,000- 7,000 characters. These characters have no clue to pronunciation and thus the symbols must be learnt by heart (1992, p. 85). British-born Chinese are more likely to write and read in English much earlier than in Chinese, which is due to the more significant English environment around them. .

Wong points out that despite that Chinese pupils are increasing their number is not large enough to convince the Local Authority schools to organize Chinese classes from kindergarten upwards (1992, p. 80). In Mo's novel the Chinese boy was attending the supplementary class where were about seventy or eighty children, but at different age and ethnicity. However, as Wong describes, the number of Chinese students is limited at each grade level in individual state schools and thus the Chinese language education is only available for pupils at certain grade level only as option to be taught during school hours. The other problem is that if Chinese is introduced in primary and junior secondary level there is no guarantee that higher level of Chinese will be available when students are promoted to higher grade level (1992, pp.93-94).

There is also a problem with finding a proper Chinese teacher. Wong stresses that the University of London tried to encourage students to enrol on this subject of study, and even provided them with tuition. However, there was only little response and to teach Chinese as community language remains to be a problem (1992, p.97).

Britain made statutory laws to ensure that ethnic minorities are not excluded from educational attainment. Same as for British children, the children from any ethnic minority have compulsory education and access to secondary or higher level.

British-born Chinese attend a state schools where they have no other choice than to use English language. Through this relative "advantage" they have a better opportunity to integrate into the British way of life and interact more with other Asians.

This fact of school interaction also promotes the issue of intermarriages as there are relatively no language barriers among the British young groups.

4.4 Mixed race – intermarriages

This kind of school interaction promotes the sensitive form of multicultural acceptance. Nayak highlights that those young people who have been growing up alongside minority ethnic communities or have a multi-ethnic schooling are less likely to view them as outsiders and are more prone to see them as integrated part of their community (2003, p. 45). It means that the social relations of young people from different background are achieving real improvement when compared to the situation in the past decades.

Song points out that Britain is now becoming a place of “mix cultures” due to the growing rates of intermarriages (2003, p. 13). The National Statistic reports that 15 per cent of children with Chinese heritage also had one White parent in comparison with 39 per cent of African Caribbean children, 3 per cent of Indian children and only 1 per cent Pakistani and Bangladeshi children (2002, p. 55).

“The quite high rate for Chinese suggests very real possibility of growing rates for Chinese intermarriages with White Britons and that could finally solve their problem of exclusion and distinctiveness”. (Song, 2003, p. 13)

Conclusion

In general, Chinese have been depicted as hard working and unproblematic minority group in Britain, which is more or less due to their cultural values which are of a great importance for them. Since their arriving to the UK they have been called an invisible minority and were widely believed to be free of racial abuse. They did not court publicity and tend to solve their problems within their family and relatives, which was also on account of their small number and dispersal of their community. Mo pictures the first Chinese as very critical minority group, which did not approve British way of life, remained far behind the mainstream activities and was out of the necessity dependent on self-employment.

New Chinese immigrants are actually behaving in a relatively same way as the first immigrants in 1960s; they suffer with language barriers and limited skills. Although they are still in greater advantage in comparison with the first immigrants as they can easily find job in already established Chinese businesses; where they mostly compensate for labour shortage and are replacing the positions of British-born Chinese, who are leaving their family business as they have greater opportunities for themselves.

British-born Chinese are seen in professional occupations due to their higher education. Unlike their parents they are no more isolated in family business, they are mostly bilingual and their higher education enables them better interaction with British population since their childhood. They can establish some relation with British during their study at state schools and also find Chinese counterparts during their study at supplementary schools. However, great numbers of British-born Chinese do not see their future in Britain. They are leaving for Hong Kong and other places of their parent's origin. It is also very interesting because there is no other Asian immigration group, which behave in similar way. It may be due to the fact that despite they attend British classes they have a great sense of cultural heritage and their values are deeply rooted in them. Or it is may be just poor interest in the country, which they have known only from pictures and stories.

Chinese presence in British public is still not so evident as in the cases of other minorities and they need more public identity, yet, they have reached some improvement. There have been established many Chinese centres, which either provide help for those who are disadvantage or promote Chinese culture to the British public in a form of various festivals. It is apparent that the second generation Chinese has achieved a relative success in comparison to the first immigrants and their position as being an "invisible minority" has been in decline.

However, the future of Chinese in Britain is quite a mystery. The new immigration law may limit the new arrivals into Britain and thus reduce the number of Chinese labour, which would influence Chinese enterprises and those who are heavily depend on these businesses. Those who have already been in Britain should participate more in British mainstream and thus the British would listen to their voices and their

social exclusion would be rather a past issue. This all depends on the willingness of British-born Chinese to stay and belong to the British society rather than go back to the country of their parents' origin. It is also true that there is still not much data evident on British-born Chinese and thus it is too early to make any deduction about Chinese future in Britain. The fact which can contribute to their settlement in Britain is the growing rate of intermarriages. This could bring them and inclusion, distinctiveness and also full participation in British society

However, there is still not much data evident on British-born Chinese and thus it is too early to make any deduction about their future in Britain.

Resumé

V bakalářské práci je zpracováno téma asijských menšin ve Velké Británii, především se práce zaměřuje na téma čínské minority. Úvodní část je otevřena obecným představením multikulturní společnosti a asijských etnických menšin žijící v Británii.

V dalších částech je zpracována analýza čínské minority od počátku její migrace až po současnost. Její postavení v britské společnosti je zobrazeno v literárním díle *Sour Sweet* od Timothy Mo a dále porovnáno s relevantními sekundárními zdroji. Timothy Mo ve svém díle zobrazuje život prvních čínských imigrantů v Británii a popisuje veškeré jejich problémy, se kterými se museli potýkat, dále se také zabývá otázkami vlivu majoritní společnosti na jejich asimilaci a integraci. Cílem této analýzy je zjistit, jak se postavení čínské minority v průběhu let změnilo a jaký je současný trend v jejich chování v porovnání s prvními imigranty.

Současná světová populace je v pohybu, lidé opouštějí země původu a usazují se v jiných společnostech po celém světě. Díky této situaci se mnohé moderní společnosti stávají multikulturními, které v minulosti neměly obdoby. Multikulturní společnost je společnost různých národností a kultur, které dokáží vzájemně integrovat a respektovat určité hodnoty, přičemž si zachovávají vlastní kulturní odlišnost. Každá společnost si vytváří vlastní podmínky pro vzájemné soužití různých etnických kultur.

Britská společnost je multikulturní společností již už od svého počátku a díky vlivům imigrace z jejich dřívějších kolonií a imigrace členů Evropské unie se tato společnost ještě více diversifikuje.

Masivní příliv asijských menšin z dřívějších britských kolonií (Indie, Hong Kong) začal po druhé světové válce jako reakce na nedostatek pracovních sil v Evropě. Asiáté měli v podstatě volnou ruku a jejich přístup na britské území nebyl omezen. Důvod k jejich imigraci byl ovlivněn jak politickou situací v jejich rodné zemi tak i možností získat lepší finanční pozici pro jejich rodiny. První imigranti byli především muži, kteří neměli nejmenší zájem v Británii zůstat déle než je nutno. Jejich pracovní možnosti byly omezeny jazykovou bariérou a neodborným vzděláním, většina těchto imigrantů měla pouze základní vzdělání a z těchto důvodů pracovali velký počet hodin za velmi nízkou mzdu. Vykonyvali povolání, kde nebyla potřeba odborného vzdělání a většinou takové činnosti o které Britové sami nejevily zájem.

Je nutné podotknout, že asijské menšiny nemohou být brány jako jeden celek, ale jako společenství s rozlišným etnickým původem, náboženstvím a kulturou. Mnoho těchto imigrantů je indického, bangladéšského, pakistánského a čínského původu. Avšak v prvních fázích jejich masivní imigrace britská společnost nerozeznávala rozdíly mezi těmito kulturami a zacházela se všemi stejně.

Po roce 1960 byl v Británii již značný počet asijský imigrantů a jako následek jejich masivní migrace se začala rozšiřovat omezení, která znemožňovala imigrantům vstup na britské území. Tato omezení nebyla mnoho platná a počet imigrantů se stále více zvyšoval díky rodinným příslušníkům, kteří následovali první imigranty a také díky zvyšujícímu se počtu dětí. Děti, které se imigrantům v Británii narodily získávaly automaticky britské občanství a proto dnešní britská společnost obsahuje velký počet příslušníků této druhé generace imigrantů. V roce 2001 počet etnických menšin přesahoval více jak 8 procent z celkové britské populace, což představuje přibližně asi 4,5 miliónu obyvatel. Tento počet však není konečný a má neustálou tendenci se zvyšovat.

Z těchto důvodů se bakalářská práce zaměřuje na otázky čínské migrace a život asijských komunit v Británii, rozpor mezi jejich tradičními hodnotami a novou identitou. Čínští imigranti přišli do Británie především z původní britské kolonie Hong Kong. Další imigranti, kteří mají čínský původ, jsou z Číny, Vietnamu, Singapuru a Malajsie. Tato minorita patří ke čtvrté největší asijské komunitě v Británii, ale v porovnání s ostatními je počet členů této minority velice malý. Od počátku svého příchodu byli nazýváni tzv. „neviditelnou společností“. Britové si této menšiny nevšimli a viděli ji spíše jako jednu z mnoha, co přišla nezvaně do jejich země. Podle Timothy Mo, jejich názor na Brity byl velice negativní a často projevovali nesouhlas s britskými tradicemi, hodnotami a chováním. V knize se často objevuje názor, že Britové jsou ďáblové, kteří se snaží čínskou minoritu jen zneužívat. Číňané neprojevovali žádnou veřejnou aktivitu a neměli žádnou viditelnou prezenci v politických stranách, což může být zapříčiněno jejich geografickým rozptýlením po celé Británii. Jen velmi zřídka našli příslušníci této minority ve svém sousedství další své členy. Objevoval se i častý názor, že čínská minorita netrpí rasistickými útoky, což byl především díky jejich neaktivitě v politickém a veřejném životě. Tato skutečnost však nebyla pravdivá. I když jejich rasistické útoky nebyli tak viditelné jako u jiných menšin např. Indů, i oni byli oběťmi. Rasistické útoky

však nebyly většinou mířeny na individuální členy jejich komunity, ale spíše na jejich rodinné podniky. V posledních letech byla oznámena celá řada těchto útoků, které měly podobu v rozbíjení výloh a ničení majetku.

Z důvodu jejich neaktivity ve veřejném životě se dá předpokládat, že integrace prvních čínských imigrantů nebyla úspěšná. Pro porozumění jejich chování je důležité se podívat na otázku asimilace, která je více spojená s akceptací jejich odlišných kulturních hodnot a tradic. Pro čínskou společnost není nic důležitějšího než rodinné vazby. Jejich hodnoty vycházejí z respektování členů rodiny, poslušnosti a kultivace. Čínská tradice má kořeny v konfucianismu a taoismu, tyto myšlenkové směry mají dlouhou historii. Vyznávání této víry není založeno na pravidelném navštěvování posvátných míst, ale na udržování tradice rodiny a individuálním respektování všech hodnot, které z této víry vyplývají.

Na druhou stranu britská společnost prochází velkými změnami, tradiční forma nukleární rodiny se rozpadá v důsledku velkého počtu rozvodů. Britská společnost je převážně křesťanská, i když tato víra už není tak rozšířená jako dříve a Britové se stávají věřícími spíše v situacích bezmoci. Je zřejmé, že mezi britskými a čínskými kulturními hodnotami je velký rozdíl a není divu, že dochází k jejich rozporu. Timothy Mo popisuje první čínské imigranty jako lidi s nezájmem a opovržením vůči britské kultuře. Podle sociologů byly Číňané často kritizováni kvůli svému odstupu od majoritní společnosti. V případě nových imigrantů se tento trend stále drží a raději, než aby se snažili asimilovat do společnosti udržují si vztahy jen mezi svými členy.

Číňané všeobecně vyjadřovali více respektu k ostatním asijským minoritám než k Britům, ale jejich společná soudržnost také nebyla zvláště viditelná. V jejich případě šlo spíše o společný status „cizince“ v britské společnosti. Mezi těmito komunitami byly značné rozdíly v profesní úspěšnosti na britské půdě, které ještě více přispívaly k jejich oddělení.

Asiaté byli všeobecně považováni za neobornou pracovní sílu. První imigranti měli velice omezené možnosti a jejich pracovní nabídky nebyli nějak význačné. Problémem na jejich straně byla značná neobornost a jazyková bariéra, ze strany britské to byla spíše diskriminace. Čínská a indická komunita měla historicky vysoké procento v oblasti podnikání v porovnání s ostatními asijskými menšinami, například příslušníci bangladéšské a pakistánské komunity byli zaměstnáváni většinou v textilních

a industriálních provozech. I když měli Číňané vysoký podíl v samostatném podnikání, nelze říci, že by byl jejich život lehčí. Jejich podniky byly zaměřeny na rychlé stravování tzv. take-aways nebo restaurace a často byly založené jen na rodinné pracovní síle. Celá rodina se musela podílet na chodu těchto podniků a s tím byla i spojena dlouhá pracovní doba často až do noci. Nebylo však úniku, tento způsob obživy byl jediný, který je mohl zabezpečit a nemuseli se podřizovat britským zaměstnavatelům.

V dnešní době děti čínských imigrantů v těchto restauracích nepracují, jelikož mají lepší pracovní možnosti, což je výsledek jejich vyšší vzdělanosti. Druhá generace čínské populace má výhodu oproti svým rodičům, netrpí jazykovými bariérami což vede k jejich lepší integraci do společnosti.

Čínští rodiče si vždy přáli, aby jejich děti získaly pravé čínské vzdělání, protože škola důležitým místem, kde se děti učí tradičním čínským hodnotám. To se jim však v britských školách zdálo nespílitelné a snažili se své děti posílat do čínských škol. V Británii ale tradiční čínská škola neexistuje, a proto musí tyto děti navštěvovat státní školy, kde veškerá výuka probíhá pouze v anglickém jazyce. Čínská výuka probíhá pouze v doplňkových třídách, které jsou zřizovány dobrovolnými čínskými organizacemi. Na státních školách jsou vyučovány pouze individuální hodiny a to jen zřídka, protože počet uchazečů o tuto výuku je stále ještě malý a liší se v různých regionech. Dalším faktem je, že britské školství stále trpí velkým nedostatkem profesionálních učitelů. Tuto výuku provádí většinou studenti z Honk Kongu, kteří přijeli do Británie studovat. Pro rodiče, jak zdůrazňuje Timothy Mo to může být považováno za nevýhodu, avšak jejich děti tímto získávají možnost začlenit se do britské společnosti a netrpí v dospívajícím věku jazykovými bariérami jako jejich rodiče.

Z tohoto faktu také vyplývá vzrůstající počet vztahů a sňatků mezi majoritou a minoritami, což by mohlo výrazně přispět k integraci čínské minority do širší společnosti a zmírnit otázku diskriminace a sociální exkluze.

Všeobecně řečeno, čínská minorita je označována za bezproblémovou a tzv. „modelovou minoritou“ v porovnání s ostatními, díky svému nekonfliktnímu chování a vysokou mírou zaměstnanosti. Je jisté, že první imigranti byli vystaveni diskriminaci a jejich začlenění do společnosti nebylo úspěšné. V dnešní době jsou čínští imigranti aktivně zapojeni do různých sfér společenského života, ale jejich účast je stále nedostatečná. Hlavním důvodem je, že noví imigranti stále trpí jazykovou bariérou a

hledají si práci v čínských podnicích. Děti prvních imigrantů dosahují většího úspěchu než jejich rodiče a jsou osvobozeni od těžké práce v rodinných restauracích, v nichž je jejich pracovní síla nahrazena novými imigranty. Z tohoto přehledu je zřejmé, že se postavení čínské minority v britské společnosti zlepšilo v porovnání s předešlými roky. Je ale velice předčasné dělat závěry o budoucnosti této menšiny, jelikož je zde stále ještě nedostatek dat o její druhé generaci, jelikož plné začlenění do britské společnosti bude nejvíce ovlivněno touto čínskou generací narozenou v Británii.

Bibliography

Publications

1. ABERCROMBIE, Nicholas, et al. *Contemporary British Society*. 2nd ed. Great Britain : Polity Press, 1996. 590 s. ISBN 0-74561067-6.
2. ALI, Nasreen. "Imperial Implosions", in *A Postcolonial People: South Asians in Britain*, ed. ALI, N., KALRA, V.S., SAYYID, S., United Kingdom : Hurst &Company, London, 2006. s. 436. ISBN 1-85065-797-1.
3. ALLADINA, Safder. "Many people, many tongues", in *Multilingualism in the British Isles: Africa, the Middle East & Asia*, ed. ALLADINA, Safder, EDVARDDS, Viv. Singapore : Longman, 1991. s. 278. ISBN 0-582-06365-5.
4. ANDERSON, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London : Verso, 2006. 240 s. ISBN 978-1-84467-086-4.
5. ANSARI, Humayun. "Mapping the Colonial", in *A Postcolonial People : South Asians in Britain*, ed. ALI, N., KALRA, V.S., SAYYID, S., United Kingdom : Hurst &Company, London, 2006. s. 436. ISBN 1-850657971.
6. ANWAR, Muhammad. "The Politics of the BrAsians Electorate", in *A Postcolonial People: South Asians in Britain*, ed. ALI, N., KALRA, V.S., SAYYID, S., United Kingdom : Hurst &Company, London, 2006. s. 436. ISBN 1-850657971.
7. BURDSEY, Daniel. "Football", in *A Postcolonial People: South Asians in Britain*, ed. ALI, N., KALRA, V.S., SAYYID, S., United Kingdom : Hurst &Company, London, 2006. s. 436. ISBN 1-850657971.
8. CHAN, Ronald. "The Singaporean and Malaysian speech communities", in *Multilingualism in the British Isles: Africa, the Middle East & Asia*, ed. ALLADINA, Safder, EDVARDDS, Viv. Singapore : Longman, 1991. s. 278. ISBN 0-582-06365-5.
9. COLEMAN, David, SALT, John. *The British Population: Patterns, Trends, and Processes*. Great Britain : Oxford University Press, 1992. 6800 s. ISBN 0-19-874098-0
10. ABERCROMBIE, Nicholas, et al. *Contemporary British Society*. 2nd ed. Great Britain : Polity Press, 1996. 590 s. ISBN 0-74561067-6.
11. HALL, Stuart. "The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity", in *Culture, Globalization and the World-System*, ed. KING, Anthony. Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1997. s. 184. ISBN 0-8166-2953-6.

12. GIROUX, Henry. "Insurgent Multiculturalism and the Promise of Pedagogy", in *Multiculturalism*, ed. GOLDBERG, Theo. Great Britain : Blackwell Publishing, 1994. s. 452. ISBN 0-31-18912-2.
13. HUSAIN, Jyoti. "The Bengali speech community", in *Multilingualism in the British Isles: Africa, the Middle East & Asia*, ed. ALLADINA, Safder, EDVARDDS, Viv. Singapore : Longman, 1991. s. 278. ISBN 0-582-06365-5.
14. KIVISTO, Peter. *Multiculturalism in a Global Society*. India : Blackwell Publishing, 2006. 218 s. ISBN 0-631-22194-8.
15. MO, Timothy. *Sour Sweet*. London : Vintage Books, 1992. 279s. ISBN 0-09-996200-4.
16. MOODOOD, Tariq. "Politics of Blackness and Asian Identity", in *A Postcolonial People: South Asians in Britain*, ed. ALI, N., KALRA, V.S., SAYYID, S., United Kingdom : Hurst & Company, London, 2006. s. 436. ISBN 1-850657971.
17. NAMIE, Yoshiko. "The Japanese speech community", in *Multilingualism in the British Isles: Africa, the Middle East & Asia*, ed. ALLADINA, Safder, EDVARDDS, Viv. Singapore : Longman, 1991. s. 278. ISBN 0-582-06365-5.
18. NAYAK, Anool. *Race, Place and Globalization : Youth Cultures in A Changing World*. New York : Bergpublisher, 2003. 208 s. ISBN 1-85973-609-2.
19. NORTHROP, F. S. C. *The Meeting of East and West : An Inquiry Concerning World Understanding*. New York : Collier Books, 1966. 530 s.
20. PEACH, Ceri. "Demographics of BrAsian Settlement, 1951-2001", in *A Postcolonial People : South Asians in Britain*, ed. ALI, N., KALRA, V.S., SAYYID, S., United Kingdom : Hurst & Company, London, 2006. s. 436. ISBN 1-850657971.
21. THANDI, Shinder. "Brown Economy: Enterprise and Employment", in *A Postcolonial People : South Asians in Britain*, ed. ALI, N., KALRA, V.S., SAYYID, S., United Kingdom : Hurst & Company, London, 2006. s. 436. ISBN 1-850657971.
22. VERMA, Mahendra. "The Hindi speech community", in *Multilingualism in the British Isles: Africa, the Middle East & Asia*, ed. ALLADINA, Safder, EDVARDDS, Viv. Singapore : Longman, 1991. s. 278. ISBN 0-582-06365-5.

23. THOMPSON, Amy. "The Filipino speech community", in *Multilingualism in the British Isles: Africa, the Middle East & Asia*, ed. ALLADINA, Safder, EDVARDDS, Viv. Singapore : Longman, 1991. s. 278. ISBN 0-582-06365-5.
24. WONG, Lornita. "The Hong Kong Chinese speech community", in *Multilingualism in the British Isles: Africa, the Middle East & Asia*, ed. ALLADINA, Safder, EDVARDDS, Viv. Singapore : Longman, 1991. s. 278. ISBN 0-582-06365-5.
25. ZOYSA, Lakshm. "The Sinhala speech community", in *Multilingualism in the British Isles: Africa, the Middle East & Asia*, ed. ALLADINA, Safder, EDVARDDS, Viv. Singapore: Longman, 1991. s. 278. ISBN 0-582-06365-5.

Electronic sources

1. BARKHAM, Patrick. "Stephen Lawrence case Q and A". [online]. 1999 [cit. 2008-02-23]. Dostupný z WWW: <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/1999/feb/23/lawrence.ukcrime9>>.
2. BBC.CO.UK.GLOCERSHIRE. "Our Untold stories : Chinese stories" [online]. 2008 [cit. 2008-02-24]. Dostupný z WWW: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/gloucestershire/untold_stories/chinese/chinese_culture2.shtml>.
3. BBC.NEWS.UK. "Immigration points system begins" [online]. 2008 [cit. 2008-03-11]. Dostupný z WWW: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/7269790.stm>.
4. COWLING, David. "What the survey reveals" [online]. 2008 [cit. 2008-02-11]. Dostupný z WWW: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/uk/2002/race/what_the_survey_reveals.stm>.
5. Ethnic Group Statistic : "A guide for the Collection and Classification of Ethnic Data". [online] 2003 [cit. 2008-03-17],s. 64. Dostupný z WWW : <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/about/ethnic_group_statistics/downloads/ethnic_group_statistics.pdf>.
6. FAN, Daft. "Low Skill Chinese Workers Demand Right to Break Immigration Law" [online]. 2008 [cit. 2008-03-04]. Dostupný z WWW: <<http://www.politic.co.uk/immigration/9421-low-skill-chinese-workers-demand-right-break-immigration-law.html>>.
7. NATIONAL STATISTIC. "Minority Ethnic Groups in the UK" [online]. 2002 [cit. 2008-02-25], s. 4. Dostupný z WWW: <<http://www.statistics.gov.uk/pdfdir/meg1202.pdf>>

8. PAREKH, Bihku. "Unity and Diversity in Multicultural Societies". [online] 2005 [cit. 2008-03-04], s. 23. Dostupný z WWW: <<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/inst/download/1parekh.pdf>>.
9. PAI, Hsiao-Hung. "Enough! Chinese go public over racist abuse" [online] 2006 [cit. 2008-02-23]. Dostupný z WWW: <<http://www.voice-online.co.uk/content.php?show=9346>>.
10. RAHBK, Ulla. "Representation of Englishness in Timothy Mos novel *Sour Sweet*" [online]. 2000 [cit. 2008-01-10]. Dostupný z WWW: <http://www.britishcouncil.org/studies/england/report_12.htm>.
11. SAGGAR, Shमित. "The Challenges of Immigration and Integration". [online]. 2003 [cit. 2008-02-20], s. 20. Dostupný z WWW: <http://www.anu.edu.au/NEC/Archive/saggar_presentation.ppt#0>.
12. SCPR. *Fourth national Survey of Ethnic Minorities : Project Instruction*. [online] 1993 [cit. 2008-02-13]. s. 390. Dostupný z WWW: <<http://www.data-archive.ac.uk/doc/3685/mrdoc/pdf/a3685uab.pdf>>.
13. SIMSON, L., et al. "Ethnic minority populations and the labour market: an analysis of the 1991 and 2001". Research Report No. 333 [online]. 2001 [cit. 2008-02-10], s. 308. Dostupný z WWW: <<http://asp.ccsr.ac.uk/dwp/info/SUMM333.pdf>>.
14. SONG, Miri. *Belonging in Britain : "The Second Generation Chinese in Britain"* [online]. 2003 [cit. 2008-02-15], s. 13. Dostupný z WWW: <<http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/~salaff/conference/papers/belonging-Song.pdf>>.
15. WONG, Lornita. *Education of Chinese Children in Britain and the USA*. United Kingdom : Multilingual Matters, 1992. 142 s. [online] [cit. 2008-02-15] Dostupný z WWW: <http://books.google.cz/books?id=H0bu8IyeC&printsec=frontcover&dq=subject:%22Chinese+students%3B+Education%3B+Great+Britain%3B+Evaluation.%22&sig=_m8jmI0mYZ6iahgQZ6SVNZ_z-VA>. ISBN 1-85359-141-6.