



THE ENCYCLOPEDIA *of the* CHINESE OVERSEAS



General Editor
LYNN PAN

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FOREWORD

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



GUIDE TO THE USE OF THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AND EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

TYPES OF MATTER

The encyclopedia contains signed articles by the authors named in the List of Contributors. The articles are of two kinds: main-text essays and boxed features. The boxed features, indicated by a square sign in the Table of Contents, allow certain topics or illustrative examples to be treated with a degree of focus that would otherwise interrupt the narrative or analytical flow of the main text. Each signature relates to all the text that appears between it and the preceding signature, however many separate sections that text may contain.

Cross-references, indicated by the title of the section into which the point referred to falls, or its page number, help the reader to locate earlier or later mentions of a particular subject. A further aid to locating information is the detailed Index.

Copious photographs apart, the pictorial material consists of maps, figures and tables. For the maps, the intention has been to mark and name only those places mentioned in the accompanying text, with just a few additional places indicated for purposes of context and reference. The key to the symbols used in all the maps is as follows:

 Area/areas under discussion	 International boundary
 Area/areas beyond scope of discussion	 Provincial/state boundary

Supplementary materials at the back of the book include Timelines of important economic, political and social events in China. This is a selective chronology, listing events judged to have a particularly significant bearing on the history of the overseas Chinese. In addition, a bilingual, alphabetically arranged Chinese Character List is provided. This comprises the personal name of every Chinese individual mentioned in the text for which the Chinese characters are known. The names appear in either their regional speech-based spelling or romanized Mandarin, or both. The list also includes Chinese place names, institutions with Chinese names, Chinese words, phrases and idioms.

The Bibliography contains two kinds of material: first, titles referred to in the text, tables, figures and maps; second, a selection of the sources used by the authors. Rather than being consolidated into a single list, the titles are grouped according to the five Parts into which the main text falls, namely 'Origins,' 'Migration,' 'Institutions,' 'Relations' and 'Communities.' This means that some titles appear more than once.

LANGUAGES AND ROMANIZATION

The editorial approach has been to use English as far as possible. However, the nature of the material is such that romanized non-English vocabulary, including Chinese terms and idioms with no exact or appropriate English equivalents or are in wide use in their romanized form, occasionally appears. Besides Chinese, there is a sprinkling of Bahasa Indonesian, Burmese, Dutch, French, Italian, Japanese, Malay, Spanish, Tagalog, Thai and Vietnamese terms.

Chinese personal names appear in the forms by which their referents are most widely known. The requirement to adopt local names in some places means that these forms may be Indonesian, Japanese or Thai rather than Chinese. Where they are Chinese, they usually appear in romanized forms based on their regional-speech pronunciation rather than on Mandarin. Such transliterations are rarely standardized and they often reflect the way the names were pronounced and spelt by the particular colonial authority, whether British, Dutch, French or Spanish, under which they were initially adopted. With few exceptions, their equivalents in Mandarin and Chinese characters may be found in the Chinese Character List. The exceptions are those for whom the original Chinese has proved difficult to identify. Mandarin is rendered in the Pinyin system of romanization officially adopted by the People's Republic of China. Chinese personal names are given surname first if that is the order followed by their bearers, but not if the norm is to give it after the forename (as it is in America and Europe).

For two Chinese place names, the Pinyin forms are not provided; these are Canton and Taipei, the one an old English spelling, the other based on the Wade-Giles system of transliteration. For three others — Amoy, Quemoy and Swatow — both the old English spelling, familiar to many English-language readers, and the Pinyin romanization more widely used in modern times (Xiamen, Jinmen and Shantou), appear, with either one or the other form sometimes given in parentheses as a reminder to the reader.

The names of the chief Chinese languages — or dialects, as they are commonly called — spoken by overseas Chinese are mostly given in the established dialect spelling (examples include Hokkien and Hakka). So also are the names of the groups which speak them. One, Cantonese, appears in the old English spelling. Where it is judged helpful to the reader, the dialect-based form is followed in parentheses by the Pinyin spelling, or vice versa; one example of the latter is Fuqing (Hokchia).

Chinese expressions are spelt in Pinyin with few exceptions. The exceptions — *sinkeh*, *towkay*, *sinseh* and *cukong* — appear in the dialect spelling that has become established. Syllable combination and division in romanized Chinese terms, which are represented by discrete, monosyllabic characters in the Chinese original even when the terms themselves are multi-syllabic compounds, follows semantic and grammatical principles.

In Pinyin, hyphens are not used to join syllables, and the hyphens which appear in this book are used in a coupling which reflects the way the Chinese sometimes refer to two places in the same breath by taking one syllable from each name and running the two together. Thus 'Chao-Shan,' for example, stands for the area encompassed by Chaozhou and Shantou, while 'Nan-Shun' is short for Nanhai and Shunde.

The spelling of English words is based on the eighth edition of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, which does not regard as foreign, and therefore does not italicize, many words — including 'mestizo,' 'yin' and 'yang' and 'kung fu' — absorbed from other languages.

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INTRODUCTION

The peopling of the earth has been an enduring part of human history. From very early times, individuals, families and tribes moved from place to place whenever necessary in search of abundance and safety. When the urge to migrate for the sake of survival or for a better livelihood was strong, it could only be halted or slowed down by territorial constraints supported by superior arms. After technological changes made the agricultural revolution possible, long-term settlement became the norm. The surpluses that this produced made possible the growth of towns, cities, kingdoms and empires, and of institutions that kept their own people in and foreign peoples out. In China, this led to the growth of one of the most stable political systems ever recorded. Its success led China to become, for thousands of years, a major attraction for immigrants and a meagre source of emigrants. Until the 19th century, almost all voluntary migration happened within the borders of the empire.

The population of China doubled from about 50 million between the first century and the 11th, and doubled and redoubled to about 400 million by the beginning of the 19th century. Increasingly, official demographic policies, and the search for agricultural land or urban employment, led to massive internal migrations. Alongside these movements of people, merchants ventured forth to trade, some travelling to markets beyond China's borders. They were held back not only by the needs of security and foreign relations, but also by social and cultural injunctions not to leave home. Trading overseas particularly was actively discouraged for long periods. It was not until the 19th century that Chinese people left the country in large numbers to find work in distant foreign lands. This new phenomenon of emigration marks the beginning of agrarian China's response to the industrial revolution. Its leaders took a while to realize what this involved, but a series of defeats by the Great Powers made it inevitable that China would have to join the race for modernization. Today, with emigrant communities in every continent and many of them playing a dynamic part in the global economy, the Chinese overseas have a remarkable story to tell. This volume is the first attempt to provide a comprehensive account of that transformation.

Initially, all migrations involve pull or push factors. China experienced some of the cruellest forms of both sets of factors during the 19th century. War and famine within the country drove many abroad, and the dire need for cheap labour by some of the newly industrializing powers opened up opportunities for China's poor. From one point of view, only the slave trade from Africa was more tragic than the fates of the thousands of coolies who were transported around the world. From another, emigration offered life and hope. These Chinese met the challenge with a fortitude and enterprise that confounded everyone, even their own governments and élites back in China. To understand this, we need to link their story to the nature of Chinese culture and history, but the heart of the story lies with the varied responses the sojourners made to the conditions they found abroad. In particular, the experiences they had that led many of them to decide to settle and not return to China shaped the kind of communities they established. This in turn determined the future they hoped their descendants would have in their adopted countries.

There is a tendency among many Chinese to attribute every success they have to the uniqueness and superiority of Chinese culture. This is sometimes exaggerated to the point of incredulity, notably by those with chauvinist or nationalist agendas. Such efforts to use Chinese values to explain what the Chinese have or have not achieved abroad should be made with caution, and full weight must be given to vital factors of economic and political change both in China and elsewhere. On the other hand, it is not possible to avoid the question of Chinese culture. Those who minimize, or even dismiss, factors of culture, and invariably attribute all significant developments to the forces of modernization, are also guilty of oversimplification. Much depends on what is being described. To believe that all factors causing change or resistance to change stem from rational choice and universal human traits is no less a narrowing of one's ability to explain. Migration involves multiple responses to alien stimuli, and the way Chinese sojourners and migrants managed new environments deserves closer attention than we have given it so far.

As the accounts in this volume show, culture and history do matter in the way migrant communities are formed and evolved. It is not enough to say that Chinese immigrants are industrious, practise thrift and make sacrifices for their families, value education and social mobility, and organize themselves for effective defence and action. Many others do the same. How the Chinese have sustained what they do, however, does reflect their cultural origins and their uniquely structured history. The earliest traders in Southeast Asia clung to a sojourning pattern, and their appeals to distinctive family, religious and other customary ties determined the way their small communities survived. The later labouring classes that were transported around the world, especially those among them who did not return to China, strengthened the resistance to assimilation among those who had chosen to settle. They were followed in the 20th century by several waves of better educated teachers, journalists, students and refugees. Many of these brought new communication and organizational skills that connected the emergent communities with a modernizing China, including some underlying political and cultural changes which either attracted the Chinese diaspora or repelled them. These changes in turn influenced the way the Chinese responded to new economic opportunities both within China and in their host countries.

In the end, immigrants representing a great multiplicity of origins were neither colonists backed by their country's expanding power, nor slaves to circumstances or economic forces bound to a particular place and occupation. They had varying capacities to choose and varying degrees of freedom to act. The factors behind each migration were never constant, the contexts were always important. Both could be more decisive than the cultural baggage the Chinese carried with them. As the essays in the volume show, *when* the Chinese left home and *where* they went to played extremely important parts in shaping the communities they formed outside China. Over time, these two questions help us group the Chinese around the world in three broad ways. The first group consists of the large majority who are located in lands in the neighbouring region where the Chinese first went and continued to go to; the second, those who are scattered among developing countries around the world in small numbers; and the third, those who have moved to the industrializing West, especially the recent exodus to the migrant states of North America and Australasia.

When the Chinese migrate is important because this highlights the conditions under which they leave China and are received abroad. The timing not only gives precedence to those who settled in areas close to China but also emphasizes the depth of their ethnic identity if they

choose to assert it. It reminds us not to assume that questions of Chinese identity are simply matters of policy and personal choice.

Some 80 per cent of Chinese who live outside China (that is, the People's Republic, Hong Kong and Taiwan) belong to the first group. Many of those who had traded there since earlier times had assimilated to the local population (mostly in Korea, Japan and mainland Southeast Asia), but others have remained Chinese and are conscious of living among peoples who have long trading links with China. This is particularly true of those descended from southern Chinese who had migrated across the South China Sea since the 19th century. They still rely on the economic roles they can play in future relations between their adopted countries and a China seeking to regain its historic place in the region. Even in Singapore where ethnic Chinese can form an independent government and Malaysia where they are the largest minority, their economic function is primary. Only if they perform that role successfully can they ensure a continued political, social and cultural position in those societies. Wherever the countries in the region trade closely with China, the reliance of their Chinese on commercial success is even more obvious. This is not without cost. Having a spotlight shone on the wealth of the successful few could threaten the safety of the many who try to live normal lives among their indigenous fellow nationals. The phenomenon reminds us how important China's proximity to the region is. It is one that must invariably call for care and sensitivity among all concerned.

For the second group, the formation of scattered communities in the developing nations of Africa, Latin America and the rest of Asia came about largely during the 20th century. The Chinese there have been too few in number to play significant roles and, therefore, are prone to assimilate or re-migrate if their population is not augmented by new immigration. They too have depended on trading skills to sustain their small communities. There has been little prospect of political activity and, for their social and cultural life, they have had to depend on new technologies to reduce the distances between them and similar communities elsewhere. But if China does eventually become the economic giant predicted for it, every Chinese community, however small today, would have the opportunity to expand its trading role and strengthen its links with people not only in China but with ethnic Chinese in their respective regions. This presupposes a long-term and wider acceptance of multi-ethnic tolerance in the new states. In any case, in an era of capitalist globalization, there are other options. If necessary, many would seek to move to centres where wealth-making is perceived as easier and safer.

As for the third and growing group in the West, theirs is a history filled with contradictions. Most of the early miners and coolie labour who went to the English-speaking migrant states were forced to return to China. Those who remained had turned to a limited number of trades and a few eventually acquired enough education to join the professions. But, after World War II, there was a reversal of immigration policies which transformed conditions almost beyond belief. Today, these migrant states, notably the United States, Canada and Australia, receive more immigrants directly from Chinese territories than from anywhere else in the world. To their weak and scattered communities that had been declining surely and steadily during the first half of the 20th century, there came new waves of immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong and more recently the Chinese mainland. Increasingly, they came as families, with many headed by those who were educated and who chose to migrate to a particular country in search of even better education and opportunities for themselves and their children.

Among the newcomers were many who could be described as refugee élites intent on

playing a part in the modernization of China. They have been compared with the élite literati who left to learn from the West, and those who, since the beginning of the 20th century, have brought Nationalist and Communist organizations and education ideals to their compatriots abroad. But in terms of numbers, including many who had studied in the West and turned their backs on one Chinese regime or another, such movements of élite families were unprecedented.

Their impact on earlier layers of Chinese settlers, however, is uncertain. They are still mobile and could readily re-migrate if necessary. Their ties with China remain emotionally and culturally strong, and already some have returned to Taiwan, Hong Kong and the mainland. Such loyalties as they have to things and matters Chinese will vary from individual to individual, but much will depend on the future development of the Chinese polity. The future moves of these new émigrés are unpredictable and no doubt these will be carefully monitored by Chinese and non-Chinese alike. But it is likely that most of them will remain abroad as diaspora communities in those countries where legal and political conditions permit them to do so.

In an era of expanded global relationships, the three distinctive groups described above are now less likely to develop apart. Many are already interacting with parts of China whenever feasible, and many do so with one another across the various regions. Unlike in the past when such connections were primarily commercial, modern communications enable them to be multi-dimensional and much more entwined. There will emerge many kinds of political and community leaders to cope with rapidly changing local environments. Their visions of the future will be couched in increasingly modern terms. As they become more articulate and convincing, they could lead the Chinese in several different directions. And when, as many would expect, China joins the mainstream of the nation-state system in some future modified form, the alternatives will become clearer. Some leaders will ask their communities to emphasize their Chinese identities, or offer to take their followers home to China. Others will persuade theirs to disappear as Chinese, give total loyalty to their adopted homes and, wherever possible, participate fully in the lives of their fellow nationals. Yet others will seek one of the many positions in between and, from past experience, it would seem likely that the numbers of these will remain large. For them, the meaning of Chineseness will be found along a spectrum, and the length and breadth of that spectrum will be determined by local needs and the place of China in the region and the world.

Throughout China's history, there have been peoples who have become Chinese as well as Chinese who have become other peoples, both within and outside China's long and moveable borders. Never, however, have the numbers of Chinese ready to become other peoples been so great as during the 20th century. Never before has there been the perception that Chinese civilization itself was being threatened. What the story in this volume brings to the fore is that the unique challenge of global modernization has changed the conditions under which Chinese people move out of China and move back in again. This has also ensured that the impact of China on the world will remain strong. If the transformation within China is successfully managed, and its rejuvenated civilization greatly enhanced, all Chinese will look at the Chinese diaspora depicted here with different eyes. They will see that many people of Chinese descent have made significant contributions to the countries in which they have settled. They will better acknowledge that such achievements have been an inspiration to those who stayed home during the past hundred years or more.

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