

Comparing Free Chinese immigration to South Africa in the 20th century: Survival and Opportunity

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the Chinese free immigrants to South Africa from 1904 to the present.¹ It charts the volume and flow of Chinese immigrants, as well as the relationship between different groups of Chinese immigrants and the relationship between Chinese immigrants and local communities where they settled. It demonstrates that Taiwanese immigrants had stronger capability sets than earlier mainland Chinese immigrants. It shows that due to their relatively strong economic background, Taiwanese immigrants' livelihoods were more rewarding than those of mainland Chinese immigrants. Taiwanese immigrants were also more adept at dealing with the South African government and at running their own businesses, particularly during the apartheid era.

¹The year 1904 was when the Chinese indentured labour scheme began on the Witwatersrand gold mines, and the free immigrants began arriving from the middle to late nineteenth century in the wake of the mineral revolution (diamond and gold discoveries) as well as part of the global diaspora of Chinese immigrants.

Introduction

This thesis examines the history of Chinese immigration to South Africa from 1904. Choosing 1904 as the starting year of Chinese free immigrants is because it was the year of the introduction of the Chinese Exclusion Act in the Cape Colony, and due to the archival data on the Chinese living in the Cape Colony that emanated from this legislation. The thesis charts the volume and flow of Chinese immigration and the restrictiveness of South African governmental regulation. It contrasts the different economic strategies of the early mainland Chinese immigrants and the later Taiwanese immigrants.¹

In its enquiry into the history of Chinese in South Africa, the thesis poses the following questions: What were the main economic drivers for Chinese immigration to South Africa? What was the demographic trend of Chinese migrants during each period? How did place of origin affect the prospects of Chinese immigrants in South Africa?

The introduction provides a brief outline of Chinese immigration to South Africa, and explores the historiography.

Chinese immigration in Chinese publications and other academic papers is referred to as “Hua Ren” and “Hua Qiao”. Hua Qiao means people who have Chinese citizenship; Hua Ren means individuals who live outside China and either hold Chinese citizenship or the local country’s citizenship. The words Hua Qiao and Hua Ren derive another word “Hua Yi”, which means the descendants of Hua Qiao and Hua Ren.² There were four main types of people who played an imperative role in Chinese immigration and

¹ Note on language: throughout this thesis I have made use of the Hanyu Pinyin instead of Wade-Giles system of Romanization.

² Wang Gungwu, "Greater China and the Chinese Overseas," *The China Quarterly* 136 (1993), 929.

overseas settlement since the nineteenth century.³ These were: Huashang (Chinese trader); Huagong (Chinese labourer); Huaqiao (Chinese sojourner) and Huayi (descendant of migrants). All of these four types can be found in South African Chinese migration history.

A brief history of the South African Chinese

The first stream of Chinese immigration to South Africa came after the Dutch East India Company took possession of the Cape in the 1650s. At that time, no more than fifty Chinese arrived and their number in the early colonial era remained minuscule.⁴ At this stage, there were three basic types of Chinese immigrants: convicts, slaves, and individuals. Convicts and slaves came from Dutch controlled Batavia. While the latter arrivals went back to Asia after they finished their sentences, those who had arrived individually, either migrating deliberately or involuntarily coming ashore from passing ships, remained.⁵

Nanyang in China, or more accurately the city of Batavia on the island of Java, was the starting point of the journey of most South Africa bound Chinese. In 1652, the Dutch governor Van Riebeeck requested that the Dutch East India Company (VOC) send some Chinese to the Cape, but his request was not granted.⁶ Eight years later, a Chinese criminal named Wancho was transferred from Batavia to Cape Town.⁷ Following this transferral, more Chinese criminals were sent from Batavia to the Cape. A certain number of free Chinese also appeared in the Cape at the beginning of the 18th century.⁸

3 Wang, *Great China and the Chinese Overseas*, 1994, 55.

4 James C Armstrong, "The Chinese at the Cape in the Dutch East India Company Period, 1652-1795" (paper presented at the Slave Route Project Conference, Cape Town, 1997), 5-7.

5 Armstrong, "The Chinese at the Cape in the Dutch East India Company Period, 1652-1795", 2-8.

6 Ibid., 2-8.

7 Ibid., 7.

8 Melanie Yap & Dianne Man Leong, *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: The History of the Chinese in South Africa* (Hong Kong University Press, 1996), 6-7.

The situation facing the free Chinese was more or less the same as that of the local free Africans, in that the local authorities treated the free Chinese in the same way as the free black people.⁹

According to Yap, Leong, and James Armstrong's statistics, there were 130 Chinese in total in the Cape Colony from 1725 to 1815.¹⁰ It seems that those 130 Chinese upset colonial society in the Cape colony as they were predominantly criminals who were transferred from Batavia and that after they finished their prison terms, they were released and stayed in the Cape colony.

By the 19th century, Chinese immigrants' businesses were growing bigger, and so too was the dissatisfaction of the local white people. At the beginning of the 19th century, the British government wanted to develop South Africa, and so they asked the British consul in Canton, China (now Guangzhou), to send Chinese labourers to South Africa.¹¹ In 1815, a group of Chinese travelled with the British Royal Navy to Simon's Town and helped in the construction of a church near the Simon's Town dock.¹² In 1849, chefs, gardeners, and carpenters arrived in South Africa via the SS Fox.¹³

The first real rush of Chinese migration came at the beginning of the twentieth century after the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886. There were roughly 64000 Chinese indentured workers who came to work in the Witwatersrand goldmines in 1904. The reason for importing these workers was to fill a labour gap after the South African

9 Ibid., 36.

10 Yap & Leong, *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: The History of the Chinese in South Africa*, 5-9; Armstrong, "The Chinese at the Cape in the Dutch East India Company Period, 1652-1795", 35.

11 Yap & Leong, *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: The History of the Chinese in South Africa*, 9-12;

12 Armstrong, "The Chinese at the Cape in the Dutch East India Company Period, 1652-1795", 5-11; See also Yap & Leong, *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: The History of the Chinese in South Africa*, 10.; Karen Leigh Harris, "A History of the Chinese in South Africa to 1912" (University of South Africa, 1998), 119.

13 Ibid.

War (1899-1902).¹⁴ They came to British Transvaal and worked under several mining and local regulations that discriminated against them. Both Chinese and South Africa local government had made more than thirty-five negative regulations to restrict those workers' basic human rights. They were recruited in China via some Yang Hang (foreign firms) on three year contracts that could be renewed for a further three years after the completion of the first indenture period. On expiration of the contracts they were sent back to China. These Chinese workers were restricted in their mobility and forced to live in compounds with poor living facilities.¹⁵ This indentured labour experiment lasted for almost six years and ended in South Africa in 1910.

According to Li Anshan's statistics, there were around 1400 Chinese in the Cape area in 1904.¹⁶ However, South Africa scholar Karen Harris thought that there were 1308 and Chinese scholar Li Anshan insisted that there were around 2000 Chinese people in the South Africa in 1904.¹⁷ According to the census there were 1380 Chinese in the Cape colony in 1904, including 1366 males and 14 females.¹⁸ The Chinese numbers were recorded in a table named The Mixed and Other Coloured Races Detailed and it showed the number of persons, male and female respectively of the mixed and other coloured races in detail.¹⁹ These Chinese were not all staying together in one location; instead, their settlements showed a fragmented status. By that time, there were 329 Chinese living around Cape Town (328 males and 1 female); 214 Chinese in Kimberley (210 males and 4 females); and 499 in Port Elizabeth (498 males and 1 female). There were also some in large towns such as East London (99 Chinese in total, including 93 males and 6 females) and Uitenhage (90 Chinese in total, including 88 males and 2

¹⁴ Peter Richardson, *Chinese Mine Labour in the Transvaal* (Macmillan Pub Limited, 1982), 2-4.

¹⁵ Karen Leigh Harris, "A History of the Chinese in South Africa to 1912" (University of South Africa, 1998), 206.

¹⁶ Li Anshan, *Chinese in Africa* (Zhong Guo Hua Qiao Chu Ban She, 2000), 44-52.

¹⁷ Karen Leigh Harris, "Indentured "Coolie" Labours in South Africa: The Indian and Chinese Schemes in Comparative Perspective," *Diaspora Studies* 6, no. 2 (2013), 95.

¹⁸ Cape Parliament, "Results of a Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope 1904", 4.

¹⁹ Ibid.

females).²⁰

1904 marked an important year for the South African Chinese. South Africa's 1904 Chinese Exclusion Act was the last Chinese Exclusion Act in the World. The idea of the exclusion of Chinese had also been introduced into Canada, Australia, the United States, and New Zealand from 1855 to 1885.²¹ According to the 1904 Chinese Exclusion Act, all the Chinese who lived in the Cape Colony had to re-register at a local migration office, and that those of them who failed to re-register would be deported from the Colony. The aim of the act was to control the number of Chinese in the Colony. In addition, and more importantly, it emphasized the Chinese immigrants' status as strangers. Although scholars such as Li Anshan, Melanie Yap, Diane Leong Man, and Yoon Jung Park frequently used the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1904 as evidence showing that Chinese were ill-treated in the early twentieth century, none of them pointed to any evidence of humiliation of Chinese as a result of the Act. However, as Simmel argued, the result was estrangement from others.²² For those Chinese, they arrived South Africa as foreigners and strangers, and also suffered from xenophobia. The 1904 Act enforced their estrangement and left them disenchanted. These Chinese people had a unique relationship to South African society and the authorities. Although they may once have been close to that society and its authorities, they were now separated from it due to their race.

Transit Stations Phenomenon appeared in South African Chinese immigration in the twentieth century. Chinese immigrants had continually tried to find a station for satisfying conditions for their next stage of the journey; most stopped at Mauritius' Port Louis.²³ They quickly established Chinese communities there and changed many

²⁰ Ibid., 68.

²¹ Karen Leigh Harris. "Paper Trail: Chasing the Chinese in the Cape (1904-1933)." *Kronos* 40, no. 1 (2014), 133-53.

²² Georg Simmel, "The Stranger," *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* 402 (1950), 408.

²³ CA, Ref 1/2/1-73, IRC, Regional Report of Home Affairs Asian Series 1904-1994, no 1-1410.

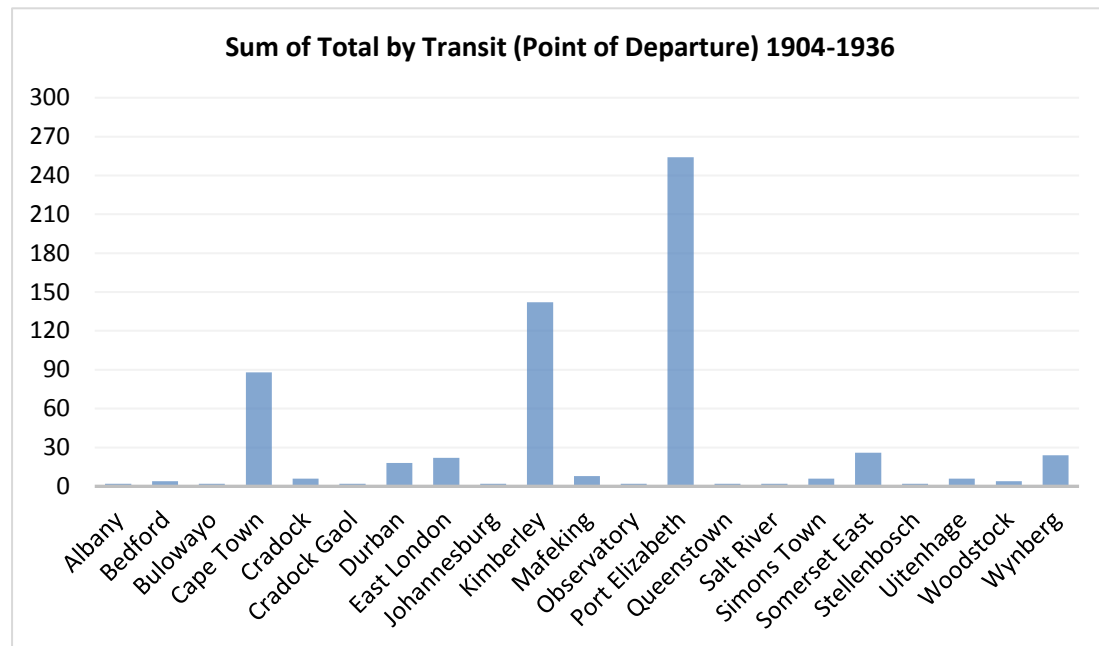
Chinese traditions, such as adopt Western style marriage and food before they continued their journey to Durban, South Africa.²⁴ When they arrived in South Africa, they found another transit station: Port Elizabeth. They became employed in the advanced transit station (a more advanced transit station phenomenon in difference with large city based movement). Edge cities used as their sub-transit stations included East London and Uitenhage. Many movement records were found in Uitenhage and the East London local immigration office (from 1904, South African Chinese must report their travelling information to local immigration office).²⁵ Those Chinese moved from Port Elizabeth to Kimberley and Cape Town. Due to the attraction of business opportunities in Kimberley, the route from Port Elizabeth to Kimberley was busier than the Port Elizabeth to Cape Town route (See Table 1 and 2).

In 1909, there were 857 Chinese in the Cape Colony. Among them, 617 Chinese were shop assistants, 170 were laundrymen, 25 were cooks, 10 were artisans or labourers, and the remaining 35 were employed in various other occupations.²⁶ Among those 857 Chinese, 158 people were living in the Cape District (including Wynberg and Simonstown), 325 were in Port Elizabeth, 206 were in Kimberley (including Beaconsfield), and 50 were in East London; thus, 739 out of 857 Chinese were congregated in the four principal urban centres.

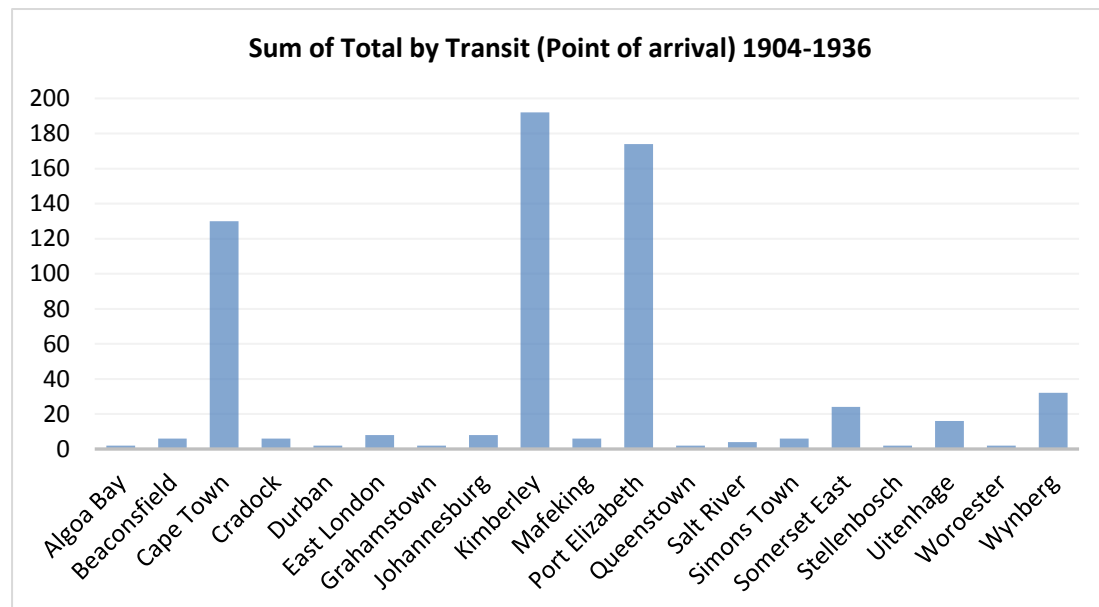
²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ "Results of a Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope." edited by House of Parliament, 521 Cape Town, Keerom Street, Cape Times LTD., 1909.

Table 1

Source: CA, Ref 1/2/1-73, IRC, Regional Report of Home Affairs Asian Series 1904-1994, no 1-1410.

Table 2

Source: CA, Ref 1/2/1-73, IRC, Regional Report of Home Affairs Asian Series 1904-1994, no 1-1410.

During the year 1910, there were 79 convictions for gambling, 3 for assault, 5 for contravention of Municipal regulations, 1 for housebreaking and theft, but none for violation of the Chinese Exclusion Act - evidence that the Chinese adapted themselves

to the requirements of the law under which they had been placed.²⁷ 217 Chinese people took advantage of the provisions of the Chinese Amendment Act and left the Cape Colony under permits. Of these, at least 75 Chinese returned. The Chinese Consul-General rendered assistance when the Colony authority required, and to his attitude is attributable the extremely smooth working of the law. The President of the Chinese Association in Cape Town, when necessary placed his influence on the side of the administration.

At the end of the 1880s, a small group of free Chinese immigrants arrived at the diamond mines in Kimberley. They were employed in some service and trade businesses but were prohibited by law to work in mines. Karen Harris estimated that the number of free Chinese immigrants in the early twentieth century was not over three thousand people at any single time. In contrast with the Chinese Northern indentured labours, the free Chinese immigrants mainly came from Southern Chinese provinces such as Guangdong and Fujian.²⁸

The second stream of free Chinese immigration in the 1970s comprised a very diverse range of Chinese immigrants to South Africa. Administrative developments in Taiwan, South Africa, and the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the second half of the twentieth century shaped the pattern of migration.²⁹ From the late 1970s, when the apartheid government promoted closer economic and diplomatic relations with Taiwan, the previous classification "prohibited Chinese immigrants" was changed to welcome immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong. Taiwanese firms were invited to launch their businesses in the country to help create jobs for unskilled workers.

The third flow of Chinese immigration occurred after the post-apartheid South African

²⁷ "Results of a Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope." edited by House of Parliament, 521 Cape Town, Keerom Street, Cape Times LTD., 1909.

²⁸ Li Anshan, *Chinese in Africa* (Zhong Guo Hua Qiao Chu Ban She, 2000), 44-52.

²⁹ Ibid., 98.

government established a formal relationship with the People's Republic of China in 1998. After 1998, there was a dramatic boom of Chinese immigrants.³⁰ These neo-Chinese immigrants shaped the new form of the South African Chinese community. The immigrants can be separated into two categories: legal immigrants (international students, Chinese company staff members, and well-documented Chinese) and illegal immigrants (Chinese Fu Jian and Guangdong traffickers). While there are no approved numbers on the size of the contemporary Chinese population in South Africa, unofficial guesstimates range from 100 000 to 250 000.³¹ This thesis will concentrate on the first two waves of immigration in the twentieth century.

Historiography

The South African - Chinese topic of immigration has long been a fascinating research topic for Chinese scholars. However, for a long time, Chinese researchers were more focused on indentured labour—mostly neglecting the topic during the Republic of China era (ROC 1911-1949). In 1923, the Chinese scholar Chen Dali wrote a book called *Chinese Immigration* which especially focused on the indentured labour. In chapter eight of his book, he discusses Chinese South African indentured labour.³² This is the only detailed research found in the Republic of China with regards to Chinese-South Africa immigration. After him, Li Changbo, He Hanwen, and Qiu Hanping also mentioned South African-Chinese labour and free folk in the same period.³³ Although these publications only constituted a book chapter or single articles, they filled a gap in Chinese-South African immigration literature in the ROC period.

A few foreign scholars were also interested in this topic during the ROC period. An American scholar William H. McNeill also contributed a piece of research when he

³⁰ Ibid., 103.

³¹ Giles Mohan and Dinar Kale, "The Invisible Hand of South-South Globalization: Chinese Migrants in Africa," A Report for the Rockefeller Foundation prepared by The Development Policy and Practice Department, The Open University, Milton Keynes, MK7 6AA, UK (2007), 2-6.

³² Li Anshan, *Chinese in Africa* (Zhong Guo Hua Qiao Chu Ban She, 2000), 44-52.

³³ Ibid.

explored world history; his book had been translated into Chinese: *Hua Qiao Zhi*. In the book, he remarks on the position of Chinese immigration overseas.³⁴ The Japanese scholar Chang Yelang also wrote a book named *Zhi Na Min Zu Zhi Hai Wai Fa Zhan*” based on McNeill’s book and Li Changbo’s “*Hua Qiao*.”³⁵ Chang’s book mentioned in detail the pattern of Chinese overseas immigration. In 1929 Huang Chaoqin translated the book into Chinese and changed the name into *Zhong Hua Min Zu Zhi Hai Wai Fa Zhan*.³⁶ This was the first book which clearly defined South African-Chinese as one pattern among many kinds of Chinese migration in the twentieth century. However, the book did not distinguish the difference between South Africa Indentured Chinese workers and free Chinese immigrants.

The first PRC scholar who researched the South Africa-Chinese immigration was Zhang Zhilian, a lecturer at Peking University’s history department. He published a paper in 1956, criticizing Chen Ta and P.G. Campbell’s ideas on South Africa-Chinese indentured labourers (1904-1910), complaining that they focused on the recruitment process, and ignored their living and working conditions.³⁷ In 1963, the Chinese scholar Chen Zexian also wrote a paper which questioned the tragedy of Chinese labour following the booming of world level capitalism.³⁸ His paper made a unique connection between South African-Chinese labour and the boom of capitalism, providing a logical reason for why labour in South Africa was indentured. China’s academic research was delayed by the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) when Chinese

³⁴ Huping Ling, "Chinese Chicago: Transnational Migration and Businesses, 1870s-1930s," *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 6, no. 2 (2010), 250-285.

³⁵ C. Huang, *中華民族之海外發展* (中華學術院南洋研究所, 1983), 200-244. (Huang, C. *Overseas Chinese development* (translated). Zhong Hua Xue Shu Yuan Nan Yang Research Institution, 1983.)

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ 张芝联, "1904-1910 年南非英属德兰斯瓦尔招用华工事件的真相," *北京大学学报: 哲学社会科学版*, no. 3 (1956), 2-5. (Zhang, Zhilian. Truth of British Transvaal Chinese indentured labour 1904-1910 (translated). *Peking University Journal: Philosophy and Social Sciences*, no. 3 (1956): 80-99.)

³⁸ 陈泽宪, "十九世纪盛行的契约华工制," *历史研究* 1, no. 9 (1963), 2-6. (Chen, Zexian. Prevailing contract system of Chinese indentured labours in the nineteenth century (translated). *Historical Research*, 1, no. 9 (1963): 6.)

overseas immigration research was suspended. After this decade of interruption, research into Chinese overseas immigration eventually met its springtime. In 1980, a bibliography of Chinese overseas labour archives was published by Chen Hansheng, entitled *Hua Gong Chu Guo Shi Liao Hui Bian*.³⁹ In Chen's book, one can find detailed Chinese labours' residence booklets, Chinese Qing governments' law sentences towards overseas Chinese, and many Chinese labours' family letters. It can be seen as a useful Chinese labours archive bound volume.⁴⁰

The first systematic research on Chinese-South African immigration was thereafter done by the Chinese scholar Peng Jiali in the 1980s, working at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS). He published a paper, *On the 19th century's Chinese labour in British colonies*, which analysed the possible reasons why Chinese labour went abroad and the Chinese government's attitude toward the distribution of the labour. He argued that there were two types of labour in South Africa; one was free labour and the other was indentured labour, and both were forced to leave China as a consequence of poverty.⁴¹ In his 1983 paper, he specifically discussed the South Africa Indentured Chinese labour in the Witwatersrand gold mines. His contribution was that he did not only focus on the Qing government's failure or the previous publications of Chinese scholars, but also tried to absorb the ideas of contemporary foreign scholars such as Peter Richardson.⁴²

At the same time, in 1980, the American Chinese scholar Shen Yirao published a book which addressed how hard the situation facing Chinese labour in South Africa was.⁴³

³⁹ 陈翰笙, "华工出国史料汇编 [G](第一辑). 中国官文书选辑第三册," (北京: 中华书局, 1985). (Chen, Hansheng. *Historical archives of Chinese workers going abroad*. Volume 1, Chinese official documents selections Volume 3 (translated). Bei Jing: Zhong Hua Shu Ju, 1985.)

⁴⁰ Anshan, *Chinese in Africa*, 25-26.

⁴¹ 彭家礼, "历史上的华工出国," *近代史研究* 24, no. 6 (1984), 128. (Peng, Jiali. The history of Chinese workers going abroad (translated). *History Research*, 24, no. 6 (1984): 128.)

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Chen Hong, "Thirty Years of Research: Australian Studies in China," *Australian Studies in China* (2010), 2-8.

Shen detailed what kinds of punishment South African Chinese workers and Australian Chinese workers experienced. In 1981 Hua Dong, a lecturer at the Normal University of Ai Zhouchang published his paper on Chinese free labour in South Africa, detailing the local treatment.⁴⁴ Hua's paper focused on the local communities' reaction against Chinese labour. He argued that South Africa's local communities treated Chinese labours as arch enemies.⁴⁵

Chinese scholars' studies on free Chinese immigration mainly started in the 1990s. In 1990, Chinese scholar Lynn Pan, based on secondary literature, wrote on Chinese immigrants in South Africa. Her book focused on the lifestyle and historical experience of Chinese in South Africa and he fitted South African Chinese into the vast background of the Chinese diaspora.⁴⁶ However, due to lack of primary data, his research did not contribute much to the literature of South African Chinese, as she only includes references to the Chinese in South Africa. Six years later, another book was launched in the studies of South African Chinese when Li Anshan published his *Chinese in Africa*. Even though the book was named *Chinese in Africa*, it mainly told the story of Chinese in South Africa. Although it contributed to the growing literature on South African Chinese, the overall lack of first-hand data used marked the book's general weakness as a large contributor into the field.⁴⁷

It is evident that the PRC scholars' literature during this period focused more on the expansion of capitalism, with a special link to South African Chinese labour. The authors ignored the weakness on the Chinese government's part; additionally, due to the poor language of mainland Chinese scholars, their narrative was limited.

⁴⁴ 艾周昌, "近代华工在南非," *历史研究* 6 (1981), 2-3. (Ai, Zhoucahng. Modern Chinese workers in South Africa (translated). *Historical Research*, 6 (1981), 13.)

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Lynn Pan, *Sons of the Yellow Emperor: A History of the Chinese Diaspora* (Kodansha Globe, 1994), 62-68.

⁴⁷ Anshan, *Chinese in Africa*, 9.

Taiwanese scholars also contributed to the literature after 1949. The first Taiwanese scholar who researched on the free Chinese in South Africa was Huang Zhengming. In 1954, he published a book titled *The Legal Status of the Chinese Abroad* and considered a legal status of the Chinese in South Africa in one chapter.⁴⁸ From 1955 onward, Taiwan's authorities launched many projects into overseas research on the Chinese and eventually published a book in 1956 called *Fei Zhou Hua Qiao Jing Ji*. It was the first book which focused on the free Chinese and their economic situation in South Africa. The book aimed to explode that South African Chinese contributed a lot during the Second World War. The book argued that South African Chinese donated large sums of money to the Chinese army during the Second World War, even though they were relatively poor and generally doing business exclusively in South Africa.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the Taiwanese Guo Min Dang (kuomintang) authority published a book in 1960: *Nan Fei Zhou Hua Qiao Hua Ren*.⁵⁰ In this research, free Chinese migrants became the main research focus together with a background research on Taiwan's foreign investment in Africa. In the later periods, Taiwanese scholars also contributed many research papers on the South African-Chinese immigration, such as Song Xi's *How Chinese indentured labour saved South Africa Witwatersrand gold mining* and Chen Huaidong's *Overseas Chinese Economy*.⁵¹ Taiwanese scholars always situated their studies against located their overseas Chinese research into a broad Taiwanese international relations background, but mainland Chinese scholars preferred to ignore this controversial international situation.

Western scholars' research on the overseas Chinese started far earlier than the mainland

⁴⁸ Zhengming Huang, *The Legal Status of the Chinese Abroad* (China Cultural Service, 1954), 140-285.

⁴⁹ 黄小用 and 贺鉴, "论非洲华侨对祖国抗日的贡献," *抗日战争研究* 41, no. 3 (2001), 100. (Huang, Xiaoyong and He, Jian. *African Overseas Chinese contribution to the Second World War* (translated). *Studies on anti-Japanese War*, 41, no. 3 (2001), 100.)

⁵⁰ 周慕红, "80年代以来我国学者关于非洲华侨华人问题研究综述," *西亚非洲* (双月刊), no. 3 (1998), 3. (Zhou, Muhong. *Chinese scholars on African Overseas Chinese Studies Review since the 1980s* (translated). CASS, no. 3 (1998).)

⁵¹ 李安山, "中华民国时期华侨研究述评," *近代史研究* 130, no. 4 (2002), 280-290. (Li, Anshan. *Republic of China Overseas Study Period Review* (translated). *History Studies*, 130, no. 4 (2002), 290.)

Chinese scholars, but their research had been stuck in the same dilemma as the Chinese scholars. Their research mainly focused on the Witwatersrand gold mining, ignoring other areas based on the misunderstanding that South African Chinese studies were the same as indentured labour studies. The earliest South African Chinese paper was akin to South Africa indentured labour research, as evident in Cook C. Kinloch's *Chinese labour (in the Transvaal): a study of its moral, economic, and imperial aspects*.⁵² In the 1900s, literary on the South African-Chinese situation became a British topic. The most influential papers had all been written by British Scholars such as H. Jennings' *Chinese Labour on the Rand* and R.W. Schumacher's *A Transvaal View on the Chinese Labour Question*.⁵³ Of importance during this period were works such as H. Samuel's "The Chinese Labour Question", published on a journal named the *Contemporary Review*, and Sir W. Des Voeux's "Chinese Labour in the Transvaal: A Justification."⁵⁴ These publications showed an interesting message, which was that those publications were not writing particularly for Chinese studies but the research on the British Labour Policy or on British-South African relations. Although those authors did not focus on the Chinese immigrants themselves, they still covered much useful historical data and recorded the British or the South Africa society's reaction to the Chinese issue.

In 1912, the American scholar E.G. Payne also mentioned the South African-Chinese labour in his "An Experiment in Alien labour." His book focuses on all kinds of workers who laboured in the Witwatersrand gold mines.⁵⁵ In 1923, P. G Campbell made a great contribution to the issue of Chinese immigration. He dedicated a single chapter in his

⁵² C Kinloch Cooke, "Chinese Labour (in the Transvaal), Being a Study of Its Moral, Economic, and Imperial Aspects, Reproduced From," *The Empire Review* (1904), 64.

⁵³ Raymond W Schumacher and Imperial South African Association, *A Transvaal View of the Chinese Labour Question* (Imperial South African Association, 1906).

⁵⁴ Herbert Louis Samuel Samuel, *The Chinese Labour Question* (*Contemporary Review*, 1904), 85; William Des Voeux, "Chinese Labour in Transvaal: A Justification," *Nineteenth Century and After* 59 (1906), 581-594.

⁵⁵ Enoch George Payne, *An Experiment in Alien Labour* (University of Chicago Press, 1912).

book, *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire*, to describe in detail the South African-Chinese labour phenomenon and give a reason as to how this unhealthy employment relationship ended.⁵⁶ In the chapter, he reasons that the Transvaal Experiment ended due to a fear of those indentured labourers of the British and Transvaal government.⁵⁷ Although his conclusion towards the event was problematic, the data he used in his research is treasured (his data gathered not only South Africa archives but also many Chinese archives), especially for later research on Chinese immigration. After that, in 1924, H.F. MacNair made a tremendous contribution to overseas Chinese migration studies.⁵⁸ He conducted a comparison study among American Chinese, Australian Chinese, and African Chinese. His focus was not limited to the indentured labour. His groups include Chinese merchants, free labour, Coolie, indentured labour, and international students. There are two contributions in his book for overseas Chinese migration studies. For one, it was the first time that a comparative study of the Chinese overseas immigration was conducted. Secondly, it was also the first book to describe how the Chinese government tried to protect its emigrants via some regulation. However, after that, studies on Chinese migration were mostly abandoned by Western academics, except for a few theses for degree purposes that mentioned Chinese indentured labour.⁵⁹

The South Africa scholar C. W. De Kiewiet was one of these representatives. In his book “A History of South Africa: Social and Economic,” he details the implication of Chinese indentured labour for South Africa society.⁶⁰ He pointed out that Chinese

⁵⁶ Persia Campbell Crawford, "Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire," *London: Frank Cass* (1923), 148-150.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Harley Farnsworth MacNair, *The Chinese Abroad: Their Position and Protection: A Study in International Law and Relations* (Commercial Press, limited, 1924), 2-4.

⁵⁹ John Ambrose Reeves, "Chinese Labour in South Africa 1901-1910" (University of the Witwatersrand, 1954).; Sung, Shee. "Chinese mine labour in the Transvaal, 1904-07." MA thesis, University of Columbia.; John Austin Weeks, *The Controversy over Chinese Labour in the Transvaal* (Ohio State University, 1968).

⁶⁰ CW de Kiewiet, *A History of South Africa: Social and Economic* (Oxford, 1941), 146.

indentured labour covered the shortage of labour supply in South Africa, which directly supported the South African economy.⁶¹ Due to these indentured labourers, gold mining had been booming causing the colony's income and taxes to increase, which eventually provided more job opportunities for White people. However, he maintains that even though importing indentured labour was economically reasonable, it was unreasonable from a social perspective, as it made the overall South African society even more complicated.⁶² Ly-Tio-fane's *Chinese Diaspora in the Western Indian Ocean*, she is a Mauritius-born Chinese scholar, in contrast with Richardson, her book finally brought back the West's main research focus of South African Chinese to the free Chinese immigration side. Peter Richardson's work deals only with the indentured scheme. In his work, he clearly described the whole indentured Chinese labor event.

Research by South African scholars on free Chinese immigrants started in the 1970s. In 1972, South Africa student C.J. van Tonder submitted a Master thesis to University of Pretoria with a title of *Die Sjinese van die R.S.A.: 'n Sosiologiese ondersoek*. It can be seen as the first South African academic study of a minority group—the Chinese. Van Tonder's article focused more on the Chinese group's religion, culture, and family.⁶³ It is important to note that during the 1970s, the South African government launched several projects to research Chinese groups. The aim of these projects was to discover the inter group relations within Chinese communities. This paper served to inform the South African government's relations with Taiwan as it wanted to find out about the interrelations between the Taiwanese and the Chinese.⁶⁴ Linda Human was also a vanguard in this field of research. In 1984, she published *The Chinese People of*

⁶¹ Ibid., 165.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ C. J. van Tonder, *Die Sjinese van die R.S.A.: 'n Sosiologiese ondersoek*, University of Pretoria Press, (1972).

⁶⁴ Linda N Smedley and Dirk Cornelis Groenewald, *The Chinese Community in South Africa* (Human Sciences Research Council, Institute for Sociological, Demographic, and Criminological Research, 1978).

South Africa.⁶⁵ It was the first publication which regarded all of the South African Chinese as one group. Human believed that while the Chinese in South Africa had been Westernized to some extent, they still had a Chinese heart inside. In this sense, she followed the ethicized thinking of apartheid South Africa.

Karen Harris started her research on Chinese immigration in 1990. Her entry point was a comparative study between the South African and the Australian gold mining trade union movement.⁶⁶ In 1994, she published two journal articles which looked at the Chinese in South Africa before 1910 and Chinese labour in the resistance movement of the Witwatersrand gold mining, respectively.⁶⁷ In 1997, she submitted two further papers to the Hong Kong's Chinese Immigration Conference.⁶⁸ Both of those papers came from a corresponding point of view. They looked at the Chinese community's activity in Dutch South Africa as well as the comparative legislative regulation of Chinese immigration between Australia and South Africa. By comparing the South African and Dutch Chinese communities, she drew three conclusions. Firstly, the Chinese always have a closed and well-organized community no matter their exact location; secondly, the Chinese always look to establish personal relations in local political activity; thirdly, the Chinese have unyielding cultural superiority and nationalism.⁶⁹ The most frequent cited of her work is her doctoral thesis: *A History of the Chinese in South Africa to 1912*.

⁶⁵ Linda N Human, *The Chinese People of South Africa: Freewheeling on the Fringes*, vol. 42 (University of South Africa, 1984).

⁶⁶ Karen Harris, "Early Trade Unionism on the Gold Mines in South Africa and Australia: A Comparison," *Historia*, November (1990), 76-97.

⁶⁷ Karen Harris, "The Chinese in South Africa: A Preliminary Overview to 1910," *Kleio* (2014), 9-26 ; Karen L Harris, "Rand Capitalists and Chinese Resistance," *Contree*, (1994), 19-31.

⁶⁸ Karen Harris and FN Pieke, "Integration or Segregation: The Dutch and South African Chinese Compared," *The Last Half Century of Chinese Overseas*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University (1998), 135-138; Karen Harris and Jan Ryan, "Chinese Immigration to Australia and South Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Legislative Control," *The Last Half Century of Chinese Overseas*, Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong (1998), 373-389.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Recently, Karen Harris published another paper on Chinese immigrants in South Africa and also based it on the IRC archives.⁷⁰ She looked at the Chinese-Cape immigrants in the early twentieth century, focusing on the discriminating legislative level.⁷¹ She also employed several cases to explain how the discrimination acts, such as Act 37 of 1904's impact to those Chinese immigrants. However, she did not examine Cape Chinese's social and economic life in detail. Her focus was more on the laws and their impact.

Yoon Jung Park, a South Korean who lived in South Africa for 15 years and lectured at Rhodes University, used interviews of the lives of contemporary South African Chinese.⁷² Her research was criticised for its small sample size. Despite the volume of neo-Chinese migrants after 1994, her sample size never had more than 50 people.⁷³ This sample was too small to interpret the new movement of South Africa Chinese, estimated at between 300000 and 400000 Chinese in 2015.⁷⁴

Mauritius-born Chinese scholar H. Ly-Tio-Fane, in her book *La Diaspora Chino sedans L'océan Indien Occidental*, examined the social situation of the South African Chinese.⁷⁵ She researched not only the South African Chinese but also the Chinese in Madagascar, Seychelles, Reunion, and Mauritius. In 1996, two South African-born Chinese scholars published a book: *Colour, Confusion and Concession: the History of the Chinese in South Africa*.⁷⁶ Melanie Yap and Dianne Leong Man's book can be seen

⁷⁰ Karen Harris, "Paper Trail: Chasing the Chinese in the Cape (1904-1933)," *Kronos* 40, no. 1 (2014), 133-135.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Yoon Jung Park, *A Matter of Honour: Being Chinese in South Africa* (Lexington Books, 2008).

⁷³ Yoon Jung Park, "Boundaries, Borders and Borderland Constructions: Chinese in Contemporary South Africa and the Region," *African Studies* 69, no. 3 (2010), 457-479.

⁷⁴ 廖文辉 and 何启才, "第十届世界海外华人研究学会 (Issco) 国际研讨会区域年会学术活动报告," *The International Journal of Diasporic Chinese Studies* 7, no. 02 (2015), 85-89. (Liao, Wenhui and He, Qicai. Tenth World Conference of Overseas Chinese: Annual International Symposium on Regional Academic Activities Report (translated). *The International Journal of Diasporic Chinese Studies* 7, no. 02 (2015): 85-89.)

⁷⁵ Fane-Pineo, Huguette Ly Tio. *Chinese diaspora in western Indian Ocean*. Ed. de l'océan indien, 1985.

⁷⁶ Anshan, *Chinese in Africa*, 9.

as the first systematic study of South African Chinese. The book consists of 13 chapters, beginning with Wan Chou, the first Chinese in South Africa in 1660, and ending with the end of the Apartheid system in 1994.

This thesis builds on this scholarship and seeks to contribute a deeper understanding of differences and similarities in the economic and livelihood strategies employed by successive waves of Chinese immigrants to South Africa. These sources emanated from the introduction of the Chinese Exclusion Act introduced by the Cape Colonial government.

Sources and the challenge of South Africa Chinese studies

Sources used in this research were written in many languages such as English, Afrikaans, Mandarin, Ancient Chinese, and traditional Chinese. There were lots of Ancient Chinese hand-writing manuscripts found during the research. Afrikaans documents were mainly found in provincial government records.

In seeking to understand Chinese in South Africa from 1904, I searched in the Cape Town Archive Repository's Regional Report of Home Affairs Asian Series from the years 1904-1994. The Cape authority created files for each Chinese person; collected all their fingerprints and noted distinguishing bodily marks; and had each person had to sign their application forms in both English and Chinese. Each time they changed their address, they had to report their new address to the local police station or the local magistrate office. Even if they went to visit their friends or relations, they had to report the address of the visitee. Each person had a unique file and case number. About 10-15 people were located in one box and there were 273 boxes in total. This is the so-called IRC archives.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ CAR: The Regional Representative, Department of Home Affairs, Cape Town: Asian Series (IRC), 1-76, files 1c -1410c. (The series has not as yet been inventorized)

These documents included: photos; a Chinese passport (issued by the Republic of China); certificate of identity (issued by the South African department of Internal, Immigration and Asiatic Affairs, under the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913, as amended by act No. 37 of 1927); passenger's declaration form; the principal immigration officer's confirmation letter; Application for Permit of Certificate (issued by the Department of the Interior, Immigration and Asiatic Affairs); a letter from the British Consulate-General (in Canton, China) with the South African principal immigration officer; notarial certificate from the Chinese local government; principal immigration officer's letter within the Union of South Africa; letters of Chinese immigrants' personal undertakings; short dairies; letters from Secretary of the Interior to the Commissioner for immigrant's regulation act, 1913 form; Identification form (issued by the Union of South Africa, immigration and Asiatic Affairs); the Immigration Regulation Act 1913, as amended by Act 37 of the 1927 form; Immigration Quota Act, 1913 form; Chinese version certificate issued by the local Chinese government to individuals for immigration purposes only; application for permit to enter the union for permanent residence form; colonial magistrates' minutes; permit to leave and re-enter the province (province of the Cape of Good Hope); Chinese Exclusion Act form; Memorandum; and office of the Chinese Association's letter to the resident Magistrate. These records gave me some understanding of relations among Chinese community, the South Africa government and to a lesser degree, local society.

My greatest challenge was accessing archival records before the 1930s. From 1904 to 1920s most of my research's important records from the IRC archives were based on handwriting, because the print and typing machine was not widely used during that period. The other challenge attached to the handwriting records was that certain records were recorded in Afrikaans. For those records, I consulted translation prepared by my research assistant.

In order to better understand the Taiwanese groups' social and economic life and to a

lesser degree, local society in the 1970s and 1980s, I conducted to use oral histories. During this research, three major field trips were undertaken with ten oral history interviews (five men and five women). Conducting oral histories with people who speak a language different to my own presented many challenges. All respondents spoke traditional Taiwanese (traditional Chinese). This forced me to change a formal interview into a more relaxed conversation. None of the respondents allowed me to record the conversation. I had to rely on my handwritten notes.

Structure of thesis

The organisation of the study is both chronological and thematic. Chapter one follows an eclectic approach to migration theory, drawing principally on Amartya Sen's Capability approach, George Simmel's concepts of community and the stranger, and Menjrvan and Sarseu's work on social networks.

Chapter two discusses the historiography of free South Africa Chinese. It documents the statistical data of Chinese immigrants from 1904 to 1948. The chapter illuminates the economic life of free Chinese immigrants in the early twentieth century.

Chapter three discusses Taiwanese immigration from late 1950s. The chapter uses statistical data to delineate patterns of Chinese migration trends from the 1960s to 1994. It discusses the difference between earlier mainland Chinese immigrants and the later Taiwanese immigrants.

The aim of this thesis is to chart the flow of Chinese immigration to South Africa and to illustrate how the social and economic lives and livelihoods of South African Chinese has changed over time. It aims inter alia to demonstrate how Taiwanese immigrants were motivated by business opportunities while earlier mainland Chinese immigrants sought survival.

Chapter 1: Critical Concepts for explaining Chinese migration

This thesis will follow an eclectic approach to migration theory, drawing principally on Amartya Sen's capability approach, George Simmel's concepts of community and the stranger, and Menjvou and Sarseu's work on social networks.

George Simmel's concepts of community and the stranger

In the 1950s, German social scientist Georg Simmel produced a community-based immigration theory.¹ Simmel describes the role of the stranger and the stranger's importance in a given society. The stranger can be understood as a person who "comes today and stays tomorrow".² In other words, the role of the stranger in this society is unknown to himself. Simmel argued that a stranger results from the relationship of a group to others, and it is a social type. This is the same as South Africa scholar Charles van Onselen's social bandit.³ Due to gender, race, and nationality, the stranger was close to the group but still kept his distance, and he had a special relationship to society.⁴ The stranger can do service work which the society's members did not want to do or some jobs not deemed fit for its members. Due to this special feature, a stranger is important to the group when it comes to matters regarding the group's survival. However, the stranger is not recognized as part of the group. The stranger is mentally far away but physically close to other members in society. The stranger is totally different from the rest society. Simmel argued that the stranger would feel wretched, desolate, and uncertain in society. The stranger is intellectually uprooted from other people in the civilization. The stranger cannot understand his life via travelling.

1 Georg Simmel and Kurt H Wolff, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, vol. 92892 (Simon and Schuster, 1950), 29-31.

2 Georg Simmel, "The Stranger," *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* 402 (1950), 408.

3 Van Onselen, Charles. *The Small Matter of a Horse: The Life of "Nongoloza" Mathebula, 1867-1948*. Ravan Press of South Africa, (1984), 23-42.

4 Scott Appelrouth and Laura Desfor Edles, *Sociological Theory in the Contemporary Era: Text and Readings* (Pine Forge Press, 2010), 301.

Although the stranger is alienated from other people in the society, he is yet an essential part of it.⁵

Furthermore, Simmel argues that the stranger's closeness and remoteness poses challenges. The stranger may be imminent, but is also far and his remoteness shows that he is approaching. Thus, the stranger is close but far away. Simmel claims that the stranger can be seen as a positive agent in society.⁶ The stranger interacts with others to shape the society's common identity. If everyone recognised each other, then there would not be a new body to bring fresh blood to the society and the society would be tedious and unchanged. One can engage the stranger and try to comprehend him. However, in the end, the stranger still keeps something unrevealed about him. Simmel argues that the duty and objectivity of the stranger are involved at the same time. The stranger in society can also be trusted as no one else knows him. People can communicate to the stranger confidently, because the stranger will not judge them and expose their privacy to others. The stranger has the satisfaction of being entirely free of anyone or anything; he has confined limitations against him. The stranger will meet people who are vertically dependent on others but connected to the society horizontally.⁷

Trade is always an ideal job for a stranger. Strangers could share his views and products with other people and society in their trade business. The trade also enhances the stranger's travel ability. To bring something new or a new perspective becomes the duty of the strangers in any given unified society and he will remain tied to the status of stranger.

In considering Chinese immigration, the notion of the stranger is suitable for use.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., 311.

People from the Far East come to South Africa to settle and build up a new home. They bring unique customs and practices. The receiving state becomes filled with people with many different accomplishments and celebrates all kinds of different customs. Immigration keeps the destination state from being a totally static, unchanging, self-righteous place. The country is always improving and being infused by immigrant strangers, who bring a new outlook to the state.

Social networks and migration

In her research on the United States of America, S. Saskia pointed out that certain networks always had a positive influence on migration and networks could be viewed as a snowball which would accelerate migration flows.⁸ Other scholars used models to focus on social capital and social ties. Cecilia Menjivar provides a clear and comprehensive description of how the network functioned via investigating Central America's migration workers' new home in San Francisco. She showed that poverty challenged immigrants attempt to gather enough supplies to help each other.⁹ Heike C Alberts and Helen D Hazen worked on investigating the US's massive scale of movement of international students, showing that motivated students tend to sojourn in the United States or return home on the fulfillment of their degrees. Their social network approach presents compelling concepts for interpreting South African Chinese immigrants because of its application to the consequence of social ties. Social network interpretation pays attention to view characters as sectional spots combined to one another, examining the outcomes of these connections.¹⁰ In the study of immigration, this has become the body of research on social embeddedness, ties, and social capital.¹¹

⁸ Sassen, *The Mobility of Labour and Capital: A Study in International Investment and Labour Flow*, 29.

⁹ Cecilia Menjivar, *Fragmented Ties: Salvadoran Immigrant Networks in America* (Univ of California Press, 2000), 78.

¹⁰ John Scott, *Social Network Analysis* (Sage, 2012), 9.

¹¹ Portes and Sensenbrenner, "Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determinants of Economic Action.", 7.

Social networks reduce the impediments to entry and the values of migration for new immigrants landing in the receiving country. In regards to entrepreneurship, social networks assist migrants to begin businesses by lessening the entry limitations for small-scale business.¹² As hinted above, however, social network theory is restricted in its importance on the viewpoint of migrants and how migrants perceive and ascribe indicating to their choice to move. This viewpoint reveals why Chinese migrants respectively preferred social networks in South Africa rather than taking to utilise other systems they hold around the world.

Amartya Sen's theory of capability

Amartya Sen's development directed capabilities theory, when applied to migration study, presents a serviceable structure for explaining the event of Chinese migrants in South Africa, as well as transients' decision-making manner in general.¹³ In his work *Development as Freedom*, Sen reveals that the final goal of development from a personal perspective indicates strengthening the individual's capability to earn a better life.¹⁴

Sen describes these capabilities as "a kind of freedom: the substantive freedom to achieve...various lifestyles".¹⁵ Sen represented the capacity to manage different bundles of materials as the entitlement. Eligibility depends not just on an individual's commodity package (for instance, resource endowment), but also on their capacity to trade that package for another through business and production. Entitlement can also be buttressed by the state when the state suffers from economic crisis or social distress.¹⁶ A capability collection is all the opportunities and possible life trajectories

¹² Waldinger et al., *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies*, 12-15.

¹³ Amartya Sen, "Capability and Well-Being" in Mc Nussbaum and A. K. Sen (Eds): *The Quality of Life*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993), 20-28.

¹⁴ Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (Oxford Paperbacks, 2001), 30.

¹⁵ Ibid., 75.

¹⁶ Amartya Sen, "Commodities and Capabilities," *OUP Catalogue* (1999), 72-75.

from which a person could choose. Sen's capabilities theory, in addition, describes what how an individual can choose a specific life route, as well as what possible choices the person has open to them.

Implementing Sen's development method to immigration holds two fundamental principles as foundational to learning international migration: (1) migrants migrate principally to promote their capability kits (migration as a plan to build freedoms); and (2) the most efficient and reasonable way to improve quickly and radically one's capability sets (movement can be seen as a development strategy) is mobility.¹⁷ When it comes to Chinese immigrants, their move to South Africa can be seen as a desire to improve their capabilities. Faced with the harsh situation in China, moving from China was the best way to quickly change their capabilities. And also for them, moving to South Africa was a rational development strategy.

Conclusion

Although the above mentioned theories were not written directly for analyzing livelihoods, they provide useful concepts for economic history. For instance, Simmel's communities and the stranger theory helps to explain the economic and social lives of South African Chinese; and Sen's capability approach helps us to compare the economic experiences of mainland Chinese and Taiwanese in South Africa.

¹⁷ Edwin Lin, "'Big Fish in a Small Pound': Chinese Migrant Shopkeepers in South Africa," *International Migration Review* 48, no. 1 (2014), 200.

Chapter 2: Free Chinese immigration in the early twentieth century

At the beginning of the 19th century, the number of Chinese immigrants had increased dramatically. Most of them were illegal immigrants because at that time the Chinese Qing government placed restrictions on their movement.¹⁸ Furthermore, due to the late Qing government's fundamental flaws, the number of immigrants globally still increased sharply regardless. They started their journey mainly from Southeast Asia. Western colonization in the region also provided them opportunities for further journeys through the establishment of worldwide shipping companies.

This chapter will make use of statistical data to look at the demographic trend of early free Chinese immigration to South Africa. It will also examine the jobs and respective salaries of these early immigrants. Based on this case study, the chapter will show the serious gambling behaviour those immigrants had during that period.

Economic decline in late Qing China

The ruling warlord governments, from after they took power in China in 1911, did not have a proper plan to recovery Chinese industry. In the meantime, capitalist development was also not stimulated by the continuance of local warfare and arbitrary levies on business. However, the ending of the public administration examinations and the switch of power from bureaucrats to the military resulted in a crumbling of the social structure and mental attitudes of the old regime. Capitalists became a more respectable and less fettered part of the social order. For educated young people, it became more attractive to emulate their behavior.

¹⁸ Melanie Yap & Dianne Leong Man, *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: The History of the Chinese in South Africa*, Hong Kong University Press, (1996), 10-15.

The provincial warlord governments did nothing productive to improve the proletariat with rural credit or land reform. Despite the Guangdong province passing property law in 1930 designed to raise landlord ownership and to put frontiers on rents. However, these measures could not save the Guangdong economy. The Guangdong government's economic advisor noted that "Unhappily the law of 1930 remained a dead letter largely. The government was too preoccupied with internal and external emergencies to promote large-scale progress with basic reform and improvement of rural conditions. Furthermore, most of the leaders had an urban background and were not oriented toward rural affairs, and they had empathy towards landowning and financial interests."¹⁹ Landlords apparently became greedier after they had dropped their vested aristocracy standing, and the agricultural population was still exposed to warlord robberies.²⁰

Changes in the Chinese monetary system encouraged migration in the late 19th century. In late Qing period, Yin Yuan was employed as the official currency. From 1888, the British had encouraged the use of the silver standard in China, but only in late 1910 did the Qing government did announce that it would use officially silver standard.²¹ The government fully controlled the issue and circulation of money, but tended to allow too much provincial autonomy. The Qing government issued the Guangdong province's government the right to trade in Yuan from 1889.²² Guangdong Yin Yuan (silver coins) were the same weight as contemporary Mexican silver coins. By the time, the rest of China was using Spanish silver coins as their standard weight. After 1911, each province of China had its own silver coins with different weight. The Republic of China

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Maddison, Angus. *The World Economy Volume 1: A Millennial Perspective Volume 2: Historical Statistics*. Academic Foundation, 2007, 54.

²¹ 李義瓊, "林滿紅, 《銀線-19 世紀的世界與中國》," 歷史人類學學刊 10, no. 2 (2012), 179-182. (Li, Yiqiong. Silver Line -19th century world and China (translated). *Journal of Anthropological History*, 10, no. 2 (2012): 179-82.)

²² Ibid.

changed from the silver coin system to the Fa Bi system in 1935.²³

British scholar E.H. Parker wrote in 1904 remarking that a skilled worker could earn 300 copper cash per day in China.²⁴ He did not know how to convert copper cash into Yin Yuan. In order to provide a better understanding, he employed the Pound system to measure each person's daily cost and earning. He pointed out that in 1904, one skilled worker could earn a shilling per day (one Pound and a half per month) while an unskilled worker earned one-third shilling per day.²⁵ I think that the copper cash which Parker mentioned was the so-called Chinese Tong Ban. The Tong Ban had many different face values: Two Wen, Five Wen, Ten Wen and Twenty Wen.²⁶ It was very difficult to tell how those face values interacted. Hong Kong's economy was far better than Guangdong because Hong Kong was a British colony.²⁷

Parker mainly travelled in Fu Jian and Guangdong, which was also the home of free Chinese South Africa immigrants. For people in those two provinces, how to earn stable Pound became their life pursuit. There were many options to those local populations, such as gambling, robbery, and cheap work for Yang Hang (foreign firms).²⁸ A new type of job quickly got those poor people's attention—working abroad. Some residents found that their neighbours' lives were relatively better than theirs because they had family members working in British colonies.²⁹ Their family member would send home

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ E. H. Parker, "The Economy of Chinese Labour," *The Economic Journal* 14, no. 54 (1904), 254.

²⁵ Ibid., 255.

²⁶ 贺传芬 and 李庆锁, "从机制铜币的铸行谈清末至民国币制及其影响," *中国钱币*, no. 4 (2010), 6-8. (He, Chuanfeng and Li, Qingsuo. currency mechanism casting line's impact to the Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China (translated). *Chinese Coins*, no. 4 (2010): 6-8.)

²⁷ By the time, one Hong Kong silver coin's exchange value was larger than one Guang Dong province silver coin, so that proved that Hong Kong's silver was relatively expensive than Guang Dong silver coin. In other words, Hong Kong's economy was better than the rest of Guang Dong.

²⁸ 邓菲, "明、清及民国广东县志“风俗”门目研究," *佛山科学技术学院学报: 社会科学版* 30, no. 5 (2012), 96. (Deng, Fei. Ming and Qing and Republic of China Guangdong rural "custom" research (translated). *Foshan University Journal: Social Sciences*, 30, no. 5 (2012): 91-96.)

²⁹ CA, Ref 1/2/117, IRC, Regional Report Of Home Affairs Asian Series, 1904-1994, no 1665.

Pounds from overseas. In South Africa, Standard Bank was the only bank which dealt with such deposits. Moreover, the British Canton Office (British Canton Consular Office) acted as a branch of Standard Bank to transfer those deposit into Ying Yuan.³⁰ Although the deposits were irregular, the significant exchange rate meant that the money could help their whole family.³¹

Guangdong people moved to South Africa for Pounds. They were working in all kinds of aspects to earn Pounds or Dollars. The author found that there were several main jobs for these Chinese free immigrants: housekeeper, laundryman, carpenter, shopkeeper, clerk, fish seller, cooker, and gardener.³² Gardeners' wage was first been found in archives. A Chinese gardener Ho Lie who lived and worked in Kimberley in 1910s had a monthly payment of 8 Dollars.³³ Due to the gold standard, the exchange rate between Pound and Dollar had been swayed from 3.5 to 4.5 up until the 1950s.³⁴ In order to better understand wages in South Africa, we define the exchange rate as 4, which meant that in the early twentieth century, one Pound was equal to 4 US Dollars. Thus, Ho Lie's monthly payment could be transferred to 2 Pounds. As we mentioned above, one skilled worker in Guangdong during the period could earn one pound and a half, meaning that Ho Lie's monthly wage was higher than a skilled worker's wages in Guangdong. There is no evidence showing that Ho Lie was a skilled gardener. Thus, whether one was a skilled worker or not, he could have much higher salary in South Africa compared to Guangdong in the early twentieth century.

Other popular jobs of early free Chinese immigrants were general dealer, shop assistant, shopkeeper, and clerk. Those four jobs together functioned as core elements of Chinese small family business. The general dealer usually assumed a head role in the family

³⁰ See Appendix 1 Standard bank deposit receipt

³¹ CA, Ref 1/2/30, IRC, no 678.

³² CA, Ref1/2/1-76, IRC, no 1-1410.

³³ CA, Ref 1/2/5, IRC, no 91.

³⁴ United States. Bureau of the Census. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*. Vol. 16. US Government Printing Office, 1996., 898.

business and his sons, nephews, or younger brother were his shop assistant, keeper, and clerk. Due to the scarcity of Chinese women such family business was clearly male-dominated. The relatively small numbers of women were labelled as housewife in archives.³⁵ The author did not find evidence that women participated in family businesses.

General dealers' total assets ranged from 800 pounds to 2000 pounds. Eight hundred pounds' businesses were subtle business, such as a small laundry with one or two employees. The two thousand pounds' businesses were relatively larger than small business; they usually had several dealing stores with ten or more employees. The shop assistant and laundrymen's salary were shown in archives. In the 1910s to 1920s, they could earn 2 Pounds to 4 Pounds per month depending on their skill.³⁶ One can find that their salaries were relatively higher than the gardeners. This was due to the special features of family business. The Chinese gardeners during that period, such as Ho Lie, worked for White people, but the shop assistant used to work for his relatives—general dealers. For those general dealers, maximising their profits was their business objective and the best choice was to not pay or pay a little. However, due to relative relations, they could not pay them as little as a gardener, even though both of them had relatively easy work. The general dealers knew that his employees' family would need that payment to overcome the bad situation in Guangdong. As Georg Simmel argued, the ideal job for strangers was trade. General dealers were those poor Chinese people's cover. By running a small business in South Africa, they could function as strangers in the economy.

Political economy in South Africa in the early twentieth century

The economy of South African experienced rapid growth at the beginning of the

³⁵ CA, Ref1/2/1-76, IRC, no 1-1410.

³⁶CA, Ref1/2/1-76, IRC, no 1-1410.

twentieth century. Gold and diamond mining rapidly transformed South Africa's economy from an agriculture based economy to an industrializing economy with an unyielding minerals export sector.³⁷ It was primarily gold which pushed economic growth in South Africa ahead. Gold attracted British capital and European immigrants as well as certain Asian migrants, such as Chinese and Indian, and made possible secondary industrialization with four decades of sustained economic growth in the middle of the twentieth century.

In 1910, eight years after the end of the South African War (1899-1902), the Union of South Africa was founded. The Union was a territory that encompassed the Cape and Natal colonies, along with the republics of Orange Free State and Transvaal. The union was administered from the United Kingdom from 1931 until 1961.³⁸

In 1911, there were 1905 Chinese in South Africa in total, including 1870 males and 35 females. In the Cape Colony, there were 823 Chinese in total, including 804 males and 19 females.³⁹ The number of Chinese in South Africa in 1914 we cannot know due to lack of data, but there were 35 prohibited Chinese from 1914 found.⁴⁰ In 1915, there were 721 Chinese in South Africa and some of them were fined due to going against laws: 2 people trading without a license, 2 people trading after hours, one person introducing Opium into Gaol, 3 people Contravention of Adulteration Act, 1 person drunkenness, 1 person theft, 1 person Contravention of Lottery Act, 1 person selling liquor without a licence, and 3 people miscellaneous. There was also one Chinese who was declared a leper and removed to Robben Island.⁴¹ There were in total 711 Chinese

³⁷ Nicoli Nattrass and Jeremy Seekings, "The Economy and Poverty in the Twentieth Century," *The Cambridge History of South Africa* 2 (2011), 6.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Census 1911, Annexures to General Report, Pretoria, the government printing and stationery office, 1912, p10.

⁴⁰ Union of South Africa, Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Department of the interior for the calendar year 1915, Cape Town; Cape Times Limited, government Printers, 14-24.

⁴¹ Union of South Africa, Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Department of the interior for the calendar year 1916, Cape Town; Cape Times Limited, government Printers, 15-26.

in South Africa in 1916. Two males were admitted on grounds of domicile in 1915, with 7 males, 4 females, and 4 children in 1916.⁴²

By the Immigrants Regulation Act, No. 22 of 1913, the Immigration Department of the Union is empowered to regulate the entry of immigrants, and certain classes of persons denominated “prohibited immigrants” may be excluded or even extruded from the country. Chinese were one of the groups on the “prohibited immigrants” list. However, from the statistics report in 1915, it seems that Chinese were not the biggest victim of the 1913 Immigrants Regulation Act, as Indians marked the largest victim of the act.⁴³ In 1914, there were 128 Indians were prohibited, with 112 Indians in 1915 and 138 Indians in 1916. There were also many British, European, and American people prohibited between 1914 and 1916.⁴⁴

From the above statistical data, one can see a clear pattern of the Chinese immigrant population from 1904 to 1916. Table 3 shows a declining trend of Chinese immigrants in the Cape Colony. The effect of the Chinese Exclusion Act was very evident. From the Table one could see a dramatic decline in the number of Chinese people at the Cape after 1904. However, some Chinese scholars still kept incorrect numbers of Chinese immigrants in the Cape Colony in the 1910s.⁴⁵ They thought that the number of Cape Chinese had increased from 1880 up until the Second World War. They thought that

⁴² Union of South Africa, Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Department of the interior for the calendar year 1916, Cape Town; Cape Times Limited, government Printers, 15-26.

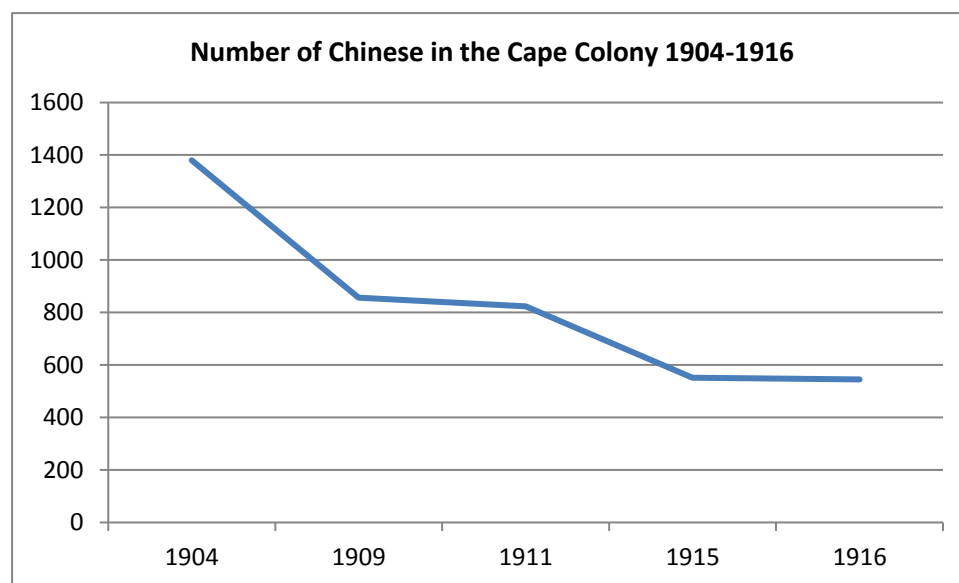
⁴³ Ibid., 13.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Anshan, *Chinese in Africa*, p35-65; See also 万晓宏, “南非华人现状分析,” *八桂侨刊*, no. 1 (2007), 33 (Wan, Xiaohong. South African Chinese status analysis (translated). *Overseas Chinese Journal of Bagui*, no. 1 (2007): 27-33.); 付亮, “今日南非华人社会,” *八桂侨刊*, no. 1 (2009) (Fu, Liang. The current Chinese community in South Africa (translated). *Overseas Chinese Journal of Bagui*, no. 1 (2009): 26-31.); 杨立华, “南非华人今昔,” *世界知识*, no. 3 (1998), 22 (Yang, Lihua. Past and Present Chinese in South Africa (translated). *World Knowledge*, no. 3 (1998): 22-22.); 陈凤兰, “南非华人族群的内部关系研究,” *八桂侨刊*, no. 2 (2013), 34 (Chen, Fenglan. Research on the relationship between internal ethnic Chinese in South Africa (translated). *Overseas Chinese Journal of Bagui*, no. 2 (2013): 33-41.).

due to a healthy development of business environment around Kimberley, Chinese immigrants' number had increased year by year. The Cape Colony's authority wrote in the statistical report addressing that under the Chinese Exclusion Act, there was a slight decrease in the total of Chinese registered in the Union from 1911 to 1916, and this number had steadily declined since the Act came into force in 1904.⁴⁶ Those above mentioned Chinese scholars did not notice that a nation's migration policy had a profound effect on migrants.

Table 3



Source: South Africa. Office of Census and Statistics. Statistics of population: statistics of the population of the Union and previous years, including vital and health statistics for the year and previous years, No. 1 (1916)-no. 3(1918). Pretoria: Government Printing and Stationery Office, 1918-1921.

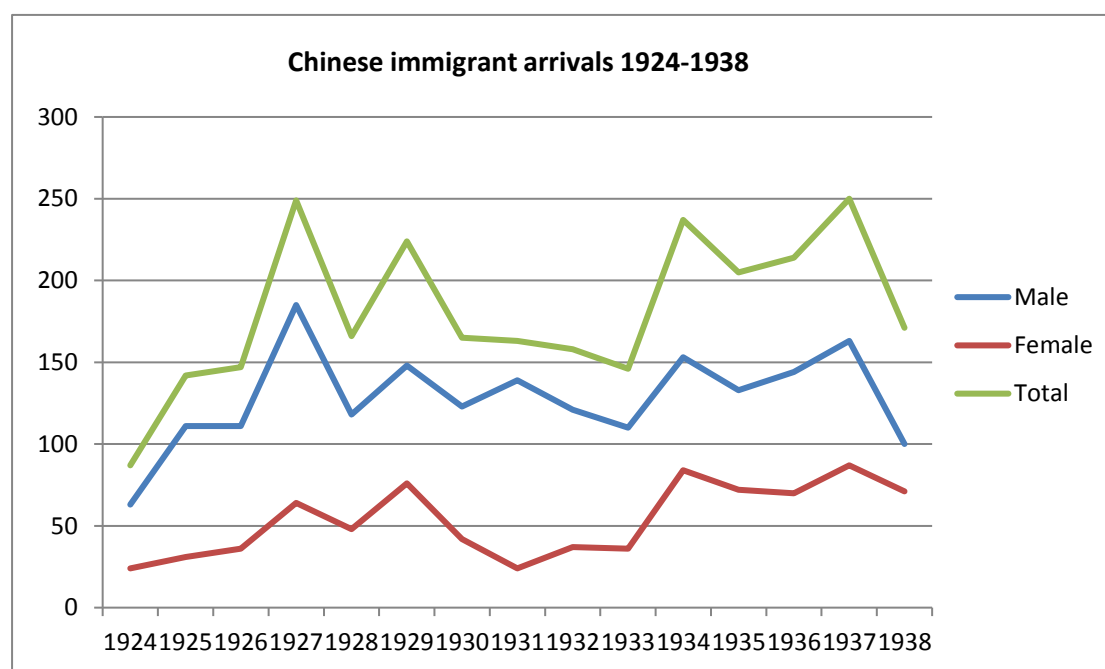
In 1918, the department of the interior changed their statistical method.⁴⁷ From 1918

⁴⁶ Union of South Africa, Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Department of the interior for the calendar year 1916, Cape Town; Cape Times Limited, government Printers, 15-27.

⁴⁷ From the 1st January, 1918, statutory powers were given to the Director of Census to collect information in regard to all persons entering or leaving the Union via the sea and land borders. The method of collecting the statistical data is to enumerate all travelers by means of a special statistical form. In the case of seaports the Immigration Officers are responsible for the enumeration, while travelers via the land borders are enumerated either by specially appointed railway officers or by the police stationed at or near drifts and other places of entry or exit. During the first four months of the year 1918, every person crossing the border by rail was enumerated, but owing to the heavy traffic and consequent delay and inconvenience, it was decided by the statistical council that as from the 1st May 1918 only those

to 1922, the statistical data on Chinese immigrants was not shown on the Table with a total number of Chinese in the country. Instead, the department showed a total number of Chinese arrivals for the statistical year. In 1918, there were 21 Chinese arriving in South Africa, with 18 Chinese in 1919, 11 Chinese in 1920, 63 Chinese in 1921, 20 Chinese in 1922 (including 9 males and 11 females), and 51 Chinese in 1923 (including 28 males and 23 females).⁴⁸

Table 4



Source: Statistics of migration to and from the Union, 1920 to March, 1925. Pretoria : Office of Census and Statistics, 1925.; Statistics of migration, 1925. Pretoria : Office of Census and Statistics, 1927.; South Africa. Office of Census and Statistics. Statistics of migration (abridged), 1927, 1935-1939. Pretoria, 34-35.

In 1924, the department of the interior changed their statistical method again.⁴⁹ This

persons who were travelling with single journey tickets should be enumerated. The figures for the year 1918 were somewhat affected by this change of procedure.

⁴⁸ South Africa. Office of Census and Statistics. Statistics of population: statistics of the population of the Union and previous years, including vital and health statistics for the year and previous years, No. 1 (1916)-no. 3 (1918). Pretoria: Government Printing and Stationery Office, 1918-1921, 6-10.

⁴⁹ Revised scheme of collection 1924: changing conditions and the experience gained during the past few years revealed certain limitations in the system, and after careful consideration the method of collection was revised, so that from the 1st January, 1924, the figures were subjected to greater analysis

time, the Department of the interior provided very detailed numbers of Chinese immigrants, including gross arrival numbers (male and female), gross departure numbers (male and female), gross total numbers, net arrival numbers (male and female), net departure numbers (male and females), and net total numbers. Table 4 shows the gross arrival number of Chinese immigrants from 1924 to 1938. From Table 4 one can see that from 1924, the total number of arriving Chinese had a slow growth until 1938, with the exception of three sharp decreases in 1928, 1933, and 1938. The declines in 1928 and 1933 can be seen as the result of the world economic crisis. Additionally, due to increased moving costs during these crises, the number of Chinese immigrants decreased. The reason for the decrease in 1938 is due to the Japanese army reinforcing their attack and control of China. People could no longer go abroad as easily from then on.

From 1930 to 1932, the Union's economy was characterized by economic stagnation due to the world economic crisis. However, the economy's crisis did not destroy the nation's minerals export based economy. Demand for gold in the world pushed South Africa's economy up and eventually enabled the economy to industrialize.⁵⁰ Most farmers and South African producers were producing for localities rather than for the export market and were consequently somewhat padded from the global crisis.

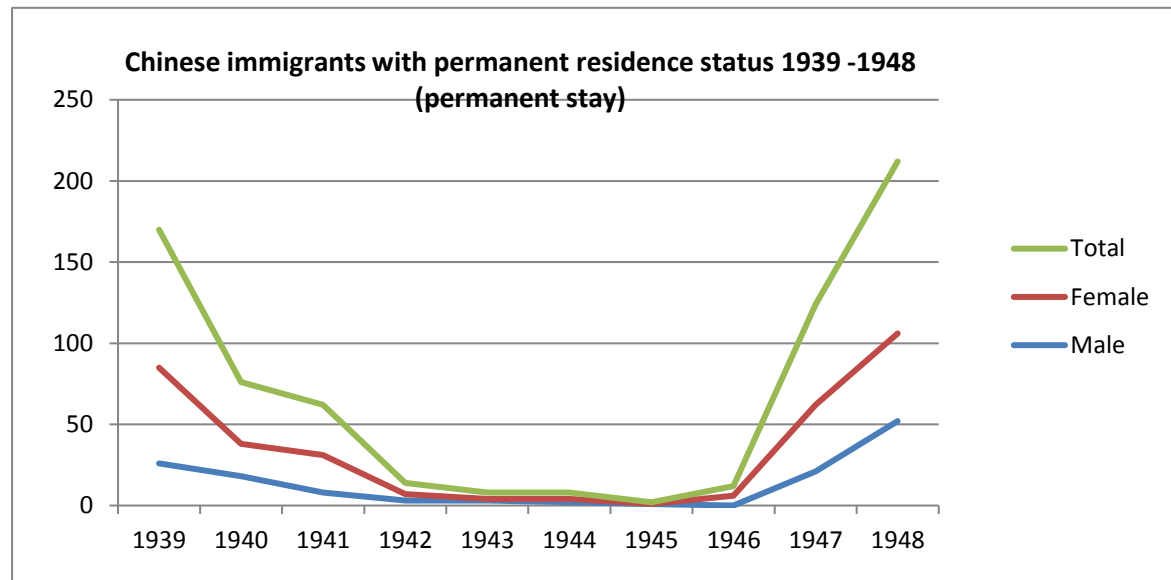
After 1933, up until about 1945, there was a rapid economic growth in South Africa due to a strong state built capacity intervening in almost every facet of the economy, which eventually brought about a new structure of the distribution of earnings and

and additional particulars became available. The most important feature of the revised method is the isolation and the separate tabulation in the statistics of the large number of persons "in transit" via the Union. The peculiar geographical situation and the development of the ports and railways if the Union have placed the country in a favourable position in this respect, and there is now a considerable amount of traffic via Union ports and railways of persons passing to and from Rhodesia, Belgian Congo, South West Africa and the Portuguese Province of Mozambique.

⁵⁰ Nattrass, Nicoli, and Jeremy Seekings. "The Economy and Poverty in the Twentieth Century." *The Cambridge History of South Africa* 2 (2011), 10.

incomes in society.⁵¹ The well-functioning society attracted many immigrants, such as poor Chinese from Fujian and Guangdong people. They were integrated into the South African economy via their unique economic contribution—small business. South African authorities called these businesses general dealers.

Table 5



Source: South Africa. Office of Census and Statistics. Statistics of migration, 1927-1938, 1948 (publication was suspended during 1938-1947). Pretoria: Government Printer, 15-32.

In 1939, the Statistics Department of the Interior changed their statistical method once again. The Department moved away from tables of arrival and departure. Instead, they used one permanent stay table to measure the Chinese who would remain in South Africa for an extended period. Table 5 shows the permanent stay numbers of Chinese immigrants from 1939 to 1948. From the table one can see that from 1939, the number of Chinese who remained in South Africa became fewer and fewer. In other words, fewer and fewer people came to South Africa from 1939 to 1945. This can be seen as the result of the World War II; the year 1945 marked the end of the war. From 1946 to 1948, the number of Chinese people who stayed in South Africa increased, even though their number was still relatively small. This was due to a push effect of the Chinese Civil War from 1946 to 1949. People who suffered from the Second World War did not

⁵¹ Ibid., 16-17.

want to suffer again from a meaningless civil war, so they chose to go abroad.

Table 5 shows a fascinating phenomenon, which is that the female Chinese settlers' numbers from 1939 to 1948 increased more than the number of male settlers. This is a unique phenomenon. This phenomenon refutes two Chinese scholars' research on Chinese migration. In his research on Chinese immigrants in the Pacific area, Chinese scholar Chingchao Wu argued that the reason why Chinese communities cannot integrate into the receiving society was that Chinese community was a male-dominated society. Male immigrant numbers were always larger than female immigrant numbers. In addition, he argued that in a given migration group, the more migrant women involved, the more integrated status the group had.⁵² However, the trend of Chinese South Africa immigrants from 1938 to 1948 partly refutes Wu's theory. In these ten years, the number of Chinese female migrants to South Africa was more than the number of male migrants.

It is interesting to note that Wu was Robert E. Park's student when he was studying at the University of Chicago in 1928. Park, an American social scientist, argued that there was always assimilation in a given society where individuals and groups would achieve a common culture. In other words, new immigrants will eventually integrate into local society. If one regards Wu's Chinese female migrants' theory as an expansion of Park's assimilation theory, one can see that Park's theory cannot explain South African Chinese. Even though there were many female migrants involved, South African Chinese still did not tend to integrate into South African local society.

Another Chinese scholar Anshan Li compared the Chinese and Indian communities in South Africa in the early twentieth century. He argued that the reason why the Indian community was more successful than the Chinese community was that they had more

⁵² Wu Ching-Ch'ao, "Chinese Immigration in the Pacific Area," *Chinese Soc. & Pol. Sci. Rev.* 12 (1928), 543.

female members in their community.⁵³ He claimed that among free Chinese immigrants to South Africa, there were only a few females.⁵⁴ However, female Chinese migrant numbers were not as few as he thought, at least from 1938 to 1948.

Cultural conflict, discrimination and restriction towards early free South Africa Chinese immigrants

Chinese immigrants to South Africa came from a gambling-heavy area (people in the area with frequent gambling life) of China. Guangdong's population was notorious for gambling during the late Qing period, with the people of the lower classes most prone to gambling.⁵⁵ Immigrants from this area brought their gambling habits to South Africa.

In 1908, there was a big gambling case in Port Elizabeth. Local police arrested ten Chinese in a property (48 Evatt Street) on the 7th of December. Those ten people were playing the game Fan Tan in the house. Local Chinese community leaders and the acting consular Liu Ngai tried to stop gambling and to help those people.⁵⁶ However, this crime still appeared very frequently in South Africa, especially in the Cape area and the Transvaal.

The heavy and frequent gambling activity of Chinese immigrants attracted the South African local media's attention. A South African newspaper published a piece of news headlined "City Fan-Tan Den Raided."⁵⁷ The press reported that there were eighteen

⁵³ 李安山, "论南非早期华人与印度移民之异同", 8. (Li, Anshan. Similarities and differences between South Africa Early Chinese and Indian Immigrants (translated). *Overseas Chinese History Studies*, no. 3 (2006), 8.)

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ 徐珂, *清稗类钞*, vol. 6 (中华书局, 1984)., gambling section, 1.

⁵⁶ CA, Ref 1/2/14, IRC, no 245.

⁵⁷ CA, Ref 1/2/15, IRC, no 260. Eighteen Men in Dock. Eighteen non-European men were crowded into the dock at the dock at the First Criminal Court, Caledon-square, yesterday morning, to answer charges of running and frequenting a gambling den in Longmarket-street. Evidence showed that a Chinese laundryman held a fan-tan table in a room at the back of his laundry. The police had the place under

non-European men crowded into the dock on charges of running and frequenting a gambling den in Long Market Street, Cape Town. The press reported that there was a Chinese man in Long Market Street who had a Fan Tan table in a room at the back of his laundry. General dealer Long Yen had just paid monthly salaries to all his employees and his worker Ah Yong took his monthly salary to gamble with. Ah Yong even asked Long Yen to write some English words for playing other games, because he could not speak and write English. The Criminal Court imposed a fine of 30 Pounds on the laundry owner. The people who played Fan Tan in the laundry were fined 1 Pound.⁵⁸ Gamblers often smoked opium. Local residents started to partake in smoking opium and some coloured people also sat together with Chinese players to gamble.⁵⁹ Local communities were typically averse to Chinese immigrants' bad behavior. Gambling and opium had an adverse effect on the local society.

The reason for the popularity of gambling was the high monetary stakes. The game Fan Tan was a high odds game. Anyone who bet one unit would earn twenty to forty units at the end of the bet. This was the main driving factor of Fan Tan game. Many free Chinese immigrants became involved in this game for this winning dream.

Conclusion

This chapter made use of the IRC archives in the Cape Archives Repository to track Chinese immigration to South Africa in the early twentieth century, particularly after Union in 1910. It demonstrates that while most free Chinese originated in Guangdong, and while the majority who entered South Africa were men, there were more Chinese women immigrants than previously thought. Most Chinese immigrants took up the

observation for some time, and raided it on Tuesday afternoon. They found a game of fan-tan in progress, and arrested the players. The Magistrate (Mr. Willshire Harmer, A. M.), imposed fines of £ 30, or three months on the laundryman and on the man who kept the "bank." The others he fined £ 1, or a week's imprisonment in each case.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

option of trading, establishing general dealerships with family labour. Some turned to gambling, a habit brought from Guangdong. The chapter indicates that Chinese immigrants to South Africa were subjected to legal and social discrimination and functioned as strangers in the sense that George Simmel outlined. They did not assimilate into South Africa society.

Chapter 3: Taiwanese immigration in the apartheid years

In 1948, the rise to power of the National Party with its strong commitment to the principle of Afrikaner nationalism marked the official implementation of the policy of ‘apartheid’. Apartheid was committed to racism as a set of values, ideas, and political structures, and also to racially repressive mechanisms so that its social and economic institutions were predicated on racial difference.¹ Apartheid took the practice of segregation to new levels of systemisation and sophistication.

This chapter outlines apartheid racial restrictions in order to interpret the social economy of Chinese groups in the 1950s and 1960s. It then explores Chinese immigration from Taiwan and Hong Kong during the apartheid era. The aim of the chapter is to explore the economic imperatives of the Taiwanese wave of immigration.

The cornerstone of apartheid policy was the stringent racial classification of the population, regarding the Population Registration Act, no. 30 of 1950, into three groups, which are: European, Native, and Coloured. Only the latter two groups were further subdivided into ethnic groups and were commonly recorded as ‘non-Europeans’. As time goes on, terminology changed from Europeans to Whites; from Natives to Bantu; and from Africans to Blacks. The concept ‘Coloureds’ included everyone who was neither White nor Black, and also contained people of mixed blood, Indians, Griquas, Malays, and Chinese. The 1951 census reflected the total population of South Africa more than 12.6 million — comprising 8.5 million Africans, 2.6 million Whites, 1.1 million Coloureds and 366000 Asiatics. The number of Chinese and Asiatics was less than 5000.²

¹ Saunders, Christopher C., Nicholas Southey, and Mary-Lynn Suttie. *Historical Dictionary of South Africa*. No. 78. Scarecrow Press, (2000): 235-236.

² Melanie Yap and Dianne Man, *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: The History of the Chinese in*

Several laws constrained Chinese and other groups, including: "Suppression of Communism Act, no. 44 of 1950; Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, no. 55 of 1949; Immorality Amendment Act, no. 21 of 1950 and no.23 of 1957; Population Registration Act, no. 30 of 1950; Group Areas Act, no.41 of 1950; Separate Representation of Voters Act, no. 46 of 1951 and no.30 of 1956; Immigrants Regulation Amendment Act, no. 43 of 1953; Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, no. 49 of 1953; Industrial Conciliation Act, no. 28 of 1956; Extension of University Education Act, no. 3 of 1966; and Prohibition of Political Interference Act, no.51 of 1968." Apartheid laws limited the social life of Chinese immigrants. For instance, according to the Industrial Conciliation Act, Chinese immigrants could not produce and sell wine. Furthermore, the Group Areas Act controlled Chinese by compelling Chinese to live in designated Coloured areas.³

These laws successfully limited the number of Chinese seeking to immigrate to South Africa. From the 1950s up until 1970s, only a small number of Chinese moved to South Africa.⁴ Table 6 shows the number of Chinese immigrants in South Africa between 1964 and 1979. As we can see from the Table, the number of Chinese immigrants was never above 200 people in a year during this period.

In the early 1960s, the white South African government escalated the crackdown on the black liberation campaign. This behavior was criticized by the international community and resulted in South African isolation from the rest of the world. South Africa, like Taiwan, had few supporters in the international community. In 1962, the Taiwanese authorities (ROC) and the former white regime in South Africa established a "consular"

South Africa(Hong Kong University Press, 1996), 316.

3 Karen L Harris, "'Accepting the Group, but Not the Area': The South African Chinese and the Group Areas Act," *South African Historical Journal* 40, no. 1 (1999), 179-201.

4 陈凤兰, "南非华人族群的内部关系研究," 八桂侨刊, no. 2 (2013), 33. (Chen, Fenglan. Research on the relationship between internal ethnic Chinese in South Africa (translated). *Overseas Chinese Journal of Bagui*, no. 2 (2013): 33-41.)

relationship.⁵ Due to the international community's sanctions against South Africa from 1950s, South Africa government had to look for friends. The first one they found was Israel. The second was Taiwan. Israel agreed to help South Africa's nuclear facilities; in return, South Africa supported the Jewish people's international identity.⁶ From 1948 to 1964 there were no Chinese or Taiwanese records in South Africa's national statistical report. For sixteen years, only one country appeared in the Asian migration statistic reports—Israel. Chinese scholars Li Anshan and Chen Fenglan believed that there were no Chinese and Taiwanese immigrants arriving in South Africa from late 1940s to the early 1960s but they were not correct.⁷ Without government reporting, Chinese and Taiwanese immigration was hidden. After South Africa and Taiwan established consular relations, the Chinese migration numbers came out again in the government report (See Table 6).

Institutional change of Taiwan immigrants

In the early 1960s, Taiwanese authorities were seeking a more formal relationship with South Africa authorities. However, such attempts had been delayed until the late 1960s. A small number of spontaneous Taiwanese immigrants to South Africa unconsciously served the interests of the Taiwanese authorities. When Taiwanese immigrants arrived from the 1950s to 1960s, they established many small community groups in order to protect their own interests. They knew they were a relatively a small group compared to the previous mainland Chinese immigrants, so the rational way to survive in the local environment was to band together. Also, they wanted to distinguish themselves from the previous mainland Chinese immigrants. Establishing organizations also signaled

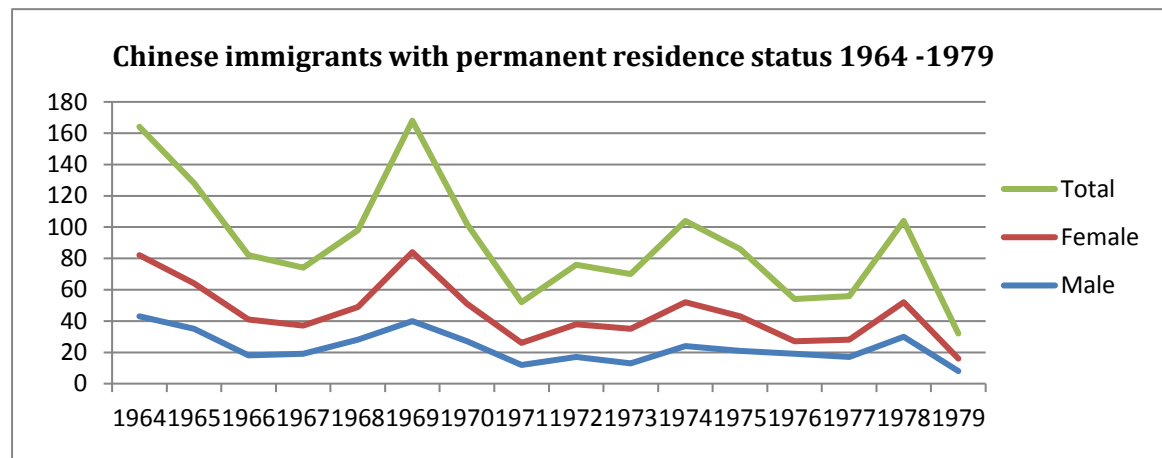
⁵ Taylor, *China and Africa: Engagement and Compromise*, 128.

⁶ Barber, James, and John Barratt. SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY: the search for status and security, 1945-1988. CUP Archive, 1990, 236-238.

⁷ 陈凤兰, "南非华人群体的内部关系研究," *八桂侨刊*, no. 2 (2013), 33 (Chen, Fenglan. Research on the relationship between internal ethnic Chinese in South Africa (translated). *Overseas Chinese Journal of Bagui*, no. 2 (2013), 33.); See also Li Anshan, *Chinese in Africa* (Zhong Guo Hua Qiao Chu Ban She, 2000), 130-131.

that they were strong Taiwanese Chinese, not the so-called weak mainland Chinese.

Table 6



Source: Data gathered from South Africa, Bureau of Statistics, External Migration, 1964-1965. Pretoria: Government Printer, 48-81.; South Africa, Department of Statistics. Migration Statistics: immigrants and emigrants, 1966 to 1969. Pretoria: Government Printer. 1972, 44-90; South Africa, Department of Statistics. Migration Statistics: tourists, immigrants and emigrants, 1970 and 1971. Pretoria: Government Printer. 1974, 81.; South Africa, Department of Statistics/Central Statistical Services. Tourism and migration, 1972-1975, 1976-1996. Pretoria: Government Printer. 1977-1998, 25-59.

In June 1950, representatives from the Chinese provincial organization met with the Taiwan Consul-General Li Chao in Johannesburg to form a national level Chinese organization. Those representatives came from Port Elizabeth, East London, the Orange Free State, and Durban. Due to regional differences of the Chinese political and economic situation, they did not have a clear idea of on how this organization would function but they agreed to have a body first. They charged each representative £10/- as a joining fee.⁸ In 1954, the Central Chinese Association of South Africa (CCASA) was established. Chinese scholar Li Anshan claimed that the founding of the organization was due to increased Chinese immigrant numbers.⁹ South African born Chinese scholar Melanie Yap emphasized the need for a centralized organization of the Chinese community to promote and maintain a good relationship with other communities.¹⁰ However, I think neither of these arguments can explain the quick

⁸ Yap & Leong, *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: The History of the Chinese in South Africa*, 321.

⁹ Li Anshan, *Chinese in Africa* (Zhong Guo Hua Qiao Chu Ban She, 2000), 130-131.

¹⁰ Ibid., 125.

establishment of the CCASA. Rather, a particular political event played a catalytic role in the formation of CCASA. This was the passage of the Group Areas Act. Due to this act, Chinese would be restricted to designated areas. Although they did not know which area, they felt threatened, so they needed a powerful formal organization to interact with South African government on this urgent matter. This was the main reason why a national level Chinese organization was founded. The evidence could also be found in the archives. Chinese people during that period were extremely worried about their freedom, and they wanted the flexibility to live and trade in all areas and also to have equal rights with which they could purchase property freely.¹¹

After meeting with the Consul-General Li Chao, the CCASA's acting Chairman Dr L.N. Liang made three requests to the South Africa government, which were: first, Chinese should be allowed to trade under special permits; second, Group Areas should be proclaimed for Chinese for residence purposes; third, the granting of asset rights should be reviewed to guarantee some security of tenure for traders.¹² Chinese people adopted a distinct approach of non-confrontation. They wanted to ask the South African government for differential treatment for Chinese, recognizing them as a minority group. The Chinese people believed that the solution to their difficulties should be achieved by peaceful representation and negotiation with the South Africa Union government. They declared that they would reject all violence.¹³ However, the South African government affirmed that the Chinese (as part of the category of Asiatics) were prohibited from moving from one province to another freely. The government said it was prepared to consider applications by individual members of the Chinese community who wished to move from one province to another. Clearly the number of movements by any Chinese was strictly limited, and applications based only on

¹¹ Ibid, 140.

¹² Yap & Leong, *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: The History of the Chinese in South Africa*, 321-330.

¹³ Ibid.

mercenary considerations would not be entertained.¹⁴ Despite these limitations, some Chinese people applied for permits to move to other provinces, whether for residence, study, or social visits.

The Red China spy scare

The newly formed Chinese organization had to deal with another difficult issue. Illegal immigrants from mainland China asked the South Africa government to treat them as refugees. In 1954, Consul-General Ting Shao and the Chair of CCASA Dr. Liang said that the number of illegal Chinese immigrants was under 200.¹⁵ The situation of these Chinese people was an unhappy one. Due to their illegal immigrant status, their income was often far below that of other people in the same position. They had fled a country beset by perpetual fear and insecurity and they could never to build any state of settled existence. CCASA appealed to the South Africa government to appeal that the government should accept these mainland Chinese on temporary permits.¹⁶

The South African government showed sympathy towards those immigrants. They recorded that there were 125 illegal Chinese and most of them had been living in South Africa longer than fifteen years. They would suffer hardship if deported because they had married and raised families.¹⁷ The South African government agreed to let them stay in South Africa and asked the Taiwanese communities to co-operate in accepting these illegal immigrants.¹⁸ These illegal immigrants were then received by Taiwan communities. This peaceful situation lasted until the mid-1960s. Then, the apartheid

¹⁴ Li Anshan, *Chinese in Africa* (Zhong Guo Hua Qiao Chu Ban She, 2000), 159.

¹⁵ Yap & Leong, *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: The History of the Chinese in South Africa*, 351-355.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ SAD/BNS, vol. 1/1/751, ref. 27/74. Illegal immigration. General Matters. Letter from Commissioner for immigration and Asiatic Affairs to Secretary for the Interior, 24 September 1954; Letter from Secretary for External Affairs to Consul-General Ting Shao, 26 February 1955.

prime minister was assassinated. Taiwanese community members reported that after the assassination of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd in September 1966, South Africa police investigated all the illegal immigrants because they thought that illegal immigrants were involved in the assassination activity.¹⁹ South African newspaper *The Star* reported that the government regarded itself as an opposition power to communism and labelled illegal immigrants from mainland Chinese as communists. Moreover, the government believed that the Red China's spies who entered South Africa were indistinguishable from other illegal immigrants.²⁰

The Red China spy scare precipitated a wave of interrogations. From the end of 1966 to the beginning of 1967, more than 400 Chinese were arrested and questioned under a charge of smuggling of people into South Africa from China. Among these, 21 Chinese suffered inhumane treatment under South Africa's 180 days detention law, and two of the detainees died in the police station.²¹ In January 1967, the police arrested all illegal Chinese immigrants in the Chinese communities living areas. This created panic among the Taiwanese immigrants. Taiwanese Consul-General Lo Ming Yuan guaranteed that all illegal Chinese who did not have birth certificates, identity cards, and residence papers would be issued with emergency residence documents. In the meantime, he asked the police to release the 400 people who had been arrested.²²

CCASA's Chair Dr Yenson appealed for sympathy to be shown to the Red China immigrants. He said that there were no communist spies in Taiwanese communities but rather refugees from the tyranny of communism. Also, he pointed out that mainland Chinese immigrants faced an uncertain future and were strongly anti-Communist as were Taiwanese immigrants in South Africa.²³ Due to the Taiwan Consul-General and

¹⁹ *The Star*, 23 May 1967, 'Chinese used infiltration tactics—Pelser'.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Criminal Procedure Amendment Act, no. 96 of 1965; Race relations as regulated by law in South Africa, 1948-1979, 236.

²² *The Star*, 29 May 1967, '400 Chinese seeking permission to stay.'

²³ Yap & Leong, *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: The History of the Chinese in South Africa*, 351-

the CCASA's hard work, the brunt of the storm of Red China scare eventually came to an end in 1967. It is evident that the South African government's attitude towards the Chinese immigrants changed due to Taiwanese immigrants and their powerful organizations. Taiwanese organizations had a good relationship with the South African public service department. This was a new development for the wider Chinese community. The previous mainland Chinese immigrants had been in an awkward position partly due to a lack of powerful national level organizations.

The Taiwanese Consul-General also helped the South African government to change their attitude to the Taiwanese. The Consul-General Lo Ming Yuan who served from the 1950s to 1980s in South Africa was far better educated than late Qing Consul-General who had not known how to co-operate with the South African authorities. The Taiwanese Consul-General Lo Ming Yuan had a very good education when he was young; he even had had a tertiary education in Malaysia.²⁴ However, the late Qing Consul-General and his successor had not had good education. Many community members spoke highly of Lo's integrity and described him as the best diplomat to have worked with the Taiwanese people in South Africa.

In addition to the warm-hearted Consul-General and the Taiwanese organization leaders, one could also find that the Taiwanese immigrants also helped mainland China immigrants a lot. From the Red China crisis, one would notice that in order to arrest and find out the Red China immigrants, local police tried to find every Chinese store and Chinese house. However, soon Red China immigrants moved to live with the Taiwanese immigrants. That meant that the Taiwanese people protected Red China immigrants to some extent, because they helped them avoid police arrest. They did not want Red China immigrants to die in police stations. Even though they came from different political areas with different social and economic backgrounds, they were

355.

²⁴ Ibid., 356.

prepared to help them.

‘Honorary White’ farce

In 1961, 50 Japanese were granted selected White Privileges. Chinese communities noticed this event. Even though the privileges were a racial product, Chinese communities felt ‘jealous’ that they were not granted the same. They believed that they received unfair treatment.²⁵

The creation of Japanese as honorary whites was “accidental.” At the beginning of 1961, a staff member of the Japanese embassy was in the habit of walking to the embassy from his home. One day he got an urgent mission from the embassy and took a taxi. The taxi driver refused to carry him because he looked Chinese. The embassy staff member was infuriated, ran to his office and reported his experience to the head of the embassy. The Japanese embassy sent a formal letter to the South African government asking for different treatment for Japanese and a clear distinction from Chinese.²⁶ At the end of 1961, the South African government granted Japanese honorary white status.

As soon as the Japanese ‘honorary white’ status became known by the public in 1961, CCASA’s Chair Dr Liang drafted a formal document to express their dissatisfaction with this racial discrimination against Chinese. For another decade, the South African ruling party was frequently questioned by the opposition party leaders as to why the Chinese or Taiwanese could not be granted the same honorary white title as the Japanese were. Dr Verwoerd pointed out that there were roughly 6000 to 8000 Chinese who were South Africans, and while the standard of living and development of many Chinese was equal to their counterpart Japanese, the government could not treat Chinese as whites, because if it did that, it would have to offer the same concessions to

²⁵ Ibid., 375-377.

²⁶ Yap & Leong, *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: The History of the Chinese in South Africa*, 377.

the Indians and other Coloured people.²⁷ However, as Chinese scholar Li Anshan explained, some Chinese, Taiwanese, and South Koreans were subsequently issued honorary status as Whites.²⁸

Although there were no official publications declaring that Taiwanese were honorary whites, in practice many were treated as such. Taiwanese developed a sense that public opinions towards them changed from the late 1970s and that honorary white standing had been recognized by the rest of society.

Taiwan's international relationship with South Africa and investment in South Africa

In the early 1970s, the UN took two critical steps. In 1972, Taiwan was expelled from the United Nations which from then on only recognized the Peoples' Republic of China.²⁹ In 1973, the United Nations announced a determination to "prohibit and punish the crime of apartheid through international conventions," and then dismissed the South African government from the General Assembly in 1974. Cast out in this way, Taiwan and South Africa upgraded their "bilateral relations" to "diplomatic relations" in 1976. In 1977, they substituted "military attaches."³⁰ At the same time, the international community strengthened penalties toward South Africa. A number of Taiwanese and Hong Kong immigrants arrived in South Africa and Chinese investment in enterprises expanded substantially. Taiwan's trade connections with South Africa grew to higher than \$1.9 billion.³¹ Taiwanese investment in South Africa was between

²⁷ *Sunday Times*, 26 September 1965, 'Dr V. tells why Japanese are "White"... and why 8000 Chinese are not.'

²⁸ Anshan, *Chinese in Africa*, 76-131.

²⁹ Jie Chen, *Foreign Policy of the New Taiwan: Pragmatic Diplomacy in Southeast Asia* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2002).

³⁰ Lihua, "China's Strategic Choice for Establishing Diplomatic Relations with South Africa.", 57.

³¹ John Pickles and Jeff Woods, "Taiwanese Investment in South Africa," *African Affairs* 88, no. 353 (1989), 508-510.

\$1.5 billion and \$1.6 billion in the 1980s. In 1994, the new South African government maintained relations with the Taiwan authorities in order to retain this investment.³²

From the 1950s, South African government launched a new system, named the decentralization system, in order to several economic growth points around its border areas. From the 1982, the effects of industrial decentralization policy has shown up with more and more foreign invested companies established on the borders of the homelands. ³³ The initial purpose of decentralization was to stop people who lived in the homelands moving to white controlled city area via open labour-intensive companies to provide jobs, limiting their mobility. Foreign companies were used as a certain tool to stop these homeland people, and in return, those companies could boom their business with unlimited cheap labour.



Figure 1: Taiwanese invested four homelands

Taiwanese entrepreneurs had in total invested \$60 million at the beginning of 1987 with 68 factories in decentralized zones on the borders of the homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (See Figure 1). These factories can be seen as an

³² Taylor, *China and Africa: Engagement and Compromise*, 147.

³³ Paul Wellings and Anthony Black, "Industrial Decentralization under Apartheid: The Relocation of Industry to the South African Periphery," *World Development* 14, no. 1 (1986), 2.

experiment of labour-intensive investment.

Kaoru Sugihara argued that there were two paths of industrialization in global history: one was West-path which can be associated with capital and energy intensive industry; the other was East Asian path which focused on labour-intensive industrialization.³⁴ The Asian model has been based on the quality of labour resources cultivated in the traditional sector. He also argued that in the 1960s and 1970s, Taiwan had a large labour-intensive industry sector and Taiwan's rapid economic growth was based on this model.³⁵

Products manufactured by Taiwanese investors in South African companies included socks, gloves, shoes, computers, packing tapes, knitted sweaters, electronics, yarn and surgical supplies. However, Taiwanese investment in the homelands was only a portion of investment in these areas.³⁶ From 1982 to 1984, Taiwanese companies contributed 52% of the jobs that were expected to arise from foreign investment.³⁷ At the time, Taiwanese companies were mainly in the textile industry.³⁸

There were three Taiwan-invested companies launched in Ciskei in 1982, which were: Thrustor Manufacturing Industries, which produced overalls and protective clothing; Ciskei Padlocks, a second largest Taiwanese-invested company; and Kayo Shoe Manufacturers, which made sports shoes in partnership with the Anglo-American Corporation. Alan Hirsch reported that one very successful Taiwanese company, China Garments, which employed 520 local people there. One of the company's Taiwanese

³⁴ Kaoru Sugihara, "The Second Noel Butlin Lecture: Labour-Intensive Industrialisation in Global History," *Australian Economic History Review* 47, no. 2 (2007), 121.

³⁵ Gareth Austin and Kaoru Sugihara, *Labour-Intensive Industrialization in Global History*, vol. 59 (Routledge, 2013), 20-65.

³⁶ Alan Hirsch, "Bantustan Industrialization with Specific Reference to the Ciskei, 1973-1981" (University of Cape Town, 1984), 189.

³⁷ Wellings and Black, "Industrial Decentralization under Apartheid: The Relocation of Industry to the South African Periphery", 6.

³⁸ Ibid.

managers even pointed that the growth had been nothing short of spectacular and he found that the workers were extremely versatile, easy to train, and cost effective.³⁹ Taiwanese also invested in Union Drug (Pty) Ltd and Mustek Electronics (Pty) Ltd. Union Drug was the largest latex glove manufacturer in South Africa; it was also rated in the top five in the world during the 1980s. Mustek Electronics was founded in 1986 as a supplier of computer and associated equipment to local dealers and firms.

Taiwanese entrepreneurs whom had started to invest in SA from the early 1980s made a meaningful contribution to the economic development of South Africa during that period, creating jobs in the decentralized areas of the country. A possible reason for the relative small Taiwanese investment was that many Taiwan investors were afraid of the uncertain environment in South Africa's homelands. They only realized that the environment was quite stable and calm after they visited.⁴⁰ They also felt that migration changed their capability sets, increasing their overall capability. By opening companies in homelands, Taiwanese immigrants' capability sets were enlarged. The feeling of a comfortable environment for Taiwanese immigrants meant they enhanced their freedom in order to achieve a more advanced lifestyles. Their capacity of control materials also was enlarged via enjoying a comfortable life and business environment. Investment in South Africa can be seen growing as they used their capabilities to make a rational choice for their own life route.

Immigrants from Hong Kong

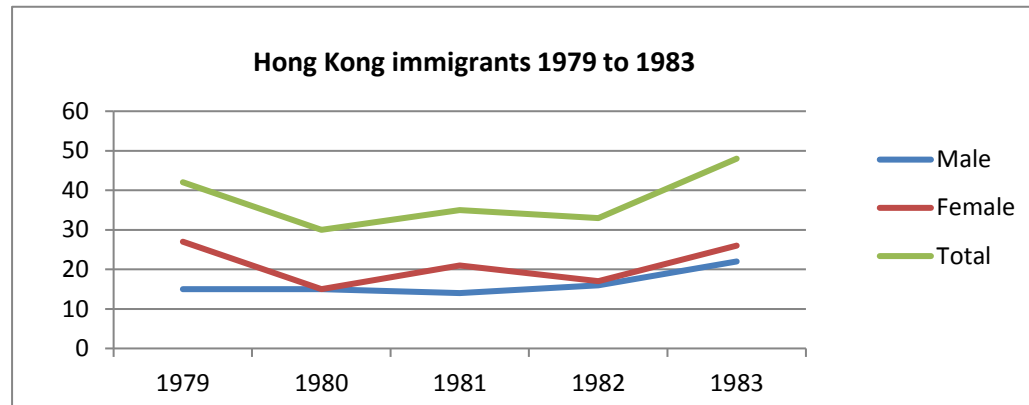
Between 1979 and 1983, a number of Hong Kong immigrants moved to South Africa. In 1979, the South African government started to recognize Hong Kong immigrants as a special group and put their numbers in the national statistics. Specifically among immigrants from Hong Kong, there were relatively more women than men. Numbers

³⁹ Hirsch, "Bantustan Industrialization with Specific Reference to the Ciskei, 1973-1981", 226.

⁴⁰ Oral history interview with Kang Xi, Paarl 23. 04. 2016, conducted and translated by Xin Xiao.

were small, however, and their total number never surpassed 60 people in a given year (See Table 7).

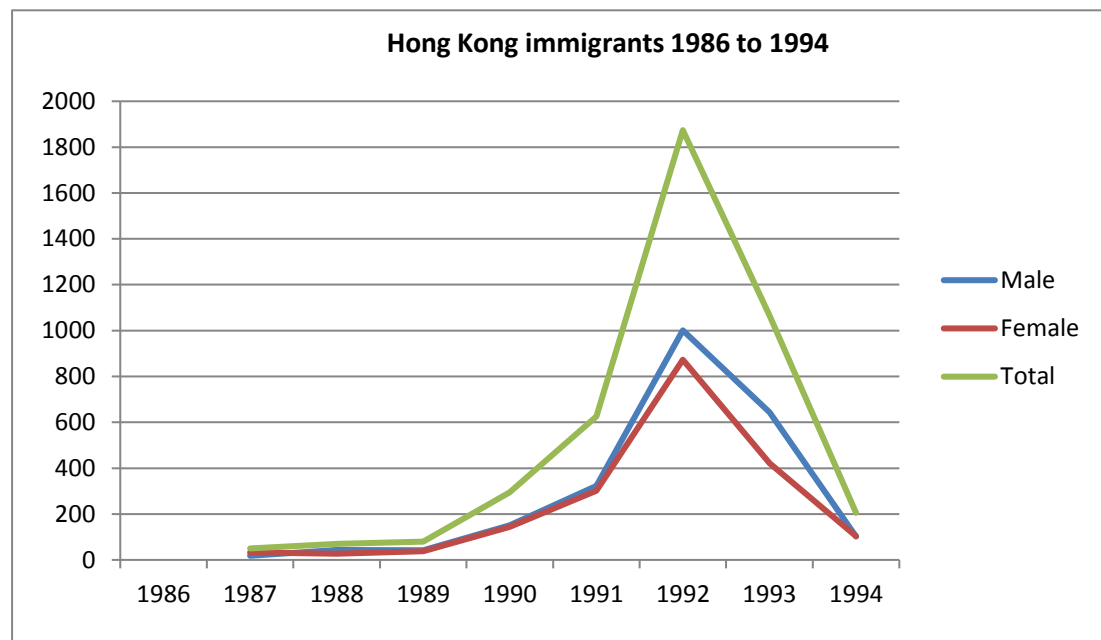
Table 7



Source: Data gathered from South Africa, Department of Statistics/Central Statistical Services. Tourism and migration, 1972-1975, 1976-1996. Pretoria: Government Printer. 1977-1998, 25-59.

From 1987 to 1992, there was a dramatic increase in immigrants from Hong Kong (See table 8). In 1992, the Hong Kong immigrants' number was almost ten times than the number in 1987 with 1874 Hong Kong immigrants arriving in South Africa during the year. However, after 1992, there was a sharp decrease in immigrants from Hong Kong arriving in South Africa. In 1994, only 206 immigrants from Hong Kong moved to South Africa.⁴¹ There were two possible motivations for immigration from Hong Kong to South Africa. First, at this time, mainland China immigrants began flooding into Hong Kong, congesting Hong Kong people's living space and increasing the cost of living in Hong Kong. Some Hong Kong citizens chose to leave, and a few arrived in South Africa. The second reason for leaving Hong Kong was the fear of Communist takeover in the early 1990s. Hong Kong people feared that there would be chaos in Hong Kong when Britain handed over this territory to mainland China.

⁴¹ The government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Census and Statistics Department. Demographic Trends in Hong Kong 1981-2011, Hong Kong. 2012, 7-29.

Table 8

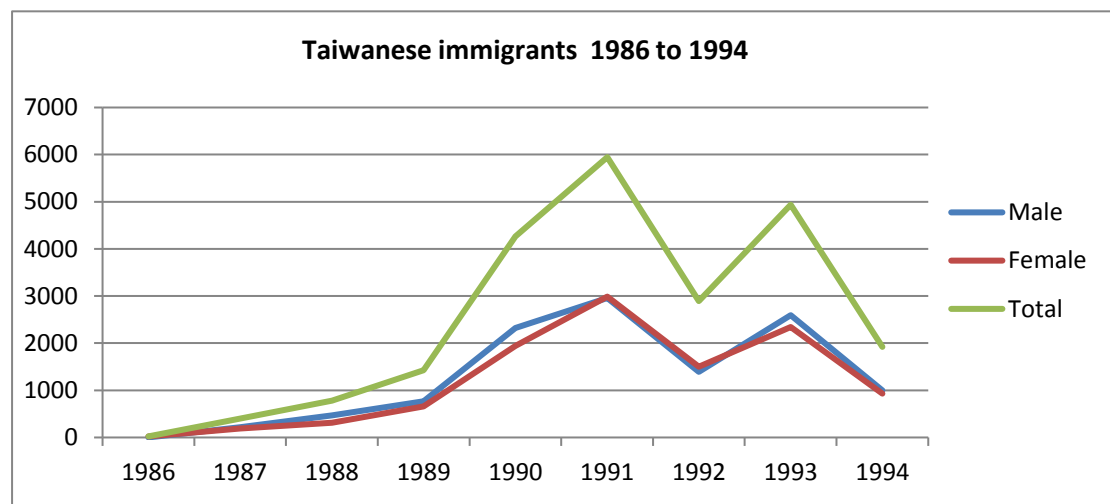
Source: Data gathered from South Africa, Bureau of Statistics, External Migration, 1964-1965. Pretoria: Government Printer, 48-81.; South Africa, Department of Statistics. Migration Statistics: immigrants and emigrants, 1966 to 1969. Pretoria: Government Printer. 1972, 44-90; South Africa, Department of Statistics. Migration Statistics: tourists, immigrants and emigrants, 1970 and 1971. Pretoria: Government Printer. 1974, 81.; South Africa, Department of Statistics/Central Statistical Services. Tourism and migration, 1972-1975, 1976-1996. Pretoria: Government Printer. 1977-1998, 25-59.

However, it is worth noting that Taiwanese immigrants' movement followed a similar trend. Table 9 shows Taiwanese immigrants' movement trend from 1986 to 1994. As we can see from the Table 8 and Table 9, both Taiwanese and Hong Kong immigrants grew from 1986 to 1991. This is due to a rapid growth of bilateral trade between South Africa, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. 1992 marked a unique year when it comes to Taiwan and Hong Kong immigrants to South Africa. Both Table 3 and Table 4 show that in 1992, there was a sharp decrease of Taiwanese and Hong Kong immigrants. There are three possible reasons for this sharp decline. First, there were two major financial crises which hit the Hong Kong and Taiwanese economies. The two crises were: the Sterling Crisis of 1992 and Japanese asset price bubble of 1991.⁴² These financial crises had an enormous impact on Hong Kong's and Taiwan's market share. This resulted in a poor

⁴² Tsang, Steve. A Modern History of Hong Kong: 1841-1997. IB Tauris, 2007.

financial performance for Hong Kong and Taiwan. Since the immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan were investment directed, potential emigrants chose to stay at home. Second, the boom in the Chinese mainland economy squeezed space for Hong Kong and Taiwan immigrants, as more and more mainland China immigrants arrived in South Africa after 1992. Thirdly, facing a potential turmoil of the end of apartheid in South Africa, prospective Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants, taking into consideration of own safety, chose to stay at home rather than migrate to South Africa.

Table 9

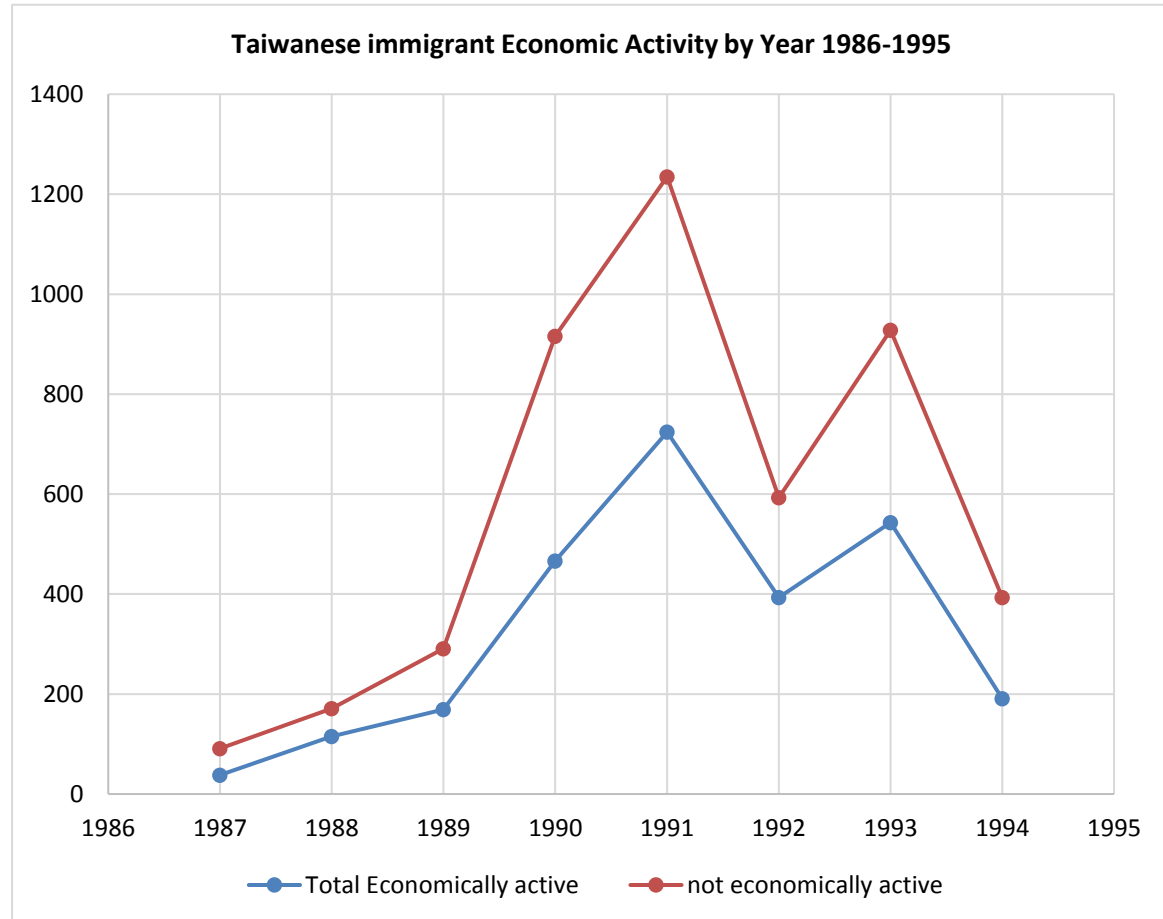


Source: South Africa, Department of Statistics/Central Statistical Services. Tourism and migration, 1972-1975, 1976-1996. Pretoria: Government Printer. 1977-1998, 25-59.

Table 10 shows the total number of Taiwanese people that were economically active by year. From the Table one can see that the economic activity of South African Taiwanese immigrants support trends followed the same pattern as demographic trends. The economically active Taiwanese people increased from 1986 and reached its peak in 1991. After that, there was a sharp decrease from 1992. The total number of economically active people was always fewer than the total of people who were not economically active. Taiwanese immigrants came to South Africa not only for business but also for personal reasons, such as medical treatment, visiting relatives and living

out their life in retirement.⁴³

Table 10



Source: South Africa, Department of Statistics/Central Statistical Services. Tourism and migration, 1972-1975, 1976-1996. Pretoria: Government Printer. 1977-1998, 25-59.

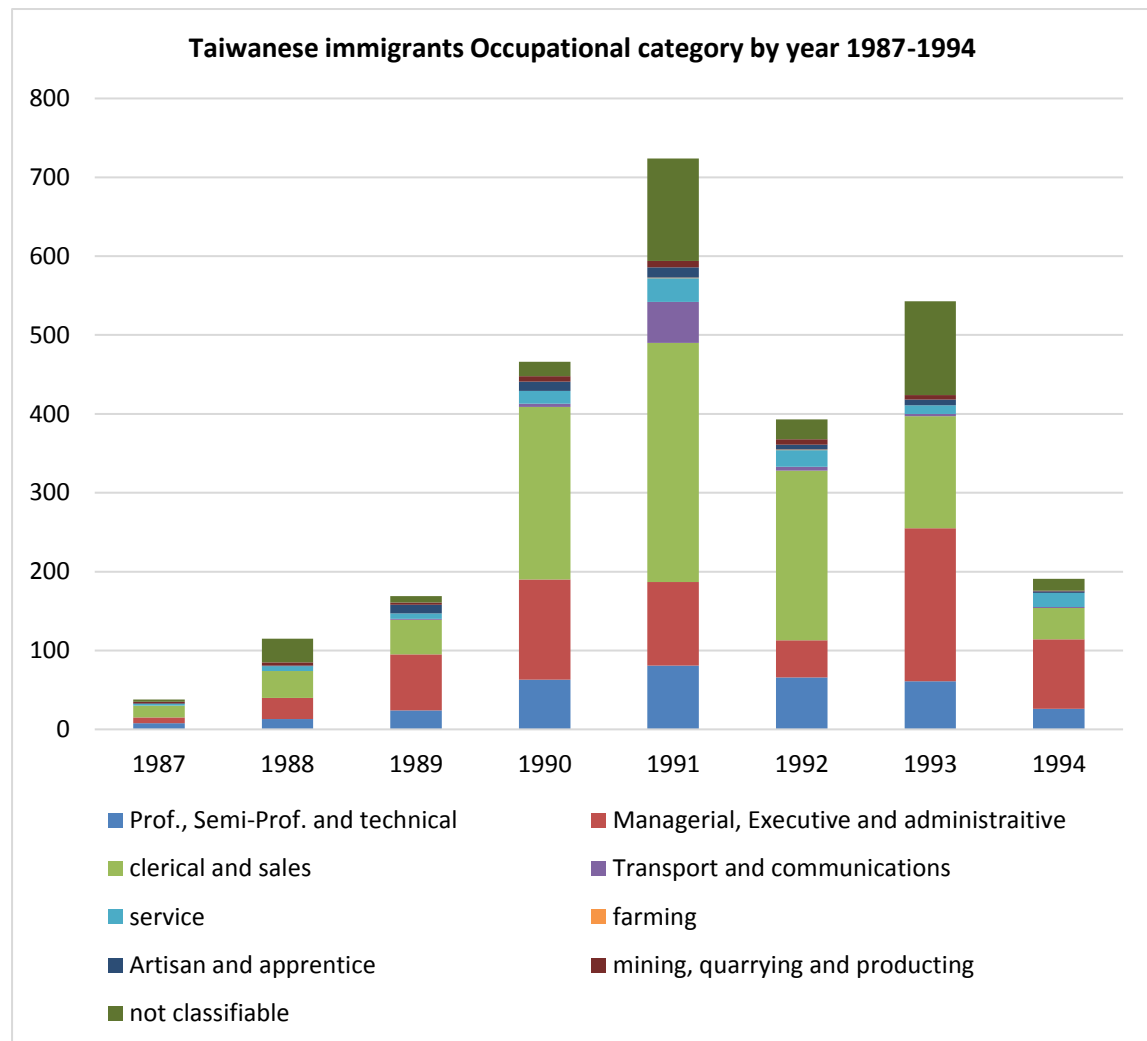
Table 11 shows Taiwan immigrants' occupational category from 1987 to 1994. In 1987, Taiwan immigrants were mostly in clerical, sales, and managerial jobs. The competitions in these businesses were also vehement.⁴⁴ From 1988 to 1993, more Taiwanese immigrants became involved in other professional and technical jobs. With the decrease of Taiwanese immigrants, the job diversity potential for these immigrants also decreased. From the Table one can see that farming, mining, quarrying, and

⁴³ Oral history interview with Kang Xi, Paarl 23. 04. 2016, conducted and translated by Xin Xiao.

⁴⁴ Oral history interview with Dian Nao, Stellenbosch, 23. 04. 2016, conducted and translated by Xin Xiao.

producing were always some less popular jobs for Taiwanese immigrants. The reason for that was because of many governmental barriers. Due to a low administrative efficiency, it was difficult to receive related permits⁴⁵.

Table 11



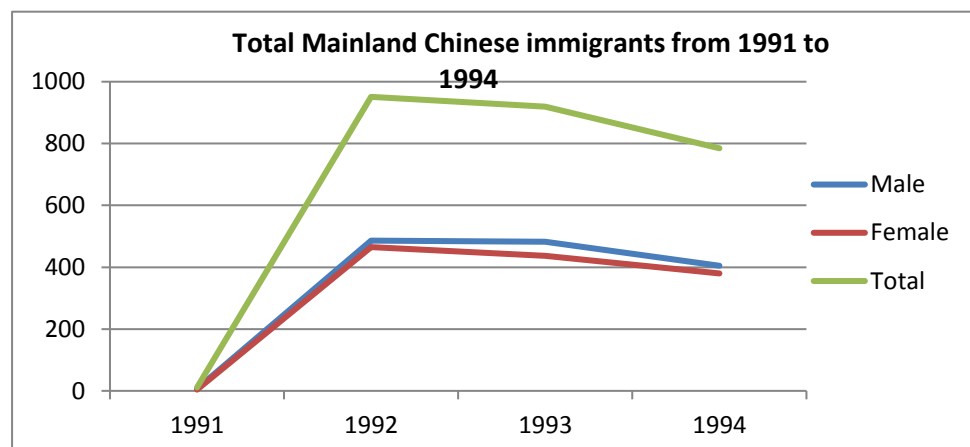
Source: South Africa, Department of Statistics/Central Statistical Services. Tourism and migration, 1972-1975, 1976-1996. Pretoria: Government Printer. 1977-1998, 25-59.

Table 12 shows the trend of the number of Chinese mainland immigrants from 1991 to 1994. Table 12 shows that from 1991, the number of mainland Chinese immigrants to South Africa increased rapidly. The trend coincides with the decrease in the numbers

⁴⁵ Oral history interview with Shou Ji, Milnerton, 23. 04. 2016, conducted and translated by Xin Xiao.

of Hong Kong and Taiwanese immigrants to South Africa. There was a profound political reason for the rapid growth of mainland Chinese immigrants. In 1992, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping visited several Southern provinces in China, encouraging Chinese people to empower themselves. He removed several limiting conditions on population mobility, such as the great household register system founded by the Han dynasty's Interior Department which had been controlling population mobility. This freed up people to emigrate more freely.

Table 12



Source: South Africa, Department of Statistics/Central Statistical Services. Tourism and migration, 1972-1975, 1976-1996. Pretoria: Government Printer. 1977-1998, 25-59.

Chinese entrepreneurship and family business

Were the Taiwanese and Hong Kong immigrants to South Africa entrepreneurial? Nathaniel H Leff argued that entrepreneurship means the capacity to bring about innovation, investment, and active expansion.⁴⁶ He pointed out that the rapid economic development in Asia from the 1950s to 1960s benefited from entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship played a key role in the rapid economic development of these areas.⁴⁷ Susan Greenhalgh researched Taiwanese family entrepreneurship and showed that land

⁴⁶ Nathaniel H Leff, "Entrepreneurship and Economic Development: The Problem Revisited," *Journal of economic literature* 17, no. 1 (1979), 47.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 50.

reforms in Taiwan and accompanying policy environments removed the fetter on family entrepreneurship. Consequently, rapid economic growth and demographic modernization (mobility) occurred.⁴⁸ South African Taiwanese immigrants support her hypothesis. Taiwanese immigrants came to South Africa following a series of land reforms in Taiwan in the 1960s and 1970s. Land reforms released many family members who were encouraged to emigrate and provided with free business information about destination countries, consultation, and tax preference on the Taiwanese side.⁴⁹

The family business has long been an important form of business organization, although Western scholars largely ignored the Chinese traditional family business model.⁵⁰ However, the small to medium sized enterprise and its related entrepreneurship have been the focus of Asian scholars. These scholars identify the family business sector as the driver of market development and the backbone of the free-enterprise system in Taiwan and Hong Kong.⁵¹ Family firms can be defined as owner-managed firms in which family members play financial and managerial control roles.

Under a Confucian-based social order, the stability of families was based on the power of the father figure.⁵² Thus, managers in Chinese traditional enterprises were controlled by the founder (the father). The structure was very centralized. Such patriarchal structures were tied to personal relationships beyond the family. These relationships are called Guan Xi in Chinese. The Guan Xi has two levels of meaning. The first tier means

⁴⁸ Susan Greenhalgh, "Land Reform and Family Entrepreneurship in East Asia," *Population and Development Review* 15 (1989), 111.

⁴⁹ Oral history interview with Dian Nao, Stellenbosch, 23. 04. 2016, conducted and translated by Xin Xiao.

⁵⁰ Wen, Yi. "The Making of an Economic Superpower-- Unlocking China's Secret of Rapid Industrialization." *FRB St Louis Paper No. FEDLWP2015-006* (2015).

⁵¹ Panikkos Poutziouris, Kosmas Smyrniotis, and Sabine Klein, *Handbook of Research on Family Business* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2008), 2-15.

⁵² Tung-Chun Huang, "Who Shall Follow? Factors Affecting the Adoption of Succession Plans in Taiwan," *Long Range Planning* 32, no. 6 (1999), 609.

domestic relationships. The second tier means relationships with powerful men (governors). In the destination country, the only relationship they would control in their business was domestic relations, reinforcing the patriarchal system.⁵³ However, it was very hard for those Chinese immigrants to establish the second level relationship.

In 1990 Gordon Redding conducted a survey of overseas Chinese family businesses. He found that most of Chinese firm owners had the idea that “my staff is my family.”⁵⁴ They had a strong feeling of responsibility towards employees, not from amoral perspective but from an economic standpoint.⁵⁵ These business people conferred welfare benefits on their employees as favors. This type of management system could bring about a network of subcontracting work efficiently. It also meant that decision-makers’ rights would not be easily challenged and encouraged the employee loyalty. This loyalty was not only driven by fear of patriarchal authority. Chinese family firms usually cooperate extensively through business networks and nepotism. One family’s wealth creation cannot be viewed and managed in isolation. Rather, wealth comes from a series of business actions, such as borrowing money, seeking advice and exchanging information, based on Chinese family culture. In order to create reliable business networks, Chinese firms have to trust business transactions. Chinese believe that it is critical to do business with people who can be trusted. They believe that who you know is more important than what you know in business.⁵⁶ Nepotism in the context of Chinese family enterprise can be seen as a means of counteracting trust problems. Chinese people tend to trust their family more than they trust their friends and acquaintances. They assume everybody else does not have goodwill to their family or friends in the business.⁵⁷

⁵³ Gordon Redding, "Overseas Chinese Networks: Understanding the Enigma," *Ibid.* 28, no. 1 (1995), 61-69.

⁵⁴ Gordon Redding, *The Spirit of Chinese Capitalism*, vol. 22 (Walter de Gruyter, 1990), 156.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁵⁶ Irene YM Yeung and Rosalie L Tung, "Achieving Business Success in Confucian Societies: The Importance of Guanxi (Connections)," *Organizational Dynamics* 25, no. 2 (1996), 54.

⁵⁷ Redding, *The Spirit of Chinese Capitalism*, 66.

While Chinese immigrants in South Africa inherited the family business entrepreneurship form, they also introduced new features. First, there were certain numbers of professional managers involved in their family firms. The managers included white South Africans and skilled managers from Taiwan. Both of them did not have domestic relations with firm owners.⁵⁸ Second, they were not fully controlled by Chinese culture.⁵⁹ They were relatively flexible and wanted to integrate into the local business environment. Thirdly, their enterprise scale was not as small as the former Chinese firms. Even though it was still family business, their workforce was far more diverse than their previous Chinese family business.⁶⁰ However, South African Taiwanese business people were not as rigid as mainland Chinese business people. Unlike the small general dealers who came from mainland China in the first half of the twentieth century, the Taiwanese immigrants who arrived in the second half of the twentieth century were entrepreneurial, modifying their family businesses to expand into large successful firms.

Business people, especially for family business people, certain network always play a positive influence to their business. For Chinese business people, the network is so called 'Guan Xi Wang (Wang means network).' Even if Taiwanese immigrants' family business had already moved to an advance level, it was still controlled by such a social network. Their network in South Africa not only tied all Taiwanese business people together but also tied themselves in with South African society as a whole. The trend of Taiwanese immigration to South Africa in the late 1980s indicates the power of social networks to reduce the impediments to entry and enhance the value of migration for new emigrants landing in a destination state.

⁵⁸ Oral history interview with Shouji, Milnerton, 23. 04. 2016, conducted and translated by Xin Xiao.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Oral history interview with Dian Nao, Stellenbosch, 23. 04. 2016, conducted and translated by Xin Xiao.

Conclusion

Taiwanese immigrants came to South Africa at a time when both countries had a negative political image in the global political economy. While they were initially socially discriminated against in South Africa, they negotiated to improve their status and cooperated with the apartheid authorities. Taiwanese families established business on the borders of homelands where they created jobs and boosted the local economy. They were generally more successful than the early immigrants from mainland China and used the opportunity of migration to boost their capabilities and to make money.

The number of Taiwanese immigrants increased from the 1980s with an approximate number of 2000 yearly, and later experienced a decline from the early 1990s to the number of 400 yearly due to a series financial crisis from East Asia. Taiwanese immigrants' economic activity and occupational category statistics also experienced a similar fluctuation in the same period (from 1986 to 1994).

Conclusion:

The thesis has discussed patterns of migration and livelihoods of Chinese migrants to South Africa over the past one hundred years highlighting some of the key economic factors that drove Chinese to relocate to South Africa. The study identified incentives which motivated Taiwanese immigrants to look for business opportunities in South Africa and explained how immigrants from mainland China were limited by their capability sets and apartheid restrictions.

The analysis in this study found that early free Chinese immigrants in the twentieth century came to South Africa to earn money and transferred their wages back to their families in China. It shows how gambling was popular among these free labour immigrants as a quick way to make money and with a bit of serendipity they could potentially gain more money more quickly than they could by working. Port Elizabeth is identified in this study as a transit station for most of the Chinese immigrants, as it accommodated the largest population of Chinese immigrants in its history. This study shows that there were more Chinese females arriving in South Africa between 1937 and 1948 (with an average number of 27 per year) than previously thought.

Taiwanese immigration (1964-1994) was driven by strong economic interests. Taiwanese entrepreneurs helped to stimulate the economic growth of Bantustans (homelands) by establishing factories and plants for manufacturing. The Group Areas Act forced the Chinese community to form a national level organization, thereby protecting their interests.

The research brings a new perspective to Chinese immigration studies in South Africa by demonstrating a different demographic trend from earlier research. It also opens up possibilities for further research into livelihood and business strategies by these immigrants.

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Appendix

South Africa Standard Bank deposit receipt

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

F. No. 10. **X54** **NO 5167**

D. To be retained by Bank.
The Standard Bank of South Africa, Ltd.

1 FEB 1919 191

CREDIT.—THE PAYMASTER-GENERAL. *Pratt*

Paid in by *OFFICER* *FOR ELIZABETH*

Gold ...					
Silver ...		3			
Own Notes...				6	10
Notes of Other Banks				3	10
Cheques, Drafts, etc. (specify)					
				0	3

(Amount in Words) *Three pounds and three shillings*

signature removed

signature removed

Signature.

OFFICER.