

# लपतललंगुवत MANCHESTER

Report

2010

The University  
of Manchester

MANCHESTER  
1824

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## **A Study of Cantonese Language Use in Manchester's Chinese Community:**

**How is Cantonese used in Manchester City centre and by whom? What access is there to literacy and media; Is Cantonese used in Manchester in commerce social institutions and more specifically what is the language policy and practise in particular domains of community services (e.g. council services and health centres)? How are decisions made on language policies and their implementation?**

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## Research Questions and Methods

### Reasons for Choice of Cantonese Community

From our preliminary research we saw that the effects of bilingualism, on one or more of the languages of bilinguals, can be either covert or overt and this usually happens unconsciously. This was the underlying core topic in our project. The answers and discussion in relation to this topic would affect the answer to our research questions as the conclusion on patterns of bilingual speech, will frequently mirror the patterns of 'access to literacy and media', 'the language policy and practise in particular domains', 'the languages use in education, commerce, social institutions' and the 'decisions on language policies and their implementation'. Therefore, positive answers with regards to the language in question, will usually point to overt bilingualism and the vice versa. Negative answers in regard to the language in question will point to covert bilingualism and once again, the vice versa.

An example of this is that if we find that Cantonese speakers have no difficulty in accessing Cantonese literacy and media, then this will show a trend towards increased Cantonese language use in a Chinese bilingual community.

With this in mind, we focused on Cantonese language use in Manchester. We chose to locate our study here as there is such a large Chinese population in Manchester; we hoped the existence of a large and diverse Chinese population would provide us with decisive results.

We discovered within in our primary research that not much is linguistically known about Cantonese speakers in and around the Manchester region; *the Cantonese community has of recent years become the subject of great interest for linguists; never the less past studies of the UK's Chinese community have revealed little about the Chinese Community that actually exists here.* (Liao, 1992, W.Li, 1994, as quoted in Part One). This was therefore another reason as to why we chose the Cantonese community as the focus of our study, as we would be able deviate our own research in whichever direction we were interested in, with no blueprint for how this was to be done. One study that we were aware of in this linguistic area, was a study done by Sandy Lo, a previous student at the University of Manchester, who focused mainly on Code-Switching in Cantonese speakers in Manchester.

### Choice of Cantonese in Chinatown, Manchester

Our research on Cantonese language use in Manchester led us to Chinatown situated in the City Centre. This area is of great importance to the East Asian population residing in Manchester, as it is the second largest Chinatown in England and the third in Europe. We were intrigued instantly by the fact that the large population of Chinese residents kept as loyal as is possible to their original cultures and norms and were not, as it appears, to be fully integrated in to wider society, contradicting the possible existence of a national feeling that migrants arriving to this country should immerse themselves fully in the English culture and tongue in order to survive.

It is clear however, that the statistics represent that this region in Manchester is the hub of Chinese culture that seems to allow Chinese people in Manchester to live comfortably and easily. The facts we uncovered from this region in our original research were key factors in our decision to focus our

secondary research in this geographical area, mainly due to its appropriateness to our research questions:

- Chinatown in Manchester has been established for over 30 years, creating a mix of generations. The early settlers to this area have had enough time to settle down and have families, which led to a second generation of British-born Chinese inhabitants. This was ideal for our project in order to get a clear insight into which language Chinese bilingual speakers decided to use around other bilingual and monolingual Chinese speakers and also non Chinese speakers, which although seems irrelevant, actually provided us with some interesting observations.
- Manchester Chinatown was composed of Chinese people from various backgrounds with regards to origin, language spoken, and educational standard. Its population was continually increasing which has seen the growth of Chinese-related businesses and organisations within this area. Chinatown was then an ideal location enabling us to study how the Cantonese language was used. We could scale the access to Cantonese media in these areas, and the language policy employed by staff of certain institutions within certain roles.

We established in our research that measuring the deterioration of the Cantonese language had previously proved difficult for many researchers, (Fishman, 1965) which although signified that it may be hard for us to comment on language use, was clarification that Chinatown in Manchester, with its large population, was definitely the best area for our research to take place.

### **Choice of University of Manchester Campus**

In our original methodology, we had planned to carry out research around the University of Manchester Campus, however it was only after initial contact that we came to the conclusion that the majority of data we would receive from this sample of people would be misrepresentative of the Chinese community in Manchester, as these people are more likely to have been educated to a higher standard. For that reason, the data we would have received would not have been a true representative cross-section of the Cantonese speaking population of Manchester.

### **Choice of other research areas**

The statistics show that the number of Chinese-born people, residing in the UK, has increased by 116.88% in the past 10 years. This was subsequently followed by the knowledge that the government has been recognising ethnic minority groups and allocating specific resources and funding to those areas. As a result of this we contacted many Chinese organisations, within and outside of Chinatown, where we could conduct interviews and observe spontaneous speech.

We could speak to local figures that were well known and respected in the Chinese community who have a real input into the people, culture and society around them, for example Juanita Yau, an employee at the Wai Yin Women's Institution. Their expertise would be invaluable as we could ask them directly the questions regarding 'the decisions made on language policies and their implementation' and 'is Cantonese used in education, commerce social institutions'. They would have the inside knowledge of the language, culture and society that we do not possess to be able to establish the depth of service provision supplied by the Government and local Council. This was important as we, as total outsiders to the Chinese community and Cantonese language, could not get detailed information regarding the wider picture of language use, and the policies that are employed in the language without their knowledge. Key figures' judgements on the services

provided by the Government are well informed and relevant to themselves that it was imperative that we could access this information.

### **Methods used to obtain data:**

#### **Research Questionnaire**

The questionnaire that we created was devised so that we could easily and quickly obtain data from Chinese Cantonese speakers. Our method was to approach people who we believed could speak Cantonese. If they were a Cantonese speaker we then asked them politely if they would complete our questionnaire and if not we informed the possible participant that we were only interested in Cantonese speakers. We did not have to ask any further questions at this point because our questionnaire was devised to be thorough and when completed would provide us with information including whether the informant was a bilingual speaker or not. We were of course on hand to answer any questions or queries that the target may have, and in particular cases where the target could not speak great English, we were on hand to translate. One method we employed to great effect was in the situation where the participant's English was not very strong one group member communicated to the participant, so translated the question and re-worded where necessary, and then another group member filled in the questionnaire using feedback from the first group member.

We used a mixture of qualitative and quantitative questions to get a wide variety of answers. Our research questions are fairly complex, so we therefore required quantitative data so that we could create graphs to decipher results quickly and efficiently, such as in obtaining an answer to whether Cantonese speakers can access Cantonese texts. We originally aimed to achieve around 50 successful participants; although in the midst of our research we encountered difficulties, that will be discussed, that forced us to reduce this number to 20.

#### **Observational Method**

We used an observational method in order to elicit accurate data; we placed ourselves within the Chinese Community by browsing around little shops and supermarkets. We then observed the speech that took place around us. This was an effective technique in answering 'How is Cantonese used in Manchester city centre and by whom?' as there was no confusion that could ensue and the effects of the 'Observer's Paradox' were not in effect. We took particular note of the greetings, code switching and the differences in addressing different people, such as Chinese customers, non-Chinese customers, colleagues and ourselves.

During the observation and interviews we used a Dictaphone that would document exactly what was said. We would use the recordings for further reference and we could listen back to the tape whenever was necessary to ensure preciseness and efficiency. Using tape recordings allowed us to examine language fluency and techniques such as code-switching.

We used a digital camera to observe the use of Cantonese in society. Its use was invaluable as we could document the languages use in society through pictures. We took pictures of signs and advertisements in Cantonese. (See Appendix)

#### **Interview Method:**

We had planned to make contact to various individuals/institutions/organisations, however due to unforeseen circumstances and issues with schedules many intended meetings could not take place. The fact that many institutions such as the Chinese Advisory Centre and Chinese Health Information

Centre did not have websites or email addresses made it difficult to arrange any form of contact or carry out any background research.

### Results:

From looking at the 20 questionnaires completed by randomly selected Cantonese speakers in Chinatown, we can not only just make flippant assumptions but acquire a fairly in-depth insight in to a Cantonese speaker's lifestyle.

Out of the twenty people we interviewed, 60% were UK Nationals, 30% of which were born within the UK. 55% of the speakers were born in Hong Kong and have subsequently moved to the UK to pursue a life here. This is an unsurprising statistic as we have already established within the introduction of this project that many migrants moved from the new territories of Hong Kong due to the industrial revolution in China.

The interviewees produced an average age of 36, however there are a number of factors which potentially affected this number; when carrying out the interview process within Chinatown, we were often faced with difficulties specifically regarding speakers struggling to understand the English Language. We found that the older generations failed to understand English as well as the younger generations.

Of the twenty people interviewed, 100% of the speakers spoke the Cantonese language, 70% of which used it as their first language. This proportion of speakers is demonstrated in Figure 1:

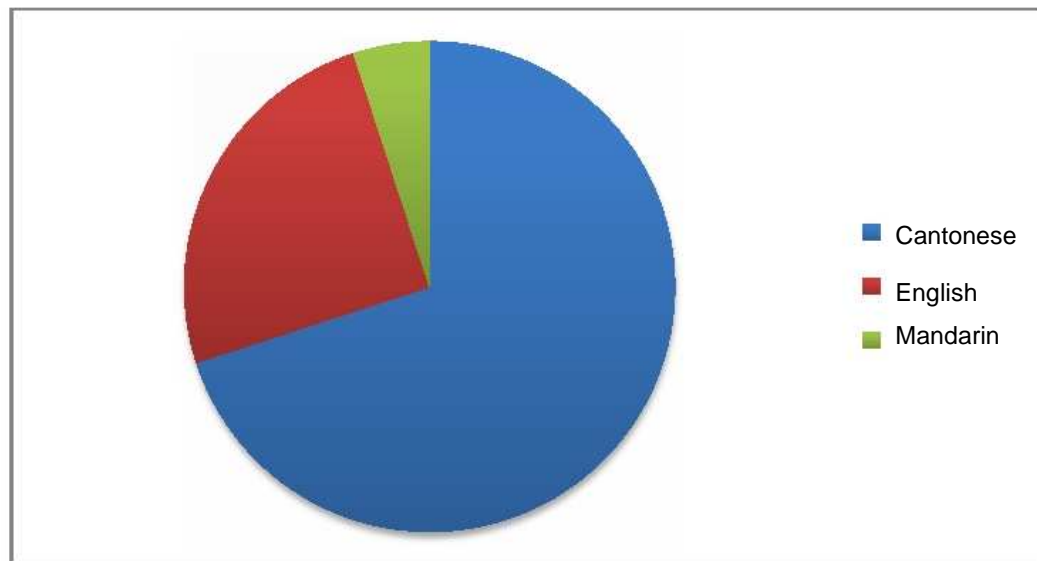


Figure 1: A pie chart to show the percentage of speakers who use Cantonese as their first language.

The questionnaire results reveal that the 25% of speakers who used English as their first language were actually born and raised within the UK.

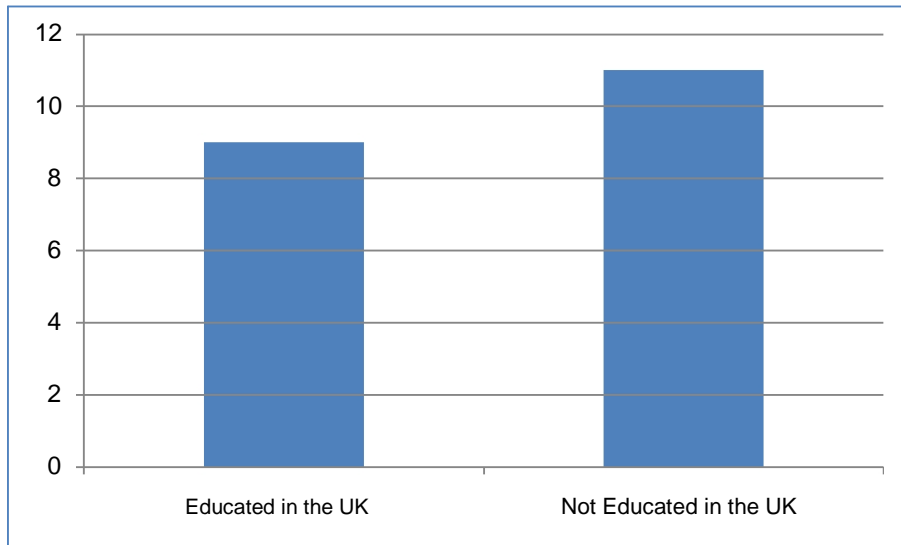


Figure 2: The number of interviewees who have received education since living in the UK

Figure 2 reveals that the majority of the interviewees were not educated in England. Within our questionnaire we also inquired to see if the interviewees were aware of Sunday school services that exist which offer education for all ages. The results, (see Figure 3 below) illustrate how 65% of the Cantonese speakers we interviewed were unaware of the education available at Sunday schools. This statistic spurs the question, if more people knew about this service on offer would the number of Cantonese speakers educated in the UK rise? Therefore in relation to the degree and amounts of literacy available for Cantonese speakers within Manchester City centre, one can almost assume that although there are a number of establishments accessible, there is a distinct lack of knowledge surrounding these institutions therefore hindering the use of them.

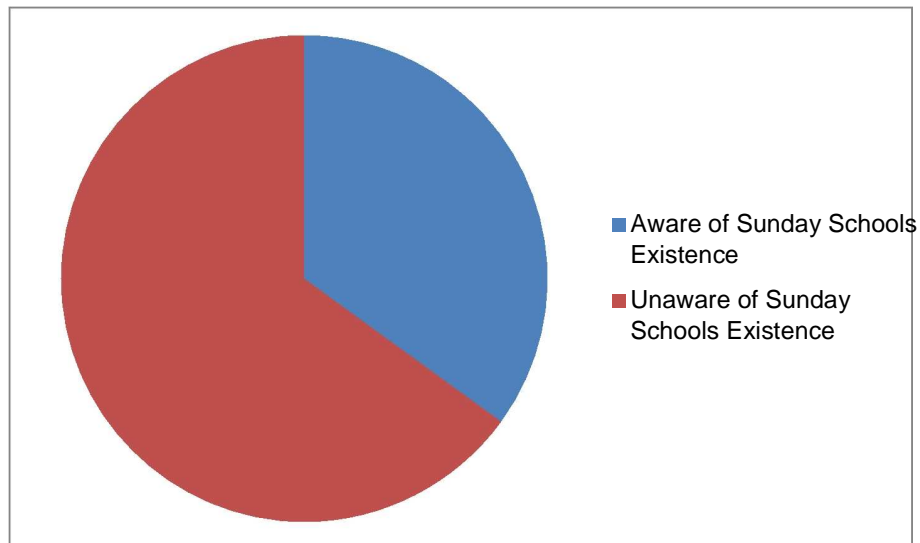


Figure 3: shows the proportion of those interviewed who were aware of the existence of Sunday schools offering education to all in contrast to those who were unaware.

In order to answer our first research question in as much detail as possible we were eager to ask Cantonese speakers their speech and language habits. By inquiring in to speaker’s personal speech habits we were able to extract from interviewees their tendencies for language use. From analysing the questionnaire results it is clear to see that the vast majority of those interviewed used Cantonese when at home; however when focusing on what language speakers chose to use when at work this depended predominantly on job type.

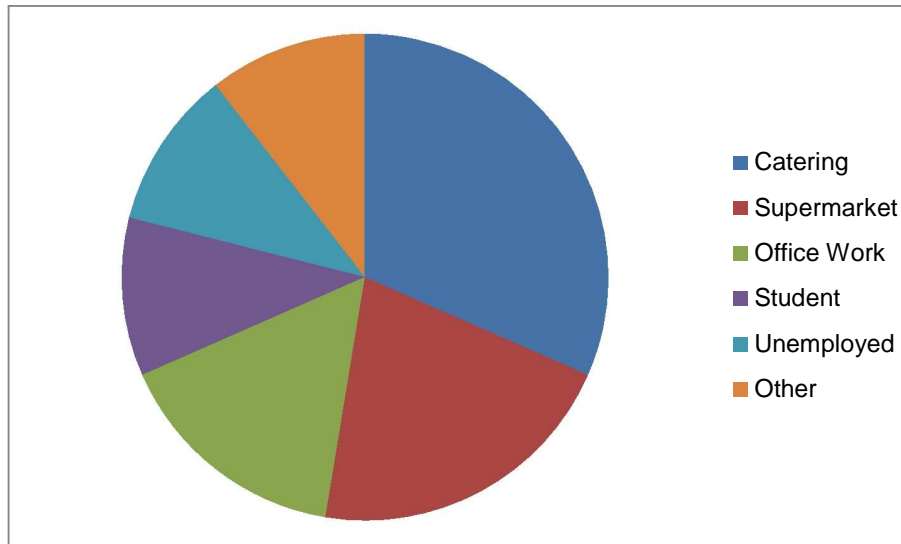


Figure 4: Pie chart showing the proportions of workers in each sector of employment – based on interviewee’s answers.

Figure 4 shows that 30% of interviewees work within the catering industry, predominantly within Chinese takeaways and restaurants, therefore Cantonese was the natural and used language of those specific workplaces because of the type and location of the job.

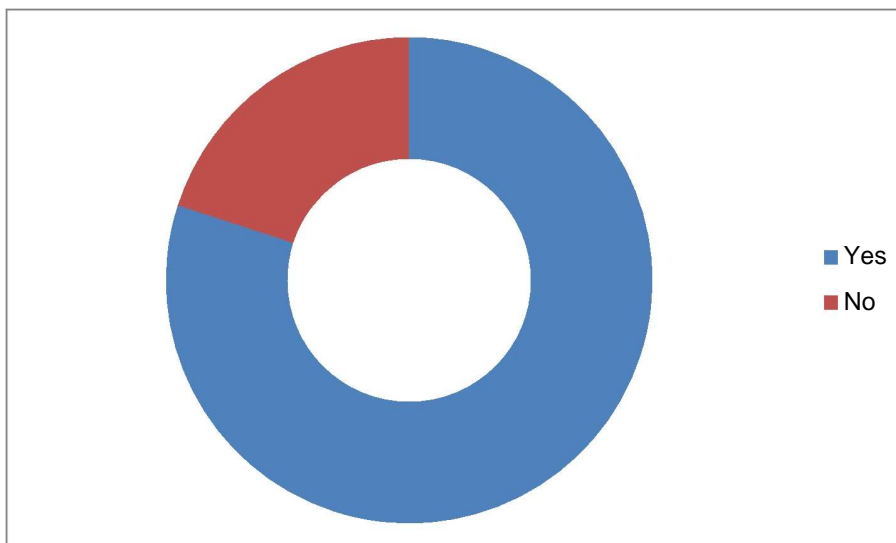


Figure 5: A doughnut indicating the proportion of interviewees who code-switch in conversation.



When asked whether there were ever occasions where the speakers tended to code-switch, there was an overwhelming response of 65% of the speakers acknowledging their own personal use of code-switching (reference Figure 5). To elaborate on this a few speakers when taking part in the questionnaire commented that they believed they code-switched too much, using too much English. Juanita at Wai Yin commented that often it was a case of laziness of the speaker which encouraged the occurrence of code-switching; when a Cantonese speaker could not think of a word in Chinese they would use the English word for ease. (See appendix for details of interview).

An overwhelming aim of our questionnaire was also to elicit the view points and opinions of Cantonese speakers on a number of issues/ideas. One of which was the role of Manchester City Council, more specifically the extent of the provision of services and generally catering for the needs of Cantonese Speakers residing in Manchester City Centre. In order to elicit this information we asked interviewees: 'Do you feel that Manchester City Council cater for your language specific needs?'

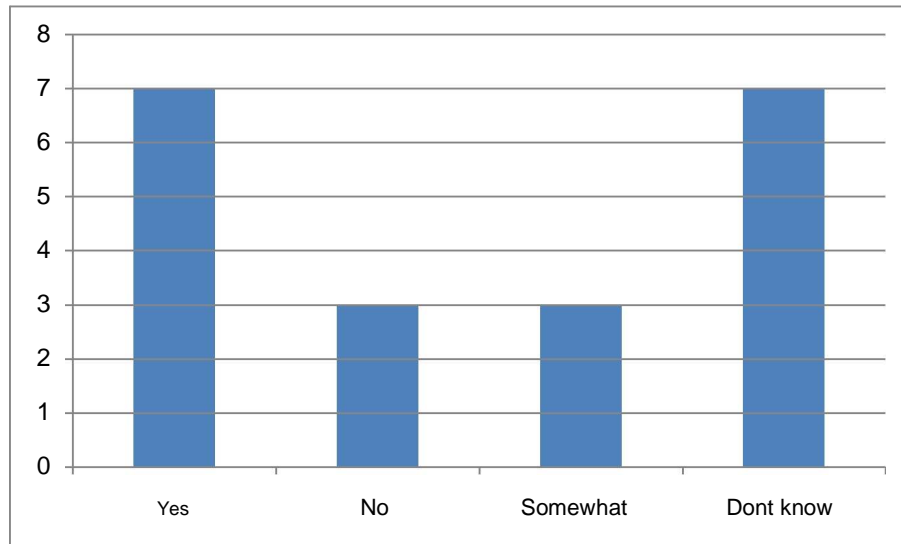


Figure 6: A graph to show the extent to which the interviewees believe Cantonese Speakers are catered for in Manchester City Centre.

The graph in Figure 6 is an excellent illustration of how divided opinions can be within groups of people; in this case there are contrasting results as the majority of the Cantonese speakers we spoke to either answered 'Yes' believing they were catered for, or at the same time the same amount of people answered 'Don't Know'. The rest of the speakers we interviewed equally answered either 'No' or 'Somewhat'; encouraging us to think that speakers did not have a full knowledge of exactly what the Manchester City Council actually did for the Cantonese speakers of the area, thus resulting in an eclectic range of answers.

However, when we asked speakers if they believed it to be easy to live in Manchester as a Cantonese speaker, 70% of the speakers answered that it was 'Easy, there is no problem', 20% believing it was 'hard' and only 10% answering 'Don't Know' (see Figure 6). When focusing on and comparing Figures

5 and 6, it gives the impression that although speakers were largely unsure if Manchester City Council catered for their needs, they found it easy to live within Manchester experiencing 'no problems'.

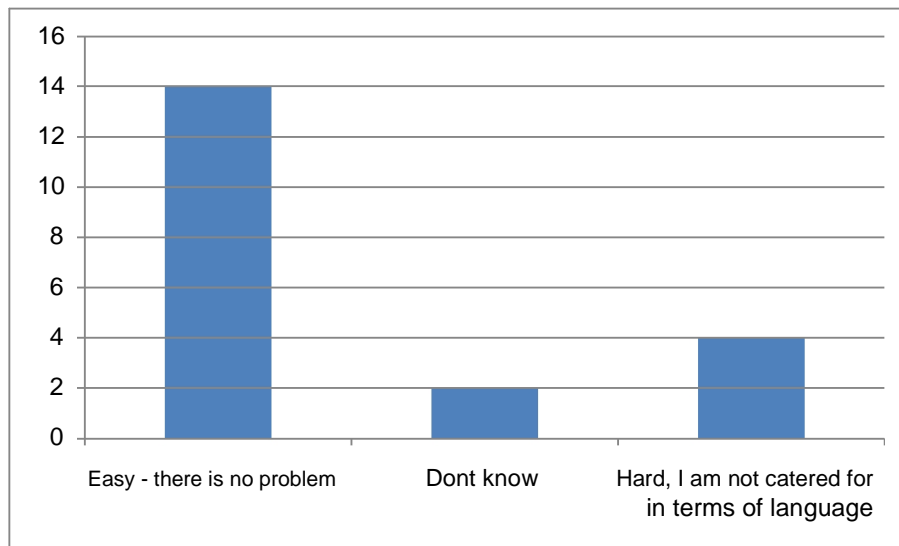


Figure 7: A graph illustrating the interviewees' opinion on easiness of life as a Cantonese speaker in Manchester.

In order to gain a rough idea of how far Manchester City Council's provision stretches we asked the interviewees how regularly they encounter documents from community services that are written in Cantonese, for example at a doctors surgery. Figure 7 demonstrates the occurrence of these Cantonese documents, evaluating that 45% of the speakers encounter Cantonese documentation 'often', with a further 30% claiming they use and encounter documentation written in Cantonese 'regularly'. This leaves only 25% of the interviewees who claim that they have 'never' or only 'once' before received or used Cantonese documentation. An example of and NHS leaflet written in Chinese can be found in the appendix.

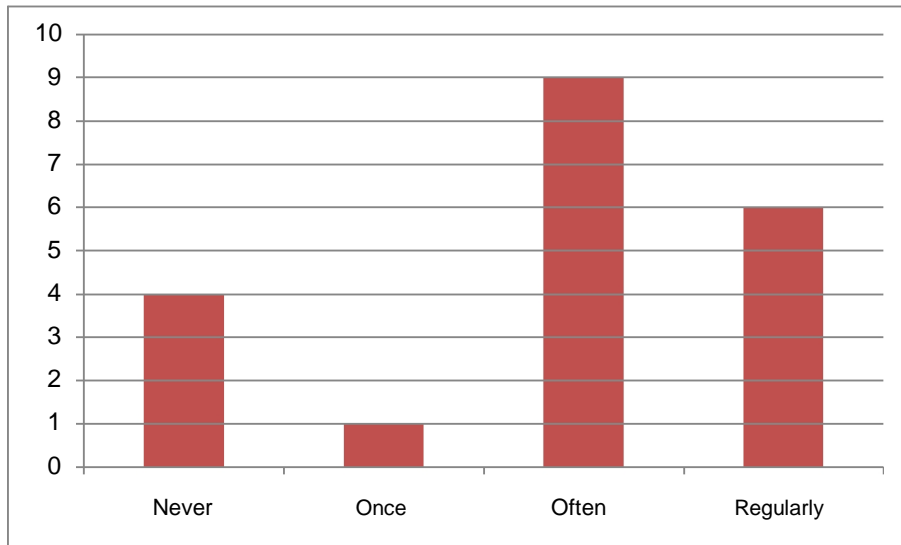


Figure 8: A graph illustrating how often the interviewees encounter documentation written in Cantonese.

With regard to provisions for the Cantonese population within the UK, specifically Manchester, we were particularly interested to explore how recognised and used some of the services were for the area. We chose to specifically ask interviewees if they were aware of the existence of a Cantonese version of the BBC website that is nationally accessible. The results were surprising in some aspects as such a large proportion, precisely 65%, were completely unaware the Traditional Chinese version existed. This statistic supports Figure 6 as it is a prime example of how Cantonese speakers are wholly unaware of what is on offer to them either from the Manchester City Council or the government. The results from Figure 8 are not surprising as 35% of those interviewed 'didn't know' if Manchester City Council catered for their needs as they were unaware of what services actually exist.

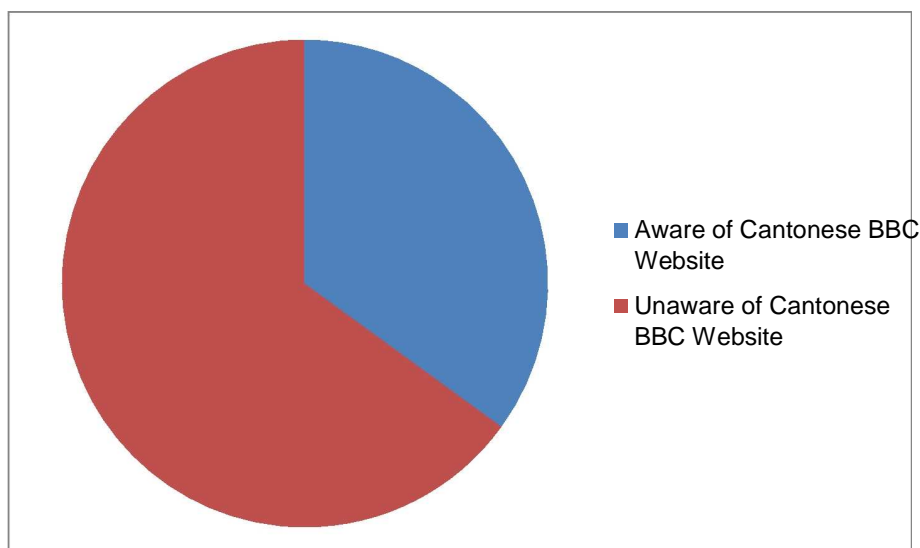


Figure 9: A pie chart showing the proportion of interviewees who were aware of the existence of a Traditional Chinese version of the BBC website.

## Discussion:

Whilst visiting Chinatown to carry out the interview section of our research, we noticed a very bilingual society, both in a visual and auditory sense. On first sight it would appear that Cantonese is well catered for in this community. There were many signs and advertisements written in both Chinese and English, and some written solely in Chinese, perhaps representing a sort of exclusivity towards Chinatown's culture. Newspapers were offered for free that were again, written only in Chinese (See Appendix). It could be suggested that the English language and culture is continuously excluded from this close-knit Chinese society. When entering the supermarkets, food labels and packaging were written in Chinese with only a small selection of English translations. The shopkeepers spoke to each other, and to fellow Chinese customers, in the Cantonese language. Upon entering Manchester's Chinatown it therefore appeared that the language of Cantonese was very much catered for.

The main difficulty we encountered was carrying out the questionnaire research, which proved to be more difficult to carry out than we expected, due to the considerable lack of English that some of the Cantonese speakers possessed. We mentioned in part one of our project, under the foreseen problems section, that we did expect to face some difficulty in this area, and one way in which we would avoid it was by simplifying the questions to accommodate speakers with a limited knowledge of English. However, as the questions aimed to find out detailed answers about how Cantonese is represented in Manchester, some of the questions were fairly difficult to simplify, and even some of the easier questions, for example 'age', proved difficult to obtain from some subjects. The fear here is that the answers provided by these limited English speakers may not have been entirely correct, and the answers provided may just reflect how the person being interviewed interpreted the question being asked, instead of what the question was actually asking for. Therefore, some of the answers may not be entirely valid, and this needed to be taken into account when gathering the results.

However, even with this difficulty that the group faced, we still feel that we successfully gained valid results the vast majority of the time. Quite a few of the people we interviewed spoke very good English and 30% of people had it as their first language and were taught in English schools as children. A couple of people that we approached also actually pointed out that to question people about Cantonese alone actually may hinder our research as many Cantonese speakers also speak Mandarin, some suggested that in order to broaden our results further it may have been a better idea to look at both languages. This also became clear to us when many of the people we approached claimed that they could not speak Cantonese, however they could speak Mandarin.

Mandarin is 'the official language in mainland China...and is used by most of the Chinese schools, colleges and universities'. 'Cantonese is the most extensively spoken Chinese dialect after Mandarin'. However, these two languages are not mutually intelligible; therefore the vast amount of speakers of Mandarin that we came across would not be representative of the Cantonese speaking community and therefore could not be interviewed. This seems to conflict with our findings in part one of our research. We found that 'Cantonese and English are reported to be the two main languages used by a heterogeneous group of Chinese immigrants in Manchester' (Lo, 2001:12). Our findings on Mandarin, however, may just be coincidence and may just be representative of the people we met on that particular day, and not representative of Manchester as a whole.

Juanita Yau, a representative we interviewed from the Wai Yin Women's institution, comments on the fact that in the last ten years there has been a significant rise in the number of Mandarin speakers in to the Chinatown area of Manchester. She commented that when first established, Chinatown was predominantly inhabited by Hakka speakers, and then subsequently Cantonese; this statistic helps to highlight the consistently growing Chinese population within Manchester.

In accordance with struggling to locate Cantonese speakers whilst carrying out the 'street' interviews, once we did find speakers of the language, many of these people were not willing to participate in the questionnaire. This has undoubtedly had an effect on the average age, as we were unable to interview older speakers of Cantonese, due to their inability to comprehend or speak English, thus rendering them unable to participate in the questionnaire. It seems therefore that from the average age of 36, we interviewed a proportion of second generation British-born Chinese inhabitants, who belong to a bilingual 'age band', who speak both their heritage language and the host country's language. As a result, questions could arise as to whether our results are representative of the entire Chinese community living in Manchester, or simply that of the younger community? If further research into this field was to be carried out then this question must be carefully considered to gain more valid results. For example, a very wide age range would need to be looked at (also indicating any changes in the Cantonese speakers of Manchester over the generations of speakers) and accommodated for to avoid any bias towards the younger age groups.

From the results we acquired regarding speakers' first language preferences we can formulate a hypothesis for further research; if a bilingual speaker of Cantonese and English is born and educated in the United Kingdom then English will be their first language of use. The Cantonese language did appear to be used most commonly used in a domestic environment, such as the home, suggesting that even if English is the language the interviewees class as their first language, many will still use it at home and around family or other Cantonese speakers. Since the vast majority spoke Cantonese as their first language, it would make sense if speakers were to use it in the home.

Although it may be fair to assume that speakers born in England are more likely to have English as their first language, a number of other factors appeared to affect this result as well. A big factor that changed what language was used was the speaker's place of work. If the speaker worked in an English speaking environment, then they were more likely to use English, whereas if they worked in a place where Cantonese was spoken, such as in a Chinese supermarket, then they would primarily use Cantonese. Whilst we were in Manchester's Chinatown, we visited a Chinese supermarket to observe the language use of the workers. When observing the language tendencies used by speakers in this local supermarket, it was clear to see the first language or dominant language of choice was Cantonese. It was not only the shop workers who approached and conversed with each other in Cantonese, the customers also spoke in Cantonese with the shop workers.

A point that was of great interest to our group, and one that was touched upon in part one of our research is that of code switching, the phenomenon whereby bilingual speakers will switch between two languages in a conversation or utterance. In part one, we found that code switching was 'an important communication strategy used by bilinguals' (Lo, 2008:14). Because of this we decided to include the following question in our questionnaire: 'In your opinion, are there ever occasions where you tend to code switch?' From our results, we found that the majority of people we interviewed did in fact use some form of code-switching. 65% of people claimed that they used code-switching whilst communicating, supporting Lo's comments on the subject. It would be a fairly common tool used by shopkeepers in Chinese stores for example, as in the working day they are likely to converse with

speakers of both English and Cantonese. Perhaps this may explain why code-switching has therefore become a major part of many of the bilingual speakers' lives and may have become second nature to them.

70% of the Cantonese speakers we questioned said that they found living in Manchester 'easy', although in contrast to this many of them selected 'Don't know' when asked if they think Manchester City Council caters for them. This may suggest that the Cantonese speakers do not feel like the Council needs to linguistically cater to them for them to find living here easy, as there is such a range of independent and volunteer based organisations, such as the Wai Yin. This could also suggest a trend between finding life in Manchester 'hard' and not feeling like the council cater to them. In fact, only 25% of the people we asked said that they had never, or only once, encountered Chinese documentation in Manchester, implying that the rest of our interviewees found that Cantonese documentation was readily on offer to them. On entering the Wai Yin woman's institution, one of the first documents we encountered was an NHS breast cancer screening leaflet written in Cantonese (see appendix). In regards to the accessibility of Cantonese media, we can conclude that 75% of people that we interviewed were unaware of any access to this, such as the BBC website written in simplified Chinese. Juanita, on the other hand, was very aware of available media and emphasised the ease of accessibility. This encourages the thought that if one knows where to locate this media, then accessibility is inevitably easy. Linking in with the previous point, people were also unaware of the existence of Sunday schools, in which education is readily available for all ages. Wai Yin's woman's institution also offered education and classes. Although we did not bring this up in our questionnaire, due to previous findings it could be presumed that the majority of people were unaware of this as well.

## **Conclusion**

From extensive research into the Cantonese language use in Manchester city centre we can conclude the following points:

- Cantonese is used in Manchester city centre by people of all ages within a range of domains, for example work, home and social lives. This was exemplified by the results of our questionnaire which were carried out within establishments in Chinatown.
- There is a wide range of media and literacy services within and around Chinatown which proved to be easily accessible but not readily known about by the Cantonese speakers we came across. These included newspapers, along with websites such as the BBC.
- Cantonese usage in commerce institutions, such as supermarkets, was found to be extremely common within Chinatown. Sunday schools and Wai Yin's offered classes taught in Cantonese, although people we interviewed were often unaware of the existence of these services.
- Within certain community domains and institutions such as Wai Yin, there exists a very laid back language policy; as opposed to implementing the use of one language, institutions encourage the use of Cantonese and English, whatever is easier for the speaker. Leaflets and notices are therefore written in a number of languages.

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Appendix:





## BBC website in Traditional Chinese



<http://www.bbc.co.uk/zhongwen/trad/> - Cantonese BBC (accessed 18/05/2010)

Original Research Plan

To be achieved	Required Date to be achieved	Importance of this
<p>Wai Yin Womens Society: meeting arranged. Research method to be implemented: Questionnaire, follow-up questions, Interview. Dictaphone to be used as back up copy.</p>	<p>22/04/2010</p>	<p>The Wai Yin Womens Society is a society for women. They are predominantly Cantonese speakers. They are an ideal niche target for us, as women are more likely than men to be in social and commerce institutions such as the doctors, where they can tell us precisely if their language needs are catered for. It is a fairly old society, which presents a cross-reference of society at all ages.</p>
<p>Chinese Arts Centre: meeting arranged: Research method to be implemented: Questionnaire, follow-up questions, Interview. Dictaphone to be used as back up copy.</p>	<p>22/04/2010</p>	<p>The Chinese Arts Centre is a significant link to make for our report, as they are ambassadors for Chinese culture in Manchester. They share strong bonds with Chinese people around England and an everlasting tie with China. This is an extremely important link to make and it would be wise to make the most of it.</p>
<p>Arts Council of England: Research methods to be implemented: Questions employed by email.</p>	<p>TBC</p>	<p>The Arts Council of England supplied the Chinese Arts Centre with a grant which has allowed them to become an important establishment in England as well as Manchester. We would be wise to find out their reasoning for this, and their view on the importance of Cantonese will influence our own research.</p>
<p>Manchester Chinese Christian Church: meeting arranged. Research method to be implemented: Questionnaire,</p>	<p>25/04/2010</p>	<p>The Manchester Chinese Christian Church is situated xxxx. It is an ideal surrounding to employ our questionnaires,</p>

follow-up questions, Interview. Dictaphone to be used as back up copy.		and also interview employees who encounter Cantonese daily. They also have a wide knowledge of resources, media and other institutions using Cantonese in Manchester.
Karen Wang  Research method to be implemented: Questionnaire, follow-up questions, Interview. Dictaphone to be used as back up copy.	26/04/2010	Karen Wang is the Administrative Manager for the Centre of Chinese Studies at the University of Manchester. She has a great depth of knowledge into use, culture and community of Cantonese and its speakers. She is an ambassador for the use of the language and a representative of the many Cantonese speakers who are educated at the stated establishment.
Expected Processing of Information	03/05/2010	It is important to process our data in order to draw a concise conclusion.

### Interview with Juanita: employee at the Wai Yin Chinese Women's Institute

Our initial perception of the 'Wai Yin Women's Society' was that it was a centre for all cultures; it had a calm and welcoming atmosphere with many informative leaflets around for guidance about the centre and what it has to offer. Juanita Yau whom we met with at 13:30 Wednesday 19<sup>th</sup> May was clearly fluent in English and appreciated our interest in the Society. Within the reception, there was a cluster of computers which were all being used by a mixture of both English and Chinese people.

In response to the commencement of the Society, she confirmed our research with saying that the Centre opened in 1988. Juanita estimated that they have over 600 memberships a year and that in addition to this another estimated 400 non-members also visit the Society. These were people of all ages; the fact that she couldn't specify is another positive indication that the society is widely used throughout the community. We asked whether the Society was opened because of requests for such a institution or whether it was purely to see how it would benefit the community. With Chinatown being the second largest Chinese community in the United Kingdom behind London, Juanita said that it gradually developed from an independent women's society into a larger institution which began to become an actual necessity. This is because the population of Chinese people living in Manchester was growing. Especially in the last five or six years where more Cantonese and Mandarin speaking people as well as numerous illegal immigrants were migrating to the community and were really in need of the Society.

Juanita mentioned that it wasn't just illegal immigrants who needed help but even Chinese people who had graduated from British Universities struggle with finding employment and the Society provide support for this as well.

We then went on to ask who the employees of the Society are, which nationality? She said that most were British and that about 6 were Chinese. She said that all English tutors were non-Chinese. We also thought it would be interesting to know how they go about recruitment, whether they recruit people they are familiar with within the community or whether they follow the usual method of collecting CV's and application forms. She said that many of the employees were in fact members of the society who gradually worked themselves up to a higher position or they were recommended.

We asked about the main benefits which the Society was offering to the Chinese community and she said that they provide English classes which are very popular. They offer help with everyday translation such as doctor's letters.

The feedback from our questionnaires showed that many felt that they were well catered for in the Chinese community but many also disagreed with this. Juanita felt that the Chinese are well provided for within the Chinatown area where restaurants and authentic supermarkets prosper. Particular signs of this which we saw first-hand were newspapers in the Chinese language and East Asian brands and styles of produce.

We were curious to see whether Juanita felt that the government could still do more for the Chinese community and she commented on how in terms of media Chinese websites (such as the BBC Chinese website which we found) were useful; however she wasn't given a voting card in Chinese and all bank, dentist and doctor letters are all still in English. This is obviously one of the difficulties

which new immigrants suffer with when they come to England and this is why the Society is helpful as it handles these kinds of issues which are hard to manage when you are not completely familiar with a language.

She said that the Chinese language and its dialects are not spoken differently in England than they are in Hong Kong. The one differentiating dialect was that of 'Hakka' and this is because it is an outer city dialect from Hong Kong and more rarely spoken. Lastly with reference to our questionnaire, we asked about code switching within the Society and she like many of other candidates we spoke to said that she would code switch between English and Cantonese often, if anything too often.

The meeting was a success, it strengthened the data and information we had collected prior to the appointment and Juanita seemed pleased that we showed such an interest in the Chinese community.