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**DETERMINANTS OF
OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE:
THE CASE OF THE CHINESE IN
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE**

MICHAEL JAK LAM CHENG

*A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements of the
University of Northumbria at Newcastle
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy*

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Supervisor: Professor Brian Snowdon

Abstract

Immigrant entrepreneurship is an important feature of the economy. With the growing numbers of visible ethnic minority communities, their presence in the labour market is of increasing importance in contemporary society. The Chinese are an under-researched group as documented by various authors and publications (Parker, 1994; Pang and Lau, 1998). The dissertation aims to address this failing. The Chinese are often associated with heavy concentration in the catering trade, in the form of restaurants and takeaways. The reason for this continued dominance is an interesting issue to explore. This thesis investigates the Chinese in Newcastle upon Tyne and their experiences, mainly within the catering trade, which offers both employment and self-employment opportunities. As will be revealed, this form of labour market participation can lead to social exclusion but at the same time, the creation of a stronger community. One possible element in the decision to enter self-employment is the existence of racial discrimination in the labour market. However, occupational choice is a more complex issue than simply an outcome of discrimination. The two principal research questions that guide this study are: *'Is self-employment a choice or a necessity?'* and *'Does discrimination play a role in occupational choice?'* An original and unique framework for analysis has been adopted based on prior knowledge held by the researcher by living the experiences as a member of the Chinese ethnic group. This stock of knowledge or indeed 'social capital' formed the basis for ideas and questions used in each of the three stages of research: self-completion questionnaires, semi-structured follow-up interviews and a focus group session. The implementation of these stages has been conducted in order to gain an

understanding of the issues surrounding the two main research questions and to provide an insight into the experiences of the Chinese. However, due to the nature of voluntary responses in the chosen methodology, the research does not aim to generalise the Chinese community, as it remains a small-scale qualitative study.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CNAA	Council for National Academic Awards
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
CTN	Confectioners, Tobacconists and Newsagents
EU	European Union
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
GHS	General Household Survey
GNVQ	General National Vocational Qualification
HNC	Higher National Certificate
HND	Higher National Diploma
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LFS	Labour Force Survey
MORI	Market and Opinion Research International
MRP	Marginal Revenue Productivity
NHS	National Health Service
ONC	Ordinary National Certificate
OND	Ordinary National Diploma
PSI	Policy Studies Institute
RRA	Race Relations Act
SDA	Sex Discrimination Act

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Area of Research

The Chinese are an under-researched group as documented by various authors and publications (Parker, 1994; Pang and Lau, 1998). The dissertation aims to address this failing by providing an original case study, which contributes to the current limited knowledge available at present. Even recently, the Labour Market Trends report entitled '*Labour Market Data for Local Areas by Ethnicity*' (Brook, 2004) neglects the Chinese as a distinctly separate minority group by categorising them under the broad heading of 'Other', thus providing justification that current research is indeed limited. Likewise, there has been little or no empirical work relating to the labour market experiences of ethnic minorities in the North East region.

This thesis investigates the Chinese in Newcastle upon Tyne and their experiences in the workplace. In particular, their dominance in the catering trade industry is a visible feature of the UK labour market, providing opportunities for both self-employment and employment. Restaurants and takeaways are common forms of self-employment for this minority group. As will be revealed, this form of labour market participation can lead to social exclusion but at the same time, the creation of a stronger community.

Self-employment is an interesting aspect to explore in the labour market as recognised by Weir (2003) and Lindsay and Macaulay (2004). With the growing numbers of visible ethnic minority communities, their presence in the labour market is of increasing importance in contemporary society. Not only do they bring a significant

economic contribution but also cultural aspects should be seen as a welcome addition in the creation of a more equal world. It is difficult to deny the impact of ethnic minority culture in areas that many will take for granted such as the presence of ethnic minority-owned takeaways, restaurants and small-scale general grocery stores. On a greater scale, the existence of a Chinatown in many of the larger cities in the UK such as London and Manchester are a prominent feature that highlights the growth of a community and hence the formation of an ethnic business community.

Self-employment is a common approach for ethnic minorities to gain a standing in a predominantly White society but the decision to enter is not a straightforward issue as one might expect. Various factors surround the decision to enter self-employment, which include both positive and negative aspects. For example, financial motivation and the freedom that comes with being your own boss may attract ethnic minorities towards the decision to enter self-employment, but a lack of educational qualifications or English language fluency skills may hinder the pursuit of employment elsewhere and therefore act as 'push' factors. Remaining with the idea of push or forced factors, racial discrimination in the labour market may be a reason why ethnic minorities pursue self-employment businesses. Moreover, Jones *et al.* (1994) and Metcalf *et al.* (1996) found that this was a prominent reason for self-employment in their studies of immigrant entrepreneurship. Therefore, the examination of racial discrimination is a large part of this thesis and is introduced in section 1.3. By researching racial discrimination, the importance and extent of this factor is revealed in the wider labour market.

The majority of studies relating to immigrant entrepreneurship refer to South Asian minority groups such as Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian minorities. Therefore, examining the Chinese provides a different group to be studied. There is insufficient knowledge of the Chinese as a distinctly separate minority group and as a community. In addition to being a different group, by having the research limited to one city and not the whole of England, presents a specific group. Archer and Francis (2006) agree that additional research on British Chinese identities, in particular those from 'working-class' positions, is a valuable area of study. The two principal research questions are: '*Is self-employment a choice or a necessity?*' and '*Does discrimination play a role in occupational choice?*' The overlap between the two related questions provides the link between racial discrimination and immigrant entrepreneurship, the two parts of the thesis.

1.2 The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is essentially structured around two related parts. One part concentrates on racial discrimination in a broad context examining evidence in the form of a literature review of past studies, an explanation of the various theories as to what causes discrimination, the current position of ethnic minorities and the policies enacted to combat discrimination. The second part relates to immigrant entrepreneurship, where the Chinese in Newcastle upon Tyne have been selected as the group to be researched.

An original and unique framework for analysis has been adopted which formed the basis of ideas and questions used in each of the three stages of research: self-completion questionnaires, semi-structured follow-up interviews, and a focus group session. The implementation of these stages has been conducted in order to gain an

understanding of the issues surrounding the two main research questions and to provide an insight into the labour market experiences of the Chinese. The study investigates the perception and interpretation of racial discrimination and whether it is considered as a factor for entry into self-employment in the catering trade. In doing so, a better understanding of the influences and motivations for self-employment is achieved. The central theme of the case study is whether the Chinese view self-employment as a choice or necessary for survival. The answer has implications for future generations and will shape the outcome of the labour market.

1.3 Racial Discrimination

Racial discrimination relates to the unfair treatment of an individual or group solely on the basis of an exterior characteristic such as race or skin colour. Regardless of the actual discriminatory characteristic used to form a distinction from the majority group, the distinguishing factor is often exploited and intentionally used to undermine and restrain the progression of an individual's freedom in economic and social terms.

It is important to distinguish between racial discrimination and racism. Often, some use the two terms interchangeably whereas others maintain that they are distinctly separate. However, the true answer lies somewhere in-between.

“Racism is the belief that some ‘races’ are superior to others – based on the false idea that different physical characteristics (like skin colour) or ethnic background make some people better than others.”

(http://www.cre.gov.uk/legaladv/rra_discrim.html)

Racism is not the same as racial discrimination but by adhering to this belief and expressing behaviour in the form of verbal or physical abuse and harassment, this is by definition a form of direct discrimination. Therefore, racist behaviour is discrimination but discrimination itself may not necessarily be racist. Such discriminatory outcomes without prejudice or malice involved are explained in the theory of 'statistical discrimination'.

Racial discrimination has been outlawed for over 40 years by the *Race Relations Act of 1965* in the UK, but it remains an ongoing observed problem with wide-ranging implications. There are various types of racial discrimination within the labour market¹ relating to such aspects as:

- *Employment Discrimination* – This is where job applicants of a different race to White could be refused the job on the basis of the colour of their skin. There may also exist racial differences in access to work-related training.
- *Wage Discrimination* - Ethnic minority workers may be paid a wage which differs to that of White workers although they are doing the same job. This relates to the issue of unequal pay for comparable worth. The existence of this type of discrimination suggests that wage differentials are not based on differences in productivity levels.
- *Occupational Discrimination* - Ethnic minorities may be concentrated in lower paid and menial 'dead-end' jobs as opposed to White individuals. This leads

¹ See Bosworth *et al.* (1996: 330, 331) for additional variations on the forms of discrimination.

to a situation of occupational segregation as described by the ‘crowding hypothesis/model’. Often, ethnic minorities are ‘crowded’ into occupations that they would not have previously considered due to the effects and extent of discrimination experienced in relation to seeking employment. As a result, overqualified ethnic minority workers in ‘secondary-sector’ occupations can be viewed as an inefficient use of resources, human capital being the valued (or undervalued in this case) wasted resource. Consequently, it can be argued that the economy would experience a loss of output.

- *Discrimination in Promotions* - Internal promotions for members of ethnic minority groups may be restrained essentially causing a ‘glass ceiling’. This term arises from the 1980s and refers to the barrier which opposes certain groups in order to attain the most attractive and high-profile jobs in industry. Much of this empirical work has focused on the nursing profession of the NHS (National Health Service).²

A further distinction can be made in terms of the types of discrimination once we collectively classify these four general categories as ‘*post-labour*’ market discrimination. This takes place after the ethnic minority individual has successfully found employment. Therefore, ‘*pre-labour*’ market discrimination can be considered as experiences relating to the recruitment process, access to schooling and other productivity enhancing schemes, and access to work-related training. (This is also associated with *Employment discrimination*).

² See NHS Management Executive (1993) and Hancock (1986).

Employers who discriminate by race are clearly not acting in the best interest of their company or firm, as they are not adopting rational behaviour. For example, consider a job vacancy where two potential employees of similar educational qualifications and work experience apply for the same position - one White and one from an ethnic minority background. The employer may systematically choose to hire a White employee due to their preference for White over other races. Similar situations of this type are commonly heard of and this implies that a certain degree of discrimination does exist and that people are aware of this problem. Essentially, discriminatory employers view ethnic minorities as inferior to Whites in the workplace, contributing to a lower level of productivity. Such employers may come to this misguided conclusion due to the reliance on prejudiced stereotypes.

Due to the various forms in which racial discrimination manifests itself, the importance of eradicating this problem cannot be dismissed. It is a relevant issue in modern economics where economists note that discrimination is commonly observed in most economies and occurs when the wage of an employee is based either positively or negatively on some factor other than marginal revenue productivity (MRP³), although this may not actually be the case in practice. That is, wage may not be set equal to MRP. The persistence of discrimination over time merits further study.

Although occupational choice is a more complex issue than simply an outcome of racial discrimination, by looking at the literature on the subject and the approaches adopted for research in such studies, the important findings shape the following case

³ MRP can be defined as “the revenue resulting from employing an additional worker” (Atkinson & Miller, 1998: 466). In essence, it is the worth or value of a worker’s productivity.

study investigation. As will be revealed, the approach adopted for this research differs to the methodology of studies examining solely racial discrimination.

1.4 Aims and Objectives of the Research

As previously mentioned, the thesis has two main related sections referring to racial discrimination in the labour market and immigrant entrepreneurship. What follows are the aims and objectives of the dissertation as a whole:

- To provide a discussion of the literature and empirical studies carried out in relation to labour market discrimination.
- An examination of the various theories of discrimination to understand the possible causes from an economist's perspective.
- To provide an analysis of the current relative position of ethnic minorities within the UK labour market.
- To explore a unique case study of the labour market experiences of the Chinese in Newcastle upon Tyne which involves examining self-employment as a choice or a necessity therefore enhancing knowledge of an under-researched group and a better understanding of why the Chinese are highly concentrated in the catering trade.

The overall objective of the research is to provide an original contribution of knowledge to the limited existing literature on the Chinese population in the UK but specifically relating to the North East region where little empirical research has been conducted. The research also contributes to the studies of immigrant entrepreneurship

and the discussions of what makes self-employment an accessible form of employment for many people from ethnic minority backgrounds.

1.5 An Overview of the Chapters

This introductory chapter has emphasised the importance of the topic presented and the research aims and objectives. Chapter 2 is a literature review that provides an examination of studies carried out in relation to discrimination in the labour market as well as an explanation of the most influential theories of the causes that have emerged from the economist's perspective. Following from this, the aforementioned theoretical framework is presented, demonstrating the researcher's own knowledge and familiarity with the Chinese community and their involvement in the labour market. Chapter 2 also extends to an analysis of the current situation of ethnic minorities in the UK by way of presenting relevant data that illustrates many aspects of labour market disadvantage. The examination of national quantitative data provides an indication of how widespread the problem of discrimination appears to be. Additionally, policies that have been enacted to combat racial discrimination are discussed. Policy measures have been adopted under legislation and include the establishment of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), by combining the roles of the Race Relations Board and the Community Relations Commission to end discrimination in the UK. In order to overcome labour market disadvantages, self-employment is an option for ethnic minorities to improve their economic position. This is the theme of Chapter 3, which presents the topic of immigrant entrepreneurship and discusses the decision and motives for entering into self-employment. The importance attached to discrimination, as a possible 'push' factor, is a significant issue in following such career paths and again provides the link

between the two parts of the thesis. Chapter 4 describes the methodology adopted used to answer the research questions where the results are presented and analysed in Chapter 5 and where relevant, relates to the existing literature on the Chinese group. Chapter 6 provides a discussion of the implication of the results and the convergence or differences between the literature and the study. Finally, an overall summary of the key findings is presented in Chapter 7 - the conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Research on the Chinese and their participation in the labour market is extremely limited. Where research does exist, there appears to be no further development from other researchers. Indeed, a notable study by Chau and Yu (2001) comments on the social exclusion of the Chinese in Britain as a direct result of their path to labour market participation, yet there is no further follow-up to this paper. They discuss that social exclusion is largely attributable to the ways in which the Chinese enter the labour market, in the form of restaurants and takeaways. Racial discrimination cannot be dismissed as a potential factor for entry into self-employment or a determinant of occupational choice. Furthermore, it is also erroneous to dismiss racism as a factor that compounds exclusion and isolation from the wider society. Therefore, it is important to examine the literature on racial discrimination in the labour market to reveal the extent of the problem before turning our attention to immigrant entrepreneurship, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

This chapter aims to provide an account of the vast literature surrounding racial discrimination and is presented in four sections. The first section presents a discussion of the most influential papers and past econometric studies which have been carried out in relation to discrimination in the labour market. Space limitations preclude a more detailed analysis but it must be noted that studies have been undertaken in all parts of the world and not just within the confines of the UK. The second section examines the main theories of the causes of discrimination and also presents a theoretical framework of ideas surrounding the Chinese in the labour

market. The third section provides an account of the current status of ethnic minorities and their associated disadvantaged position in the labour market. The final part of this chapter discusses the policies that have been introduced in order to combat racism and discrimination which aim to improve equality.

2.2 Obtaining Evidence of Direct Racial Discrimination

“If workers of every race, colour or creed were identical in their objective supply characteristics, any differences in wages would be the result of discrimination in the labour market.”

(Bosworth *et al.* 1996: 377)

In the UK, as well as other countries, there are two main difficulties that ethnic minorities encounter in the labour market. The first problem, which presents itself, is high unemployment and the second is that earnings tend to be lower when compared with similar White individuals once employment has been secured. Collins (1992) shares this view and confirms that Asian and Black individuals encounter discrimination in the job market and within education and training. In addition, they face a greater likelihood of being unemployed or in low paid and low security jobs. Immediately, this raises an important issue of equality. That is, ethnic minorities are subjected to what can be termed as an ‘*ethnic disadvantage*’ founded upon unequal treatment in the labour market.

It is possible to obtain evidence of direct racial discrimination in the labour market through some form of testing. The first use of discrimination testing seems to originate from the UK and has since been adopted by several other countries, in

particular the US, indicating some degree of success⁴. There are three main types of techniques, one of an indirect approach and the other two adopting a more personal manner. In all cases, the test involves two or more ‘testers’ where one belongs to a majority group (i.e. White) whilst the rest belong to an ethnic minority group. All test applicants apply for the same jobs and are subsequently assessed by prospective employers in accordance to their personal details which include education and qualifications, previous experience, age, etc. However, all the test applicants have almost identical or equivalent characteristics which are indistinguishable in the benefits that they will yield. For example, an Advanced GNVQ⁵ qualification is equivalent to two ‘A Level’ awards. The ‘prepared’ educational backgrounds, curriculum vitae and the necessary covering letters used by the testers are usually rotated for the various experiments ensuring a more balanced approach. If the White individual is continually selected for employment over a repeated period of testing, then discrimination has been observed. What follows is a brief explanation of each technique.

2.2.1 The Indirect Testing Approach

The indirect approach takes the form of applying for vacancies in written form and they are often referred to as ‘correspondence tests’. The only distinguishable factor identifying an individual as a member of an ethnic minority would be the name of the applicant. In the UK, Nottingham, researchers assumed the role of applicants from an ethnic minority background. Each individual researcher applied for non-manual jobs which were advertised in the local tabloid (Hubbuck & Carter, 1980). The job candidates consisted of three males, a native-born White, an Asian and an Afro-

⁴ See Pager (2007) for additional information on discrimination testing in the US.

⁵ General National Vocational Qualification.

Caribbean who all sent applications of the equivalent standard and quality. If all the candidates were contacted for an interview, then 'non-discrimination' would be acknowledged. The experiment was carried out for 103 different employment vacancies spanning diverse areas of industry. In only 6% of the cases, Whites were refused an interview but this figure is in stark contrast to the 48% figure attached to Afro-Caribbean and Asian applicants. The same experiment was carried out again by Simpson and Stevenson in 1994 in the same town and results were still significantly biased even after taking into consideration that after a decade of heavy unemployment, the outlook will generally be low for those seeking employment in any sector.

2.2.2 The Direct Testing Approach

The remaining two personal approaches involve either testers applying for employment vacancies over the telephone or attending an actual face-to-face interview. They are sometimes labelled as 'situation tests' but are more commonly acknowledged as 'audit studies'.⁶ Applicants in tests involving telephone conversations will be distinguishable again by name but also by accent in some cases. Prior to any experiments carried out, the testers (especially for personal interviews) will undergo a period of intensive preparation and training together to reduce any noticeable differences in personal traits excluding obviously race. Such traits are likely to include coaching in courteous behaviour and general conduct. It is logical to assume that personal interviews will provide the most detailed evidence of discrimination as the actual behaviour and mannerisms of the employer can also be reviewed and incorporated into the analysis.

⁶ It is also important to note that the use of audit studies can be applied to such areas as the housing, insurance and product markets signifying its strength as a useful research tool.

However, audit studies can be criticized on the grounds that the applicants are aware of the purpose of the study and may act in a manner that will intentionally alter the outcome of results. For example, a tester may adopt an attitude that may appear somewhat laid back or an aggressive stance that may impact on the importance of first appearances. Although there have been attempts to train testers so that they become alike in every possible way apart from race, it is impossible to control for every aspect to obtain a completely homogenous set of applicants. Heckman (1998) implies that the nature of selecting from a small pool of applicants will reduce the probability of finding evenly matched testers without the need for training.

Another possible drawback is the use of audit studies appears to be limited to job applications as they are deemed unsuitable for obtaining evidence in promotions. It is highly unlikely that there would be sufficient cases to carry out an audit study in relation to promotions, as the very test itself would assume that the testers of various ethnic backgrounds are already in the employment in question and are willing to be used in the experiment. In such a case, the testers are no longer 'trained actors' but actual employees. It is clear that audit studies are not a viable tool for obtaining evidence of discrimination in promotions.

Having discussed methods in which to obtain evidence of direct racial discrimination, we are now in a position to review the existing academic literature.

2.3 Wages and Unemployment

McNabb and Psacharopoulos (1981) have determined that early studies of the UK labour market⁷ concerned with the economic position of coloured workers relative to White, have provided an extensive body of evidence showing a situation of inequality but fails to explain why such disparities exist. Discrimination is a plausible cause but differences in the characteristics and human capital between the two groups can also be a marked factor. Nevertheless, three central conclusions were drawn:

- In general, coloured workers are employed in only a few unskilled or semi-skilled occupations associated with low wages such as textiles and public transport.
- Coloured workers have little or no authority over other employees and therefore this restricts their level of human capital development, especially in the area of leadership skills.
- Coloured workers will likely face discrimination in the recruitment process and once employment has been gained they are less inclined to be promoted than White employees.

Supporting evidence of racial discrimination comes from data obtained by the General Household Survey (GHS). McNabb and Psacharopoulos (1981) note that in accordance with 1972 GHS data, coloured employees earned approximately 20% less than their Whites counterparts. The average annual earnings of White and coloured workers were recorded as £1519 and £1294 respectively, resulting in a noticeable difference in wages of £225. This significant difference is exacerbated when confronted with the fact that the differential does not appear to diminish with

⁷ In particular see Smith (1976).

increased tenure in the labour market. It is therefore important to acknowledge the concept of '*untapped skills*' within a firm which become irrelevant in the eyes of the employer causing a downward spiral on the individual's productivity where it may seem a waste of time to work hard. McNabb and Psacharopoulos determined that the earnings function for Black employees was substantially less responsive to personal characteristics when compared to White employees and that Blacks seem to receive a lower return on education and experience. These lower rates of return were regarded as the main reason for the observed differential in earnings.

A notable contribution to the issue of race discrimination and its impact on wages is the report by Duffy and Lincoln (1990) entitled '*Earnings and Ethnicity*'⁸ commissioned by Leicester City Council. Data on employment characteristics by ethnic origin was obtained by Market and Opinion Research International (MORI) through the use of questionnaires which generated 1260 responses - 583 White and 675 belonging to an ethnic minority group.⁹ The relatively large sample size indicates that the results are capable of providing statistically reliable comparisons of employment characteristics. In general, the study confirms that White workers receive higher wages than ethnic minorities in virtually all divisions of industry and occupation. Differences are apparent in relation to gender, with earnings for men higher than for women across all groups, again suggesting a 'double-disadvantage' to the extent that sex discrimination also exists in addition to race discrimination. Using disaggregated data on the basis of ethnic origin, Duffy and Lincoln provide a clear example of wage differentials in that "the average gross weekly earnings for Asian

⁸ The research was undertaken in 1989.

⁹ The 1260 interviews consisted of a main random sample of 770 across Leicester and a 'booster' sample of 490 ethnic minority workers in areas with relatively high proportions of ethnic minority residents.

males in the Engineering industry are less than nine-tenths (88.5%) of those of UK Whites (£208 compared with £184)” (1990: 91). Similar patterns emerged when analysing the aggregated data. For example, gross average earnings per week were higher for Whites than for Asians: “£209.85 for White men; £167.66 for Asian men; £148.22 for White women and £113 for Asian women workers” (1990: 149). Ethnic origin was also found to impact shift-working and holiday entitlement where the findings were consistent with that of the earnings result concluding in a relative disadvantage. Shift-working however, is closely related to the high proportion of Asian workers in the manufacturing industries.

Table 2.1 shows that the hourly wage rate and the observed differential gap between ethnic minorities and Whites for employees aged 18 and over in the UK, has experienced an overall increase since 1998. The hourly pay differential in 1998 was 34p, increasing to 40p in 2000, dropping to 38p in 2002 and significantly widening to 50p in 2004.

Table 2.1: Median Earnings per hour for employees aged 18 and over, by ethnic group, 1998-2004 (UK)

Ethnic Group	Median Earnings for employees (£ per hour)			
	1998	2000	2002	2004
White	6.29	6.76	7.51	8.00
Ethnic Minorities	5.95	6.36	7.13	7.50
Black	5.83	7.04	7.41	7.33
Indian	6.11	6.57	7.00	8.41
Pakistani/Bangladeshi	5.24	4.94	5.80	6.25
Mixed/Other	6.54	6.00	7.75	7.60

Source: Adapted from CRE (2006: 8, Table 6) Low Pay Commission, 2005.

Although hourly earnings are highest for Indians at £8.41, all other groups earned less than that of the White group at £8.

Low wages for ethnic minorities can partially be explained by the presence of discrimination in the selection process for employment. If ethnic minorities receive in general less job offers and spend longer time acquiring suitable employment, then it follows that lower reservation wages can be expected as search time increases. As a direct result, ethnic minorities may be forced to accept lower status forms of employment which they may not have considered otherwise. However, these jobs may only be temporary until higher quality jobs become available. Depending on the length of time spent in the lower status occupation, human capital skills may diminish and therefore ethnic minority applicants will appear less attractive to potential employers.

A study conducted and a paper written by Blackaby *et al.* (1994), with a following update in 1998, only serves to assist in providing evidence towards observed racial discrimination in the labour market. Data obtained from the GHS over two periods, 1973-1979 and 1983-1989, provided a sample of approximately 80,000 White and 2,500 Black male employees to be analysed. Using the methodology of an earnings function based upon the work of Blinder (1973) and Oaxaca (1973) and unemployment decomposition techniques, the study sought to determine whether discrimination was an admissible component in explaining differentials. The results showed that the ethnic wage gap increased from 7.3% in the 1970s to 12.1% in the 1980s, a differential of 4.8%. An unemployment differential of 8.3% was recorded from 2.6% to 10.9% over the same periods. Effectively, Whites benefited from these differentials demonstrating that they held an advantage over ethnic minorities during the period of analysis. These figures have since been reduced in the 1990s but only

marginally when compared with the 1980s.¹⁰ The study clearly shows the economic status of 'Blacks',¹¹ as they "tend to have on the whole more favourable characteristics (all things being equal they should earn more than Whites), but these characteristics are significantly less well rewarded," although they have more years of schooling and a large population is concentrated in the South East where wages are higher in general (Blackaby *et al.* 1994: 276).

Blackaby *et al.* (1994) make a point of addressing the awareness of those facing racial disadvantages suggesting that the entry of ethnic origin in the use of government surveys and questionnaires is likely to represent the recognition by society of differences in (physical) characteristics. This partially reveals that differences in attitudes and behaviour towards ethnic minorities exist or at least observable characteristics such as skin colour are identified and deemed important enough as to possibly account for unrelated differences to productivity. It is also important to note the issue of 'visible' ethnic minorities where individuals have immediately observable physical characteristics that differ from Whites such as skin and hair colour. Arguably they will be more susceptible to racial discrimination as they can easily be identified as belonging to an ethnic group. However, there exist ethnic groups that are visibly indifferent to Whites and can only be distinguished by accent or name. For example, the CRE (2006)¹² notes that the category of 'Other White' used in the 2001 Census contains a diverse set of people, where four out of five members of this group were born overseas and are not classified as White British. Interestingly, the German-

¹⁰ Data from the updated Blackaby *et al.* paper for the 1990s finds that the unemployment differential is 9.8% which is only a slight decrease from the 1980s value. This still shows discrimination is evident.

¹¹ The term 'Black' in the 1994 Blackaby *et al.* study is ill-defined. However in the 1998 update, the Black group is referred to as excluding Indian and Pakistani groups.

¹² <http://www.cre.gov.uk/diversity/ethnicity/whiteother.html>

born population is the third largest foreign-born population in Britain after Indians and Pakistanis at 215,113 and therefore may visually appear to be White British.

An additional interesting point to note from the Blackaby *et al.* studies was their findings on unemployment in relation to immigrants. White immigrants were found to have a higher probability of unemployment when compared with UK-born Whites as well as Black immigrants appearing to be more disadvantaged when compared with native-born Blacks suggesting perhaps a biased view adding another dimension to discrimination. In other words, those born within the UK may face discrimination to a lesser extent as opposed to those born outside of their current country of residence.¹³ This view is similar to the findings of McCormick's 1986 study of Birmingham which concluded that racial earnings differentials widen with age and this partly reflects that discrimination may be less against young Blacks who have spent a considerable duration or all of their life in the UK. Alternatively, this may reflect an inclination towards the pursuit for less career-advancing employment prospects. Although a distinction is made between UK-born ethnic minority individuals and those born in their country of ethnic origin, the UK-born still have higher unemployment rates than the White population which suggests discrimination is also a problem here.

2.4 The Existence of an Ethnic Penalty

Carmichael and Woods (1997, 2000) examined both the unemployment and occupational attainment of Black, Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani men and women using data from the 1994 Labour Force Survey (LFS) to ascertain whether an 'ethnic penalty' exists. In other words, to determine whether there is any evidence to support

¹³ Perhaps due to stereotypical racist attitudes where those classed as foreign are seen as having inferior characteristics such as English language and literacy skills.

the view that ethnic minorities face a disadvantage in relation to labour market experiences. Using maximum likelihood methods, they conclude that human capital skills and personal attributes do not account for the differentials in occupational status or unemployment which leaves employer discriminatory behaviour as a viable explanation for these observed differences. Carmichael and Woods surmise that in general ethnic minorities experience higher unemployment rates relative to the White population and the majority appear to be mainly concentrated in lower paid manual jobs. There are some ethnic individuals who attain intermediate or highly skilled non-manual and professional jobs but the numbers do not justify a well-represented proportion. However, the key issue is the differences in experiences across different ethnic groups. Both Indian males and females seem to be an exception to the general conclusion in terms of their adequate representation in professional jobs but they remain poorly represented in the intermediate non-manual heading. At one end of the scale of ethnic disadvantages, Indian males have the lowest penalties and Bangladeshi and Pakistani females are subjected to the highest penalties thus confirming that not only is race a characteristic that impacts on employment status in the presence of discriminatory behaviour but also gender.¹⁴

A paper by Berthoud (2000a) entitled *Ethnic Employment Penalties in Britain* shows signs for optimism. The study, essentially the aggregation of eleven years of LFS data, suggests that a gap is opening between the experiences of different ethnic minority groups. For Bangladeshis, Caribbeans and Pakistanis, relatively poor employment prospects remain. On a more positive note, African Asians, Chinese and Indian minorities appear to have generally fared better and depending on the index of

¹⁴ See Goldin (2002a, 2002b, 2006) for further information on gender discrimination.

measurement used, these groups have jobs near comparable or even outstripping those of White individuals. This reinforces the previously mentioned argument about the extent of discrimination relative to different races. There has been relatively little research carried out in the area of '*differential racism*' and '*cultural racism*'. That is, how the views of White individuals vary according to the particular ethnic group in question, in ways that are not directly linked to skin colour. It is difficult to discern how discrimination based on skin colour would have a more substantial effect on Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups than on Indians for example, who may appear indistinguishable to those who do discriminate. However, there is currently no research to date which has directly related these issues to variations in discriminatory behaviour across different ethnic groups.

The existence of low employment rates for ethnic minorities may lead to greater expectations of being unemployed or at least in relation to the amount of time spent searching for suitable work. A combination of such factors will inevitably stifle the perceptions of ethnic minorities towards work, therefore creating a feedback loop in that greater acceptance of being unemployed will naturally result in lower employment rates. As these perceptions grow, reinforced by the experiences of other family or community members for example, the motivation for working towards high status employment will diminish. Subsequent generations may not develop the necessary human capital skills to overcome discrimination in the labour market. Thomas (1998), using survey data from 1987 to 1988 examines the effect of whether such attitudes can explain a significant proportion of the ethnic minority unemployed. The study invalidates this plausible explanation as a major cause for unemployment differentials. However, Thomas at least recognises that this does not mean that there

is no truth behind this concept, only that the data may not have accounted for a representative sample as only those formally registered as unemployed were analysed. Therefore, unemployed individuals who are not registered will be excluded from the data and may in fact be the very group that need to be considered in models attempting to incorporate attitudes and experiences. An additional issue of importance, which may have distorted the results, is the actual time examined. The economy was beginning to come out from a recession during this period and cyclical unemployment gaps are likely to be refilled as an indication towards an economic upturn. In turn, this positive outlook may be echoed in the views of ethnic minorities where such optimism may not be warranted.

The existence of an ethnic penalty means that in order to reach comparable rates of return to the White majority, ethnic minorities may engage in immigrant entrepreneurship, which is in essence the creation of job opportunities for themselves. This is examined in Chapter 3 which links the studies of racial discrimination to the case study presented in the following chapters.

2.5 Identified Limitations of Studies

A further study by Blackaby *et al.* (2002) recognises that previous econometric investigations were limited in their methodology and put forward three central difficulties in the reliability of the conclusions drawn from these past studies. First, past studies have a predilection to group ethnic minorities under a single broad category. The aggregation of such groups is a flawed technique. Ethnic minorities are comprised of distinct separate groups each associated with their own unique customs and traditions. Again, if we recall from Chapter 1, a relatively recent study

by Brook (2004) simply categorises the Chinese under the broad heading of 'Other'.¹⁵ This demonstrates that there is little attempt in some studies to identify the Chinese as a distinctly separate group whereas South Asian groups such as Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi are already afforded with this distinction. Second, in attempting to quantify discrimination, many studies have neglected to identify a separation between foreign and domestic educational experience. The omission of such an important distinction is likely to distort the resulting figures of measurement insofar as a lack of UK recognised qualifications could be incorrectly interpreted as intentional discrimination. A failure to recognise a distinction between UK and overseas-born would also cause additional detriment to the validity of results and any conclusions drawn. Third, another inaccuracy is apparent in the analysis of wage differentials. Many studies have based their findings and interpretation of data on nominal figures and this may cause an underestimation in the measurement of wage differentials as opposed to real differences. For example, the South East of England is generally regarded as being a more affluent region than the North East. With higher costs of living and higher wages, once we factor in that many ethnic minorities reside in the South East, an evaluation of nominal wages will be rendered as unreliable.

Blackaby *et al.* (2002) attempt to address these factors and incorporate them into the design of a more accurate and improved methodology. Using a data-set comprised of fourteen quarters taken from the *Office for National Statistics* Labour Force Survey, beginning with the third quarter of 1993 to the last quarter of 1996, the problematic variables are controlled for individually. In relation to the broad categorisation of ethnic minorities, individual ethnic groups are identified but separate earnings

¹⁵ Simpson *et al.* (2006) state that of the main ethnic minority groups in Britain, the Chinese population is the smallest.

functions are not estimated for each due to the relatively small sample size of UK-born minorities. Therefore the extent of discrimination is immediately identified as a more complex and diverse phenomenon and not just confined to a single race or incident. The experience of overseas and UK-born minorities are also viewed as distinctly separate and nominal wages are subjected to a 'regional cost of living index' which attempts to neutralise the problem of wage differential inaccuracies.

The most striking results of this study are the findings in relation to wages and employment after accounting for these flawed variables. Both these variables differ for each ethnic group signifying to some extent that discrimination can be found to different degrees across racial groups. Wages, in hourly earnings¹⁶, for the Pakistani group were recorded at £7 but Indians fared better at £8.23. Although this is a substantial difference, it still falls short of the hourly rate for Whites at £9.08. Employment rates for Blacks were the lowest at 62.7% whilst Pakistanis were at 63.8%. The Indian group with 78.2% were the most economically active of all the ethnic minority groups but again, Whites outstripped their position at an employment rate at 80.5% (Blackaby *et al.*, 2002). The most influential factor that impacts upon employment was found to be immigrant status where immigrants face a greater probability of being unemployed.

Overall, even with the use of an improved methodology, the study presents a strong indication that ethnic minorities do not face an even-handed or comparable situation to White individuals in the UK labour market. Equally important is the evidence denoting that their respective economic position has seen little or no progress over the

¹⁶ Hourly real wages are in 1997 prices and were derived from the period 1993 to 1996.

last 30 years suggesting that minorities born in the UK have experienced only marginal improvements when compared with the first-generation of immigrants. The collective works of Blackaby *et al.* since the mid 90s can be considered as some of the most comprehensive studies in relation to the economic positions of ethnic minorities relative to the White population and presents a significant body of evidence in proving that labour market discrimination is an ongoing problem.

2.6 Explanations for Labour Market Disadvantages

Berthoud (2000a) presents six speculative factors that may help to explain the observed labour market disadvantages that ethnic minorities encounter. Each will be briefly examined in turn.

- *Migration* - Recent immigrant arrivals may be considered to be at an inferior position to those either born or have spent the majority of their lives in the UK. This is because they may possess either lower or non-recognised qualifications but also they may not be accustomed to the British culture. For example, the proficiency of the English language is likely to have a direct affect on securing acceptable employment. From this perspective, as the number of UK-born ethnic minorities increase, each subsequent generation will be able to reduce the ethnic disadvantage due to assimilation effects in both education and culture. Although language fluency is an important determinant of occupational success, Shields and Wheatley Price (2002) found that it is of less priority to holding a degree or a qualification of an equivalent high standard.

- *Stereotyping and Expectation* - This is primarily concerned with education where outcomes directly affect labour market status. It is a common perception that one ethnic group or sub-group may have in general inferior attributes to that of the White majority. For example, young Caribbean males are commonly singled out in the discussions of poor educational and occupational attainment.¹⁷ Both teachers and pupils will be aware of this perceived reputation and therefore expectations of prospects will likely be formed by the parties concerned. Teachers may expect this group to perform relatively poorly and this will diminish their confidence. Moreover, accompanied with the knowledge of poor experiences of friends or family in gaining suitable employment, this may add to the further discouragement of pupils to work hard. Employers will also be aware of this typecast and therefore may be discouraged themselves in hiring workers from this group.
- *Alienation* - This issue can be viewed as merely an extension of the stereotypes and expectations concept. Those associated with negative typecasts may eventually develop a feeling of estrangement or isolation from the majority group. In particular, this is likely to occur prior to labour market entry during school years where the child is more vulnerable. Alienation is capable of altering the behaviour of the subjected individual. Anger towards teachers based on the impression of stereotypical views they may hold can lead to disruptive behaviour in class for example, or a general disregard for school policies. This will echo in the labour market where some may take the view that they will be unable to secure satisfactory employment due to their ethnic minority heritage and in effect

¹⁷ See Wrench *et al.* (1996) and Berthoud (2000b) for further information on young Caribbean males.

restrict their employment opportunities immediately. The resultant outlook of alienation and associated behaviour will likely strengthen the provocation of rejection from appropriate occupational attainment.

- *Family Formation* - Family structures for ethnic minorities differ from UK households but also from different groups. For example, Indian and Pakistani minorities following family tradition and culture may face arranged marriages relatively early on in life and as a result this will impact on tenure and earnings in the labour market. Males may be viewed as the primary earner of the household and females regarded as homemakers. Therefore, females may have limited experience in employment. This is a conceivable scenario but perhaps more appropriate for first-generation immigrants. Those born in the UK may not be prepared to support an arranged marriage and may view this custom as somewhat outdated. Families will likely conform to changing attitudes as the assimilation of more ethnic minorities become more widespread. Consequently, the composition of minorities in the labour market will alter as both males and females enter long-term careers and put the idea of raising a family as a later priority in life. With respect to self-employment businesses, family formation has implications on the balance between family lifestyle and work (Baines et al. 2002; Baines et al. 2003; Basu, 2004) and this is further discussed in Chapter 3.
- *Employment Structure* - Dorsett (1998) explains that a sizable proportion of ethnic minorities reside in inner city areas where the greatest labour market disadvantages are found. This can be partially accounted for by the influx of migrants during a time where low or semi-skilled manual jobs were plentiful but

due to changes in the structure of the economy, there now appears to be few jobs for those with limited skills and education. Alternatively or additionally, minorities may be employed in industries that are particularly vulnerable to adverse fluctuations of the business cycle. The prominence of minority concentration may be determined by a need to retain a community and a sense of security. Therefore employment may not be sought elsewhere as it will mean leaving behind this way of life.

- *Discrimination* - Whether discrimination by employers is intentional or indirect, the outcome will be the same in relation to employment prospects. Ethnic minorities will have a lower probability of being employed than Whites and are less likely to be promoted. General employment levels for ethnic groups will be significantly hampered and inferior to a situation where discrimination is wholly absent, albeit an arguably hypothetical scenario.

Each individual aspect presented by Berthoud (2000a) is capable of exerting a considerable impact on the magnitude of the ethnic penalty. Emphasis may lie with one factor for a specific ethnic group but where one explanation is given greater importance, another may be neglected. It is likely that a combination of these influences will be the underlying factor or at least strengthen the primary influence considered as an explanation for the ethnic disadvantage in employment.

2.7 Occupational Attainment and Educational Qualifications

Drawing from *National Training Survey* data¹⁸, Stewart (1983) found that whilst White workers progress up the occupational ladder during the initial stages of the employment lifecycle, the same conclusion is unfounded for Black immigrants. From the data used, it appears that the principal cause of the differential gap, in this case, was occupational discrimination rather than pay discrimination suggesting a disadvantage towards job opportunities and not towards salary. However, not being able to attain a high status and high paying job is in itself a barrier leading to pay discrimination.

There seems little point in drawing direct comparisons between measurements of discrimination from one study to another as each will have unique aspects whether it is the identified variables involved or the composition of the sample size. Results will essentially be distorted when comparisons are made due to the weights associated with the considered components in calculating wage differentials. This view is echoed by Gill (1994) who comments that there is a lack of consensus in suitable methods of measurement when analysing occupational differences which renders studies incompatible for a direct comparison. Different approaches will control for different variables and therefore the range of results may differ substantially due to either the neglect or overestimation of certain characteristics. Gill's study attempts to improve on past methods by measuring wage differentials across differences in occupation therefore controlling for a much wider aspect of the labour market. The work was based on information on the preferences for occupations, derived from the National Longitudinal Survey of Young Men in 1981. The main issue of importance

¹⁸ Derived from the Manpower Services Commission 1975 and covered a sample of approximately 54,000 people.

is that after introducing differences in occupational attainment, the total discrimination measurement appears to be greater than before its inclusion. However, Gill emphasises that the findings are subjected to the very flaws of earlier studies due to the problems associated with over-estimation of variables. It seems that the methodology should be given the greater credit rather than the actual results derived.

Borooah (2001) primarily focuses on the experiences of two ethnic groups, Indians and Black-Caribbean relative to the White majority group. The sample examined consisted of males, between the age of 25-65 and in full-time employment. The paper begins with a clarification of two commonly accepted perceptions of ethnic minorities in the labour market. That is, ethnic minorities are over-represented in low-paid, manual employment corresponding to the bottom part of the occupational ladder and under-represented in high status jobs at the top. Another dimension adding further complexity to this issue is that the extent of representation differs across the various minority groups. For example, Chinese and Indian males seem to fare reasonably well where some have attained an occupational status comparable to Whites whilst the Black-Caribbean males fare relatively poorly. Using a decomposition method devised specifically for the purpose of substantiating a link between ethnic origin and occupational status, Borooah applies 1991 Census data covering approximately 150,000 individuals. Three occupational classes were identified and the ethnic groups were then subjected to analysis. These were unskilled or semi-skilled, skilled-manual or non-manual, and professional/managerial/technical. The study offers some general conclusions in respect to wages and unemployment and reinforces the earlier findings of Blackaby *et al.* (1994, 1998) and Berthoud (2000a) that ethnic minorities are indeed in an inferior position to White individuals in the labour market. However, Borooah insists that the current situation can only improve in the future with emphasis

on some interesting findings. Age group appears to be a major factor in determining the extent to which minorities face a disadvantage. It seems that where occupational inequality across the different ethnic groups was a noticeable feature in the older age bracket of 46-65, this became less noticeable among the 25-45 age bracket. The disparity also further diminishes with the inclusion of the recently graduated and individuals with post-18 qualifications.

A noteworthy point of interest deserving separate attention is the findings relating to overseas education. The majority of Black-Caribbean and Indian males obtained their degree-level qualifications outside of the UK. It is reasonable to assume that if one of these ethnic groups has a lower rate of return when compared to the White majority group, then the other will also have a similar level of return. Essentially the two ethnic groups will bear the same apparent shortfall in education quality. However, contrary to this belief, the results actually showed that Black-Caribbeans experienced much lower rates of return when compared to Indians who acquired rates equivalent to Whites. One possible reason for this discrepancy is that Indians, whilst having obtained their initial degree-level qualifications abroad, acquiring post-graduate qualifications in the UK indicates the quality of their education may now be formally recognised by potential employers. For example, Indian employees account for a prominent group of the NHS but many have UK qualifications or training in addition to their home country education. Although this is a viable explanation, it cannot be accepted as an undeniable fact at present as the Census data fails to differentiate between under and post-graduate degrees. An alternative or additional explanation lies in stereotypical behaviour and attitudes. For example, Indians have generally high participation rates in higher education and may be viewed by employers as

academically hard workers. It will follow that their degrees obtained will be regarded as a genuine indication of ability to the extent that they may be treated as a higher priority than other ethnic groups.

2.8 The Transition from Education to Employment

Brooks (1983) provides a critical overview of race discrimination examining the transition from school to work. Taking a neutral perspective and drawing heavily from the work of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE)¹⁹ as well as his own studies, Brooks still comes to the conclusion that discrimination exists maintaining that “at every stage, and by virtually every test which is applied, Black and Asian racial disadvantage is in evidence: in the search for work; in the kinds of jobs found; in representation amongst the ranks of the unemployed” (1983: 94). The most interesting and somewhat concerning issues raised are in the general conclusions in relation to employment searching strategies. First, members of ethnic minority groups are more dependent on statutory agencies such as the Careers Service than their White counterparts. Second, ethnic minorities need to make more job applications before success is attained and third, in relation to the previous point, the length of time taken to secure employment is usually longer.

Brennan and McGeevor (1987) carried out an investigation for the CRE into the employment of graduates from ethnic minorities. This is a significant area of research, for if the results indicate that further education for ethnic minorities yield inferior or little benefits when compared to White equivalents, this will have important implications on the decision of investing 3 or 4 years in university and

¹⁹ Commission for Racial Equality (1978) *Looking for Work: Black and White School Leavers in Lewisham*, Commission for Racial Equality.

hence human capital. The report provides information on a sample of graduates from ethnic backgrounds and who obtained their first degree in 1982.²⁰ Although the number of ethnic minority graduates in the acquired sample was deemed too small to justify definitive conclusions, the consistency of the findings cannot be simply dismissed and are at least sufficient enough to allow for several provisional observations:

- In obtaining employment, graduates from ethnic minorities appear to suffer greater difficulties than UK Europeans. Greater proportions are unemployed for a year after graduation and greater proportions have continued in full-time education. The actual ethnic minority graduates themselves perceive more difficulties in acquiring employment than their White counterparts.
- Employment found by ethnic minority graduates is inferior to the jobs gained by White graduates in respect to several measures adopted by the study where salaries were lower, in particular for Asians, than those procured by Whites.
- Asian graduates tended to study subjects which led to definite vocational career paths but the study showed that the employment profiles differed to White graduates. In pharmacy for instance, Asian graduates arrived at different types of jobs to Whites and in smaller numbers primarily concentrated in small private sector firms. In the case of electrical and electronic engineering, Asian graduates encountered much difficulty in obtaining any appropriate form of employment.

²⁰ Information/data was compiled by the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) Development Services in a survey of 10% of graduates.

Brennan and McGeevor (1987) comment on the difficulty of assessing the 'value added' derived from further education by individuals with different ethnic backgrounds. Therefore, any difficulties experienced by ethnic minority graduates in the labour market should not be considered as signifying that these individuals receive no employment gains from holding a degree. As Brennan and McGeevor (1987: 72) state, "What is at issue is how far other forms of social disadvantage have been reduced," and this provides a clear message for both employers and careers advisers that ethnic minority graduates are receiving unequal treatment in the labour market and that action will be necessary to resolve the problem.

It is reasonable to assume that older ethnic minority individuals tend to have less UK qualifications than younger individuals. This can be directly related to UK-educated younger generations. Older generations may hold overseas qualifications which are not recognised in the UK or an equivalent standard may not be available. Therefore, those holding overseas qualifications may end up in jobs which fail to meet their comparable worth. Although this may be true, in their study of Leicester, Duffy and Lincoln (1990: 128) recorded that in general, ethnic minority workers achieved lower as well as fewer qualifications than Whites, and over 80% of Asians over the age of 35 had no UK qualifications in comparison to approximately 50% for Whites.

The study also revealed that there is a clear relationship between occupation and the level of qualification attained, as one would expect. Table 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 show broad occupational groups by highest UK qualifications attained.

Table 2.2.1:
Broad occupational groups by highest UK qualification achieved (Males)

Qualification	Mgt./Admin./ Prof.		Tech/Craft		Clerk/Sec/ PerS./Serv.		Plant & Machinery		Other Occupation	
	W	A	W	A	W	A	W	A	W	A
None	11.5	34.6	16.4	44.0	28.2	41.3	52.6	70.7	65.5	75.9
GCSE/ 'O' level	14.1	19.2	20.9	18.0	38.4	30.2	26.3	25.6	17.2	15.5
Trade/ Comm./Secr.	3.9	5.7	50.8	14.0	15.4	6.4	15.8	2.4	3.4	1.7
'A' level/ ONC/OND	7.7	5.7	4.5	10.0	5.2	11.1	0	1.2	3.4	1.7
Deg./Dip./ HNC/HND	55.1	33.7	7.5	12.0	10.2	8.0	3.6	0	3.4	3.4
Other Qualification	7.7	1.9	0	2.0	2.6	3.2	1.8	0	6.9	1.7

Table 2.2.2:
Broad occupational groups by highest UK qualification achieved (Females)

Qualification	Mgt./Admin./ Prof.		Tech/Craft		Clerk/Sec/ PerS./Serv.		Plant & Machinery		Other Occupation	
	W	A	W	A	W	A	W	A	W	A
None	11.4	17.6	42.9	46.2	45.4	36.1	75.9	70.7	79.5	75.9
GCSE/ 'O' level	15.7	29.4	28.5	38.5	32.4	37.7	20.6	25.6	13.7	15.5
Trade/ Comm./Secr.	2.8	17.6	7.1	0	9.4	6.6	3.4	2.4	4.6	1.7
'A' level/ ONC/OND	4.3	11.8	14.2	7.7	5.6	18.1	0	1.2	0	1.7
Deg./Dip./ HNC/HND	58.6	23.5	7.1	7.7	3.7	1.6	0	0	0	3.4
Other Qualification	7.1	0	0	0	2.8	0	0	0	2.3	1.7

Source: Adapted from Duffy and Lincoln (1990: 130, 131, Table 5.5 (a) and 5.5 (b)).

Notes: A comparison of Whites and Asians from the aggregate survey. 'W' denotes UK Whites and 'A' denotes Asians from the aggregate survey.

The study was undertaken in 1989.

See page X for qualifications acronyms.

In short, having no qualifications will likely lead to manual occupations, GCSE/'O' level standards will lead to intermediate jobs such as clerical and secretarial work whilst the professional or managerial positions are reserved for those holding degrees. Although qualifications may gain access to higher occupations initially, those holding

lower qualifications but still in the same industry may advance in position over time to the status of those holding higher qualifications. For example, individuals holding GCSE/'O' level qualifications may actually reach a managerial position over the years which initially required a degree standard. This is of course related to experience and training within a company and acquiring firm-specific skills and knowledge. Perhaps it is more appropriate to conclude that education, although related to occupational status, does not guarantee a high-profile position.

Drew (1995) arrives at the conclusion that ethnic minorities face a greater likelihood of retaking exams and therefore spend a longer duration achieving a desired qualification. This is consistent with the findings of the *Policy Studies Institute* report produced by Modood *et al.* (1997). A partial explanation is provided in that ethnic minorities may start domestic schooling at a later age or repeat entire educational terms/semesters owing to relatively poor fluency in the English language. However, when comparing the length of schooling between Whites and UK-born ethnic minorities, Blackaby *et al.* (2002) found that ethnic minorities in general have spent a greater number of years in education and attained higher qualifications. The high demand for education is viewed as a stimulus towards securing appropriate employment in the long run and hence a 'self selective' means of combating discrimination on entering the labour market.

If minorities view education as a measure to reduce the ethnic disadvantage they face in employment, an intriguing issue is their actual employment in education. It follows that those undertaking lengthy education may wish to pursue a career within academia. Carter, Fenton and Modood (1999) seemingly touch upon this area of

interest in their study, which examines *Higher Education Statistics Agency* data from 1996 and 1997. The analysis reveals some important statistics. In higher education institutions across the UK, the number of ethnic minorities in an academic staff position is considerably low at 6-6.5%. Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Black-Caribbean minorities are particularly under-represented in occupying university lecturer posts. A sample size of 451 academics from various ethnic backgrounds were questioned on their views of discrimination. The report found that 26.2% of the minorities surveyed, including those UK and overseas-born, had experienced discrimination in employment applications. This figure increased to 29.5% when solely dealing with non-British minorities perhaps suggesting discrimination to a different extent towards those born in the UK and overseas. In relation to internal promotions, 15.1% experienced discrimination but disaggregating this figure reveals some surprising results. British-born minorities suffered at 17.6% but overseas-born reported a lower figure of 12.2%. This contradicts the aforementioned implication but it may be that a significant number of the surveyed sample may not have been in their occupations long enough to report on any experience in promotions. Racial harassment was also considered in the survey where 17.8% reported that they had personally encountered harassment from students or staff. This can be considered as a partial explanation for the relatively low number of ethnic minority staff in educational institutions as they may be discouraged by the perception of racial slurs and taunts from students. In other words, ethnic minorities may immediately exclude themselves from entering a teaching occupation to stay away from their perceived expectations of racist students.

In response to equal opportunity policies, a sizeable number of those surveyed held questionable views on the level of commitment of their own institutions. Of the

British ethnic minorities, 35.4% claimed that they were 'not sure' whilst the figure for non-British was 40.8%. The image projected is one of great uncertainty but this becomes more worrying with the inclusion of the views held by White respondents that 34.9% were dubious of any such policies. The key conclusions drawn from this report indicate that there is still much work to be done in realising a situation of equality in educational institutions that are supposed to represent an equal policy organisation.

2.9 Equal Opportunities in Personnel Departments

The promotion of equal opportunities is often a primary focus of personnel departments. Ross (2004) takes this idea further by investigating equal opportunities within 5 actual personnel departments via a questionnaire survey and a secondary stage of research, conducting interviews, with personnel practitioners of an ethnic minority background. Tables 2.3 and 2.4 shows the results obtained for two questions relating to differential treatment. Table 2.3 reveals that ethnic origin was considered by 22.5% of the respondents who answered the question as a factor that affects recruitment. Additionally, Table 2.4 reveals that over half (52.6%) of the respondents felt that their experience was different to that of White co-workers. Such negative differentiated experiences manifested in various ways and these forms are shown in Table 2.5.

Table 2.3:**Has your ethnic origin ever affected your recruitment to personnel posts?**

Has your ethnic origin ever affected your recruitment to personnel posts?		
Response	Number responding to question	% of those responding to question
Yes	9	22.5
No	16	40
Don't Know	15	37.5
Total	40	100

Source: Adapted from Ross (2004: 474, Table 1).

Note: The study does not state when the primary research was conducted.

Table 2.4:**Do you feel that your experience of working in personnel has been different from that of most White personnel staff?**

Do you feel that your experience of working in personnel has been different from that of most White personnel staff?		
Response	Number responding to question	% of those responding to question
Yes	20	52.6
No	9	23.7
Don't Know	9	23.7
Total	38	100

Source: Adapted from Ross (2004: 474, Table 2).

Table 2.5: Ways in which experience of working in personnel differs from that of most White personnel staff

Ways in which experience of working in personnel differs from that of most White personnel staff		
Response	Number responding to question	% of those responding to question
Given more menial work	2	10
Pushed towards equal opportunities work/work with ethnic minority groups	5	25
More difficult to network	2	10
Managers do not accept your advice	2	10
Discriminated against in promotions	2	10
Other staff behave differently towards you	5	25
Not involved in certain areas of work	2	10
Have to be better	2	10
Total believing that their experience differs	20	

Source: Adapted from Ross (2004: 475, Table 3).

Note: Table only shows responses from those who believe that their experience of working in personnel differs; responses do not add to 100% as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Ross (2004: 481) concludes that discrimination in “overt, covert and subtle forms” all play a part in the negative scenarios that ethnic minorities experience and the label of ‘ethnic categorisation’ itself, immediately separates minorities from the wider White majority group.

2.10 The Economic Theory of Discrimination

“By economic theory, we mean that in some sense, markets are the central institution in which individual actions interact and that other institutions are of negligible importance.”

(Arrow, 1998: 94).

Discrimination is a widely discussed subject in labour economics and is presented as a somewhat challenging issue. As Sapsford and Tzannatos note: “why and how can a group of workers (such as women, ethnic or racial minorities) be systematically subjected to a different treatment than another group (such as men or White persons) in a competitive labour market driven by the pursuit of profits by employers?” (1993: 209). Different theorists offer various ideas as to what is the actual cause of discrimination and the different theories generally fall under four headings - ‘tastes’, ‘statistical’, ‘imperfect competition’ and ‘crowding’. By acknowledging the different concepts of discrimination and recognizing their economic importance, we are able to expand our understanding of its effects and possible causes and consequences. It has only been relatively recently that economists have taken a systematic approach in attempting to explain both the likely causes and effects of discrimination in the labour market.

Essentially, discrimination in the labour market is an efficiency issue. If we take the assumption of profit maximization as the initial starting point of orthodox

microeconomic analysis in relation to the objective of the firm, a discriminatory employer's behaviour is deemed irrational. This causes an additional problem in explaining the presence of discrimination in the pursuit of profit maximization. As orthodox neo-classical economic analysis is founded on the principle of rational agents and rational behaviour, its usefulness in explaining the concept of discrimination may seem to be limited. What follows is an explanation of the most prominent and influential theories of discrimination.

2.10.1 Discrimination Based on 'Tastes'

"Money, commonly used as a measuring rod, will also serve as a measure of discrimination. If an individual has a 'taste for discrimination,' he must act as *if* he were willing to pay something, either directly or in the form of a reduced income, to be associated with some persons instead of others. When actual discrimination occurs, he must, in fact either pay or forfeit income for this privilege."

(Becker, 1971: 14)

Becker's *The Economics of Discrimination* (1957) forms the basis of modern economic studies on the subject of discrimination and is widely acknowledged by academics of different disciplines as a landmark in capturing the important features of this social problem. Becker aimed to develop a theory of discrimination²¹ which could be applied "not only to discrimination and nepotism in the market place but also to non-market discrimination and nepotism and, indeed, more generally to other kinds of non-pecuniary motivation as well" (1971: 11).

In order to analyse the effects of discrimination Becker, adopted the concept of a 'discrimination coefficient'. All individuals, regardless of race, are assumed to have

²¹ It must be noted that Becker's theory is applicable to all diverse forms of discrimination but in the context of this dissertation, the focus is on race.

equal productive characteristics. By making this assumption the model is concerned with only labour market discrimination of the employer, as pre-market factors such as schooling need not be taken into account, as they are held constant. This simplifies the model considerably. Employers who have a preference for hiring workers of a non-ethnic background will act in a subjective manner, that is, the employer will view ethnic minority workers as being less productive than White workers. This type of behaviour is a form of direct discrimination as the employer has essentially devalued the productivity of ethnic minorities without observing actual characteristics.

The marginal revenue productivity of all workers in the labour market in question is denoted by MRP . The magnitude of the employer's prejudiced devaluation of productivity in the case for ethnic minorities is denoted by d . Market equilibrium is attained when the wage for White individuals, W_W , is equated to MRP .²²

$$MRP = W_W \quad (1.1)$$

However, the equilibrium for ethnic minorities is only attained when their wage, W_{EM} , is equated to the biased value that employers place on their productivity.

$$MRP = W_{EM} + d \quad (1.2)$$

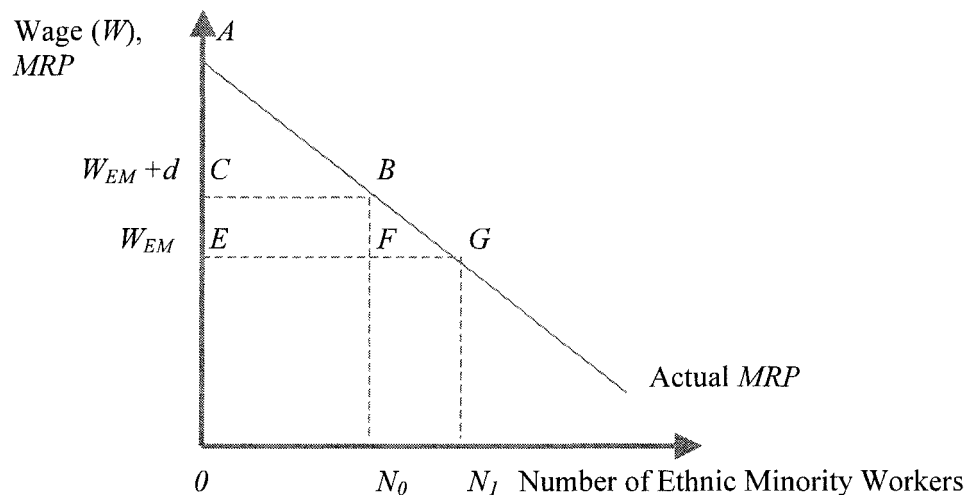
Due to the assumption stated earlier that actual values of marginal revenue productivities for workers of an ethnic and non-ethnic background are equal, the above two equations must also be equal to each other.

²² The theory behind the Becker approach to racial discrimination is equally applicable to gender discrimination. The only difference being that the favoured and disadvantaged groups in this case are males and females respectively.

$$W_W = W_{EM} + d \quad (1.3)$$

This is where the problem becomes apparent. It can be clearly seen that W_{EM} is a smaller value to W_W . This indicates that in a situation where employers practice discriminatory behaviour in the process of hiring workers, ethnic minorities must in a sense effectively devalue the perception of their own productivity to compete with White workers. In essence, they must accept lower wages to make themselves appear attractive to potential employers. However, it could be argued that no extent of ‘self-devaluation’ on behalf of an ethnic minority will satisfy the discriminatory employer. Becker believed that the idea of employer preferences and ‘tastes’²³ towards those of a non-ethnic background is evident, as employers are willing to sacrifice more profit to pursue their own reasoning. Figure 2.1 graphically depicts equation (1.2).

Figure 2.1: Discrimination - Ethnic Minority Equilibrium Employment



Source: Adapted from Ehrenberg and Smith (1997: 434, Figure 12.2).

²³ The idea of ‘tastes’ is comparable to the preference consumers may have for a particular product brand or commodity.

A discriminatory employer will hire ethnic minorities up to a point corresponding to N_0 where $MRP = W_{EM} + d$. Non-discriminatory employers, following profit-maximizing behaviour, will hire N_1 number of workers as this is where $MRP = W_{EM}$. The firm's total revenue is measured as the area under the MRP curve and when taking into account the payment of wages or wage bill of the discriminatory employer ($0EFN_0$), a comparison of profits can be observed. $AEFB$ would represent the profit of the discriminatory employer but the non-discriminatory employer will generate a profit corresponding to the area AEF by hiring more ethnic minorities. As a result, the loss of profit to the discriminatory firm can be viewed as the area BFG .

The ability to indulge in discrimination that yields direct utility to the employer is viewed as a higher priority than the generation of profits. In this sense, there is a certain degree of rationality in terms of the employer's behaviour and perhaps could be appropriately termed the 'rationality of irrational discriminatory behaviour'. Therefore, employers do not employ individuals of an ethnic minority even in situations where their marginal product is greater than the actual employment marginal cost in competitive markets because they are viewed as inferior substitutes to White workers. A discriminatory employer is said to act as if he/she incurs non-pecuniary, psychic costs of production by employing those of an ethnic minority background (Becker, 1971).

In the presence of a highly competitive product market, discriminatory firms will have high average total costs that will adversely affect production and only non-discriminatory firms, with lower production costs, will remain. Ehrenberg and Smith state, "In short, if competitive forces were at work in the product market, firms that

discriminate would be punished and discrimination could not persist unless their owners were willing to accept below-market rates or return” (1997: 436). Becker argues that this indicates that discrimination cannot persist in a competitive situation and will not prevail in the long run. The existence of competitive forces is only one possibility to overcome discrimination in the labour market suggesting that the persistence of discrimination can be partially accounted for by the weakness of competitive forces. Becker’s theory is therefore consistent with a *laissez-faire* approach to discrimination. However, discriminatory firms are not always driven out of the market as the model predicts and we have to explain why discrimination continues to exist in the pursuit of profit maximization. One possible explanation is that some discriminatory firms have at least some degree of market dominance and need not profit maximize to ensure survival in the market as their operations may be controlled by an external public agency. For example, a regulated firm is unable to maximize profits under legislation. Under these circumstances, owners and managers will be able to maximize their own utility or tastes without affecting the operation of the firm and ultimately the probability of the firm’s continuation in the market. This relates well with the work of Niskanen (1971, 1973) on public choice theory. For Niskanen, self-interest is the sole objective or at least the dominant purpose for individuals and in turn determines utility-maximizing behaviour.

Becker extended his ‘taste-based’ theory by incorporating the supply side of the labour market with the idea of ‘*employee discrimination*’. Instead of discrimination being due to the tastes of employers, it arises due to the tastes of other employees. For example, suppose that White workers dislike working with Black workers. If we consider a scenario where a firm currently employs White-only workers, then these

White workers may demand compensation for working with Blacks due to the loss of the ability to discriminate in the context of not being able to exercise their preference for labour market conditions. Employers who want to remain hiring in a non-discriminatory way would likely have to introduce a compensating wage premium in order to retain White workers. Consequently, wage differentials between the two groups will be observed. Again, a problematic issue emerges when we recall the assumption that all workers are equally productive. A non-discriminatory employer would incur additional costs in the form of wage premiums yet the possibility exists that they are able to hire ethnic minorities at a lower price. This may be an issue of majority dominance. In this case, it would be difficult to imagine firms producing without White workers as they account for a large proportion of the labour force. In addition, the updating practices of firms offset by the changing roles of ethnic minorities from previous 'traditional' jobs to more modern occupations will necessitate an increase in competition for future vacancies in terms of promotion. For example, a White worker may have expected to 'climb the occupational ladder' relatively quickly within a firm but due to increasing numbers of ethnic minority workers, opportunities for internal promotion will become more competitive. In turn, the productivity of long-term White employees with a taste for discrimination may decline as well as commitment. White employees may choose to resign as a result.

An alternative outcome of employee discrimination is a segregated workplace. Since a non-discriminatory employer would have to pay a wage premium to retain prejudice White workers, the employer will find it optimal to group individuals of the same ethnic background together. By hiring on a segregated basis, a racially integrated workplace will not exist and therefore discriminatory employees will have no

undesired interactions. From an economic perspective, there should be no discriminatory wage differentials as equally productive individuals will be hired at the same price but placed in different sections and indicating a least-cost scenario for the employer.

Becker's theory can also be incorporated into the idea of '*customer discrimination*' as a possible additional source of discriminatory behaviour. Customers may have a preference for those who serve them in terms of racial identity and occurs when customers are willing to pay a higher price for goods and services from members of the majority group. Discriminatory customers will act as if being served by an ethnic minority imposes an additional non-pecuniary cost. In a way, utility will be subtracted from the customer almost as if a monetary tax has been imposed. If we assume that a substantial proportion of the White population engaged in customer discrimination, such a scenario would reduce the demand for products and services sold by ethnic minorities and because labour input can be considered to be derived from demand, the hiring of ethnic minority workers may decline. Alternatively, wages may decrease in an effort to lower the price of the final product or service to make it more attractive to consumers. This model implies that customer discrimination can facilitate the formation of segregated workplaces by human interaction. Majority groups may be hired for positions requiring significant customer contact time such as doctors and ethnic minorities may be hired for jobs which involve little such as drive-thru services. It must be noted that we are still in a theoretical situation. In reality, there are indeed positions filled by ethnic minorities requiring significant contact time. A particular area of interest to note is the self-employed, which is the basis of the thesis. A unique situation presents itself as the

behaviour of the employer is no longer influenced by fulfilling majority preferences but income is determined by the number of customers. In this case, the reliance on regular non-discriminatory customers would be an important factor. Becker's taste-based theory can be applied to the situation of the Chinese catering trade but under a specific form of discrimination as will be revealed later in the dissertation.

Becker's model is not without its criticisms. Like any pioneering theory, the simplifications introduced in the model such as having constant tastes for discrimination across different firms can be argued as being too simplistic to the extent that uncertainty is an always present facet. For example, it is unlikely that discrimination results from the uncoordinated decisions of all employers across all firms. The simplicity of assumptions of any theoretical model in itself is an ongoing debate. Friedman (1953) asserts that the 'realism' of assumptions is irrelevant and instead offers the importance of the eventual predictions yielded as a more valid point of interest. Arrow (1998) argues that a significant proportion of the labour force is hired by large corporations and provides an example of the 'dubious usefulness' of applying tastes to what he refers to as 'impersonal entities.' He notes, "it is hardly in the stockholders' interests to discriminate under the postulated condition, and competition in the capital market should be effective in eliminating discrimination" (1998: 95). He further adds that the notion of employer discrimination as well as worker-based discrimination may be able to explain segregation within industries but fails to explain occupational segregation.

A fundamental weakness of the Becker model is apparent on examination of the prediction that discriminatory firms should not persist over time due to the

competitive nature of the labour market and the pursuit of the profit motive. Clearly this is not the case in practice and the model fails to explain this outcome. Therefore, a theoretical framework grounded on a weak assumption causes the model itself to be flawed. Ultimately it would be more appropriate to characterize Becker's approach not as a theory of discrimination based on tastes but as a theory based on 'tastes within a competitive framework'. The model also presupposes that there is an actual dislike for non-White workers but this does not appear to make much sense when applied to gender issues. However, in defence, Becker's model does not state that this racial hatred is the norm or a definitive situation but rather takes the approach of possible scenarios. This may seem to limit the applications of the model on a wider scale.

Although Becker's work can be criticised, to dismiss the model entirely would be erroneous as it has clearly been important in stimulating and advancing the progression of further studies on discrimination. It is important to note that the theory of 'tastes' assumes that the individuals involved dislike the idea of having to hire or work with ethnic minority individuals. It does not assume that they are less qualified than White workers as that would be associated with 'statistical discrimination'.

2.10.2 Statistical Discrimination

The theory of statistical discrimination is a market-based explanation which does not require the concept of 'tastes'. It arises due to the imperfect information that confronts employers in the screening process of potential job applicants. Employers must attempt to determine the productivity of potential employees, but they will be unable to directly observe the actual productivity of the applicants. Limited

information regarding potential employees is obtained as compiling a detailed analysis of all applicants requires time and is ultimately very costly. The only information employers have at the time of hiring is that of observed characteristics that are associated with productivity such as education and previous work experience. Employers are aware that such characteristics are not perfect predictors of productivity which leads to the use of a subjective factor as a substitute for the unobservable characteristics.²⁴

In order to explain this concept with more clarity, it is necessary to begin with a basic assumption. If on average, the productivity of White workers and ethnic minority workers differ due to unobservable characteristics²⁵ such as the actual quality of education, then employers through experience will use race being an observable characteristic as a substitute for the unobservable characteristics which actually cause the differences in productivity. Employers may perceive ethnic minority education or the schools they attend as inferior to White. A common perception is that on average Blacks go to inferior schools than White. In a sense, this could be interpreted as discrimination although there may not be any personal prejudice involved or any taste for discrimination on behalf of the employer. In other words, employers make decisions about individuals based on their ethnic group characteristics in order to reduce additional costs of hiring which may be incurred such as the costs of implementing screening techniques.²⁶

²⁴ A typical example of statistical discrimination, although not related to the labour market, is car insurance. The probability for young females involved in accidents is considered to be lower than young males and this is reflected in lower insurance rates. Therefore, attentive male drivers will be discriminated against.

²⁵ However, differences in attainment may be directly observable.

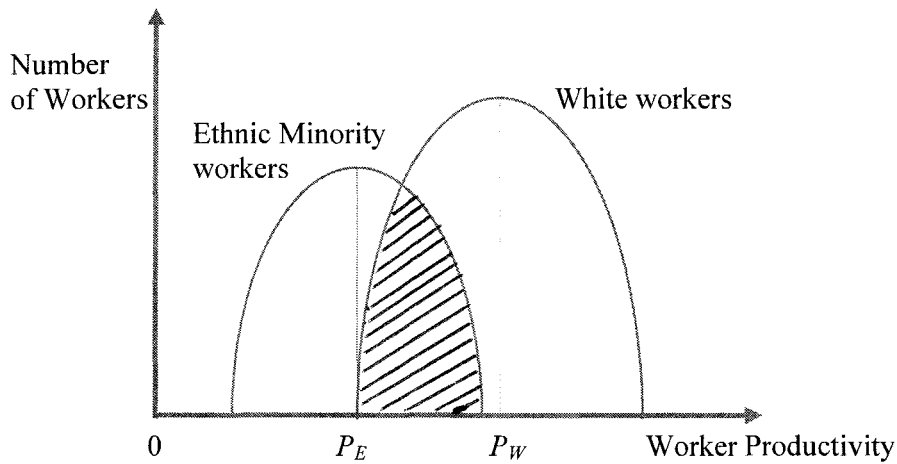
²⁶ Statistical discrimination is particularly difficult to combat since it is a profitable practice for employers.

Arrow (1973a, 1973b), a proponent of statistical discrimination models, has conducted extensive work on employment screening techniques. Race is essentially used as an inexpensive screening method.²⁷ Wage differentials between ethnic minorities and White workers are accounted for by employers favouring Whites, believing they have a less scattered distribution of work-related skills. In turn, demand for ethnic minority workers is reduced along with wages. It seems relevant at this point to include the work of Spence (1973) in relation to signalling in the labour market as a contrasting view to Arrow. For Spence, potential employees use educational attainment to signal innate ability to potential employers.

Figure 2.2 graphically depicts the situation of statistical discrimination. Employers regard the mean, actualised productivity of ethnic minority applicants, P_E , as lower than that of potential White employees, P_W . Employers will hire White applicants over other races where possible due to preference. Low-productivity White workers may encounter positive discrimination whilst high-productivity ethnic minorities may suffer the effects of negative discrimination as a result. This is represented by the shaded area.

²⁷ See Bertrand and Mullainathan (2003), Fryer and Levitt (2004) and, Levitt and Dubner (2005) for discrimination and screening by name.

Figure 2.2:
Employer Anticipated Productivity Distributions of Applicants by Race



Source: Adapted from Adnett (1996: 177, Fig.6.4).

If the perceptions of an employer are correct and White workers are indeed more productive than ethnic minority workers, some may regard this as not actually constituting to discrimination. However, people are still being judged on their ethnic group and not their own personal characteristics so this would still be considered as actual discrimination but specifically without malicious intent.

Two points of interest must be noted. First, the employer is viewed as making an economic 'gain' as the use of race as a subjective factor for potential productivity is regarded as an inexpensive method of screening for employees. The practice of cost-minimization in the form of statistical discrimination views the employer as a beneficiary. This is in contrast to Becker's model where the employer is viewed as a 'loser' making an economic loss in profit but satisfying utility derived from personal prejudice. The theory can be interpreted in a way that suggests that statistical

discrimination may not decline over time as the employer will not be driven out of the market due to competitive forces, again differing from the Becker analysis. Second, as already mentioned, the theory of statistical discrimination need not incorporate the biased behaviour of the employer in hiring. The information obtained on group characteristics may lead to the hiring of White employees over Blacks for example. This may in fact be the correct rational decision, if on average Blacks are indeed schooled in inferior educational establishments. Therefore, Black workers who distinguish themselves from the group average by possessing superior qualifications will be discriminated against. However, it can be argued that a convergence in productivity related characteristics would reduce statistical discrimination. If the average level of education for Blacks increase over a period of time and is equal or superior to that of White applicants, carrying out statistical discrimination may increase eventual costs to the employer as the hiring of White workers is considered a mistake as the most productive worker is no longer hired. If many mistakes are made in hiring, competing firms will eventually hire the more productive members of the available potential employees and in turn increase their market share at the expense of the employer who applies statistical discrimination as a method of screening.

In the real world, statistical labour market discrimination will emanate from situations where recent immigrants possessing different cultural and linguistic backgrounds are inclined to interpret Western-based ability tests as inappropriate. In addition to this scenario, the problem is compounded by the difficulty in translating overseas labour market experience to comparable domestic work histories. Ethnic minorities will derive knowledge from past experience and some of this knowledge is lost or at least not recognised by the domestic employer's interpretation. Bosworth *et al.* (1996)

propose that the use of productivity tests, for example interviews and aptitude test scores, may limit the accuracy and dependability placed upon such discrimination but unless such tests are faultless, this form of discrimination can be regarded as rational and in turn affect both wage and employment outcomes. In essence, statistical discrimination is difficult to eliminate, for it requires employers to avoid using objective information such as education as an observed characteristic when screening for applicants.

Within the framework of statistical discrimination lies the concept of a 'vicious circle', that is, if individuals of ethnic minority backgrounds are unable to overcome statistical discrimination, the motivation for pursuing a career may be diminished from the onset. This very realistic attitude and view can lead to a reduction in the level of education undertaken by those of a non-White background due to the belief that the opportunities for career advancement simply do not exist if you are not White and consequently lead to a lower level of human capital as education beyond that which is mandatory has ceased to progress. Essentially, this is a problem of under-investment in human capital which can lead to the average level of education for ethnic minorities to be lower than White individuals as a group and consequently further strengthen the application of statistical discrimination as an appropriate tool for the screening process of employees. This view is shared by Sowell who takes a narrow economic perspective and notes, "if individuals from some racial or ethnic backgrounds find doors closed without regard to their individual capabilities and behaviour, that reduces their incentive to acquire socially valued capabilities and behaviour, imposing external costs on society at large from the decision of particular employers" (1981: 32).

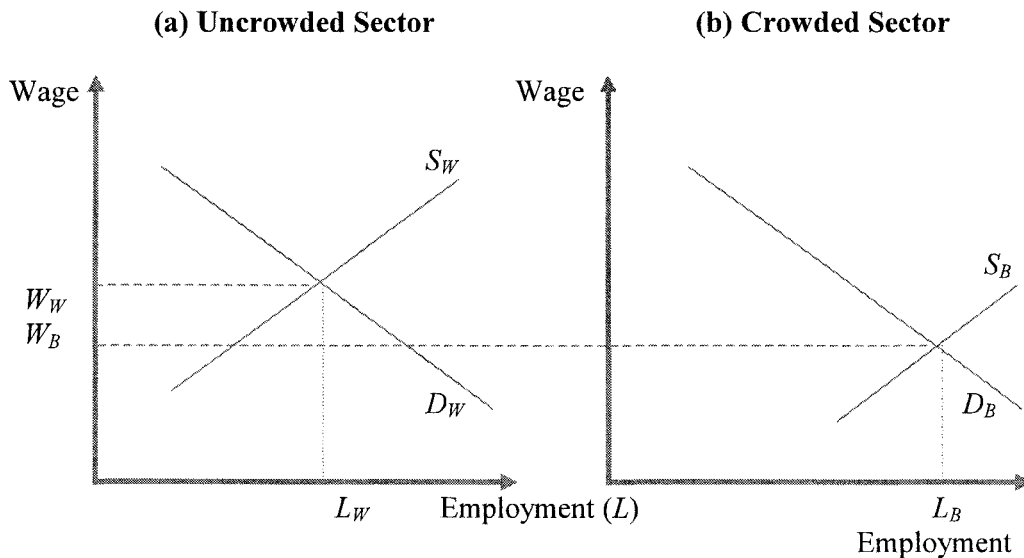
If we again take the situation of Chinese self-employment businesses, employers or owners will not use ethnicity as a predictor of productivity in hiring additional workers to themselves. In particular, screening of this kind is irrelevant for family-run businesses. The form of apprenticeship or 'family work contract' (Song, 1995, 1997a, 1997b) essentially replaces the need for screening as a technique to be used in hiring. The issue of working for the family business is central to the case study and is subsequently discussed in the relevant chapters. Employees outside of the family will be hired in accordance to their skills, which is as it should be relating back to the idea that workers are paid for their comparable worth. However, arguably ethnicity may play a role in hiring due to some Chinese places of work wanting to project an authentic experience, which relates to the idea of cultural or ethnic sensitivity as discussed in the next chapter.

2.10.3 The Crowding Model of Discrimination

Becker's approach to discrimination suggests that not only is discrimination costly to firms but it would be unable to survive in the long run due to the presence of competitive market forces. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that discrimination is likely to emerge as a direct result of departure from competition. The crowding model of discrimination is based on a number of assumptions. First, the labour force is equally divided into two distinct groups, Black and White workers. Second, all workers have homogenous characteristics relating to productivity. Lastly, the presence of some factor that hinders competition to allocate resources efficiently must be established. In this case, discrimination is the factor in question.

Using a simple demand and supply framework, the crowding model of discrimination is expressed in Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3: Discrimination - The Crowding Model



Panel A illustrates an uncrowded labour market where the intersection of demand and supply produces a wage corresponding to W_W and is deemed a reasonably high wage associated with White workers. Panel B illustrates a crowded market situation where labour supply is large when compared to demand and the corresponding wage is W_B for Black workers. It is assumed that White workers will occupy jobs in the uncrowded sector and Black workers in the crowded sector. In effect, a twofold situation occurs corresponding to a shortage of skilled workers in one sector and excess supply in the other. It is not difficult to see the advantages White workers have over Black in this model as they are able to negotiate higher wages due to labour supply being limited in the uncrowded sector. Over time, this behaviour is likely to be costly to a discriminatory employer and represents a direct cost of discrimination.

However, if all employers were non-discriminatory, competitive forces should set in motion a process that will eventually see the equalization of wage differentials. Black employees will be attracted to the uncrowded sector by higher wages and therefore labour supply will increase in this sector whilst simultaneously decreasing in the crowded sector forcing wage rates to converge. The model suggests that the presence of discriminatory employers in the uncrowded sector represents a barrier to Black workers who hope to gain higher paid employment. Occupational segregation will occur as a direct result.

An extension of the crowding hypothesis is the existence of a dual or segmented labour market where two sectors exist. Employment in the primary sector is considered to be stable, associated with good working conditions, opportunities for career progression but more importantly, high wages. Conversely, occupations in the secondary sector is considered to be unstable indicating high labour turnover, associated with poor working conditions, limited opportunities for career progression and specifically low wages. Secondary sector workers are viewed as undesirable by primary sector employers and consequently are unable to transfer into that sector if they so desire. The model therefore assumes that there are barriers that restrict the mobility of labour from the secondary sector to the primary sector. One might question the justification for employers in the primary sector to pay higher wages than the secondary sector but the advantages gained could actually include minimized recruitment time along with the associated search costs and lower turnover rates, again implying a reduction in costs. A somewhat greater insight into labour market imperfections is gained from this theory. However, a problematic area of concern is its inability to clearly explain why such segregation occurs in the first place.

Ehrenberg and Smith agree that “there is no theoretical or empirical evidence that, other things being equal, turnover rates are higher or desired hours of work are lower among minorities” (1997: 445). The main point to note is that the ‘invisible hand’ of competitive market forces will not effectively remove wage discrimination caused by crowding and occupational segregation.

Job restrictions and poor quality matches may force or cause ethnic minorities to move into self-employment, for example restaurants and takeaways, and this may lead to a dominance of ethnic minorities in the service sector. Essentially, ethnic minorities are creating job opportunities for themselves and in turn improving their economic status. Although the Chinese catering trade and its continuing growth may be considered as a crowded sector, the owners of self-employed businesses need not necessarily be on low wages or income. As will be revealed in the case study of the Chinese in Newcastle, self-employment was viewed as good trade and provided for the family. Therefore, the movement of crowded sector workers to the uncrowded sector by the attraction of higher wages may not occur as the assumption between high and low wage differentials does not appear to be true for the situation of Chinese self-employment businesses. Moreover, theories of discrimination incorporating imperfect competition do not warrant inclusion within Chinese self-employment businesses, as there is no division between ethnic groups involved. The sole group is obviously Chinese but one might argue that the theory can be applicable by reversing the majority and minority groups. That is, the Chinese are afforded with benefits from ethnic membership and have higher skills relating to the catering trade and therefore this may discriminate against Whites wanting to work in Chinese businesses. The theories of discrimination provide only a fractional and limited view

of labour market discrimination. This is particularly noticeable for racism as a form of discrimination and the situation of self-employment and the Chinese catering trade.

None of the different economic theories of discrimination provides a complete explanation. Each concept presents a theoretically valid reason but where one theory neglects a certain aspect, this is taken up by another theory. It should also be noted that the persistence of discriminatory practices are viewed as costly in some of the theories such as Becker's taste-based employer model but their removal also presents complications and can impose further costs as described in Becker's employee model in the form of wage premiums. Consequently, it is necessary to include other areas of discrimination and not just purely economic ones, in order to obtain a more accurate view of discrimination. Arrow (1998: 98) appropriately concludes that "models of racial discrimination in which all racial attitudes are expressed through the market will get at only part of the story," which signifies that the use of such models only serves to provide a partial insight into a problem of a much larger scale. Economic approaches to discrimination appear to be more applicable to assessing consequences rather than the identification of the origins of discriminatory behaviour. In determining the causes of discrimination, a better understanding of the problem is forged and policies towards elimination can be devised.

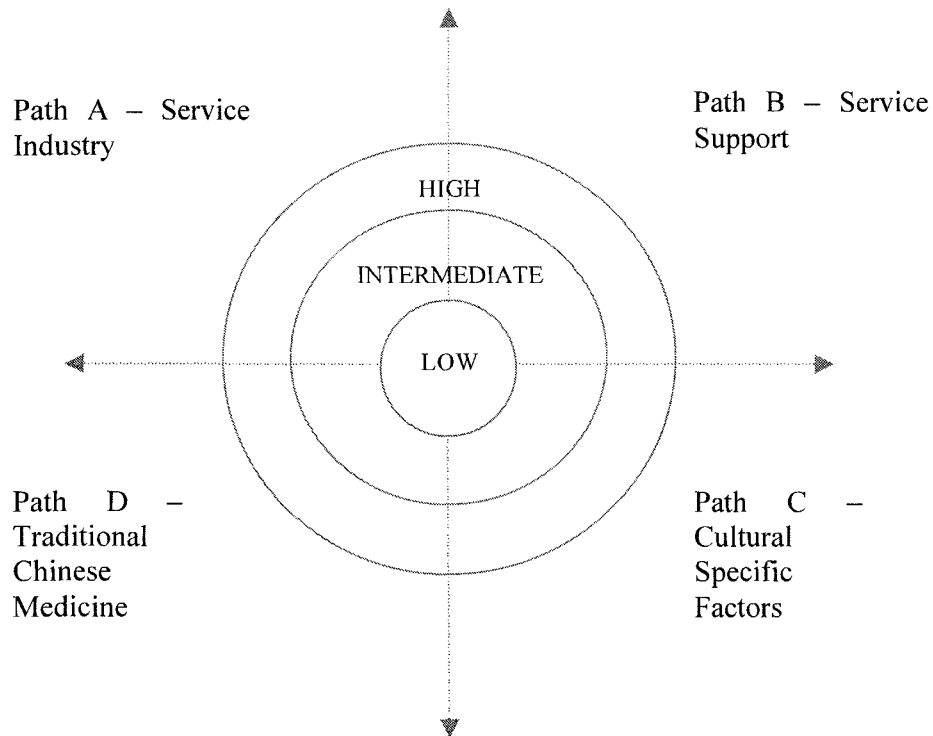
In absence of a suitable all-encompassing theory to explain the causes of discrimination, the next section provides a theoretical framework to show my understanding of occupational attainment for the Chinese in Newcastle.

2.11 A Theoretical Framework

Due to the presence of labour market discrimination combined with the relatively low or non-UK recognised educational qualifications of first-generation immigrants, ethnic minorities will find it very difficult to secure appropriate employment and therefore the need to find alternative means of income generation becomes a primary goal. Entry into self-employment is a strong possibility for ethnic minorities in response to their initial labour market disadvantage. The following theoretical framework aims to provide an insight to the patterns of self-employment, concentration and possible movements over time for the Chinese working population.

Figure 2.4a shows the main possible paths of self-employment occupations that the Chinese have followed. Subsequently the establishment of a new business may create jobs for other co-ethnics. Each area between the arrows represents a different career path to occupational attainment and these are confined to four primary branches. As each concentric circle moves outwards from the origin, the movement denotes a higher status job has been attained in both complexity and business ability.

Figure 2.4a:
Structure A - The Chinese Self-Employment Structure



Let us consider each occupational path in turn. Path A is labelled the ‘*Service Industry*’ and is concerned with the catering trade including occupations within restaurants and takeaway businesses. This is seemingly the most dominant path that the Chinese operate within. In this case, a low status position may be regarded as a waiter in a restaurant or general kitchen-hand in a takeaway and intermediate may be regarded as a chef. The high status position would be the owner of the business occupying a managerial position but it is often the case that the head chef of a takeaway is also the owner and manager. This is due to the way in which takeaway businesses operate, in that they are often owned by a husband and wife partnership

and therefore additional staff will not be required in the same numbers as one would expect of the management of a restaurant with its larger premises.

Path B entitled '*Service Support*' refers to occupations covering retail and wholesale distribution associated with the takeaway and restaurant industry. This area is an essential support structure of the catering trade which provides the stock necessary for a food-related business to function. A low position in this path, for example, may be represented by a worker in a small Chinese supermarket or grocery store whether an assistant or cashier. An intermediate position may be represented as the manager and perhaps owner of a small supermarket and the owner of a high-order retail and wholesaler may occupy the high position. Chinese supermarkets and wholesalers play an important role in the catering industry as they will always sustain a certain level of demand as takeaways and restaurants rely on them for regular stock such as food containers and essential foodstuffs and ingredients. Although these retailers and wholesalers are primarily there to service the operation of Chinese-owned catering establishments, they are also open to the general public. This can be viewed as a profit maximizing business decision as not only will there be regular business customers from the catering industry but also everyday customers from the general public buying groceries, in effect creating demand from two markets from one business. Incidentally, some produce may be purchased at Asian wholesalers and retailers such as Halal meat and therefore would interestingly make the Chinese meals prepared conform to the dietary restrictions of other ethnic groups such as Bangladeshis.

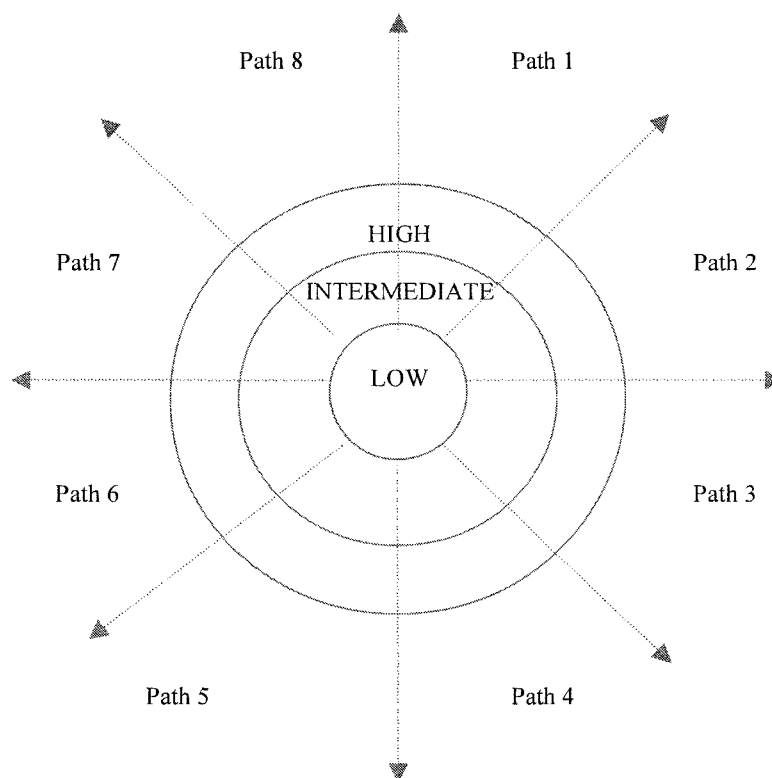
Path C is labelled '*Cultural Specific Factors*' and is a route that visibly demonstrates the integration of tradition and ethnic identity with occupation. The types of jobs associated with this path vary considerably. An example would include a martial arts school where obvious physical skills are necessary but also management ability is required in the running of such a business in the case of the owner. Private tuition of the Chinese language (and the various dialects) and calligraphy skills is another possible occupation again requiring a combination of business and cultural specific skills. The operation of small stores catering for the Chinese population, for example music and videos, is another cultural specific occupation. However, the extent to which each path can be further developed is limited due to the occupation itself, as each is dependent on a growing customer base. Again, if we take the martial arts school as the example, an advancement to what is considered as a high position on the diagram would be the running of more than one school but this is entirely contingent upon the demand for people wanting to learn.

Path D entitled '*Traditional Chinese Medicine*' has seen a large increase in recent years. One only needs to look at the example of the North East and its growth of herbalist and acupuncture practitioners over the last few years. These businesses are not solely aimed at the Chinese community but open to all customers. Western society seems to be increasingly looking towards the use of alternative medicines for a variety of illnesses. This is essentially a professional occupational path as all practitioners have had training in their home country and is furthermore approved by UK medical associations. In some cases, there is only one person running a small service but there are larger establishments funded in conjunction with the China

government and are therefore an occupation for overseas practitioners and may not be considered a pure self-employment occupation as such.

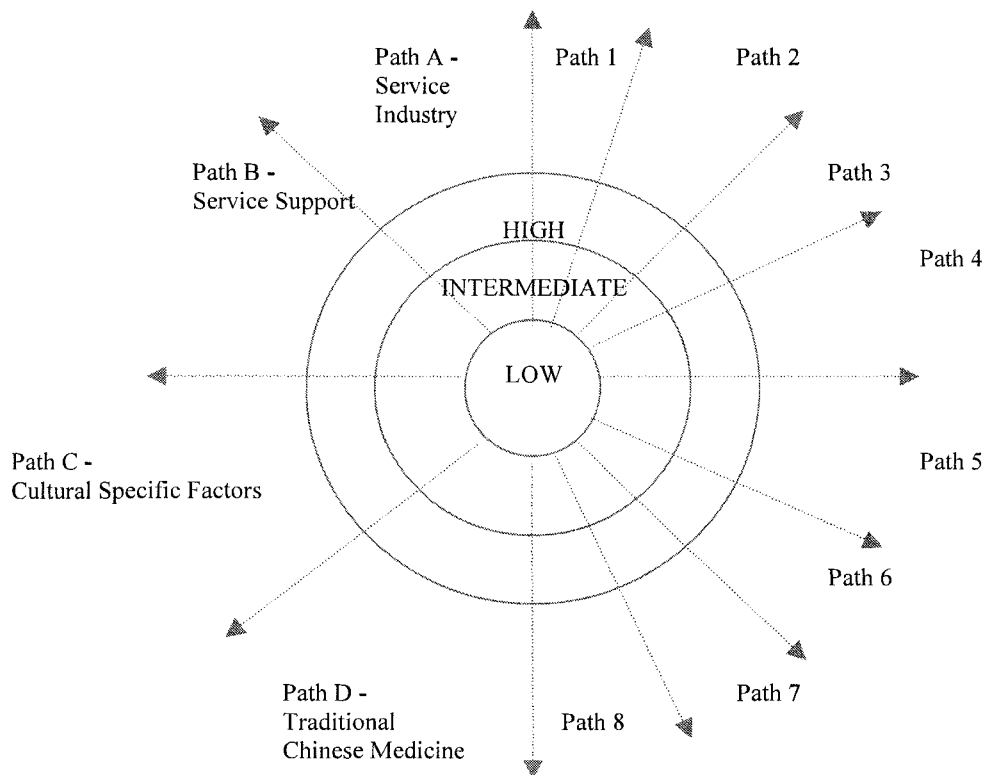
Figure 2.4b shows the employment structure for White individuals who in theory should have limitless or at least a greater variety of expansion paths, as they are not constrained by an ethnic penalty or racial barriers. However, the extent to which paths are pursued will undoubtedly be dependent on the individual in question having obtained the necessary human capital skills. There is not a definitive number of occupational paths as denoted by the absence of classifying labels for each path on the diagram but such categories would include financial, administration, engineering, education and medical to name a few of the diverse occupational routes that can be followed.

Figure 2.4b:
Structure B - The White Employment Structure



Over time, more UK recognised educational qualifications should allow the Chinese to make the transition to the employment structure presented in Figure 2.4b if we assume that racial discrimination is not a factor in occupational advancement. However, it is likely that preceding the theoretical complete transition, a third employment structure would be established as viewed in Figure 2.4c.

Figure 2.4c:
Structure C - The 'Mixed' Employment Structure



The 'mixed' employment structure as the name suggests consists of the self-employment opportunities (and the associated jobs created) in Structure A and some from Structure B. Depending on the occupations the Chinese choose to follow, or

attempt to follow, additional paths will open provided discrimination does not hinder attainment or advancement.

A conceivable path that may be followed by the Chinese away from self-employment and present in the White employment structure are occupations within organisations that actively pursue or recruit members of ethnic minority groups. The police force is a good example of a public service that stresses the importance of equal opportunities in recruitment. This is an interesting issue as some members of ethnic minorities may feel that such equal opportunity organisations could be more favourable to them over Whites in recruitment and viewed as a positive aspect. Although the UK does not operate a system of preferentiality as embodied in the affirmative action approach of the US, the psychological element to hire an ethnic minority simply because the organisation states they run an equal opportunity policy may prompt employers to follow through on such an action whether this is fair or not.

If some Chinese individuals gain high qualifications and are unsuccessful in securing suitable occupational attainment that is equivalent to their proven ability, then a movement back to self-employment might be observed and will be denoted as a shift from Structure A to B and then back to A. Therefore, this negative scenario will filter down to the subsequent generation adding to the 'pushing' effect to self-employment. One generation incorporates the experience of the previous generation adding to the accumulation of the workings of discrimination in the labour market and hence a sense of permanency or 'locked' position in the Chinese self-employment structure. Moreover, some of the younger Chinese may work in takeaways or restaurants in addition to school hours and this will inevitably affect their time spent on homework.

Song (1997a) recognises the importance of children's work roles as a source of informal labour in takeaway businesses and describes it as a 'double-edged' experience confirming the trade-off between work and other activities. With the occurrence of friends and/or family members not being able to secure appropriate employment, those still at school may then decide that the perseverance of education is ineffectual as it does not guarantee a high quality job due to the presence of discrimination. It is this sort of attitude that may eventually force the individual in question to continue the path of their part-time work into a full-time occupation. Repetition of such occurrences or scenarios across different households will likely cause a dominance and concentration in the service sector. The only way to break out of this sector is for individuals to attempt to return to education and encounter non-discriminatory employers but by this time the individuals will be older and are unlikely to retain all of their human capital skills derived from school, college or university. However, these individuals may already be enjoying the benefits of self-employment such as the independence and freedom that comes with 'being one's own boss' and profit accumulation. These benefits may be an attraction for other ethnic minorities.

It is reasonable to assume that a movement from Structure A to B may also involve some consequences. Next generation ethnic minorities may be so immersed in the UK culture that they will forgo and forget some of their traditional customs. For example, the Chinese written language is a good point to note. Much of the UK-born Chinese will speak one dialect but many are unable to read or write due to the

complexity and time taken to learn.²⁸ Parents working in self-employment businesses often do not have sufficient time to help their children with this skill and therefore the responsibility may fall to the attendance of a Chinese community school held on Sundays.²⁹ This is again an interesting issue in itself, as this extra study is an immediate difference to that of the White majority. However, it can be argued that some children of the White majority may attend Sunday school for religious purposes and therefore have a similar outlook as to additional activities outside of school. The Chinese culture was an issue raised during the research and is discussed in subsequent chapters.

The movement back to the Chinese employment structure may in fact motivate the individual to advance to a more higher, established position within the original pattern. For example, if we begin with an individual at a low or intermediate position in this structure, the eventual outcome after failure to penetrate the White employment structure could be a position of a higher status. That is, an individual working for a self-employment business as an employee may try to obtain enough financial capital in the event of establishing their own business in the future with the skills they have acquired. Alternatively, if the individual in question is the proprietor, then they may pursue strategies of integration in order to expand and develop their existing business. For example, a restaurant owner could employ backward vertical integration by taking over or establishing their own wholesaler for supply purposes and therefore this new venture will also be able to supply products for other restaurants alike. Moreover, additional job opportunities will be created for others. Another example is a takeaway owner may open other shops in different areas run by family members, in effect

²⁸ Chinese characters must be written in a certain direction and order otherwise they are considered incorrect.

²⁹ There will only be a Chinese community school if there are sufficient Chinese in the region.

following a strategy of horizontal integration. However, business expansion comes with unavoidable costs, whether sacrifice of time spent with the family, social life and arguably greater discrimination (in the form of racism) due to exposure to even more people.

It should be noted that although this framework for analysis is primarily based on the Chinese population, potentially it could be applied to other ethnic minority groups by adapting the entries for each occupational path. For example, cultural specific factors for Pakistanis differ from the Chinese but the possibility of following such a route remains a valid option.

In summary, a labour market pattern as presented in Structure B is in theory a possible outcome for the occupational advancement of the Chinese but the progression to such a state will only occur in a more accepting and non-discriminatory environment and cannot occur straightaway. It is likely that labour market patterns for the Chinese population will continue to replicate the situation presented in Structure C, with each generation opening additional paths mimicking a profile towards a complete transition as shown in Structure B. Whether this is attainable in practice remains a question for future generations to answer. However, the dissertation is not asserting a hypothesis to be tested but rather it is framework-building where ideas and concepts arise from prior knowledge.

2.12 The Current Status of Ethnic Minorities in the Labour Market

It is generally assumed that Britain's ethnic minorities are under-performing and experience disadvantages in the labour market compared to the White majority. This

can be partially attributed to first-generation minorities lacking qualifications (or at least UK recognised), work experience, English language fluency skills and racial discrimination. If the negative rates of progression for ethnic minorities continue, the outcome will be severe for the entire UK economy. Economic growth will be hampered as ethnic minorities increasingly enter the working population and therefore their underachievement and high unemployment rates will determine an expanding gap in many areas and crucially where skills shortages exist. A potential associated outcome is the possibility that race relations between Whites and Britain's ethnic groups may be threatened due to the lack of appropriate occupational attainment and progression that strengthens a sense of isolation from the majority, ultimately amounting to a serious social cost. However, all ethnic minority groups do not experience labour market disadvantages to the same extent and in some instances, depending on the indicator of measurement used, some even outperform their White counterparts.

2.13 Labour Market Disadvantage

The ethnic minority population has grown considerably over the last half century. During the last quarter of the 1960s, it was recorded at over 1 million and by the beginning of 1991 the figure tripled to over 3.8 million in 1999 (Cabinet Office, 2001). The current figure stands at approximately 8%³⁰ of the entire UK population and during the course of the next decade, it has been predicted that more than half the growth of the working population will be attributable to increasing ethnic minority labour market participation (Cabinet Office, 2003). The forecast of a significant

³⁰ The 2001 national UK Census records the non-White population at 4.6 million equating to 7.9% of the entire population.

increasing rate is due to the changing structure of the ethnic minority population.³¹ This is based on a combination of factors, mainly, second and third-generation minorities will secure more employment opportunities than the original arrival of the first set of immigrants as the existence of language barriers and foreign qualifications will no longer be a primary hindrance to occupational attainment. This will alter the age profile of the working population to a relatively young one. In addition, further immigration from some ethnic groups will likely continue.

In recent years, there has been a growing body of statistical work on ethnic minorities, most notably those produced by or in partnership with The Policy Studies Institute (PSI). In *Britain's Ethnic Minorities*, Jones (1996) examines research carried out by the PSI between March 1991 and July 1992 where emphasis is placed upon the relative status of Britain's ethnic minority population in such areas as employment and housing. The overall objective of the report was to collect information on Britain's ethnic minorities in comparison to the White population and to present the findings in a single volume of work rather than leaving the available data scattered across various sources. In reference to *Labour Force Survey* (LFS) data, Jones argues that any findings from this data source almost certainly understate the extent of the problem due to the failure of the LFS in taking into account those who speak little or no English and consequently would suffer greater disadvantages. However, it should be noted that the LFS is only a general purpose survey and is not intended to focus solely on ethnic minorities.

³¹ Emslie *et al.* (2007) suggest that due to the growing ethnic minority population, their role as consumers is an interesting issue to explore. This is the reverse situation of their role as providers of ethnic goods.

Commenting on previous PSI research programmes, Jones reports that research in the 1960s demonstrated that a significant proportion of racial disadvantage originates from direct discrimination in the labour market where overt discrimination of this type was made illegal under the Race Relations Act 1968. Research in the 1970s was of a more general and broader scope, looking at numerous aspects of the lives of ethnic minorities. Direct discrimination was treated as one of many inter-related factors of racial disadvantage but was still recognised as a major cause. In addition to this revelation, the research of this period presented evidence of indirect discrimination emerging from the outcomes of structural policies and practices of principal organisations. In recruitment, for example, some employers gave preference to relatives of existing employees and therefore creating a White-only workforce without consciously intending to. The Race Relations Act 1976 furthers the reach of the law by incorporating and covering the issue of indirect discrimination. Early 1980s research revealed that “despite some changes in the circumstances of racial minorities since the 1970s, their overall position was still one of substantial disadvantage compared to the White population” (Jones, 1996: 2).

The report concludes that the 1988-1990 LFS data shows that there is an increasing disparity between the situations of certain groups suggesting that when discussing racial disadvantage, it is no longer appropriate to use the term ‘Black’ as there are many different races which would fall under this heading. Similarly the usefulness of the term ‘ethnic minority’ may itself be an inaccurate category due to the wide variations in labour market experiences of different groups. Of the groups studied, it is implied that the most and least successful ethnic minority groups in overcoming this racial disadvantage are contained within the South Asian population. At one

extreme, the African Asian and Indian populations have higher proportions of well-educated and qualified individuals, unemployment rates close to those of Whites, as well as comparable job positions. At the other end of the South Asian group, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis “retain the largest proportion, even among young people, with no formal qualifications of any ethnic group” and have noticeably “lower job levels than people of other origins, and consistently suffer the highest rates of unemployment” (Jones, 1996: 153).

The Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities (1997) produced by the PSI entitled *Ethnic Minorities in Britain - Diversity and Disadvantage* is heralded by many as the most reliable and complete study on the status of Britain’s ethnic minorities. The study acknowledges that racial discrimination in the 1960s and 1970s was widespread in recruitment confirming the previous findings of earlier studies. This period saw a tremendous influx of migrants into the UK where the difficulties of incompatible skills, education levels and language barriers were perceived by many employers (as well as society) as a barrier to suitable entry into the labour force. Modood *et al.* (1997: 83) maintain that in the early 1980s, “minorities were upwardly mobile and expanding in self-employment, but had much higher levels of unemployment than Whites.” The increase in self-employment can be attributed to the notion that there is no suitable employment available. Such businesses are still observed today in the form of family-owned stores and numerous food-related outlets and occupations, where self-employment is more common among men than women and heavily concentrated among South Asian people. Moreover, concentration lies within the distribution industry which includes retail businesses, restaurants and other service sector jobs (Owen *et al* 2000). Recent figures (2004) show that the highest

percentages of self-employed occur in the Pakistani and Chinese ethnic groups at 21% and 16% respectively (National Statistics Online, 2006³²).

In relation to the 1990s, Modood *et al.* (1997) come to three main conclusions in terms of the progression of minorities by ethnic disadvantage. Much of the analysis contained in the study shows diversity and disparity between ethnic groups. First, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis continue to be disproportionately represented in manual work, with twice as many men in manual than in non-manual work, in sharp contrast to the now evenly split jobs of this type for White men. Their position is regarded as a severe disadvantage and is a continuation from previous decades corresponding to the findings of the aforementioned analysis by Jones (1996). Second, people of a Caribbean or Indian ethnic background (excluding African Asians) also experience a disadvantage but not to the extent of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups and are therefore said to occupy a middle-ground position. Third, Chinese and African Asians have attained a position or status near to that of the standard of the White population. For example, African Asians share similar unemployment rates to Whites and the Chinese have the lowest of any ethnic group. The status of these groups will almost certainly be attributable to self-employment, “for both have among the highest rates and report better financial returns than Whites” (Modood *et al.* 1997: 345). This again supports the view that occupational progression can be achieved through immigrant entrepreneurship. However, the comparable levels to Whites does not mean that these groups experience no racial disadvantage as Modood *et al.* (1997) claim that the disadvantage in this case occurs in the inability to reach top level jobs in large establishments.

³² <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/CCI/nugget.asp?ID=463&Pos=5&ColRank=2&Rank=224>

With the ever-increasing population of UK-born and UK-educated ethnic minorities, it is still recognised that discrimination exists even when taking into account the identical education undertaken by both the White and non-White population. If indeed the reason for perceived discrimination by employers was due to unskilled migrants in the past, then a reduction in educational differences over time will also see a reduction in the racial disadvantage. The issue of labour market disadvantages is a commonly reported aspect in *Labour Market Trends*, drawing heavily from Labour Force Survey data in order to examine recent situations and current trends. Sly *et al.* (1998) describe the participation from different ethnic groups living in the UK, with a following revised update by Twomey in the January 2001 issue of *Labour Market Trends*. On examination of the two articles, the latter can be considered almost literally as a direct update as the statistics involved only differ slightly indicating marginal changes in the situation of Britain's ethnic minorities for the period studied.

In any organised economy, an important factor in relation to employment status and hence career progression is in the level and quality of education undertaken. The most recent figures recorded by National Statistics are for the year 2004 where disparity between different racial groups has been observed. For example, among the ethnic minorities, the Chinese and Indian groups held the highest educational attainment levels for higher qualifications (university degree or equivalent) at 31% and 25% respectively and the Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups were the most likely to be unqualified. More importantly, these qualifications are higher than for the White British group at 17% suggesting that these groups will have an equivalent or

superior economic status (National Statistics Online, 2006³³). A possible explanation for the high rates of educational attainment could be the idea of strong family ties, which is often associated with the Chinese culture and that of other East Asian races. For example, it can be argued that children strive to work hard at school to prove that they are capable of hard work and make their parents proud. Alternatively, parents may push their children to work hard in order to achieve high qualifications so that they may lead a 'better' life in the future.³⁴ This is often the case where first-generation minorities establish self-employment businesses and experience long hours of work and may want their children to follow a different career path. However, the other side of the argument is that parents may want their children to takeover the family business. The views of two second-generation Chinese whose parents work in the catering trade are revealed in case study that follows.

Table 2.6 shows the most recent figures for the economic status of different ethnic groups.

³³ <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/CCI/nugget.asp?ID=461&Pos=6&ColRank=1&Rank=310>

³⁴ High educational attainment will afford the individual with skills to move away from the family business if they wish to do so such as grocery stores and food related businesses.

Table 2.6: Economic Status

Ethnic Group	Economic status by ethnic origin, 2006 Q2, not seasonally adjusted (in %)		
	Economic activity rate (16-59/64)	Employment rate (16-59/64)	ILO unemployment rate (16 +)
All	78.7	74.4	5.4
White	79.8	75.9	4.8
All ethnic minority groups	68.3	60.6	11.2
Black or Black British	74.1	64.5	12.8
Black Caribbean	76.4	67.0	12.2
Black African	72.5	62.8	13.3
Other Black	69.8	60.4	*
Asian or Asian British	66.6	59.8	10.1
Indian	77.5	71.8	7.2
Pakistani	54.5	46.8	14.0
Bangladeshi	49.2	39.6	19.5
Other Asian	67.5	60.8	9.6
Chinese	60.9	56.6	*
Other ethnic groups	64.0	55.9	12.5

Source: Labour Force Survey, adapted from:

http://www.statistics.gov.uk/downloads/theme_labour/LFSHQ/Table10.xls

Note: * denotes sample size too small for reliable estimate.

Of the ethnic minority groups, economic activity rates of working age (16-59/64) are highest for the Indian group at 77.5% and lowest for the Pakistani (54.5%) and Bangladeshi (49.2%) groups which supports the argument for higher qualifications as a means of overcoming racial disadvantage but for the Chinese, the findings are not to the same extent at 60.9% although educational attainment levels are higher than that of Indians. Depending on the indicator used in Table 2.6, the position of ethnic minorities differ from each other but in general even the most educated groups do not experience higher economic activity rates for the working age bracket or lower unemployment rates than the White population where the LFS uses the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) definition. That is, "a person is classified as unemployed if, in the week before the survey he or she did not have a paid job, had

actively sought work at some time during the last four weeks, and was available to start work within the next fortnight” (Jones, 1996: 115).

2.14 First and Second-Generation Ethnic Minorities

Labour market experiences of second-generation minorities are easily differentiated from first-generation immigrants due largely in part to their upbringing in Britain. English language fluency will be at higher levels as British-born minorities go to domestic schools and therefore educational qualifications will also be readily acknowledged as opposed to the difficulty of making comparisons against qualifications obtained in another country. Although second-generation minorities are improving in occupational progression, as more are currently able to attain managerial and professional positions and higher earnings than their parent’s generation, they do not appear to be catching up as a whole to comparable employment levels of Whites. This indicates that a differential gap still exists between Whites and ethnic minorities. Being UK-born leads to the facilitation of occupational improvements but aids the alleviation of unemployment to a limited degree only. Table 2.7 summarises the changes in ethnic minority unemployment rates from the 1970s through to the 1990s.

Table 2.7: Proportion of Economically Active Ethnic Minority Groups Unemployed at the Time of the Survey in Britain (%)

	First-generation, born 1940-59, surveyed 1970s		First-generation, born 1940-59, surveyed 1990s		Second-generation, born 1960-79, surveyed 1990s	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
White British-born	4.3	4.4	7.5	4.9	12.2	8.3
Black Caribbean	8.3	9.4	19.0	11.0	29.6	21.2
Indian	4.7	4.5	9.6	8.6	16.1	12.3
Pakistani	5.4	-	20.7	19.9	30.7	21.9

Sources: Column 1 – cumulated General Household Surveys 1973-79; columns 2 and 3 – cumulated LFS 1991-97.

Note: In the GHS data, ethnic origin has been identified on the basis of country of birth and colour.

Adapted from Cabinet Office (2001: 26, Table 2.2).

From the table, two main points of interest are of note:

- During the 1990s, all first-generation ethnic minorities had rates of unemployment in considerable excess of their White counterparts. Significantly, Black Caribbeans experienced an unemployment rate almost double of the figure recorded for Whites.
- Second-generation minorities in the 1990s did not exhibit any noticeable improvement. In fact, unemployment rates increased and in the case of Black Caribbean and Pakistani males, this escalated to over twice that of the White majority.

Generation may be a factor that influences occupational choice, in particular following self-employment. This is examined in the case study of the Chinese in Newcastle, where they appear to be heavily concentrated in self-employed catering trade businesses.

2.15 Causes of Labour Market Underachievement

The Cabinet Office report '*Ethnic Minorities' Economic Performance*' (2001) proffers several contributing factors, based on the conclusions of various studies, as an explanation as to the cause of ethnic minority underachievement in the labour market.

Human capital, referring to the level of education, training and work experience that an individual undertakes and the associated skills acquired, is an influential determinant of labour market success for anyone, regardless of ethnicity. The extent of human capital differs considerably for Britain's ethnic groups. Indians consistently demonstrate high levels of literacy skills and education, but at the lower end of the spectrum are the Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups who in general have relatively poor qualifications. Differences in results are most apparent in mandatory education where Bangladeshi and Pakistani pupils gain lower marks at pivotal stages such as GCSE qualifications. Incidentally, Chinese and Indian pupils achieve on average, higher grades at this level than Whites. Although there are wide variances in achievement, there is an overall upward trend for all ethnic minority groups in attaining five or more GCSE grades between A*-C.³⁵ An integral factor directly influencing educational attainment is generation. For all ethnic groups and for both males and females, the number of second-generation minorities with no qualifications is more than half that of first-generation immigrants. However, this positive experience masks several seemingly invalidating issues. Both male and female second-generation Black Caribbeans are gaining degree qualifications in numbers that far outweigh the previous generation but they are not reaching comparable levels of

³⁵ A*-C grades indicate a good pass at GCSE level.

other ethnic groups. Moreover, second-generation Pakistani males and females occupy simultaneously the most number of people with no qualifications but also have a higher participation rate at degree level than their White peers.

Area of residence affects progress in the labour market. The relative share of ethnic minorities living in deprived areas is far greater than for Whites. Again, there are wide variances between ethnic groups with Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups three times more likely to live in poor inner city areas lacking resources and facilities than Whites and Indians who have similar rates. Moreover, poor inner city areas are frequently overlooked by new businesses and are viewed as unattractive thereby immediately reducing the job prospects of those living in heavily concentrated impoverished conurbations. Lack of business support and information channelled into these areas will also have a negative impact. Likewise, transport links are a major factor affecting geographical mobility where research reveals that ethnic minorities are more unwilling to travel long distances than Whites and this has an impact on unemployment differentials. Furthermore, some ethnic minorities, especially first-generation immigrants, may possess limited English language skills and subsequently may experience problems using public transport.

Poor health is a serious difficulty and obstruction to attaining labour market success. In broad terms, Indian and Chinese groups have levels of well-being comparable to the White majority but Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups are more prone to be suffering from bad health at a probability one and a half times more than that of Whites. The figure for Caribbeans likely to suffer from ill-health was three times more likely than Whites. It is important to note that these rates are estimates before

social class effects have been accounted for therefore poor housing conditions will invariably be an integral aspect. Lack of adequate childcare can also be a barrier to actively engaging in employment, especially in the case for women and single parents. Insufficient facilities in poor inner city areas is a severe disadvantage.

2.16 Predictions for the Future

The Cabinet Office (2001) has projected probable patterns for the future circumstances of ethnic groups over the next two decades based on the analysis of past and current evidence. There are in general four main predicted outcomes that will emerge:

- There will be an overall widening between ethnic minority groups and the White majority. In addition, this growth in inequalities will further develop between members of the ethnic minority population itself thus enforcing the notion that the term is no longer an accurate classification due to the differences of labour market experience for the various minority groups. Furthermore, research carried out by Heath and McMahon (1999) determined that the same ethnic disadvantages experienced by first-generation minorities are still present for British-born minorities. The continuation of this pattern will augment an overall widening gap in inequalities consequently leading to no 'catch-up' between all ethnic groups.
- Almost contradictory to the first prediction, there will be a pattern of convergence to some extent. This outcome is supplementary to the general forecast of widening disparities. In other words, convergence is confined to a limited area only. Indians and Chinese appear to be performing close to Whites in terms of

employment and earnings but the same pattern of catching-up does not hold for members of Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups resulting in a greater divergence between minorities. Convergence may also be along specific dimensions only such as “looking at income rather than at wages or employment, because of correction to the income distribution that social benefits ensure” (Cabinet Office, 2001: 16).

- Stratification and segmentation will persist due to multiple potential causes. If first-generation immigrants gravitate towards employment in declining industries, their skills are not easily passed down to subsequent generations unlike self-employment. British-born minorities that grow up in poor housing estates isolated by race and low levels of income may develop a sense of association with such deprived areas representing a ‘negative neighbourhood effect’. Similarly, stereotypical views of employees may associate minorities with specific negative group identities and this will restrict labour market progression as well as social advancement. Biased treatment by public institutions may also further strengthen segmentation if such bodies favour Whites over ethnic minorities. This preference would express a disadvantage for ethnic minorities in attempting to progress in the labour market and will encourage further social isolation.
- New patterns for future immigrations will likely develop in diversity such as country of origin, culture and skills. Other than stating that patterns will alter due to factors such as globalisation and regional integration for example, it is difficult to project an accurate pattern. The current and potential number of asylum

seekers and also the difficulty of accounting for illegal immigrants will also drive future changes.

2.17 Race Equality - A Brief Background

By looking at the different policies put into practice to promote race equality, the amount and extent of such initiatives is revealed. This is important as it shows the existence of policies, which as will be revealed, appears to be largely unheard of by the respondents in this current study.

Employers who seek to ensure that they hire the best employee for the job as well as to obtain the full potential of their existing employees must establish equal opportunity programmes that specifically acknowledge the issue of racial discrimination. As such, the policies enacted to combat racial discrimination will undoubtedly affect the current position of ethnic minorities in the labour market.

“The history of anti-discrimination policies in Britain dates back to the early sixties, when first the Conservative governments of 1958-64 and then the Labour governments of 1964-70, developed a view of race and immigration which combined acceptance of the demands for controls on immigration with the proclamation that those migrants already resident should be protected from discrimination.”

(Solomos, 1989: 35)

The UK is the only European Union (EU) Member State that includes a Race Relations Act (RRA). During the period 1965 and 1976, three Race Relations Acts were introduced and enforced under British law. The RRA 1965 made it unlawful to discriminate on the basis of colour, race, nationality or ethnic origin in public places such as restaurants and hotels. It did not take long for the limits of this act to be

recognised as extremely narrow and consequently, the RRA 1968 expanded the scope and range of the previous act by incorporating non-discriminatory measures to include such areas as housing, social and welfare benefits, and services. Moreover, it was the first attempt at introducing anti-discrimination legislation for the labour market. Again, limitations in enforcement measures were identified and practically became ineffective.

2.18 The Race Relations Act 1976

The legislation on racial discrimination is currently embodied in the RRA 1976 which was based on the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 (SDA), rendering the previous two Acts completely redundant by replacing them entirely. The RRA 1976 was considered as a breakthrough in race relations as the subject of discrimination was warranted as being important enough to be represented by law to a greater extent than the previous two acts in 1965 and 1968.

The Act distinguishes between direct and indirect discrimination. Direct or overt discrimination is where a person is treated unfavourably due to their racial identity and needs no further explanation other than its effects are intentional. On the other hand, indirect discrimination is treatment that can be described as equal in the sense that no ethnic groups are excluded but the outcome of the action taken affects a particular ethnic group in a discriminatory way. Such an example of this form of discrimination is described by Collins (1992: 23) in the following scenario: “An employer in Liverpool could insist that successful applicants should not live in the Liverpool 8 district, which would be indirectly discriminating because a high proportion of Liverpool 8 is composed of minority ethnic groups (50% of people in

Liverpool 8 are Black, compared with the rest of Merseyside, where the proportion is approximately 2%)." Essentially, the boundaries drawn for the area in question are inappropriate as they deny ethnic minorities an equal chance of employment. Alternatively a regulation that states that employers are forbidden to wear headgear would affect Sikh males where religion and cultural tradition requires them to wear turbans³⁶ or Pakistani females wearing headscarves (hijaab). Victimisation was also an important recognition of the 1976 Act. This relates to those treated less favourably than others due to making complaints about racial abuse or supporting the claims of those being discriminated against. Consequently, those who raise the awareness of racial abuse may be effectively punished by not being considered for promotion. The legislation aims to ensure safeguards to protect the recipients of victimisation.

The Act also allowed for 'positive action' to take place and gave ethnic minorities a better and more equal chance of competing for jobs. Positive action and training schemes which emerged included courses to provide the necessary skills which employers look for and the opportunity to access further and higher education courses freely. Unsurprisingly, an increase in these skills led to an increase in employed ethnic minorities in some sectors such as manufacturing and engineering as well as the equivalent increase in educational attainment. The primary reason for positive action is that deeply rooted attitudes and the obstacles facing ethnic minorities in both economic and social terms cannot be solved by simply enacting laws to cover equality of opportunity from a formal perspective. In order to create genuine equality of opportunity, it is necessary to make it easier for certain ethnic group members to acquire the skills and knowledge to put them on an equal status to White individuals

³⁶ It is important to note that under the Employment Act 1989, Sikhs wearing turbans were excused from wearing a safety helmet on construction sites and hence recognised the importance of disturbances to religious beliefs.

and therefore move towards occupational opportunities which were previously unattainable. This confirms that education is an important factor in reducing differences in wages and occupational status. In short, positive action aims to widen the available opportunities for disadvantaged ethnic minorities.

Even with the 1976 Act in place, there are still at present, complaints made about racial abuse in the workplace indicating that it is not a complete solution but nevertheless an important stage in the history of anti-discrimination legislation. There has however been criticism levied at the Act. Some view that additional legislation to combat discrimination could actually discourage employers from hiring ethnic minorities insofar as that they are unwilling to encounter arguably foreseeable problems amongst staff that may not work together cooperatively or even the possibility of actual legal action taken against the firm.

2.19 The Commission for Racial Equality

The RRA 1976 led to the establishment of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) by combining the roles of the Race Relations Board and the Community Relations Commission.³⁷ The unification of these two bodies meant that people suffering from racial discrimination now had a form of legal defence in the form of direct access to courts in which to report industrial and employment-related discrimination. Although the government funds the CRE, it exists as a distinctly separate entity and therefore is an independent organisation. The CRE can help disadvantaged ethnic minorities by administering advice, in seeking a settlement for example, and is authorized to provide legal aid at tribunal hearings but due to financial shortages only a limited

³⁷ The CRE is operated by up to 15 commissioners, appointed by the Secretary of State for Employment.

number of requests for assistance can be met.³⁸ In some cases, persistent discriminatory practices may be deemed severe enough for the CRE to investigate on its own accord rather than simply aiding a complaint. Recent figures show that in 2004/5, 3,080 complaints of racial discrimination were recorded in employment tribunals and brought to the attention of the CRE (Commission for Racial Equality, 2006).

The main objectives of the CRE are to work towards eliminating discrimination, to promote equality of opportunity thereby providing good race relations between people of different ethnic groups and to keep the operation of the RRA under constant review. The CRE also has the power to conduct formal investigations when deemed appropriate. If the CRE come to the conclusion that the RRA has been violated, an 'enforceable non-discrimination notice' can be issued on the people involved. Several cases are described in *Aspects of Britain: Ethnic Minorities* (1997) which include an automobile hiring company which had discriminated against Black and Asian customers. As a result, a non-discrimination notice was issued requiring the firm to introduce a comprehensive equal policy addressing both the hiring of vehicles and employment practices. However, in general, the CRE uses formal investigation only when all other possible avenues have been exhausted in an attempt to rectify the situation. Instead, the voluntary actions of employers and organisations towards racial equality are preferred. In many cases the CRE do not reach the stage of court or tribunal representation as settlements are often arranged at an earlier stage suggesting that those under investigation are aware of their discriminatory practices and recognise the need for changes in both company procedures and personal attitudes.

³⁸ Following the Race Relations Remedies Act 1994, there is no longer a limit to the amount of compensation that can be awarded by tribunals in situations of favourable outcomes of discrimination cases.

The very idea of settlements prior to court action is an indication to the success of the CRE as a policy measure to counteract discrimination in the labour market.

Additional concerns raised by the CRE in relation to priorities for action include such policies as developing racial equality standards in employment services and educational institutions to ensure the full inclusion of young people of all ethnic backgrounds. Campaigns organised by local and national agencies have been introduced to support victims of racial discrimination by attempting to encourage greater respect and acceptance amongst communities in general. By creating a more equal society, it is hoped that equality will spread to other areas such as employment, housing and services.

The CRE has also released a *Code of Practice for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity in Employment*. This document contains guidance on recruitment practices and recommends that employers should not recruit on the basis of the recommendations of existing employees in situations where the workforce in question is predominantly of one ethnic group but the labour market consists of diverse racial groups. Clarke (1995) maintains that although such practices may not be strictly illegal in the sense that they do not represent absolute barriers to recruitment, it is apparent that informal recruitment methods such as the reliability of application letters or the use of head-hunters tend to imitate the present ethnic mix of the workforce and that formal, external advertisements are more preferable. For example, if a firm's workforce primarily consists of White workers and they are heavily dependent on the family members of existing staff for the recruitment of future employees, then the resulting additional

members will form a repeating pattern of a White majority workforce by indirectly excluding ethnic minorities.

Employers identifying themselves as being committed to equal opportunities could ensure the validity of their statement by encouraging applications from ethnic minorities. Such actions to carry out their intentions may include advertising vacancies in the local ethnic minority press, translating employment-related literature into ethnic minority languages, as well as the use of photographic materials of ethnic minorities in promotional campaigns.³⁹ The self-monitoring of discriminatory behaviour within firms must also be noted as an additional measure to prevent persisting discrimination.

2.20 The Race Relations Amendment Act 2000

The 1976 RRA has since been revised and updated in the form of the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 and came into force in April 2001⁴⁰. This reform originated from the findings drawn from the McPherson Report examining the investigation into the murder of Stephen Lawrence. A considerable section of the report relates to the Metropolitan Police Service but the local authorities and the Civil Service were also reviewed in their handling of reported racist incidents. The report was an important step in the realisation that there were apparent weaknesses in the police force and other areas of public services in relation to racial discrimination.

³⁹ Although not related to employment, in recent years, perhaps the most outstanding promotional campaigns/advertisements in an attempt to break down racial barriers have been those produced by the company United Colors of Benetton.

⁴⁰ Some of the provisions of the Amendment Act did not come into force until the end of May 2002.

The Amendment Act 2000 is primarily concerned with outlawing discrimination in all public authorities and simply extends the RRA 1976, it is not meant as a replacement. The Act not only covers public bodies such as the police force and the NHS but also any private or voluntary organisations with public responsibilities, managing educational establishments for example. An important reform was the inclusion that Chief Officers of the police force were now accountable for any discriminatory actions of their subordinates. In addition to widening the extent of the legislation on race relations to cover the police and other public bodies, such organisations now have a customary duty to promote race equality actively in an attempt to remove the possibility of discrimination before it occurs. The general duty is based upon the fundamental aim to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination and also to encourage equal opportunities and sound relations between different members of diverse ethnic groups. As a direct outcome, public authorities are aware that they should carry out the necessary steps to make certain that any current policies enacted do not have any negative impacts on ethnic groups.

In some circumstances, the Home Secretary may be authorised to delegate specific duties on public bodies to assist them in complying with their general duty. Such specific measures include publishing information on any adverse impacts of current company-specific race relations policies or disciplinary actions and monitoring ethnic employees in training and promotions. Eventually, a race equality scheme may be devised and this too may be required by the specific duty imposed to be published. Additionally, the CRE is also capable of enforcing specific duties and therefore strengthens their position as a key organisation within the economy.

2.21 Positive Action and Positive Discrimination

It is important to distinguish between positive action and what is known as ‘positive discrimination’ as they are commonly misunderstood. The term positive action is associated with policies that are designed to benefit ethnic minorities in a way that does not affect the outcomes of the majority population in terms of biased employment. Moreover, the law allows action of this type to be undertaken but it is not an enforced requirement. It is generally accepted that any policy measures permitted by the Race Relations Act 1976 falls under the heading of positive action. Employers can adopt a scheme of positive action to address observed disparities in the racial balance of the workforce that may be attributable to discrimination or an ethnic disadvantage. For example, positive action may take the form of advertising to encourage application for employment in areas in which ethnic minorities are currently under-represented. The main objective is to ensure that minorities are in a position to compete for employment on equal terms with White individuals. However, it is important to note that the selection process itself must still be based on merit and performance and not ethnicity. On the other hand, positive discrimination is a term considered to be of a wholly different nature and is generally associated with the US. Positive discrimination is also known as ‘affirmative action’ and it is this term that will be used hereafter to refer to the US policies mandated by law to achieve equality.⁴¹

⁴¹ The term affirmative action is sometimes used to refer to any policy that is used to facilitate the progress of equality. In this context, affirmative action would have two types of implementation procedures. One would consist of outreach and awareness programmes such as the encouragement of minorities to apply for positions in which they are under-represented and the other would consist of preferential treatment based on race. That is, what we understand by the term positive action could be considered as one strategy of affirmative action under this broad definition.

2.22 Affirmative Action

Affirmative action is essentially the preferential treatment in the selection of an applicant for a position based on race as opposed to solely on merit. There are various methods and degrees of involvement in which affirmative action can be carried out.⁴² In all cases of hiring, preference is given to ethnic minorities ahead of equally capable White workers. For example, if an employer reviewed two applicants, one from an ethnic background and the other White, and it was concluded that they were comparable in every conceivable way in their possession of skills relating to productivity then the minority applicant will be hired.⁴³

The issue of whether affirmative action is deemed acceptable is surrounded by much controversy. Those who suffer from discrimination could consider affirmative action as fair but being chosen for a job simply because of race is not morally correct. Moreover, it can be argued that affirmative action could further add to the problems of ethnic minorities by creating an additional factor to be exploited by those who discriminate in society. For example, if ethnic minority individuals were granted special selective treatment in the search for employment, then the White population would be discriminated against leading them to question the fairness of other races securing the available employment. A potential outcome could be that ethnic minority individuals of a lower quality to Whites could be chosen for employment simply because of the affirmative action undertaken by the employer. However, it is acceptable for an ethnic minority individual to be chosen over a White individual if their educational or work experience background is more impressive or the individual

⁴² Affirmative action does not only take place in the labour market but can also be applied to areas such as the admissions process to colleges and universities.

⁴³ See Guell (2003) for additional examples of affirmative action.

themselves seem better suited to the available position. This way, the individual has earned the position and has not been recruited on the basis of an exterior characteristic. Affirmative action may eventually lead to an equitable society and will allow members of ethnic minority groups to attain high-profile occupations. However, alterations of the composition of the workforce are a result of a forced change and not voluntary actions and consequently, the attitudes and perceptions of those that discriminate will remain.

There is also the concept of a link between a guaranteed employment and motivation. If minority individuals know in advance that they will be hired for a position because of their ethnic identity, there will be unintentional outcomes. Favoured treatment may affect both minority and majority groups but in different ways. Guaranteed employment is likely to undermine the motivation of ethnic minorities to work hard and additionally some may feel that special treatment also diminishes their own self-esteem. The incentive to work hard for the majority group may also be weakened if they believe that their chances of attaining employment is reduced when competing against ethnic individuals.

Some view affirmative action as a form of discrimination in itself. It may cause a disadvantage to those who do not discriminate and are simply competing for employment in which there are now 'favoured' positions. However, the difficulty with this outlook is that the term discrimination is used to express decidedly inconsistent scenarios. Discrimination in employment is based on the exclusion of minorities but positive discrimination or affirmative action is founded on the principle of inclusion of the disadvantaged groups in an attempt to correct discriminatory

behaviour. Essentially to overcome exclusion, policies following the reverse of the problem are used to balance the outcome.

With the controversy surrounding the use of affirmative action policies in the US, Teles (1998) provides a discussion of the state of affirmative action in the UK. The reasons why the UK has not committed to policies of a similar nature to the extreme policies of the US are founded on the unique characteristics of each country. According to the 2001 Census, only 7.9% of the population (4.6 million) in the UK are comprised of ethnic minorities indicating a predominantly White country. With this significantly smaller proportion when compared to the US ethnic minority population at approximately 25%, there may not be sufficient support to enforce such policies as the combined ethnic population is simply too small to exert a significant voice in political issues. Alternatively, the different ethnic groups within the UK appear to have different experiences in overcoming the ethnic disadvantages in the labour market. The various degrees of success range from Chinese and Indian groups performing at almost comparable levels to Whites whilst Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups remain greatly disadvantaged. The introduction of preferential treatment for the 'inferior' groups would not seem appropriate due to the debate that will inevitably surround such a proposed action. That is, the inability of these groups to perform at rates similar to those at the top end of the scale without biased selection practices. Another explanation for the lack of enforced affirmative action relates to the significance of immigration. Ethnic minorities have moved to the UK on their own accord, which makes assertions or demands for preferential treatment a relatively silent point when compared to the history of a slave labour force in the US before the Civil War and the related issues of segregation. Bisping and Fain (2000) recognise

this as an important aspect of the origins of affirmative action. Therefore, the guilty conscience of a nation does not apply to the UK experience and there is no obligation to provide favoured treatment to correct past mistakes. Teles (1998) somewhat reluctantly concludes that optimism may replace the reasons raised in his article as a plausible explanation for the absence of affirmative action in the UK but it is likely that a combination of these factors is the overall cause that such policies will fail to become a feature of British anti-discrimination legislation.

2.23 Equal Opportunity Policies

Jenkins (1986) surmises that in general, there are four categories in which equal opportunity policies are based upon: legal, administrative, voluntary and collective action. The legal approach refers to current legislation that aims to protect ethnic minorities from discrimination where the RRA and CRE are prominent features. The administrative approach concerns local authorities and other organisations with emphasis on their aim to eliminate discrimination and promote racial equality through measures such as contract compliance. This is where contracts by the government for the production of certain goods or services are awarded to firms that comply with anti-discrimination measures following the relevant legal criteria. This encourages firms to adopt non-discriminatory procedures, as the loss of potential business clients and future profits becomes a powerful economic incentive. Voluntary action is almost self-explanatory. Firms and other organisations aim to remove or prevent discrimination from arising by enacting their own specific equal opportunity policies. Such measures may include the opportunity for additional training for ethnic minorities and ethnic monitoring. Ethnic monitoring involves the collection and analysis of data in relation to employment status within an organisation. Identifying

areas of concern will be useful in devising policies to correct any measured disparities or observed ethnic disadvantages. Lastly, collective action relates to the pursuit of equal opportunity policies stimulated by the combined pressures of those who have been discriminated against and is usually embodied in trade union action or protest groups.

Each type can be viewed as a separate measure but once implemented, they are often inter-linked or are indeed complementary. The legal and administrative approach in particular can be viewed as reinforcing the actions of one another. One may find it difficult to draw a line between such actions due to the apparent overlap. For example, the CRE may assist in court proceedings but they may also promote the use of contract compliance measures therefore overlapping the boundaries of both the legal and administrative aspects of devising equal opportunity policies.

The reasons for adopting voluntary measures to combat discrimination are numerous and should not be viewed as a one-off incident yielding immediate results. For policies to be successful, all members of staff within an organisation must be aware of their existence and follow them accordingly. It is not just a matter of introducing a policy where only those who do not wish to discriminate comply, as this would be an insufficient measure to resolve the problem. To increase awareness and understanding, compulsory staff training seminars may take place to ensure that policies are widely acknowledged. Policies will need to be continually monitored, revised and updated if they are to maintain a long-standing success rate. Employers may wish to build on their reputation by not only conforming to legal requirements but to actively pursue additional measures to put them at the forefront of equal

opportunity employment practices. Reputable firms may be rewarded with more business from ethnic minority entrepreneurs or customers in general. Non-discriminatory firms will become more productive in optimising all human resources regardless of ethnicity and their competitive position in the market will strengthen. Some may seek to improve the workplace environment by removing discriminatory employees that hinder good race relations between staff and within the industry, subsequently reducing time spent on possible disputes. By encouraging the ideas of any staff members and incorporating them into current equal opportunity policies, workers will feel that they are an integral part of the organisation. Moreover, if these contributions come from ethnic minorities, they may also perceive a greater overall sense of equality therefore boosting morale and advancing motivation. Furthermore, economic gains may come to fruition in the form of lower staff turnover reducing search and recruitment costs, or more productive workers leading to increased profit. Alternatively, equal opportunity policies may simply be a natural progression of policies already in place. For example, if a firm hires a number of ethnic minorities, arguably it follows that existing policies will be updated or reformed to protect their newly acquired assets and ensure they remain a part of their workforce.

Establishing equal opportunity policies is a just cause but some argue that the advantages gained in a business sense do not amount to a substantial realisation. Rubenstein (1987) claims that if equal opportunity policies were indeed advantageous to business, then all firms seeking profit-maximization would have such policies already in place. The commercial advantages derived from equal opportunities are overstated according to Rubenstein who further denounces the notion of its relevancy in accommodating 'good business sense' and ultimately labels it as a 'modern myth'.

One might question why such policies were not pursued and established long ago but there is in fact some rationality behind this. For example, the design and implementation of an equal opportunity programme will take considerable time and effort if it is to remain a standing issue of importance. All of this will require a cost, not only in the resources and funds utilised but perhaps also in terms of future business. Such a scenario would take place in the event of customer discrimination in their dislike of service from ethnic minorities as described in the Becker model. It is likely that the discriminatory behaviour of employers will persist in compliance with their customer's preferences as it is deemed profitable. In this sense, firms view equal opportunity programmes as a policy that will impose costs to their business even if the rewards in the long-run will outstrip any immediate losses and create a more equitable environment.

Equal opportunity policies must be continually assessed and reviewed if they are to remain an effective tool. They should not be viewed as being confined to recruitment only but covers the duration of the individual's life at the organisation. Retrospective review or learning from policies that are put into practice allows a firm or organisation to address anything that may have been overlooked and areas of weakness in the design and implementation of the initial policies enacted. On this note, Collins (1992) suggests some commendable efforts in reference to possible stages of how organisations may attempt to review existing policies. Most notably, organisations should document the reasons why ethnic minorities were not hired or promoted in a given situation or indeed why they have left their current place of work. By reviewing the possible reasons, barriers may be defined that impose difficulties in the advancement of ethnic minorities and policy reforms can then be introduced to

correct any detected disparities. Additionally, organisations should ensure that the issue of equal opportunities remains a high priority in staff meetings and training programmes and that reported or observed incidents of discrimination need to be addressed quickly to demonstrate that such matters are not regarded lightly.

2.24 Summary

The literature on racial discrimination is virtually endless and this chapter has attempted to make sense of a vast amount of information. The approaches to obtaining a measurement of discrimination via means of testing have been discussed before moving on to the main issues covered in the most influential studies. These studies have shown that there are indeed differences between Whites and ethnic minorities and this is expressed as an ethnic penalty. The causes of discrimination as outlined by various theories provide some insight into this problem but appear to be largely ineffective or inappropriate for the situation of the Chinese in the catering trade. Therefore, a theoretical framework of ideas has been employed in order to investigate the situation for the Chinese, which is an important contribution to knowledge, not only in the findings but also in the way in which research is tackled. Moreover, discrimination is only one factor that is emphasised as a determinant of occupational choice but there are other factors that play important roles. In essence, occupational choice and progression in the Chinese catering trade encompasses racial discrimination but the decision to enter self-employment is not solely based on discrimination.

In general, looking at current evidence, there appears to be a link between education and economic status confirming the belief that high educational attainment leads to

greater career opportunities. The differences between groups may be traced back to differences in education, which may be dependent on such factors as culture or perceptions of not being able to overcome discrimination. For example, it is reasonable to assume that those racially harassed or abused at school may not want to continue in further education where repeat situations could occur. This would directly affect educational and occupational progression. However, the data suggests that some ethnic groups do take on higher education to improve their economic status.

Creating equality in the labour market by providing a sound environment in which ethnic minorities are treated on equal terms to White individuals via equal opportunity policies is an issue which will continually be revised and updated in the future. The various policy measures adopted in the UK under legislation and the emergence of organisations, which deal solely with aspects relating to racial discrimination, is a clear indication of where this problem is heading, towards elimination. Enforcing legislation is a crucial step in the establishment of a basic foundation that should be viewed as a starting point for equal opportunity policies. As the awareness of racial equality increases, it is hoped that the correct message is spread throughout the labour market and society to create a more equal world. Although it is possible to introduce legislation to outlaw discrimination in employment, such measures are unable to outline a framework for the change in attitudes of those that discriminate, which is necessary if this social and economic problem is to be eliminated.

CHAPTER THREE: ETHNIC MINORITY BUSINESSES AND IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP

3.1 Introduction

The inflows of immigrants into the UK and their subsequent assimilation has visibly altered the appearance of modern British society. The increase of immigrants can be seen in the formation of ethnic communities but their impact on the labour market is the focus of this section. The demographic changes over the last few decades has by now, given rise to growing ethnic businesses and immigrant entrepreneurs insofar as they account for a substantial proportion of the small firms sector (Bank of England, 1999). The increase in ethnic minority-owned businesses across the UK can be seen as a direct result of the inflow of immigrants but perhaps can also be viewed as a general revival in self-employment occupations as a whole. However, the proportion of immigrants in self-employment does not in itself reflect the proportion of each minority group of the entire UK population. There are in fact noticeable differences between ethnic groups in their participation rates as well as the nature of the businesses in which they enter.

3.2 The Study of Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship is defined as:

“Any attempt at new business or new venture creation, such as self-employment, a new business organization, or the expansion of an existing business by an individual, teams of individuals, or established business”

(Harding, 2003: 11).

Research in the area of entrepreneurship began from an economist's point of view (Schumpeter, 1934). Here the entrepreneur is presented as the driving force for

innovation, output and hence economic growth. Baumol (1968: 64) states that “the entrepreneur is at the same time one of the most intriguing and one of the most elusive characters in the cast that constitutes the subject of economic analysis,” and therefore research in the field of entrepreneurship is deemed appropriate and highly valuable. Early research was largely confined to observational accounts of the entrepreneurial process based on the owners of small businesses and rarely attempted to answer research questions or even suggest areas for further research (Hornaday and Aboud, 1971; Hornaday, 1982). The next stage of development in this subject arose from researchers examining entrepreneurship not for building or developing theories but for determining the reasons behind how success is achieved so that it could be replicated. This research provided knowledge to be used for consultation services to small businesses. The growth of entrepreneurship as an area of study has extended to cover psychological and sociological themes. The psychological strand focuses on the values of entrepreneurs and their associated characteristics, including motivation and risk-taking behaviour (Brockhaus, 1982; Harper, 1996) whilst the sociological viewpoint looks at family, the environment, the interaction between these two factors and the subsequent impact on the business (Gibb and Ritchie, 1982; Greve and Salaff, 2003). Furthermore, Baumol (1993, 2000, 2002) continues to promote the importance of the entrepreneur at the forefront of the economic and social research agenda.

There appears to be a widespread consensus that entrepreneurship is overlooked in the majority of economics textbooks (Kent and Rushing, 1999). Several authors suggest that the reason for this omission is that economics is primarily concerned with equilibrium and efficiency of outcomes whilst entrepreneurship is by definition an outcome resulting from innovation and imperfect information, which would deviate

from a state of balance (Harper, 1996; Hout and Rosen, 2000). However, economics is useful in understanding entrepreneurship, especially in relation to immigrant entrepreneurship. In the presence of scarce resources, other sources of capital are used in order to enter the labour market. The area of occupational choice is also an economic concept, which relates back to the principal research questions of this thesis.

3.3 The Study of Immigrant Entrepreneurship

Studies relating to immigrant entrepreneurship are often concerned with South Asian groups. Much of the self-employment businesses (and the associated jobs that they create) are concentrated in the service sector including hotels, catering, distribution and transport but as Table 3.1 shows, the Chinese also have a large concentration in this sector. A large proportion of this dominance can be attributed to the catering trade in the form of restaurants and takeaway businesses. Bangladeshis hold the largest percentage of this industry at 66% with the Chinese following at 47%. This large figure seemingly provides justification for research into the Chinese group, as they have higher rates in this industry than the more often studied Indian and Pakistani groups.

Table 3.1:
Percentage Working in Each Industry by Ethnic Group, Great Britain 2004

Ethnic Group	Types of Industry			
	Production Industries	Hotels, catering, distribution and transport	Private Services	Public Services
White	25	26	21	28
Ethnic Minorities	14	35	22	29
Indian	17	34	22	26
Pakistani	16	46	20	19
Bangladeshi	0	66	9	18
Chinese	7	47	23	23

Source: Adapted from CRE (2006: 5, Figure 4) Labour Force Survey, Spring 2004 to Winter 2004/5.

Looking at the breakdown between male and female workers within the same industry, Table 3.2 shows that males for all groups had a higher percentage rate than females. Interestingly, the result for Bangladeshi females was recorded as zero.

Table 3.2:
Percentage of Males and Females Working in the Service Industry (Hotels, catering, distribution and transport) by Ethnic Group, Great Britain 2004

Ethnic Group	Male	Female
White	27	25
Ethnic Minorities	41	27
Indian	36	31
Pakistani	52	31
Bangladeshi	81	0
Chinese	52	42

Source: Adapted from CRE (2006: 6, Figure 5) Labour Force Survey, Spring 2004 to Winter 2004/5.

What follows is an explanation of the underlying issues that form the foundation of understanding immigrant entrepreneurship.

3.4 Self-Employment Businesses

Regardless of ethnicity, it is often said that those who wish to pursue a self-employment business must have a great deal of determination and tenacity but moreover, a strong ‘entrepreneurial spirit’. Immigrants who have chosen to establish a new life in a different society from their country of origin may be viewed as being almost predisposed to the element of risk associated with entrepreneurship, as settling in a foreign country is in itself a risky venture. The uncertainty of what a new environment offers is a feature of changing surroundings and is characteristic of the outcomes of most emergent businesses. The conventional view of ethnic minority entrepreneurship is self-employment through the purchase of an existing business or establishing a new one. Often, the former is viewed as a more risk averse option as

the business will already have an established customer base and will likely to continue to do so provided that the new owners maintain the quality of produce or service.

Britain has a visibly identifiable Chinese population. Typical immigrant businesses are concentrated in the service sector or more accurately the catering trade where restaurants and takeaways are common forms of self-employment proprietorship. These small-scale firms are supported by a structure of suppliers, many of which are Chinese-owned wholesalers. This relates back to the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2, where Path B in Figure 2.4a typified businesses under '*Service Support*', which includes wholesale distribution associated with the catering trade industry. South Asian groups have a similar disposition in their pattern of business representation in the service sector. However, in addition to South Asian cuisine, businesses including small-scale grocery stores, confectioners and tobacconists are also commonplace for Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic groups. Additionally, clothing is an area of retail that is heavily associated with South Asians, specifically the selling of traditional garments to the local ethnic community. Due to the primary focus of serving co-ethnics, the location of such stores are usually found in high concentration areas where South Asians reside.

Interestingly, Barrett *et al.* (2001) comment on the restaurant business citing the example of South Asian cuisine and suggest that it is usually regarded that food should be prepared and served by South Asian workers in order to maintain a sense of authenticity.⁴⁴ However, such expected perceptions of cultural or ethnic sensitivity goes no further than visual appearance as the fact that Bangladeshi and Pakistani

⁴⁴ Anecdotal evidence reveals that some Chinese restaurants employ White individuals as waiters or bar staff. Likewise, in takeaway businesses, Whites are sometimes employed.

minorities run many Indian cuisine restaurants does not appear to be an issue of concern.

First-generation minorities involved in the catering trade working in restaurants and takeaways can be viewed as almost ideal textbook candidates for such businesses insofar as that they may lack UK educational qualifications, low English language skills and are therefore directed towards businesses that require no formal educational qualifications (although undertaking basic food hygiene courses will be necessary) and are deemed more 'hands on' employment as opposed to the use of complex technological equipment. The establishment of small-scale businesses will be primarily used to test out current local labour market conditions.

The businesses ethnic minorities now occupy show a greater variance, as a whole, than the standard portrayal of traditional sectors embodied by the ubiquitous presence of restaurants, takeaways, wholesalers and small-scale grocery stores. The fact that these areas continue to exist is largely due to the already tried and tested nature of such businesses, which helps to explain the prominence of these reliable sectors. Recent patterns indicate that there has been growing activity in newly emerging occupations that ethnic minorities are beginning to operate within. The range covers various sectors including technology-based goods and services such as IT consultants and computer manufacturers and also more service-oriented provisions including teaching and training agencies as well as nursing and care home staff (Ram *et al.* 2003).

Pharmaceutical retailing is emphasized by Barret *et al.* (2002) as an area of particular interest for South Asians insofar as that it is an avenue of employment that has steadily become increasingly associated with this group. Unlike the traditional occupations within the catering trade and low order retailing, typified by constant demands of long hours of work, the operation of a pharmacy store is more predisposed to the benefits gained from human capital accumulation. The pursuit of a pharmacy degree affords the individual with an option to forgo manual work and the fact that securing financial loans from banks by pharmaceutical wholesalers is largely assured, should facilitate business establishment in this sector as the accumulation of capital for the initial outlay is no longer a primary obstruction. However, small stores face competition from expanding pharmacy chains and there has been an increasing trend in supermarkets offering the same products and often at competitive prices.

3.5 The Self-Employment Decision - Motives for Entry

The decision to enter self-employment is not a straightforward issue as one might expect. Various reasons have been put forward as explanations and in many cases have been derived from actual responses from ethnic minorities and are therefore accepted as genuine motives. Although such explanations are valid, it is impossible for one explanation to be exactly the same for all members of an ethnic minority group. Essentially, the motives for self-employment rest on the individual. However, it is important to outline these various reasons in order to portray an actual picture of why it is immigrants enter self-employment.

Economists note that the pursuit of profit is a leading motive in the promotion of entrepreneurship, especially in a labour market plagued with elements of risk and

uncertainty but there are other influences that do not conform to such behaviour. Indeed, to establish one's own business is a financial decision but also a psychological one. The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) 2003 report by Harding provides a brief account of the classification of 'social entrepreneurs' referring to those that seek to improve community needs and hence the social welfare of disadvantaged groups rather than the sole objective of amassing profits. The report stresses that such entrepreneurs are more likely to come from ethnic minority groups as opposed to the White majority, indicating a genuine community spirit and a sense of altruism. By providing for community needs, social entrepreneurs will continue to survive as the ethnic minority population grows.

One of the most prominent explanations of ethnic minority entry into self-employment is directly related to racial discrimination (Metcalf *et al.* 1996 and Jones *et al.* 1994). Many ethnic minorities attempt to avoid discrimination in the broader labour market by employing themselves instead of facing unequal treatment of opportunity, failing to attain a job that corresponds to their ability or harassment from other employees. The impact of discrimination may not only hinder the prospects of those who have attempted to gain high-status jobs but will also affect others who are not currently at that stage of the employment life-cycle. For example, unsuccessful stories of ethnic minorities attaining employment and associated negative experiences such as job dissatisfaction will undoubtedly resound and be included in the outlook and decisions of other individuals that will eventually arrive at the same juncture. Family members and friends sharing these common experiences will further strengthen the force of such a motivation to enter self-employment. These 'push' factors correspond accordingly with the attitudes of some ethnic minorities in their

view of limited opportunities and therefore self-employment can be considered as the only feasible alternative to unemployment. The entry into self-employment is in this case derived from a negative scenario and is deemed necessary for survival. This connects the two parts of the thesis together, racial discrimination and immigrant entrepreneurship.

An alternative view to the approach of essentially 'forced' entry into self-employment is that of 'pull' factors that assumes a more positive perspective. This considers the benefits that self-employment has to offer, the advantages of 'cultural resources' and the associated business opportunities. Metcalf *et al.* (1996) in their Policy Studies Institute Report on Asian self-employment found that the evidence obtained from the study provide mixed views as to whether self-employment is seen as an 'economic dead end'. There appears to be several advantages in operating a self-owned business. Apart from the realisation of profit and being 'your own boss', utility or satisfaction is derived from other areas including a feeling of self-worth, the availability of time set aside for religious obligations, such as praying, and the possibility of using the business as a vehicle for employment of other family members. Metcalf *et al.* (1996) conclude that pull factors differed in priority across the groups studied with Indians primarily drawn to amassing profit and creating a high-status job requiring managerial ability whilst Pakistani and African Asians were similar in their prospects for the use of self-employment as denoting status for their family.

Basu (1998) surveyed small businesses operated by Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani groups with considerable attention focusing on the view that the only alternative to

self-employment is to face unemployment and by doing so, they are in essence accepting a form of 'damage limitation'. This hypothesis was dismissed as the data derived did not correspond accordingly but instead provides evidence that indicates the recognition of business opportunities and acting upon them as a more realistic portrayal of the establishment of South Asian-owned businesses accompanied with the greater independence and financial betterment that self-employment allows. Basu also comments on the overall high standard of educational qualifications of the Asians studied, suggesting that this positive aspect would grant access to salaried employment. Nevertheless, the choice to enter self-employment by primarily utilising sources of informal capital advantages typifies this group as having an entrepreneurial spirit. Whether this is a unique cultural characteristic is not determined but if this was the case, the addition of greater assistance from formal financial institutions or support from government agencies will evidently encourage the establishment of more ethnic-owned businesses. Furthermore, this driver for increased entrepreneurialism will have a knock-on effect, which will amplify throughout the economy manifested as increased employment opportunities and income circulation.

Although a distinction can be drawn between 'push' and 'pull' factors, it is unlikely that such a simplified view captures the full extent of the actual decision to enter self-employment. Managerial ability and experience is likely to be an important factor in the efficiency and survival of an ethnic business. Likewise, an individual's outlook to taking risks will be a contributing factor, especially in the event of business expansion. Basu (2004) identifies four classifications of family business owners based on their entrepreneurial aspirations. Each is briefly explained in turn and contributes to the literature surrounding the motives for self-employment:

- *Business-first Entrepreneurs* - As the name suggests, owners of 'business-first' firms put the business ahead of other priorities and pursue strategies in order to ensure survival of the firm and growth of customer base. Financial self-reliance is a principal desire and by maintaining survival and stability, the job security of employees remains assured.
- *Family-first Entrepreneurs* - The primary concern for 'family-first' entrepreneurs is the use of the business as a means of income to support the family and as a vehicle for the employment of family members. Emphasis is often placed on the transference of the business from one generation to the next. First-generation immigrants who have spent considerable time, effort and resources establishing a business may be reluctant to simply end the firm when they retire without keeping it within the family.
- *Money-first Entrepreneurs* - Such entrepreneurs aim to maximize profits and therefore follow purely economic objectives such as cost-cutting strategies to increase the accumulation of wealth. Financial growth is the overall goal.
- *Lifestyle-first Entrepreneurs* - The business for those who follow 'lifestyle-first' aspirations is used to secure a comfortable standard of living for themselves and their family. In some ways this shares a similar intent to the aims of family-first entrepreneurs in that the business ensures that the family is able to lead an appreciable lifestyle due to the accumulation of wealth that the business provides, along with the affordability of 'rounding out' experiences referring to activities such as musical instrument lessons amounting to an

arguably more varied and richer lifestyle. The business may also be used to increase social standing in the community. The main point to note is that profit maximization is not the ultimate goal but instead profit satisficing, to amass enough wealth to support a comfortable standard of living for the family where the trade-off between work and leisure is not swayed towards the former.

The categorisation of immigrant entrepreneurs into four groups, each with different pursuing objectives helps to shape the understanding that it is not always economic motives that drive the establishment of a business. Based on aspirations alone, family business owners should not be labelled as a uniform group with identical characteristics.

In addition to the aforementioned benefits of self-employment, some commentators stress the importance of culture in facilitating entrepreneurship. The individual cultures of ethnic minorities gives rise to further benefits and is described in greater detail in the next section on 'social capital'. Therefore, it is inaccurate to label immigrant entrepreneurs as a single homogenous group but rather different groups sharing some common themes.

3.6 Social Capital

The idea of social capital is beginning to gain acceptance in the field of economics as a form of capital in the sense that it is an accumulation of resources. Putnam (1995: 66) describes social capital as the “features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual

benefit,” whilst Bourdieu (1985: 248) likens the concept to “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition.” Unlike the more traditional forms of capital such as physical, financial and human, social capital does not have a definite structure that can be observed or indeed measured in some quantifiable way as recognised by Coleman (1988, 1990). For example, financial capital can be calculated simply by accounting for all financial assets and human capital can be observed in the form of attainable qualifications yet social capital does not retain any of these characteristics. In essence, for ethnic minorities, social capital refers to the benefits derived from ethnic membership. This may take the form of relationships between other ethnic minorities and familiarisation with cultural norms. Social capital is not something that can be bought or acquired through training and education but rather a form of resource usage of existing structures that can be applied to aid individual interests.

The expansion of social capital and networks is of great importance when examining ethnic entrepreneurship, as there is an inclination to use this concept as the basis for justifying the various experiences of different ethnic groups. There has been extensive studies examining the over-representation of South Asians (Metcalf *et al.*, 1996; Basu, 1998; Basu & Altinay, 2002) in self-employment where entrepreneurs are viewed as having competitive advantages over their White peers in utilising the informal resources around them associated with their ethnicity. Alternatively, research on the Chinese is limited where the existing literature focuses on small-scale qualitative studies based primarily on interviews reinforced with participant observation. As stressed by Pang and Lau (1998: 863), “few studies have been

conducted on this ethnic group and there still exists a state of relative ignorance and perhaps misconceptions surrounding the Chinese community in Britain.” Chan *et al.* (2007) consider the Chinese as a group that is difficult to access. Therefore, a researcher sharing the same background should in theory be able to have greater access to the group or at least a greater stock of already existing knowledge than other similar White researchers. The limited available knowledge is a major justification for this thesis. Additionally, Brook (2005) suggests that further research on the effects of social capital is warranted in order to increase understanding of future labour market outcomes.

The stability and growth of networks built upon kinship, family and community ties, are an essential resource for businesses operating in competitive markets. Drawing from co-ethnic social networks allows business owners numerous advantages that would have been previously unavailable and hence will likely save on time and ultimately costs. For example, hiring trusted family members as a form of reliable and cheap source of labour is a clear business advantage and would forgo the need for a lengthy recruitment process as is standard for regular firms. Song (1995, 1997a, 1997b) stresses the importance of family as a source of labour concluding that they are an important factor in the operation of Chinese catering businesses. Likewise Gatfield and Youseff (2001) agree that the various functions that family can provide, often leads to a successful business. Informal ways of raising capital such as a loan from relatives is also an associated and recognised benefit. Moreover, the reliance of financial advantages that may arise from social capital may diminish the need for the use of formal bank loans to a lower limit or circumvent the requirement altogether. Additionally, the shared knowledge arising from network links can lead to the

potential for greater expansion and even innovation which perhaps can see firms being established away from traditional sectors and into new areas of business.

Marger (2001) cites the concept of 'bounded solidarity' as a related issue to the idea of social capital and refers to common or similar experiences of different individuals of the same ethnic group. For example, newly arrived immigrants may find that they are immediately distinguishable from the majority population, not only in physical characteristics but also in areas such as language proficiency and being subject to discrimination. They may find it helpful to form friendships amongst similar individuals and therefore draw strength and knowledge from each other. Sharing racial adversity and collective experiences will lead to a stronger community and hence the formation of social capital in the ability to draw upon an ethnic network based primarily on trust and exchanges of common circumstances among minority group members. Ethnic networks are especially important in situations where newly arrived immigrants will benefit from the experiences of those who have already adapted to the society of the host country. Perhaps a stronger form or branch of an ethnic network is one comprised of entirely immediate family members and other relatives. Confirmation of this view comes from Sanders and Nee (1996: 233) who regard the family as "an institution that embodies an important form of social capital that immigrants draw on in the pursuit of economic advancement." Such networks may give rise to numerous additional advantages such as the use of family members as labour or access to informal sources of finance. Furthermore, it can be argued that family workers are more productive than employees of no relation simply because the family business is of greater concern to them insofar as that the survival of the firm provides job security and obviously income generation. Although immigrant business

ownership requires long hours of work, second-generation children are likely to benefit from a wider range of experiences that can now be afforded to them in terms of time and financial costs. For example, the option to be sent to a private school to gain arguably a higher quality of education is a distinct possibility. Additional avenues that appear with affordability would also include the 'rounding out' experiences, as previously mentioned, referring to extracurricular activities and other interests.

Although membership to an ethnic group is accompanied with business advantages, there are some drawbacks that need to be acknowledged when favouring social capital access. The dependence on informal resources can actually limit business growth and expansion. If the initial business start-up is established using family loans, further development would require an increase in physical capital such as a new shop premises for example, or production on a larger scale. However, access to additional informal resources can be problematic due to the amount drawn upon at the original outset of business development. Essentially, the available pool of social capital will have already been appropriated or indeed exhausted. Ram *et al.* (2003: 667) emphasize this point suggesting "there comes a point when the protective support mechanisms of family and ethnic community become a strait-jacket, stifling, confining and restrictive." Goulbourne (2006) and Zhou and Kim (2006) suggest that social capital is not a static stock of knowledge but requires constant adaptation due to the inherent reliance on support structures. Therefore, the level of social capital alters with individual circumstances and the surrounding environment. Likewise, Cheong *et al.* (2007) stress the ever-changing and episodic nature of social capital.

3.7 Mixed Embeddedness and Opportunity Structures

A central theme that runs through the literature concerning immigrant and ethnic minority businesses is the concept of 'mixed embeddedness'. In broad terms, the notion of embeddedness pertains to one of three main strands associated with social (and cultural), economic and institutional aspects of the entrepreneurial environment. Each aspect takes a different viewpoint as to how business opportunities are formed. For instance, a social perspective is largely connected with that of a cultural standpoint and is concerned with how the community shapes the behaviour of individuals as well as tradition, family influences and religion. The economic viewpoint refers to the overall economic climate including elements of risk and uncertainty in business creation and access to financial capital whether formal or informal. Lastly, the institutional perspective relates to the accessibility of various institutions such as education, training and financial but also to external bodies that promote equality. Although each perspective cites the importance of a different collection of attributes, it is not difficult to see that some overlapping is apparent. Bearing this in mind, mixed embeddedness is almost self-explanatory in that it is an amalgamation of different perspectives combined to form a complex set of factors that are able to shape the decisions and behaviour of potential entrepreneurs. Kloosterman *et al.* (1999: 257) further adds that "the rise of the immigrant entrepreneurship is, theoretically, primarily located at the intersection of changes in socio-cultural frameworks on the one side and transformation processes in (urban) economies on the other. The interplay between these two different sets of changes takes place within a larger, dynamic framework of institutions on neighbourhood, city, national or economic sector level." In other words, mixed embeddedness concerns the interaction of various inter-linking factors such as cultural aspects but also business

and economic related factors. This is due largely in part to the way in which businesses in general are determined by the economic environment therefore influencing the opportunity structures that present themselves not only to ethnic minorities but the entire population. As such, mixed embeddedness incorporates everything from microeconomic to macroeconomic causal factors that may alter and form potential opportunities to prospective entrepreneurs. Gelderen (2007) suggests that business opportunities for immigrant entrepreneurs are often formed on prior knowledge that pertains to their country of origin. Such knowledge will range from basic culinary skills utilised in restaurants and takeaways, to larger and more complex import-export oriented businesses.

Kloosterman *et al.* (1999) theorise that there are two ways in which business opportunities are created. First, demand for ethnic products, specific foodstuffs and clothing for example, will rise as the number of immigrants increase and ethnic communities emerge. Second, in the event of a vacancy of a shop premises in an area of a growing ethnic minority population, immigrant entrepreneurs may decide to purchase the property on offer or lease it from the original owners but convert the nature of the business to better suit the needs of the ethnic community. A variation of this would be taking over an already established business in following a vacancy chain strategy. Opportunity structures need to be viewed in the context of markets (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001). That is, the environment immigrant entrepreneurs operate within, in order to provide goods and services to customers. Let us consider the scenario of a large firm that enjoys economies of scale and where a small firm will unlikely survive under the competitive market conditions. However, small businesses run by immigrant entrepreneurs may continue to operate due to their unique or

specific aspects in catering for ethnic demand. It is highly unlikely that a large supermarket chain will stock only 'halal' meat to suit the needs of Muslim groups and therefore specialist butchers will remain. The viewpoint of immigrant entrepreneurship relating to market conditions is further complicated with the addition of two dimensions concerning social mobility. One refers to 'market accessibility' in determining the start-up of a new business and the other refers to 'growth potential', that is, the option to expand to satisfy a greater customer base at a later stage. By viewing market conditions as an integral part of opportunity structures in addition to cultural aspects, the very definition of mixed embeddedness is explored.

It may also be argued that ethnic communities can develop both economic and social links back to their country of origin thus strengthening the importance of growing ethnic entrepreneurship in the economy. This is of particular importance where specialist products are shipped from overseas. For example, small stores selling genuine cultural ornaments will need to rely on imported goods. Likewise, specialist video and music stores will require importing stock. In such cases, having established links overseas, whether family, friends or purely business associates will provide and facilitate access to reliable and secure suppliers. Clothing may also be a part of overseas trade but the manufacture of such items can be produced in the UK therefore negating the need for overseas links. However, materials may still need to be imported.

3.8 The Ethnic Niche Market

As briefly highlighted in the previous section, demand for ethnic products by co-ethnic customers is a vitally important part to the survival of ethnic minority

businesses. The establishment of an ethnic community primarily consisting of first-generation immigrants will account for a large share of the demand for these specific goods. Entrepreneurs from an ethnic community will be in a preferable position to understand the unique needs and patterns of consumption of other members of their own community due to familiarity of experiences. Moreover, transactions may be conducted using their own language negating the problems associated with a lack of English language proficiency. Specialisation in cultural specific products has allowed ethnic minority-owned firms to have some degree of competitive advantage over other businesses. For example, special dietary requirements of Muslim groups in accordance with their religion are unlikely to be fulfilled by shopping entirely at large supermarket chains and therefore small-scale local stores that meet these needs will be in demand. The access and level of greater knowledge held can be an influential factor. By entering into self-employment, ethnic minorities are able to find a protected niche in the ethnic enclave. However, a single business in the protected market is unable to remain free from competition arising from other similar ethnic-owned firms restricting opportunities for profitability. Indeed, a small local ethnic population means that only a few firms of the same type can survive. For example, not all South Asian families are able to start-up local small-scale grocery stores selling cultural specific products if they are already numerous in the existing area. The small ethnic population is simply not large enough to sustain and absorb additional businesses.

Engelen (2001) cites the importance of low threshold markets in contributing to the formation of the ethnic niche market. If entrance rules are somewhat ill-defined and unenforceable, it follows that such low threshold markets can be penetrated by small

firms based on simple forms of business ownership including sole proprietorship or partnerships with family, kin or friends. The combinations of financial, human and social capital will likely differ in their level of importance and integration for each form of ownership. Ethnic minorities will be drawn to the forms of proprietorship that seem the most accessible and can be easily accommodated. Engelen adds “what makes ‘ethnic’ businesses into an entrepreneurial category in its own right is precisely the production and provision of ‘ethnic’ products” (2001: 218).

3.9 The Impact of Religion and Traditional Views

Religious beliefs are a prominent feature of different ethnic groups. In particular, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are predominantly Muslim groups following Islam and Indians, Hinduism or Sikhism. Religion is a notable and influential characteristic of ethnic minorities and is deeply rooted into every day life. Rafiq (1992) asserts that the extent of these religions are visibly integrated in such a way that seems no longer applicable to Christianity. Specific clothing and the requirements of prayer are distinguished examples of the demands made on these groups but demonstrate that religion is of significant importance and will undoubtedly feature heavily in the way in which they lead their lifestyles. It is logical to assume that religion will play a major role in the decision to enter self-employment as the three religions mentioned all have a beneficial and constructive outlook on entrepreneurship. Indeed, self-employment would allow time and freedom required for religious obligations but may also influence actual business activity. For example, the handling of alcohol and some particular meat (e.g. pork) may be interpreted as forbidden by Muslim religion and will restrict the goods and services on offer. Contrary to this belief, Metcalf *et al.* (1996) found in their study of South Asians that religion was identified as an issue in

relation to the business but will not necessarily determine business decisions. It may be the case that the handling of such products does not contradict their religious beliefs as it differs considerably to actual consumption.

A determinant of the composition of workers may be the views held by different ethnic groups in respect to female workers. Muslims tend to have a strict view on the role of women in formal employment and traditionally regard their primary responsibility as a 'home-maker' looking after the family whilst the male is seen as the 'breadwinner'. However, the extent to which this view is held will differ across various households. Unique circumstances may force women to actively take up employment. For example, single (female) parent families may seek gainful employment that may, understandably, go somewhat against cultural tradition. Subsequent or next generation minorities will also likely be an influential factor in determining the value placed on traditional customs and views as they may be deemed outdated by Muslims born in the UK and therefore may no longer hold any significance. Maintaining the view that women should not work outside the family home may be interpreted as a reluctance to change or adapt to British society and will invariably affect overall employment participation rates. The work of Rafiq (1992) adds validity to this claim as he finds that Muslim businesses seem to fair poorer to non-Muslim businesses and this differential can be attributed to variations in cultural views and traditional customs.

3.10 Raising Finance

A fundamental barrier that presents itself to any individual opting to enter self-employment is the amount of available finance that can be amassed as start-up capital.

Establishing a business will require obvious start-up costs and will need to be funded by personal savings or some way of raising the necessary capital such as a bank loan. Commonly, a combination of both methods are needed. It is important to examine the ability of different ethnic groups to raise sources of finance, in particular, their experiences with financial institutions will provide evidence of any unfair treatment that may be based on racial discrimination and hence an important aspect in creating equality.

Ram and Jones (1998) state that the majority of small firms face difficulties in raising finance but the problems seem more apparent for ethnic minority businesses. This is due to several combined factors projecting an unappealing image to prospective banks. Such factors often frequented include a lack of self-employment history and that of the business, location of premises in inner-city areas and many business ventures are deemed to be in a market with a high degree of competition thus raising questions around the survival of a new market entrant. Additionally and perhaps the most influential factor of hindrance to raising financial capital is customer discrimination on behalf of the actual bank employees, as suggested by Ram *et al.* (2003). If discrimination is present, then ethnic minority firms may be unable to secure the necessary capital resulting in the need to resort to informal sources.

There does not appear to be a general consensus as to whether access to formal sources of finance from financial institutions is restricted due to ethnicity for all minority groups. Metcalf *et al.* (1996) found that there are noticeable differences across the South Asian groups in their sample studied. Table 3.3 reproduces the

results of the sources of finance recorded that were available to the ethnic minority firms.

Table 3.3: Sources of Finance

<i>Column percentages</i>				
	Indian	African Asians	Pakistani	All South Asians
No funds needed	17	26	3	15
<u>Unweighted base</u>	52	35	31	125
Of those that required funds				
Savings	72	69	53	68
Bank	53	31	30	42
Loans from family	19	27	30	23
Loans from friends	19	23	13	18
Loan/grant from government/local authority/enterprise agency	2	8	13	7
Mortgage	7	8	3	6
Loan company	0	4	0	1
Gift from family	0	8	0	3
Inheritance	0	0	3	1
Redundancy pay	0	0	3	1
Other	9	15	13	11
<u>Unweighted base</u>	43	26	30	106

Source: Metcalf *et al.* (1996: 57, Table 4.5).

Note: The survey was carried out in Summer 1995.

On viewing the table of results, it can be seen that the Indian group have the most favourable conditions when it comes to raising sources of financial capital with personal savings contributing to 72% and access to formal bank loans recorded at 53%. This is in excess of over 20% when compared to the figures for the African Asian and Pakistani groups. However, in relation to informal loans from family members, Pakistani groups have the highest rates at 30%, African Asian at 27% and perhaps surprisingly Indian with the lowest at 19%. However, these numbers may mask obvious differences when examined separately. For example, if formal bank loans are easily accessed, then the need for family financial aid will diminish. Some may find that securing finance on their own, without family assistance, as having a

greater determination, independence and better business sense. Interestingly, Curran and Blackburn (1993) find that African-Caribbeans seem particularly disadvantaged in their experiences in dealing with high street banks implying that there is no single reason for this barrier but it may in fact be one of two dominant perceptions. First, 'business-problems' which can be resolved over time through training and greater expertise and second, the seemingly ubiquitous explanation of discrimination.

Ram *et al.* (2003) examining the financial experiences of ethnic minorities and their relationship with banking institutions, found that 9 out of 25 respondents from various ethnic backgrounds were allegedly recipients of discriminatory behaviour. The forms of discrimination ranged from immediate refusal for business loans to sub-standard management of accounts and an overall sense of mistrust between the bank and customer. Additionally, another three respondents expressed concern as to their treatment by banks but were unsure whether to pinpoint these experiences as a direct result of discrimination. Such commonly reported explanations indicate some degree of truth in the substantiation of discrimination as a barrier to raising capital through financial institutions.

Religion is also considered an issue in raising sources of financial capital. Again, the Muslim religion has explicit views on lending and borrowing money where one side gains, a bank for example, in the form of interest without being subjected to the same risk as the market entrant or immigrant entrepreneur in this case. Essentially, the interest paid back from the loan has not in a true sense been physically earned. However, evidence from Basu and Altinay (2002) in their study of immigrant businesses in London shows that Muslims are just as likely as non-Muslims to borrow

from financial institutions indicating that religion in practice does not seem to play the influential role that one might expect on business behaviour. Such somewhat contradictory actions may be acceptable for Muslims in a predominantly White country in order for business survival, especially if the business is indeed used as a vehicle for family employment.⁴⁵

3.11 A Competitive Environment

Complexity of the establishment of ethnic minority-owned businesses and their continual survival arise when we factor in the repeal of the Shops Act 1950 culminating in the creation of the Sunday Trading Act 1994. It is generally accepted that shops with a floor area of less than 280 square metres are not subject to any trading restrictions and are therefore unimpeded to open on a Sunday. Prior to this, small-scale grocery stores operated by South Asians were able to remain open on evenings and Sundays and therefore enjoyed some form of protected market niche, albeit confined to opening times where supermarkets did not offer any competition. The only feasible competition was perhaps petrol stations although they themselves offered limited goods. However, this is no longer the case, as many large supermarket stores remain open for extended hours and on the weekend causing greater competition to the detriment of small minority-owned stores. Furthermore, supermarket chains offer their own brands and ranges of ethnic foods again competing with the catering trade where consumers are able to experience ethnic cuisine at home rather than eating out at a restaurant. However, it may be the case that the authenticity of such foods is not deemed faithful to the meals prepared in restaurants

⁴⁵ This explanation follows from the views held on arranged marriages. It appears that some UK-born generations of Muslims are less likely to conform to tradition because they have been raised in a different country to that of their cultural heritage. Family values may dictate that compliance to some practices may no longer be relevant or at least that change is accepted.

and therefore consumer tastes will play a major role in determining whether eating out continues to remain a growing trend.

The protection offered by the ethnic niche of the catering sector may be eroded by competition from other eating out establishments. Ethnic restaurants and takeaways are faced with competition from traditional British cuisine such as fish and chip and the combination of pub and restaurant arrangements offering traditional English meals. Restaurants within department stores are also an increasing trend and the popularity of fast food outlets adds to the strength of competition. All of the aforementioned factors are indeed areas of concern for an ethnic business in terms of survival and profitability. Moreover, one must not downplay or neglect to mention direct competition from other restaurants and takeaways of the same trade, which in some circumstances are located in the same local proximity. Chau and Yu (2001) argue that this situation causes Chinese business owners to be direct rivals, which weakens the strength of a unified community, as an element of caution exists when exchanging information. Likewise, the presence of competition may force some takeaways or restaurants to be located away from other businesses in order to capture a larger customer base but at the same time, this would mean greater isolation, which can compound experiences of social exclusion.

3.12 Workforce Construction

Ram *et al.* (2000) raise an interesting issue in looking at the workforce construction of specific ethnic minority businesses, namely independent restaurants. Unlike smaller establishments such as takeaways and small-scale grocery stores, the larger premises that a restaurant offers is in many experiences not operated solely by family members.

Consequently, the hiring of additional workers is an important aspect of the operation of such businesses. Co-ethnic employees are usually sought for recruitment, as they are generally considered more reliable than other employees from the perspective of ethnic business owners. This is undeniably associated with the idea of shared experiences and bounded rationality forming ethnic ties and relationships allowing for businesses to draw upon a pool of co-ethnic minority labour. The availability and quality of labour will be variable so it is important for the employer to hire the optimal worker. Therefore hiring co-ethnics is not a simple action of selecting any available worker due to their ethnic association, as the employer will still need to take into consideration the productivity of potential employees, their range of abilities and suitability to the vacant position on offer. The hiring of a head chef is of particular importance. Their ethnic background will be a major factor in validating the authenticity of the preparation of genuine foreign cuisine. The head chef is a central position in the restaurant business because of their obvious culinary skills but also their ability to oversee other workers and to maintain a sense of control, especially during busy hours where a frenetic pace is often required to keep up with multiple customer orders. Due to their integral position within a restaurant, employers must ensure that they remain with them for a considerable period as finding a suitable replacement will be problematic. In essence, the entrepreneur must establish a trusting relationship with their main workers for reliability and the successful continuance of business survival.

3.13 The Family Business

The notion of a 'family business' is a complex one. Various authors have their own ideas as to what constitutes as a family business (Westhead and Cowling, 1997; Chua

et al. 1999) but this is due to the overlapping subject areas of study that this issue falls under. That is, a family business can be studied under 'entrepreneurship' or 'small firms'. Trends in literature suggest that the study of family businesses has been increasingly investigated separately from entrepreneurship but as a related and overlapping subject (Hoy and Verser, 1994; Poutziouris *et al.* 2006). Self-employment for the Chinese, including restaurants and takeaways, is relatively small-scale in the presence of the competitive catering trade. A family business in this sense is where there is an emphasis on family ownership, involvement and management.

Family businesses exhibit unique properties that set them apart from other businesses. In essence, the family business tends to adopt a different outlook to other firms in terms of organisation, strategy and priority in an attempt to ensure survivability for the family and a comfortable standard of living. The self-employed business is a vehicle for entrepreneurship in creating wealth, employment for other family members and the management of values within the family unit. However, this suggests both a positive and negative scenario. Family businesses are able to utilise social capital or internal resources that may not exist elsewhere in other firms but on the other hand, there can be much disagreement or conflicts between family members at work and therefore this may damage the family bond.

The relationship and subsequent interaction between family and self-employment businesses is an engaging aspect of entrepreneurship. Economists view the 'firm' as a 'black box' distinctly separable from society. However, self-employment, especially in the catering trade, has implications for family members and occupational choice. Family participation in work and the overlap into family life or indeed a future career

away from the family business is a complex issue, which is highlighted by several respondents in this present study where the importance of family will be revealed in subsequent chapters.

Ethnic businesses operated by family members are an integral contribution to the structure of the local and national labour market. Regardless of size or typology of work, their ability to stimulate economic activity and generate income and wealth are of particular importance. Family-run businesses are able to develop and establish the firm based on the trust and loyalty that is often associated with family members, therefore encouraging a lengthy commitment. The transference of the business from one generation to the next will largely be dependent on the closeness of the family and how they are integrated within the business. The act of succession and the subsequent development and performance of the family business has been examined by various authors (Goldberg, 1996; Sharma *et al.*, 2001) and is a seemingly growing area of research. On the whole, much of this literature concerns itself with family relationships within the business environment but not how they affect the performance of the family firm (Sharma, *et al.* 1997). Family help and support is an influential factor for the Chinese and has implications for the future of catering trade businesses. Depending on the strength of the family connection and the role of family members, the extent to which occupational choice is determined and hence the act of succession. Likewise, Dyer Jr. (1988) states that the culture of any family firm is a prominent consideration in determining the future survival of the business and consequently success beyond the first generation of owners. However, the operation of a family business is not without any disadvantages. These possible drawbacks are succinctly identified by Poutziouris *et al.* (2004: 9) as: “introversion, adoption of

conservative philosophies in terms of sourcing financial and human capital, lack of professionalism, nepotism rather than meritocracy in promotion practices, rigidity, informal channels of communication, family feuding, and the absence of strategically planned succession (from the perspective of management, ownership and leadership).”

The role, participation or indeed impact upon family members of self-employment businesses is an interesting issue and one that has been explored by various authors in recent years (Baines *et al.* 2002; Baines *et al.* 2003; Basu, 2004). Where Song (1995, 1997a, 1997b) emphasizes family as a source of labour, Baines *et al.* (2003) examine how the typology of self-employed working arrangements can affect family life. The study was undertaken in the North East covering areas such as County Durham and Teesside and investigated numerous self-employed businesses via in-depth qualitative interviews with self-employed people and their families. The report suggests that self-employment is not solely confined to the owner but the entire household due to the commitment involved in such businesses. One can view the absence of any Chinese respondents in the study as an important noticeable omission due to their presence of self-employed businesses in the UK labour market. This again provides justification for this thesis and its value as a contribution to research.

Baines *et al.* (2003) adopt a four-fold typology in categorising the balance between work and family. That is, the experiences of family life are different dependent on the classification. What follows is a brief explanation of each category:

- *Time-Greedy* - As the name suggests, 'Time-Greedy' self-employment patterns are typified as long and often unsocial hours of work. These workplaces require a large commitment where the quality of life is essentially structured around the business. Leisure activities and consequently time spent with the family plays a secondary role by necessity. Large demands on both time and commitment are placed on the owners of the business (and employees) who must often work long and undesirable hours away from their families. Examples of time greedy business activities include construction, manufacturing and services (which may be required at the client's premises). The amount of time spent at work may be unpredictable due to the dependence on the demand for the goods and services that the business offers and the associated uncertainty of market fluctuations.
- *Rigidly-Scheduled* - The classification of 'Rigidly-Scheduled' self-employed work is largely similar to that of a traditional '9am to 5pm' job. Work is confined to the actual premises and the opening times. For example, a café or hairdressers may open on weekdays from 9am to 5pm and perhaps on a Saturday. A business premises away from the home allows for a more stable family life, as work can essentially stop after scheduled working hours.
- *Flexibly-Scheduled* - 'Flexibly-Scheduled' work is arranged around family needs, especially childcare. Work is flexible so that it can be easily halted at any time and similarly easily restarted without any real loss in output or quality of service. Examples from Baines *et al.* (2003) include personal services such as healing therapies and ironing services. Both businesses were

considered as displaying ‘family friendly’ characteristics but in a sense, almost self-contradictory, they can also be viewed as ‘family unfriendly’. Children in the study complained that their parent’s business would encroach on family time. For instance, one child respondent disliked going to bed early, as this was a requirement so that his/her mother could carry out healing therapy treatments on clients in the evening.

- *Work-Family Inclusive* - ‘Work-Family Inclusive’ businesses, as the name suggests, combines both work and family life. Although on the surface this may appear to be a ‘family friendly’ conducive environment due to income generation and caring for the family taking place side-by-side, this is considerably different to the arrangements in flexibly-scheduled businesses. Importantly, work is directly incorporated into the family and not the other way around. Consequently, in the case for children, family life is by definition affected as a direct result. Examples, again taken from Baines *et al.* (2003), include a small village shop, family daycare services and a home-based enterprise selling household products via internet and telephone. Long hours of work are associated with work-family inclusive businesses.

Self-employment businesses in the Chinese catering industry such as restaurants and takeaways are an important feature of the labour market and society as a whole. The structure of such businesses are often family-centric where social capital, as will be revealed in the case study of the Chinese in Newcastle, is a major contributing factor to the formation and continuance of the catering trade. These businesses are unique in the presence of the four-fold typology adopted by Baines *et al.* (2003) as they cannot

accurately be classified into a single entry. Characteristics from several of the classifications overlap. The long and unsocial hours of restaurants and takeaways suggest a time-greedy business. Opening times are catered to the wider British public and revolves around their work-social life balance. Indeed, takeaways are often noticeably busier on the weekend than on weekdays. Similar to the rigidly-scheduled places of work, restaurants and takeaways have definitive hours of opening, often lunch times, weekday evenings and weekends but additional required duties excludes the notion of confining work to only within these scheduled hours. For example, the preparation of food is a necessity before opening times in catering trade establishments and cleaning duties are required at the close of the business day. The fact that family can be drawn upon as a source of labour, especially in the case of children at school, college or university, Chinese self-employment catering trade businesses exhibit features of a work-family inclusive pattern or arrangement. As Basu (2004: 12) suggests, “while ordinarily, in non-family businesses, the business and family domains remain separate, the key distinctive characteristic of family businesses is that family members work together for economic purposes. In other words, the family is not merely a social unit but also an economic unit.” The views of working for the family business from the perspective of students in education are further explored in the relevant case study reporting chapters. As Baines and Wheelock (1998) denote, family members can be involved in the business in a variety of ways and this will be demonstrated in this present study.

A considerable advantage of working with one’s family in self-employment business is the trust and support that is apparent between family members. Parents can draw upon their children to help out in the business but the children themselves may see the

ease at which payment could be made as a benefit over waged work elsewhere. Interestingly, two respondents in the following case study confirmed this issue. However, an important disadvantage of a family business is the separation of distinct identities. There is no definitive clear line between family and work suggesting a complicated overlap. Growing up within a family business, one cannot simply be unaffected or separated from their surrounding environment. Indeed, Basu and Altinay (2003) state that the spillover effects of working in a family business on family life are significant. As will be revealed in the forthcoming chapters, family is an important feature of the Chinese community and the catering trade.

3.14 Summary

Immigrant entrepreneurship or self-employment is a common approach for ethnic minorities to gain a standing in a predominantly White society. Although the reasons for entry into self-employment differs across individuals, the simplicity of a ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factor approach helps us to understand some of the issues considered but is unlikely to encompass the entire complexity of the initial decision. There is no single explanatory reason or motivation to enter self-employment that will satisfy all ethnic groups as a whole or even individual members but it is likely that a combination of factors are taken into account. The experience of discrimination is a powerful stimulus but family background and ease of capital accumulation may also be strong influential factors. Depending on the individual’s circumstances, different opportunities will become available and this helps to explain why self-employment rates vary across different ethnic groups. However, once a business is established, numerous advantages begin to emerge that are afforded only by being one’s own boss. The freedom to employ family members or co-ethnics without the need for formal

applications is indeed a timesaving and possibly monetary advantage but also the presence of discriminatory experiences is removed. Success stories will inevitably increase the attractiveness of such business ventures for other recently arrived immigrants or second-generation ethnic minorities. Already established businesses will be able to pass on their acquired knowledge and experiences in helping other co-ethnics taking a similar path to self-employment.⁴⁶ Ethnic minority businesses will continue to remain a distinguished feature in modern society and may increase in size, importance and diversity due to increasing numbers of ethnic minorities whether UK-born or newly arrived immigrants. However, the labour market decisions of second-generation minorities will play a crucial role in the formation of the general self-employment occupational profile in the future. As Clark and Drinkwater (2000: 626) conclude, “there remain interesting, unanswered questions concerning the interaction between ethnicity and self-employment.”

⁴⁶ The transfer of knowledge among co-ethnic minority groups associated with operating a business including managerial and organisational skills can be referred to as ‘sector-specific human capital’. (Fairlie and Meyer, 1996).

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter aims to present the development of the research design adopted for the study. Personal knowledge, arising from social capital, helped to shape the overall research design where each stage will be discussed. Three main stages were employed to answer the research questions: self-completion questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and a focus group session.

4.2 What is a Research Methodology?

Research methods are tools used for data collection and can be viewed as the practical aspect or indeed application of techniques to generate results. However, it is the justification of the use of such techniques that relates to an actual methodology. Krippendorff (1980) states that the primary aim of a methodology is to describe the choice of research methods and techniques, strengths and limitations as well as the contribution to knowledge. Babbie (1998) likens a methodology to what might be termed as the '*science of finding out*' as research is a process of discovering and accumulating knowledge. Similarly, Brewer (2000: 5) suggests "research is no longer presented as a set of discrete and logical steps or stages – planning, access, data collection, analysis, writing up, dissemination of the results – but as a whole event occurring over time, in which stages merge and are not sequenced." Therefore, a methodology is an amalgamation of ideas and concepts which guides the use of research methods to generate original data.

The research relies on both quantitative and qualitative data with a stronger emphasis on the latter to produce an original study. The use of the quantitative approach fed directly to the qualitative approach as will be revealed in this chapter. Investigating the importance placed on discrimination as a factor determining occupational outcomes is a central theme that runs throughout the dissertation. Sapsford and Tzannatos (1993: 243) note that “discrimination is a qualitative issue and its incorporation in the neoclassical theory did not formally occur until Becker’s doctoral thesis in 1957.” It follows that a qualitative issue can be investigated via qualitative methods. Moreover, Wrench and Modood (2000) suggest that research of a qualitative nature is apt for investigating the experiences of ethnic minorities.

4.3 A Phenomenological Position

The research takes phenomenological position to qualitative work stressing the importance of the ‘intersubjective’ nature of human interaction. Yates (2004: 136) contends that such viewpoints of social science “has to account for the motives, means, ends, shared relationships, plans and expectation of human beings.” As such, the thesis attempts to provide the ‘meaning’ behind occupational choice for the Chinese, outcomes and the associated relationships involved including both family and the larger community. The research aims for an in-depth understanding of the labour market experiences of the Chinese, attempting to reach both those in employment and self-employment, and explore why they are largely concentrated in the catering trade industry. Welman and Kruger (1999: 189) state that “phenomenologists are concerned with understanding social and psychological phenomena from the perspectives of people involved”.

Crotty (1998: 79) maintains that phenomenology “requires us to engage with phenomenon in our world and make sense of them directly.” This is exactly what this research study does. It attempts to make sense of whether self-employment is a choice or necessity for the Chinese, in explaining the number of restaurant and takeaway businesses in the catering trade. Also, the study aims to find out if discrimination is considered as a factor in occupational choice. Other factors exist and these will be identified in the study but it is important to determine the strength of discrimination as a factor. The use of interviews and a focus group allows direct access to the phenomenon under research. The idea of ‘placing oneself in the place of another’ to understand the subjective experiences of the research subjects is arguably taken to a further extent, as the researcher belongs to the Chinese community and is therefore a member of the studied group. This is referred to as ‘the great phenomenological principle’ (Crotty, 1998).

4.4 A Mixed Methodology

The research employs a mixed methodology, not only in the actual methods used but also the approaches adopted. Both quantitative and qualitative aspects have been integrated into a single study in order to gain a more insightful and in-depth view of the problem of racial discrimination within the context of the Chinese catering trade and the community. The quantitative part of the study embodied in the questionnaire surveys was based on the issues that the researcher is concerned with. That is, the two principal research questions that drive the study. However, the two questions can only truly be answered via qualitative methods and therefore the quantitative stage of research acts as an access point to the Chinese community. The qualitative semi-structured interviews and focus group questions were based upon the results of each

prior stage. Therefore, the perspective of the research subjects is the main foundation of the investigation. In essence, the shift from quantitative to qualitative parallels a shift in perspective from the researcher to the research subjects as each stage progresses.

Miles and Huberman (1994) and Creswell (1994) have written extensively on the topic of combining approaches in a single methodology. Miles and Huberman (1994) classify four general frameworks for linking quantitative and qualitative methods. These include, integrated collection of both data types, parallel data collection, exploratory fieldwork leading to quantitative methods followed by qualitative data collection, and a survey followed by in-depth qualitative work. Likewise, Creswell (1994) offers a narrower list of categorising mixed methods. First, a two-phase framework where both quantitative and qualitative stages are kept distinctly apart. Some researchers refer to this as ‘a study within a study’. Second, a dominant/less-dominant angle where only a small part of a method is incorporated into a more dominant method. Lastly, a fully mixed-methodology that integrates various aspects of both approaches in all stages of the research.

According to Bryman (2004), the number of studies containing both quantitative and qualitative elements of research has increased and may eventually become the norm. However, a combined research methodology should only be employed if deemed suitable for the problem or the research questions being investigated. They should not be used based upon the erroneous assumption that the application of both quantitative and qualitative research tools combined will produce a more successful study than engaging solely in a single approach. In the appropriate setting, the integration of

both styles of research can complement or help inform one another. This study begins with a quantitative approach, which directly contributes and supplies information into a qualitative approach and hence an integrated and combined methodology is undertaken. Miles and Huberman (1994: 42) state, “Both types of data can be productive for descriptive, reconnoitring, exploratory, inductive, opening up purposes. And both can be productive for explanatory, confirmatory, hypotheses-testing purposes.” Essentially, each approach is versatile enough to be used for different purposes.

4.5 Quantitative or Qualitative?

When deciding upon an appropriate approach to any research study, Punch (2005) identifies six factors that must be considered in order to arrive at a suitable methodology, befitting the investigation in question. Each factor is briefly explained in turn:

- *What Exactly are we trying to Find Out?* - The first consideration is the definition of the study and the principal research questions. General questions could be tackled from either a quantitative or qualitative angle but the more specific research questions become, the importance of selecting an apt method becomes clearer. Therefore, the scope of the proposed research questions, self-evidently, influences the decision of the methods used.
- *What is the Purpose?* - The second factor is directly related to the first. Once the research questions have been identified, one must ask what is the purpose of the study? For example, will it be used to compare against other

investigations in terms of a quantifiable measurement or will it be a detailed examination of a phenomenon looking at the intricacies of the problem?

- *Literature* – The third factor concerns itself with the positioning of the study in relation to the available literature. It considers the approaches that other researchers have adopted for the same (or similar) areas of study as well as any similarities or indeed, divergences.
- *Practical Considerations* – Studies can vary greatly due to practicality and the available resources. These include “time, money, the availability of samples and data, the researcher’s familiarity with the situation being studied, access to situations, gaining the cooperation of others, and so on” (Punch, 2005: 240).
- *Knowledge Payoff* – This consideration focuses on whether quantitative or qualitative methods will produce more useful results, adding to the existence of knowledge in the chosen area of study. Although this is difficult to predict in the initial stages of research development, attempting to verify which method will exhibit a greater tendency towards a more valuable outcome is what determines a true methodology rather than a simple method.
- *Style* – This factor is a subjective issue where some researchers may prefer to adopt a certain method based on their own perception of how they would like the study to be shaped.

As Punch (2005) suggests, by considering all six factors, only then can the outcome be deemed an appropriate chosen methodology.

4.6 A Positivist or Interpretivist Approach?

A positivist approach is an epistemological viewpoint that is often associated with a heavily quantitative-based study. It proposes a hypothesis in order to be tested and either validated or rejected. This is not the approach adopted for this research. Interpretivism is a standpoint that differs from positivism and is largely affiliated with that of a qualitative study. It is centred on the notion that a plan or viewpoint is necessary that values the differences between people and the 'objects of natural sciences'. The social scientist therefore interprets and comprehends the subjective meaning of social action (Bryman, 2000). Rather than testing theory, the researcher is building a framework based on prior knowledge of the Chinese community. Essentially, it is the utilisation of my existing social capital that allows for such a study to take place. My affinity with the Chinese community arguably affords a greater access to a group that is often cited as under-researched and should be viewed as a vital strength of the research. Furthermore Rhodes (1994) suggests that an improvement in the quality of data collection is observed when the researcher shares the same ethnic origin as the research subjects, especially in the case for an interview where a White researcher is arguably unable to fully comprehend the experiences of ethnic minorities.

The qualitative approach aims to enhance understanding and interpretation to improve overall comprehension of the Chinese community and the issues they face in relation to occupational attainment and discrimination. Patton (1990) values the techniques of

in-depth qualitative studies that analyse the experiences through the eyes of the participants. Likewise, Strauss and Corbin (1998) recognise the validity of choosing a qualitative research approach in attempting to understand experiences. Therefore, the experiences and perceptions of discrimination can be better conveyed via a qualitative route and provide more richer detail, at least of a more human nature, than statistical techniques. The feelings and opinions of participants can only be truly derived from in-depth qualitative research and as such may be of valuable use to anti-discrimination policy makers.

4.7 Building a Theoretical Framework - A Qualitative Approach

Being from the Chinese community means that I am unable to separate myself from the studied group. Moreover, being second-generation Chinese means that I have both an understanding of the Chinese and British culture. For many years I have studied martial arts from a leading member of the community and help to train others. The importance of being a martial arts instructor in relation to the research is highly significant. It is the Kung Fu school that forms the basis of the festivities at Chinese New Year performing demonstrations and the traditional lion dance, which is a notable feature of the Chinese culture. Therefore, interaction with the Chinese in Newcastle through my role within the community is commonplace. It is unquestionable that there is a need for me to express my own prior knowledge that has developed over time during the interactions with various community members in addition to friends and relatives. In a sense, this can be likened to an extensive period of participant observation, which has been used in other studies of qualitative research (such as Leung, 2002) as an additional source of information to support primary data collection. Wei (1994) maintains that participant observation is a useful and

appropriate approach to obtaining a valuable insight into little known ethnic minority groups. This stock of social capital directly suggests that my own views may not be the same as those of someone else but remain a valid perspective. Moreover, during the course of the research, my own understanding of the Chinese community will likely broaden and this relates well with the aforementioned concept of a methodology being likened to a process of discovery. The theoretical framework of ideas has already been discussed in Chapter 2, which is the underlying foundation for the tools used in the research project. Indeed, the existence of prior knowledge shaped the stages of methodology.

4.8 The Stages of Methodology

The selection of research techniques used for investigation is not a simple decision. One must consider the ideal method and what is practical given the presence of limitations including both time and costs. No research design is flawless but what is needed is an approach that gathers appropriate data that can be used to answer the research questions set.

The research methodology consists of three main stages in order to generate original data on the under-researched Chinese group. First, a questionnaire approach was adopted to engage the Chinese community and to ascertain some quantitative information on the sample studied. Second, semi-structured follow-up interviews would provide detailed qualitative information, further investigating the issues raised in the questionnaires. Finally, a focus group session would enhance the already obtained information from the interviews.

Pang and Lau (1998: 863) recognise that “until the 1990s there was the frustrating situation where even the most fundamental data about this group did not exist, posing innumerable methodological difficulties for (would-be) researchers – a situation exacerbated by the lack of co-operation on the part of the Chinese with such studies.” However, over a decade later, information about the Chinese group still appears to be very limited. As a researcher, the inability to gain a truly random sample suggests that a narrow but deeper qualitative emphasis is an appropriate methodological approach as will be subsequently revealed in this chapter. During the initial stages of active research beginning with the questionnaire design to the final focus group session, several efforts at engaging Chinese community leaders were attempted in order to gain any valuable contribution of knowledge that they may have. Unfortunately, all requests of any involvement were declined. The only favourable outcome came from an elderly couple that oversee the Chinese community centre and although they did not wish to participate in the research project, they did however show proposed plans for future street lighting decorations for Newcastle’s Chinatown. One point of interest should be noted. The Newcastle Chinese community leaders are not all residents of Newcastle but some are from places such as Durham, Sunderland and as far as Doncaster. This suggests that the Chinese community in Newcastle itself is somewhat questionable, as there does not appear to be any definitive criteria as to what makes these people Newcastle Chinese community members. One might speculate that Newcastle is the only city in the North East that has a Chinatown and therefore this is used as a focal point for all Chinese in the region.

Additionally, Chan (1999) states that there is no strong presence of the Chinese as a political group or even as a civic voice in society. Chau and Yu (2001: 103) agree

stating that “Chinese people are not active in politics”. The BBC website⁴⁷ confirms that the Chinese have remained a largely silent group both politically and in the media until false allegations of the 2001 foot and mouth outbreak originated from a Chinese restaurant. Protests bringing the community together in large visible numbers were witnessed and these were organised primarily by second-generation Chinese via the use of websites, in particular: <http://www.dimsum.co.uk>. As a direct result, Nick Brown (the Agriculture Secretary at the time) denounced the rumours and claimed that the controversy was a racist attack on the Chinese community. Although the incident was publicly resolved, it was revealed by the organisers of the protest that the Chinese community had yet to find a voice in British society beyond the stereotypical takeaways and restaurants scenario and the annual highlight of the Chinese New Year celebrations on the news.⁴⁸ Taking these issues into account, it is reasonable to conjecture that the participation rate of any study about the Chinese may be relatively low and that the majority of any respondents are likely to be second-generation Chinese.

4.8.1 Questionnaires

This section discusses the formulation, methodology and subsequent changes of the pilot questionnaire to its finalised form. The initial primary focus of the research was whether self-employment is viewed as a choice or a necessity. There are two sets of Chinese that need to be considered, those in self-employment and those in employment. From this simple observation, it was decided that a questionnaire tailored for each group was necessary.⁴⁹ The broad purpose of the questionnaires was

⁴⁷ http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/in_depth/uk/2002/race/chinese_britain.stm

⁴⁸ <http://www.chinatown-online.co.uk/pages/community/index.html>

⁴⁹ See Appendix 1 and 2 for the pilot and final questionnaires.

to identify characteristics of the respondents, their views on a variety of employment issues and awareness of anti-racial discrimination policies.

4.8.2 Questionnaire Design

The development of the questionnaire in relation to working with ethnic groups was not guided by the work of any other authors but the questions themselves were formed on the basis of prior knowledge. That is, as a member of the Chinese community, I am able to raise areas that are of interest to myself. However, for the actual design of the questionnaire, referring to the layout and types of questions including open-ended and closed, Bryman (2000) and Bryman and Bell (2003) proved to be useful sources of information. The initial development of the questions began with a phase of brainstorming. This proved to be an arduous and exhausting task in attempting to produce a comprehensive set of questions whilst being aware of the inherent sensitivities surrounding the issues involved. The outcome list of potential questions were grouped together under several sections including: *Personal Information*, *Education*, *Expectations of Future Generations' Involvement in the Labour Market*, *Social Attitudes and Ethnic Identity*, and *Perceptions of Policy*. Where the questionnaires differ is the section on employment with questions each trying to capture a variety of issues relating to being self-employed and employed. Following from this, the outline was discussed with my supervisors to provide constructive criticism and to ascertain any leading questions or potentially controversial issues. The pilot questionnaires were deemed ready for testing after 3 rewritten and restructured versions.

Both the pilot questionnaire for 'Chinese in Employment' and 'Chinese in Self-Employment' consisted of 14 pages but differed in the number of questions due to the section relating to employment issues. An open section for any additional comments was added at the end of the questionnaires as well as a space for respondents to record the length of time it took for completion. This would in turn contribute to the eventual length of the final versions.

The wording of the questions was kept relatively simple, with the intention that all respondents could easily understand them (taking into account that some potential respondents may be elderly and have limited English language skills). The majority of questions simply asked for a 'tick box' answer. However, the nature of the survey demanded that open-ended questions be asked in an attempt to derive respondent's opinions of specific issues. Many of these were asked as a 'please explain your answer' option after 'yes' or 'no' tick box questions. Additionally, questions of a more descriptive nature were decided upon in order to elicit more qualitative data as opposed to a solely quantitative approach.

The format of the questionnaires begins with an introduction to explain the purpose of the survey. By placing the Northumbria University logo in a clear visible position at the top of the front page, respondents are aware that it is an academic study. Additionally, by situating answer options vertically under one another rather than side by side allows respondents to more easily read from top to bottom of any given page, thus reducing or omitting the possibility of missing an option if read horizontally. Cluttered pages of text can lead to misinterpretation. However, the drawback of this format style is that it increases the spacing of questions and the total number of pages

required but it was decided that the benefits of an 'easy to read' questionnaire outweighed the potential confusion that may occur with too many questions and answer options crammed onto a single page.

All respondents were assured that they are anonymous by stating this immediately at the start of each questionnaire. However, due to the second stage of the study being a series of face-to-face interviews, an approach needed to be adopted to assure that respondents would remain anonymous, but would also allow those who do not object to a follow-up interview to be contacted. This issue was resolved by including a sheet at the end of each questionnaire stating that those who would agree to an interview at a later stage should leave their contact details. This sheet was to be detached from the completed questionnaire, therefore ensuring that anonymity is still in place and interview respondents can be contacted in due course. As well as the anonymity of the respondents, after discussion with my principal supervisor, it was also decided that as the researcher, I myself should also be anonymous. By simply being Chinese and having a role in the community through my martial arts teaching and festivities work, being recognised by respondents would cause results to be biased or at least contain an element of distortion. Potential respondents may or may not complete the questionnaires knowing whom they are intended for. For this reason, my name was not included on the questionnaires.

4.8.3 Pilot Questionnaire Methodology

A pilot survey was initiated so that the questionnaires could be tested, validated and amended in order to maximize the quality of information that could be derived from the final survey. The pilot questionnaires did not take the form of a random survey, as

the objective was to test and improve the design of the questionnaires. The questionnaires were simply distributed to people who seemed interested in taking a look at a survey. Respondents who were willing to complete the questionnaire were instructed to return them as soon as possible.

Given that Chinese New Year fell quite late in 2005, it was preferable that the pilot questionnaires be administered and collected by the 11th February, before the festivities began in an attempt to ensure that questionnaires would not be simply disregarded during a period of celebration. A total of 20 questionnaires, 10 for each set, were distributed to various contacts I have throughout the community beginning on the 31st January. All questionnaires were distributed by the 2nd February. Pilot questionnaire respondents were chosen while acknowledging Bryman (2000) that these individuals should not be used again for the final survey sample. However, due to the relatively small size of the Chinese population in Newcastle, currently standing at 1,846 according to the 2001 Census⁵⁰, there may be some overlap in pilot and actual respondents in the final random sample. That is, the 10 self-employed Chinese individuals selected may significantly reduce the sample size that can be surveyed. Interestingly, the Census records the total Chinese population as 243,000, which is 0.4% of the proportion of all people in Great Britain.⁵¹

Allowing 12 days for the distribution and collection of the pilot questionnaires seemed like a sufficient length of time, considering I know most of the candidates involved and see many on a weekly basis through my community work. Unfortunately, this proved to be an underestimation. Only 6 questionnaires were

⁵⁰ <http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/pr.nsf/a/censusculturenew>

⁵¹ <http://cre.gov.uk/diversity/ethnicity/chinese.html>

returned by the 11th February and consequently the Chinese New Year celebrations had begun. Another 6 questionnaires were returned by the 12th and 16th February respectively, therefore leaving only 2 unaccounted for.⁵² Due to the approaching deadline of my Mid-Point Progression report (27/04/05), it was decided that the 18 questionnaires returned would have to suffice for the entire pilot study rather than the expected initial 20.

4.8.4 Pilot Survey Analysis and Critique

The pilot stage of research performed reasonably well. An analysis of the trial questionnaires revealed some interesting points. The most striking feature is the response (or lack of) to the 'Perceptions of Policy' section. Only 3 individuals stated that they were aware of any anti-racial discrimination policies but their understanding appears to be rather vague. For example, 2 respondents acknowledged a 'Race Discrimination Act' although it is actually the Race Relations Act. Due to the limited answers in this section, there were no comments made on the impact of current policies indicating a need for further increased awareness of such policies, perhaps through media and government promotion. The other noticeable issue refers to the section relating to education with many respondents being reluctant to state qualifications.

Recorded times ranged from 10 minutes to an hour but so did the actual responses made. That is, there were substantial variances between the questionnaires. Many respondents had simply ticked the boxes suggesting a general unwillingness to answer

⁵² The 2 unreturned questionnaires were from the Chinese in Employment set.

open-ended questions but some had made an attempt to briefly provide further detail beyond a simple 'Yes or No' response, therefore increasing the time to completion.

Only one respondent included a statement in the 'Any other comments you may have would be greatly appreciated' section but this was enough to justify its inclusion in the final questionnaires. The statement written was:

“Racism cannot be deleted entirely until all races are treated equal by government. Whatever race a person is, has to be accepted as fact and should not determine if a person is British.”

The strength of such a statement demonstrates that leaving an open-ended section for additional comments may prove interesting. However, there may be some confusion as to what the individual is stating. Nationality seems to have been confused with ethnicity and this is an important finding itself. What people understand by these terms may differ from person to person but the idea of being truly British is an area that was raised during the interviews and is highlighted in the results chapter.

Several mistakes were identified in the pilot when examining the responses of the returned questionnaires. For example, the 'Expectations of Future Generations' Involvement in the Labour Market' section contained a numerical order oversight. The main error occurred in one set of questionnaires only. The 'Chinese in Employment' set repeated two questions in Section E that were already previously asked in Section C. Interestingly only one respondent commented on this.

The length of the questionnaires appeared problematic for some respondents. When returning their questionnaires, several respondents made numerous verbal comments

with the overall consensus being that the survey was too long for complete strangers to fill out. As a direct result, the final questionnaires needed to be shortened. Reducing the questionnaires to an acceptable length and still allowing for a reasonable amount of quantitative information to be gained was the primary objective in revising the surveys. Throughout the revision stages, there was always the ongoing thread that questions should be asked with a purpose. The final questionnaires went through 4 revisions before arriving at the finalised form. Additionally, there was always the issue that questionnaires can be perpetually altered, rewritten and in some cases retested but there comes a point where finalisation must be determined due to time constraints. However, it was important to justify changes made to the pilot and not simply discard questions for the sake of shortening pages and to speed up the process.

The inclusion of a 'Don't Know' option to tick for the majority of 'Yes' or 'No' questions seemed like a logical extension rather than forcing respondents to select between the two. Questions that may have caused confusion were omitted from the finalised form. Additionally, questions had been deleted so that there is no overlap or minor repetition. For example, for the self-employed questionnaire, Section B, Question 7 asks 'Is it a family-run business?' The following questions 8 – 10 all relate to the role of family and their possible employment and these were deleted accordingly. It was concluded that these issues were more appropriate and could be examined in greater detail in the follow-up interviews.

Many of the please explain options have also been deleted as the majority of the pilot sample did not enter anything in these sections. Some of these areas were explored in the interview stage either by asking the same questions or some variation. The detail

involved in such answers may have deterred respondents from writing a lengthy paragraph.

Although the distinction between racism and discrimination seemed to be understood by the pilot questionnaire respondents, as evidenced by many ticking the 'Yes' box for having experienced racism and 'No' for discrimination, it was decided after much deliberation that the difference between the two terms are not widely acknowledged by the average person. Speaking with various people ranging from friends, family and colleagues, some did not see a distinction between racism and discrimination and were under the impression that they are interchangeable terms. However, after explaining both terms, discrimination being unequal (inferior) treatment and an actual action and racism as prejudice and the thought process of disliking non-Whites, they no longer viewed them as the same. As a direct result of this, the questions relating to being subjected to racism and discrimination were altered to include a partial explanation in order for respondents to recognise that the terms are in fact different. The questions now read:

'Have you personally been subjected to racist behaviour, i.e. physical or verbal abuse?'

'Racial discrimination is the act of unequal treatment on the basis of ethnicity. Have you personally experienced discrimination?'

It is important to note that the option for 'Don't Know' was not included for these two questions. In my opinion, people would know whether they have been subjected to racist behaviour or the act of discrimination. This is dependent on individual perception and therefore only the 'Yes' or 'No' options are deemed necessary. For

example, in the case of racist comments made but not directed towards the individual, personal perception will judge whether offence has been caused or not. Mellor *et al.* (2001) provide an interesting account of the perception of racism and describe several ambiguous scenarios but under such situations, individual perception concludes whether racism has occurred. One could argue that restricting the options for these questions to only 'Yes' or 'No' may be a methodological error but again, personal judgement in this case prevailed. In hindsight whether this was an error or not, should not be viewed as of great importance but it is the awareness of the issues surrounding the addition or removal of a questionnaire option that is viewed as an important part of the process of methodology. There exists no flawless methodology or indeed perfect research study.

The layout of the questionnaires was refined, in order to present a more user-friendly format. Mainly, the questionnaires have been spaced out so that no actual question runs overleaf, therefore making it easier to view. For example, there is no 'Yes' box at the end of one page with the following 'No' box at the start of another. Arguably, by viewing a question in its entirety on a single page, this reduces the need for re-reading questions that continue overleaf before selecting an answer thus increasing efficiency and reducing confusion. Various questions were also re-arranged in terms of numerical order so that the flow of related questions were more consistent. Additionally, the instruction asking respondents if they would not object to a follow-up interview was slightly adapted to be presented in a bold font in order to ensure clarity. This would make it more discernible to respondents that details should only be left on the following page if consent was given for an interview.

One of the final changes to the questionnaire relating to Chinese in employment was the decision to combine the section on employment and self-employment issues together. Therefore, all sections apart from section B for both sets of questionnaires are exactly the same, rather than having sections A-F in one questionnaire and A-G in the other, thus simplifying the process of analysing the data.

The pilot survey was a useful stage not only for arriving at the final questionnaires but also for informing the outline of questions for the semi-structured interviews that followed.

4.8.5 Obtaining a Suitable Sample Size for the Final Questionnaire

Parker (1995) maintains that an overwhelming difficulty in researching the Chinese is the inability to capture a random sample. Attempts to ascertain official figures on the Chinese working population for this study, in order to select a random sample for the final survey, proved largely unsuccessful. The only statistics freely available appear to be population figures for the wards in Newcastle (see: <http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/pr.nsf/a/censusculturenew>). Even these figures appear to be problematic due to the council adopting a new ward structure (as of June 2004) and as a result, the figures first obtained from November 2004, have seen a change that has only been relatively recently reported (and updated) on the website. This discrepancy was reported to Chris Stephens, a statistician at the civic centre via email (24/02/05) and a reply was received the following day. Due to confidentiality restrictions of the City output areas, the numbers recorded are at best an approximation. As mentioned in the email:

“The data for each output area is subject to confidentiality restrictions. In simple terms where there is 1 or 2 people in a group in an output area these are randomly allocated to either 0 or 3. This can have a significant affect when adding output areas to make the City total.”

Unable to obtain a true statistical representative sample, an appropriate alternative method of engaging a sample of respondents was determined to be the use of snowball sampling. That is, initial contacts are able to provide further contacts thereby establishing a greater sample number to be studied. This sampling procedure relied heavily upon my own social connections with the Chinese community in Newcastle. Leung (2002a) in her study of the Chinese catering trade in Germany, arrives at a similar outlook towards constructing a methodology. Due to the absence of official statistical data on Chinese restaurants, Leung (2002: 104) adopted a snowball technique beginning with the identification of key informants “such as community leaders, representatives of communal organizations and researchers in the fieldwork area” which eventually led to 22 interviews being conducted.

The target number of questionnaires to be completed was 100, 50 for those in employment and 50 for those in self-employment, accounting for approximately 5% of the Chinese community. The sample size was selected after discussions with my supervisors and seemed an appropriate number given my concerns (as raised in several supervision meetings) that many of the Chinese would be unwilling to complete questionnaires about employment. Moreover, Chan *et al.* (2007: 514) suggest that “it is not unusual for Chinese people to be reluctant to give personal information and be suspicious of the purpose of external surveys” in addition to “illiteracy or low levels of education” as reasons for a low response rate. This was a preconceived notion that had always been held since the initial project formulation

and one that would determine the ability to generate a true random sample. However, the expectation of a potentially small sample from a small field or population from the onset leads the research to a more in-depth qualitative study.

Four contacts were chosen in order to distribute questionnaires to their own contacts to produce a wider catchment group than could be possible if they were distributed solely by myself. Distribution of questionnaires began in early May 2005. The 4 contacts were selected with the knowledge that each has a wide-ranging access to members of the Chinese community. For example, one contact was a restaurant owner and insisted he could take 50 questionnaires (25 from each set) to distribute to a variety of contacts ranging from immediate and extended family members to customers and other businesses. Another 2 contacts each took 20 questionnaires (10 from each set) leaving the last contact with 10 questionnaires to distribute (5 from each set). The 4 contacts will remain unnamed in the research to protect anonymity.

Ideally, a group meeting was to be held with the 4 contacts prior to questionnaire distribution so that each would receive the same basic instructions. However, only 3 could attend the arranged meeting and therefore the absent contact had to be instructed separately. Several basic guiding instructions were to be followed. Questionnaires were to be distributed to a variety of workers in different types of occupations if possible. For example, those categorised 'Chinese in employment' should perhaps be employed in occupations away from the catering trade such as White-collar jobs. Questionnaires are entirely voluntary so that if potential respondents choose not to complete one, it is their choice and should not be coerced. Finally, a submission date for the collection of all questionnaires was stated as the last

day of June (2005). This allowed approximately 2 months from distribution to collection as the active questionnaire period. Potential respondents had a choice of 2 ways in which to return questionnaires. Either return them to the individual who gave them it or simply drop them off at the Chinese community centre where a box was placed at the main desk marked questionnaire returns.

It is important to assert awareness that the nature of obtaining the sample to be studied is by definition not a statistically random sample and therefore conclusions drawn are not a generalisation of the Chinese community as a whole. No definitive deductions can be inferred from the studied group as a whole. Therefore, the research is not based on a deductive methodology but rather an inductive approach drawn from the original data obtained via the selected tools.

4.8.6 Interviews

Anticipating that the questionnaire response rate could potentially be low, the use of follow-up interviews proved to be a logical step to draw further information. As a member of the Chinese community, personal knowledge and understanding of the studied group is higher than that of other people and arguably this improves rapport during interviews. Good communication between interviewer and interviewees can inevitably improve the quality of information. The semi-structured approach was adopted allowing for specific issues to be raised in a coherent order but also maintained a sense of freedom alluding to a more exploratory nature.

Interviews were conducted in English to enable ease of transcription and to eliminate any translation errors. The questionnaires were entirely in English and having the

interviews in the same language produces a degree of symmetry to the stages of research. The questionnaires could have been translated into Chinese and likewise the interviews could have been conducted in either one of several dialects, including Cantonese, Hakka or Mandarin but this would have implications on cost, time and again, potential translation errors. It should be noted that I speak Hakka only and therefore a translator would be required for the other dialects. However, a translator may translate questions and answers somewhat differently from my own interpretation and hence the use of English as a uniform language for consistency enables a more accurate approach.

4.8.7 Strengths of the Semi-Structured Interview Approach

The semi-structured interview approach to data collection is an appropriate method in gaining a detailed account of a participant's views on a particular subject or topic area. The combination of a structured outline focusing on issues of interest and the freedom for the interviewee to elaborate on a given answer or to discuss a related theme indicates the flexibility of this research tool as a major strength to the qualitative researcher. This element of freedom suggests that although all interviews are based on the same questions, the potential for a diverse range of answers stated by the participants may very well lead to a different avenue or area of discussion. Each interview will essentially narrate a different story dependent on the information drawn from the original set of questions contained in the semi-structured interview guide.

4.8.8 Weaknesses of the Semi-Structured Interview Approach

The level of organisation involved in scheduling interviews is a major task and is perhaps the primary weakness. Unforeseen circumstances can cause delays and this

may impact upon agreed dates and times for other arranged interviews. Although each interview is different and a large amount of data can be generated, the freedom associated with a semi-structured approach can in fact lead to fragmented or irrelevant information depending on the participant's conduct as well as their understanding of the issues raised in discussion. However, it is for this reason that the interviewer must manage each interview with considerable skill, diverting the respondent to issues of relevance without leading them to state specific answers or biased views. Additionally, even when interviews have been scheduled, it is not uncommon for people to arrive late or in some cases not attend at all without any advance notification (Bryman, 2000).

4.8.9 Interview Design

The design of the interview questions went through several revisions from an initial set based on the more exploratory issues raised in the questionnaires to the final form. Due to the sample being comprised of two groups – employed and self-employed – it was deemed necessary to have two sets of interview questions tailored for each particular group as was the case for the questionnaires. However, not all of the questions were directly related to employment and therefore some questions would inevitably be asked to all interviewee participants. The responses from the questionnaires directly informed the interview questions. Issues highlighted in the questionnaires were to be further investigated in a more open manner than would be possible if the research was entirely quantitatively based.

The format of the interview outline for each group is split into two sections, one section relating to employment or self-employment and the second section relating to

more general issues. Questions were designed to elicit the experiences of respondents relating to employment issues and racial discrimination. On the basis of several discussions with my supervisor, the number of questions that could be asked was an immediate issue that had to be tackled and 20 semi-structured questions was the number finally decided upon. These questions were to be easily adaptable for each interview. For example, a repeat of a particular question using alternative words may need to be given if the interviewee does not initially understand what they are being asked. With 20 questions, an even split of 10 for each section was considered appropriate and a logical division but during the course of determining what should be asked, there did not appear to be 10 definitive questions to be asked relating to those in employment and another 10 for those in self-employment. The more general set of questions seemed to be able to arrive at more discursive accounts and therefore the eventual split was 9 questions for employment or self-employment issues and 11 for the more general section (12 with the inclusion of 'Finally would you like to add any other comments?').

The interview guide (as shown in Appendix 3) begins with 4 key stages before moving onto the actual discussion questions. First, a visual observation is recorded relating to the gender of the participant. Second, the age of the interviewee is asked and recorded (but only if they are willing to give such information). Third, place of birth is asked in order to ascertain which generation the respondent belongs to, i.e. first, second or even third-generation. Finally, the interviewee is asked to state their current occupation to determine which set of interview questions (Chinese in employment or self-employment) should be used. However, although there is a separate distinction between the two groups, some interviewees may have had

experience in both types of employment and therefore may have views that overlap each set of questions. It is for this reason that a certain amount of versatility on behalf of the researcher is required in altering the order or indeed interchanging between question sets during the course of the actual interviews.

Interviews were recorded using a digital dictation machine and transcribed to enable repeat examinations of what the interviewees have said and how they say it, which may be of some significance. The use of a digital dictation machine has several main advantages over a standard voice tape recorder. Repeated playback of the recorded interview(s) does not result in a loss of sound quality, which can be a problem with analogue tape. Furthermore, digital files allow for multiple copies to be made for backup purposes. The nature of a digital file also allows quick access to a particular point of the interview rather than sequentially forwarding or rewinding to such a point if the file was recorded on tape.

All interviewee participants were asked first if the interview could be recorded. Failure to acquire permission would not mean that the participant is dismissed but instead detailed notes would have to be taken during the course of the actual interview. Fortunately, all of the interviewees did not object to recording therefore directly strengthening interpretation of dialogue. It should be mentioned that brief written notes were also made during the course of each interview.

Subjectivism was always acknowledged as an issue of consideration, especially at the interview stage. The possibility of leading respondents to specific answers due to potentially biased opinions remained a continuing issue of significance. With the

knowledge that my role as a researcher meant that I must effectively take a step back and allow interviews to flow with no purposeful direction towards a preferred answer or reply, arguably the impact of subjectivism is reduced.

Eight interviews were eventually conducted and Table 4.1 shows the relevant information for each interviewee.

Table 4.1: Interviewee Sample

Interviewee Sample						
Name/ Identifier	Age	Gender	Current Occupation	Date and Time of the Interview	Interview Venue	Duration of Interview (in minutes)
Mr A	23	Male	Restaurant waiter (recent university graduate)	22/07/05 – 2pm	Northumbria University Library	40
Mr B	19	Male	Bar Host	27/07/05 – 6.05pm	Chinese community centre	36
Mr C	21	Male	Part-time (family takeaway business - customer service)	10/08/05 – 6.25pm	Chinese community centre	33
Mr D	22	Male	Part-time (family takeaway business – kitchen-hand and customer service)/ University student	11/08/05 – 1.15pm	Northumbria University Library	50
Mr E	25	Male	Restaurant owner/manager	18/08/05 – 4pm	Interviewee's place of work – restaurant	22
Mr F	43	Male	Takeaway owner and shop-fitter	07/09/05 – 6pm	Chinese community centre	28
Ms A	20	Female	Part-time (family takeaway business)/University student	11/08/05 – 12.15pm	Northumbria University Library	30
Ms B	23	Female	Customer services (telecoms company)	17/08/05 – 6.35pm	Chinese community centre	25

4.8.10 Focus Group

A focus group is defined by Krueger and Casey (2000: 5) as a “carefully planned series of discussions designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment.” Interaction between participants is instrumental to the dynamics of the focus group discussion therefore a comfortable environment must be ensured to allow respondents to express their opinions freely. Again, affinity with the studied group may be considered as a factor that increases communication.

A major impetus for the choice of holding a focus group as a method of research was the inability to select an accurate random sample. Rather than simply accepting this as the final outcome, the use of a focus group session would further enhance the quality of the qualitative information and therefore almost creating a trade-off between the two approaches – qualitative and quantitative. That is, in the absence of a true statistical representative sample, the respondents that form the actual sample obtained would be examined further to enhance the quality of research. Additionally, the use of a focus group was also raised as a valuable tool for qualitative researchers during my mid-point progression report.

The purpose of the focus group session was to gain further opinions and views of what were deemed the most interesting issues highlighted during the individual interviews resulting in an increase of knowledgeable information.

4.8.11 Strengths of the Focus Group Method

The presence of other respondents may encourage individuals to touch upon issues that they may not have necessarily mentioned or considered during a face-to-face interview. The interaction of various participants allows for a greater depth of information than could be provided during individual interviews, as participants are able to probe each other or argue against a particular opinion held and therefore the accounts of what is stated may be of a more realistic nature. For example, one participant may state a specific answer only to retract or revise the statement on hearing the views of another participant. The open nature of the focus group allows participants to raise issues that they deem relevant to the discussion, which may not have been originally envisioned by the researcher during the design of the questions.

The sharing of experiences, especially in relation to racist or discriminatory experiences amongst the group is a sensitive area but this can be considered as an advantage. Participants may feel their opinions and stories are a valued contribution and should be recorded. Interestingly, the idea of sharing common experiences amongst ethnic groups is a concept cited as ‘bounded solidarity’ and is a related issue to social capital (Marger, 2001) which was discussed in Chapter 2.

4.8.12 Weaknesses of the Focus Group Method

Like any research tool, focus groups have limitations. One of the primary weaknesses is that of time and availability, similar to that of interviews but with the added complexity of more than one participant. To convene a group session must take into account both of these factors. A suitable time needs to be scheduled that is acceptable for all participants and the respondents themselves must be willing to give up their

own time to partake in the discussion. Inevitably, this indicates a difficulty in assembling a focus group.

Time also plays another role as a weakness. The transcription of a focus group will undoubtedly be more time-consuming when compared with a single interview. However, it may not just be the length of the recording but the variance of respondents and indeed in their voices, which creates an additional task in identifying the participant. This may require significant repeated playback of the recording therefore increasing the time needed for transcription.

Control and guidance over numerous participants is more difficult than an individual interview but this may not necessarily be regarded as a weakness. By allowing participants to essentially conduct part of the discussion session themselves, a vast amount of rich dialogue can be achieved in a relatively short amount of time. However, it is the extent to which respondents take control of the moderation of the discussion that is highlighted as a potential problematic area. Furthermore, the balance of a focus group can be swayed due to the dominance of perhaps a single respondent or a quiet respondent.

4.8.13 Focus Group Design

The formulation of the focus group outline questions was directly informed by the interviews. What was deemed the most interesting issues raised across all of the conducted interviews would be further investigated in a more detailed manner to allow for greater discussion, taking views from a variety of respondents. The two

underlying themes that runs throughout the research and indeed the basis of the focus group was that of occupational choice and the presence of discrimination.

Taking into account that various responses would be explored across the group, 10 questions were designed. Essentially, each participant may have their own views and may wish to voice their opinions on each question with a discursive narrative rather than a short answer statement. The full focus group guide can be viewed in Appendix 3. Similar to the interview guide, several key stages were included before the commencement of actual discussion, namely, any objections to recording, the introduction of all members present and stating current occupation.

Again, it is important to highlight that the focus group session is not statistically representative of the Chinese community. The way in which participants were selected was by means of volunteering. Those that were interviewed were asked if they would not object to a follow-up group session. The fact that this research tool involves more than one individual creates complications in organising a suitable date, time and place which is agreeable for all potential participants.

Some basic rules of conduct of the focus group session need to be stated at the onset of the discussion. Respondents would allow others to finish speaking before they provide an opinion and to overall, respect the views of others. Moreover, by having only one person speaking at any given time, this would be extremely useful in facilitating the transcription of the discussion session.

4.9 Ethical Considerations

Several measures were used to protect and preserve the anonymity of all respondents. The questionnaires were entirely anonymous, excluding the last page where contact information was left if respondents wished to participate in a follow-up interview. As previously discussed, this sheet was detached from the questionnaire so that respondents could not be identified with their questionnaire answers. Furthermore, all questionnaires once collected had the last page removed, even if they were blank, thus ensuring no ease of matching interviewees with their questionnaires.

In reference to the interviews and the focus group, all transcriptions did not include the name of the interviewees. Although during the focus group session beginning with introductions was necessary, the actual names on the transcription have been altered. Names of respondents were mentioned throughout the focus group by the attendees referring to one another. The conduct of interviews and the focus group placed emphasis on replicating the same management of retaining confidentiality as in the questionnaire stage.

All transcriptions were shown to the respondents before they were accepted as a valid piece of information that could be used for research. Many of the respondents gave permission to use transcriptions without needing to see them. Interestingly, one respondent, on reading their interview transcription, asked if a specific section could be omitted, as this individual was unsure of whether such information should have been revealed. This was immediately rectified and a second transcript, minus the section in question, was approved. Again to protect anonymity, the subject area will not be revealed.

Additionally, it is worthwhile to stress the importance of compensation. According to Bryman (2000: 349) “small payments, such as book tokens, are sometimes made to induce participation” in reference to focus group respondents. Participants of the interviews and focus group were not offered any form of compensation for their time. By maintaining that the research study is centred on entirely voluntary respondents, this reduces the impact that a financial remuneration may have on the quality and validity of the data gathered. Arguably, there is no distortion in the answers that respondents may give, as they are effectively not being rewarded in any way for their participation and hence the misrepresentation and falsification of the original data obtained is reduced.

Finally, common courtesies were not neglected during any of the three stages of research. The questionnaires ended with a statement thanking respondents for their time. Likewise, when ending each interview and the focus group, a simple thank you to express gratitude to all respondents was verbally stated. This is a straightforward act but remains an essential part to any form of research based on voluntary participants. Further to the conclusion of interviews and the focus group, care was taken to avoid continuing conversation about either additional information regarding the aims and objectives of the research or the issues raised during discussion.

4.10 The ‘Right’ Methodology

Sarantakos (1998) discusses the existence of the ‘right’ methodology and quite correctly concludes that neither quantitative nor qualitative is the ‘better’ approach to research. Both approaches contain strengths and weaknesses but their ability to fit the circumstances is where the real question of merit lies. Punch (2005) supports this

view claiming that ‘quantitative versus qualitative’ debates about the merits of one over the other are unnecessary and should be a silent point due to two main stated reasons. First, no approach is overwhelmingly superior to the other as each has advantages and disadvantages. Moreover, concentrating on one method for all studies is inappropriate as it limits the scope of the researcher’s abilities and the analytical process. Second, both methods are an essential requirement in social research. For any study, the advantages and disadvantages of quantitative and qualitative methods must be considered in light of the research problem or investigation. Only when each has been contemplated in sufficient detail, we are then in a position to decide on an appropriate approach, whether a single method or a combination. Essentially, research methods must be selected on a logical and practical basis.

Recalling the six factors of consideration when choosing a methodology identified by Punch (2005), this present study did indeed consider each issue in some way. First, the principal research questions aimed to investigate whether self-employment is a choice or necessity for the Chinese and whether discrimination plays a role in occupational choice? Therefore, a qualitative approach would provide rich and contextual information, which is needed to investigate such questions in an appropriate level of detail. Second, rather than measuring discrimination as a variable, the study does not aim to be used as a comparison piece of work to the literature covering quantifying discrimination but instead investigates interpretations and the (possible) impact of the problem. Third, the study aims to fill a noticeable gap in the literature. That is, the currently limited research on the Chinese community and their involvement in the labour market. As previously identified in Chapter 3, the majority of studies relating to immigrant entrepreneurship focus on South Asian

minorities. It is important to note that the investigation shares some of the qualitative characteristics of studies primarily using interviews as a tool to generate data (see Song 1995, 1997a, 1997b and Leung, 2002). Fourth, time was always a primary concern of the study but the availability of data also proved to be a problematic issue. As described earlier in this chapter, the official figure recorded for the Chinese population in Newcastle was an estimate at best. Taking this into account and the researcher's knowledge of the community, snowball sampling was used to distribute questionnaires. Arguably, being an ethnic researcher improved cooperation in the interview and focus group stages. Fifth, the quantitative and qualitative methods used were not equally weighted. The knowledge payoff was of greatest value in the choice of qualitative methods. The depth of qualitative information allowed for actual accounts and experiences of the Chinese to be recorded, which portrays a more accurate and valid picture than quantitative methods can provide, in this case. However, one must not neglect or disregard the importance of the quantitatively-based questionnaire surveys that gained access to the community and informed the subsequent interview schedule. Finally, the researcher's style was very much a qualitatively-based mindset and the process of interviews and the focus group seemed fitting for an ethnic researcher to derive the required information in order to answer the research questions set.

4.11 Summary

This chapter has presented the stages of research as well as the ideas underlying them. Sarantakos (1998) and Punch (2005) have concluded that no single 'right' methodology exists but each needs to be considered in light of the research questions set. In this research project, both approaches have been adopted beginning with a

relatively simple quantitative approach to access the Chinese community and to gain a sample, leading and indeed leaning towards a more heavily qualitative-based study. Additionally, applying a mixed methodology and incorporating the researcher's own knowledge, is in itself a contribution to the knowledge of the workings of combined methodological approaches to research.

As previously mentioned, a small sample size was predicted as a potential outcome and this remains true, as will be subsequently revealed in the next chapter. This is directly related to the voluntary nature of the research on behalf of the respondents. A recognised problem of voluntary participation is the actual sample obtained. Due to the inherent freedom of the right to choose whether to participate in the study or not, it is very unlikely that the end result will be an actual random sample. Burns (2000) suggests volunteers in general have different characteristics to non-volunteers including better education, intelligence, and a higher social class. Indeed, one might even question whether volunteers are simply people who have a need to express their own judgemental opinion of some particular scenario or incident. Burns further discusses the extent of the freedom to choose, citing educational and social science research that investigates school or university students. In such scenarios, the majority of students will agree to be a part of the study because they may be under the impression that to not participate will negatively impact upon their grades or reports. Consequently, respondents are free to choose but may not actually feel that this is the case. Arguably, this problem is not repeated in this research study. Potential participants are entirely free to choose if they want to be involved in the study as well as the extent of their involvement. That is, those who completed the questionnaires were given the option to participate in an additional follow-up interview and

interviewees were also presented with the option to attend a focus group session. Furthermore, the anonymity of the researcher (at the questionnaire stage) provides a degree of distance from the research subjects and therefore no obligation to participate is seemingly apparent.

It is important to note that the case study does not allege to characterise the entire UK Chinese population, or indeed solely for Newcastle upon Tyne, as the investigation remains a small-scale, qualitative study. Despite the relatively low number of respondents, detail of a greater depth was gathered via the qualitative approach as the research attempts to understand the experiences of the Chinese in the labour market and not to measure them. Myers (2000) maintains that such small-scale qualitative studies are not to be taken as a generalisation of a larger sample but due to the degree of uniqueness involved and the rich quality of information that can be derived, these are perhaps superior compensating factors that appoints them beyond that mandate. Therefore, small-scale qualitative studies should be regarded as a valuable piece of research and contribution to knowledge, especially where there is an identified gap in the literature as is the case for the Chinese minority group.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results obtained from the methodology adopted for the data collection process. As outlined in the previous chapter, there were three stages beginning with the two self-completion questionnaires, namely 'Chinese in Self-Employment' and 'Chinese in Employment', follow-up semi-structured interviews and finally a focus group session. The results obtained for each stage are reported below. This chapter then analyses the main findings and provides an interpretation of what they actually mean in relation to the research questions. It is useful to repeat the two principal questions in order to establish the context of the chapter. First, '*Is self-employment a choice or a necessity?*' for the Chinese as they are highly concentrated in the catering trade in the form of numerous self-employed restaurants and takeaways. Second, '*Does discrimination play a role in occupational choice?*' That is, is discrimination considered a push factor when entering into self-employment?

5.2 Questionnaire Results

The structure of this section follows the same outline as the questionnaires beginning with a section covering personal information, the employment issues of each set, education, expectations of future generations' involvement in the labour market, social attitudes and ethnic identity, and perceptions of policy.

Originally, as detailed in the previous chapter, 100 questionnaires were distributed via snowball sampling where 36 questionnaires were eventually returned by the end of June 2005. Of the 36 respondents, 17 were in self-employment occupations and 19 in

employment. However, the distinction between these two categories is not as clear as one might expect. Initially, it was assumed that those who chose to complete questionnaires entitled 'Chinese in Employment' would occupy positions outside of the catering trade, for example White-collar jobs. However, this did not appear to be the case as will be subsequently revealed when looking at the breakdown of the current occupations of those in employment. Many of the respondents in employment were indeed employees but within the catering trade as evidenced by the numerous entries of chefs and waiters.

As detailed in the methodology chapter, the two surveys were identical apart from Section B, which was tailored to those in employment and self-employment. The following presentation of the results obtained from the survey therefore denotes the entire sample of 36 for all sections, with the exception of Section B, covering employment issues, where the relevant divided samples are contemplated separately.

5.2.1 Section A - Personal Information

The following charts summarise the basic personal information characteristics of the sample studied beginning with the gender, age and marital status profile of the sample before moving onto place of birth, nationality, religion, duration of residence in the UK and finally reason(s) for migration.

Figure 5.1: Gender Profile of the Sample

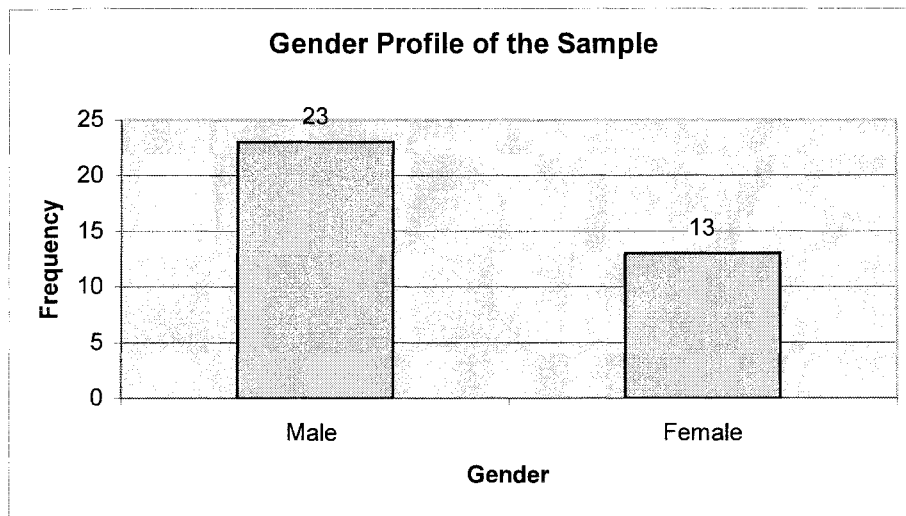
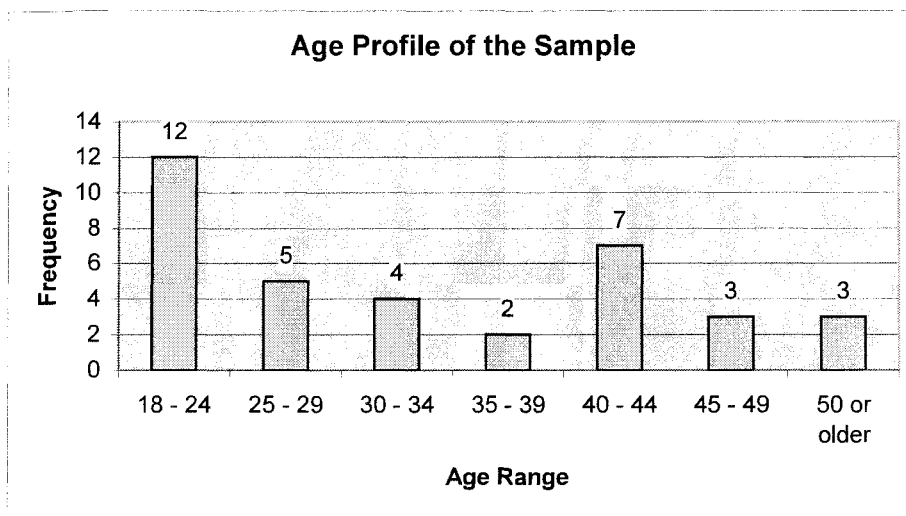


Figure 5.2: Age Profile of the Sample



The largest proportion of respondents were in the '18-24' (12) age group, followed by '40-44' (7). However, the third and fourth largest groups were '25-29' (5) and '30-34' (4) which indicates that the majority of the sample is predominantly a relatively young profile.

Figure 5.3: Marital Status of the Sample

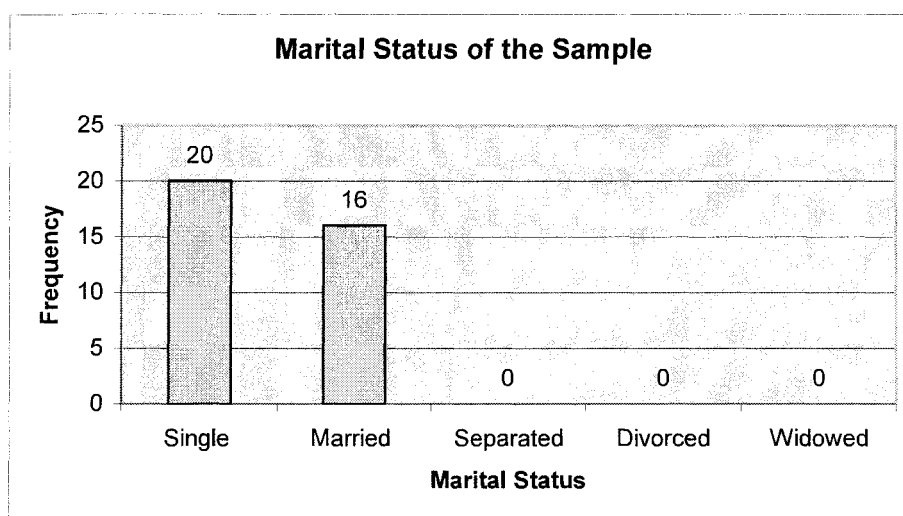
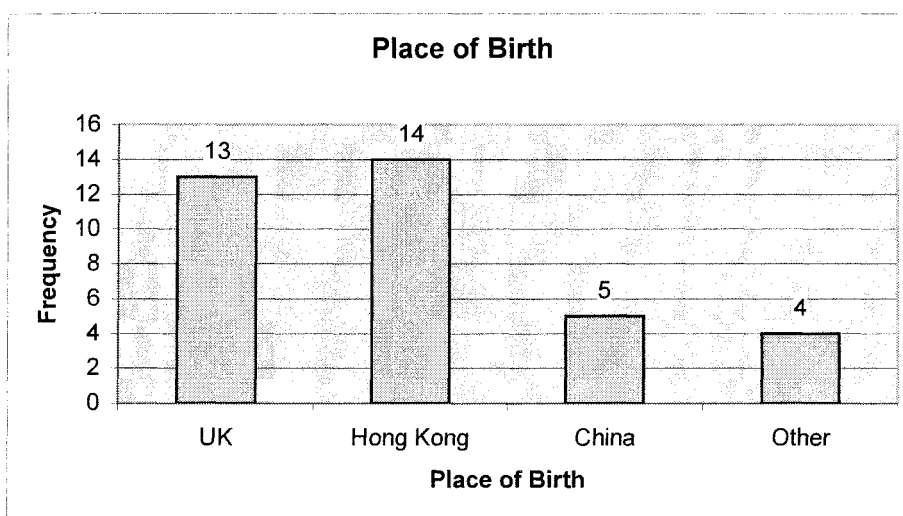


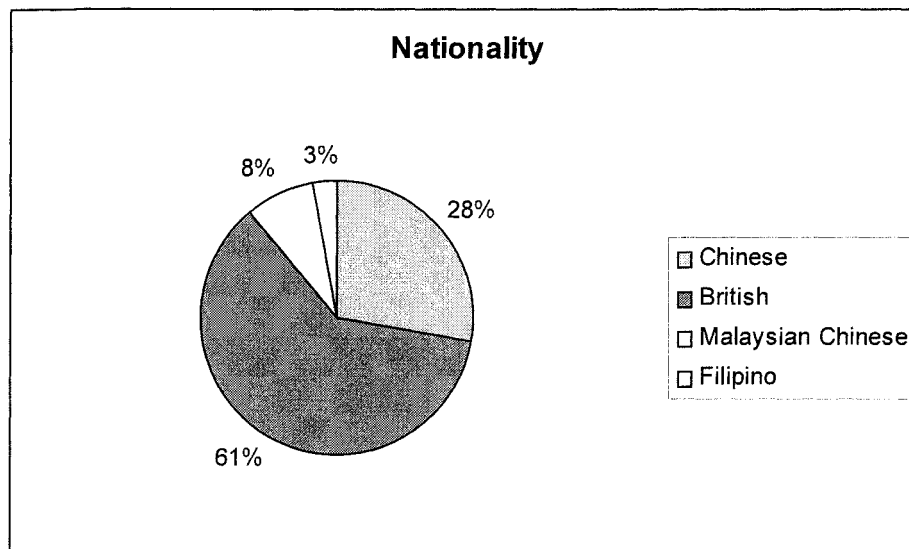
Figure 5.4: Place of Birth



The 'Other' category for place of birth was comprised of 3 respondents from Malaysia and 1 from the Philippines. As shown in Figure 5.2, one might assume that given the first-generations of Chinese came to Newcastle as early as the 1950s and 1960s, the relatively young profile shown might logically be considered as largely second-generation. However, the above chart shows an almost even number of respondents

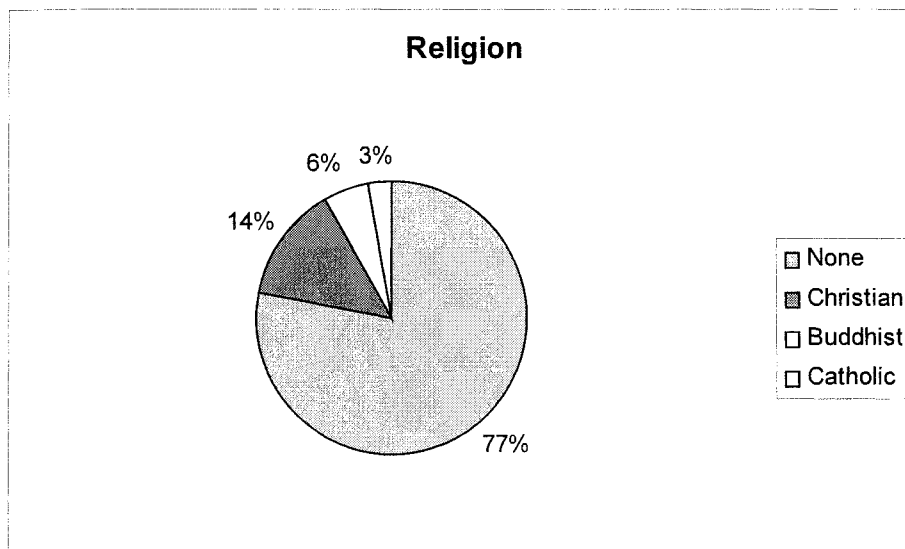
born in the UK and Hong Kong and therefore such conclusions are not valid. Collectively, 23 respondents were not born in the UK which shows that the majority of the sample were in fact not second-generation Chinese.

Figure 5.5: Nationality



When responding to categorisation of nationality, 28% of the sample, equating to 10 respondents, stated they were Chinese but interestingly 2 of these respondents entered HKSAR and another as PR China providing more specific detail.

Figure 5.6: Religion



Surprisingly for a people rooted deeply in culture and tradition, where religious beliefs are intertwined, the majority of the sample at 77% (28) did not follow any religion and only 6% (2) followed the Buddhist faith. Christian and Catholic also featured as stated religions and this aspect was commented on during the focus group session and is discussed later in this chapter in the relevant reporting section.

Figure 5.7: Duration of Residence in the UK

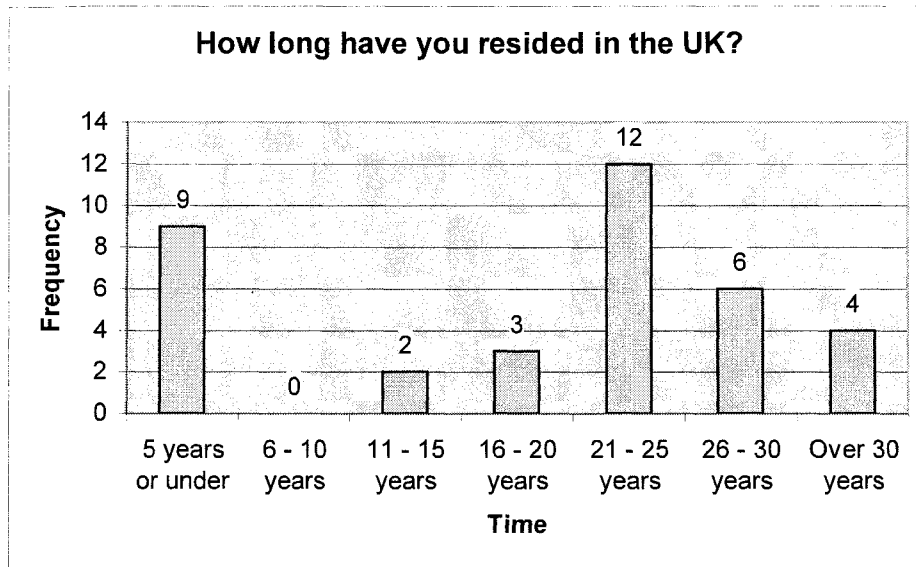


Table 5.1: Reasons for Migration

If you were not born in the UK, what was your reason(s) for migration?	
Better life	
Better standard of living and parents migrated so had to follow	
Better work	
Better work prospects	
Father did	
For a better life	
For my children's education	
For work	
I'm working as a chef in UK	
Make money	
Marriage	
Money	
Money	
More work & better pay	
Parents	
Parents moved to the UK for work	
Slow pace of life	
Standard of living	
Study	
Studying	
To work	
Work	
Work & Money	

The dominant reason for migration to the UK appears to be for work, which supports the evidence of increased immigrant entrepreneurship. Furthermore, money has been stated several times but this is linked with work prospects and therefore the main motivation for migration is a financial one. Education is also a stated factor but has been mentioned in two ways. The entry of '*study*' and '*studying*' refers to the respondents themselves but another respondent has asserted '*for my children's education*'. The choice of a UK education, specifically at university, was an issue raised during the interviews and focus group. This was recognised as being of great importance to occupational choice as will be revealed in the subsequent analysis as well as the discussion chapter.

5.2.2 Section B – Employment (The Self-Employment Sample)

The following section refers to the 17 individuals in self-employment. Several questions were asked relating to various issues surrounding self-employment. Table 5.2 shows the current occupation of each respondent alongside any previous occupations.

Table 5.2: Current and Previous Occupations (The Self-Employment Sample)

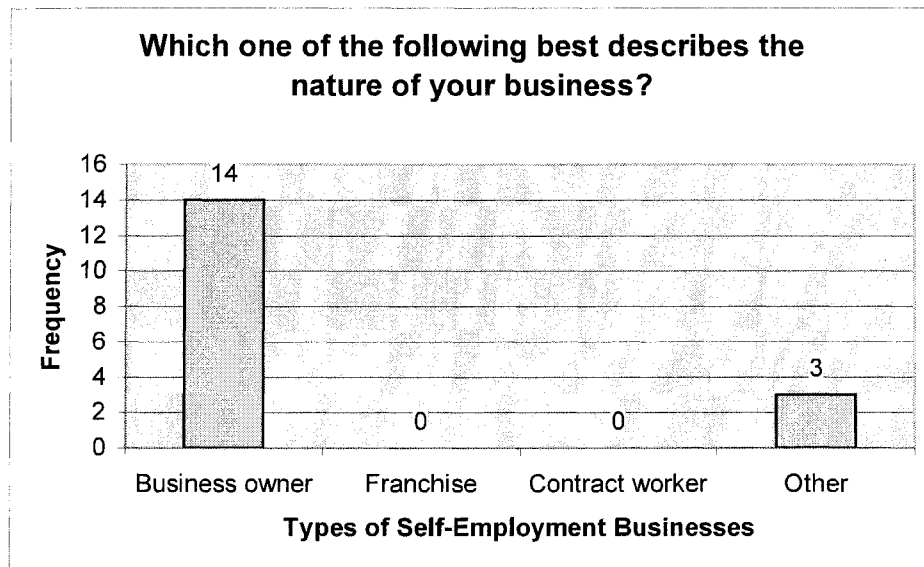
Current Occupation	Previous Occupation(s)
Assistant Manager	-
Cashier	Sales assistant, cashier
Chef	Chef
Chef	Chef- restaurant, Head chef – own takeaway
Chef	-
Chef	-
Chef	-
Chef assistant – co-owner takeaway	Radiographer, business owner
Clerical officer & self employed	Teacher, secretary, shipping operator, manager, self-employed (market store holder), clerical officer
Restaurant manager	Kitchen assistant, cook
Restaurant manager	-
Restaurant manager	-
Restaurant manager	-
Restaurant manager	-
Restaurant manager, executive sales manager of fortune high tech marketing and managing director of global consultancy corporation	Restaurant waiter, restaurant manager, independent consultant of telecoms company, company director of 5000 Europe (recruitment sales marketing company), restaurant manager, executive sales manager of FHTM
Retired	Takeaway owner
Shop fitter	Barman, takeaway chef

Looking at the current occupations, 2 respondents immediately stand out in that they have more than one form of employment. First, a clerical officer has opted to complete the self-employment questionnaire although they could have completed the alternative questionnaire for Chinese in employment. However, the nature of the self-employment business, when examining the previous occupations entry, appears to be a market store. Secondly, a restaurant manager is at the same time an executive sales manager of fortune high tech marketing and managing director of a global consultancy corporation. However, there is no indication given for any of these respondents as to which is the primary form of employment. It is perhaps reasonable

to assume for the clerical officer that the market store occupation may be on a part-time basis. However, the occupation of clerical officer may be part-time too.

Chef has been listed several times as an occupation for self-employment, which conforms to the idea that many of these are takeaway businesses where the head chef is often the owner. Another noticeable respondent is the chef assistant and co-owner of a takeaway who was formerly a radiographer. There may have been various reasons for the change in occupation such as a financial motive or discrimination but this is merely speculation and none are confirmed in the survey. Moreover, there is no indication of the country the respondent held the position of a radiographer, which is significant, as this will have a direct impact on whether discrimination was perceived as an influential factor.

Figure 5.8: Types of Self-Employment Businesses



Respondents were asked to describe the nature of their business where ‘business owner’ was the best overall description for the majority of the respondents in self-employment. The ‘Other’ category consisted of one respondent stating a ‘*fast food takeaway*’, one stating a ‘*partner*’ and the remaining one was left blank. There may have been some confusion on behalf of these respondents. By stating a fast food takeaway, this is likely referring to the ownership of such a business and a partner would be a co-owner. Taking this into account, the number recorded for ‘business owner’ may in fact be considered as 16.

Figure 5.9: Duration of the Business

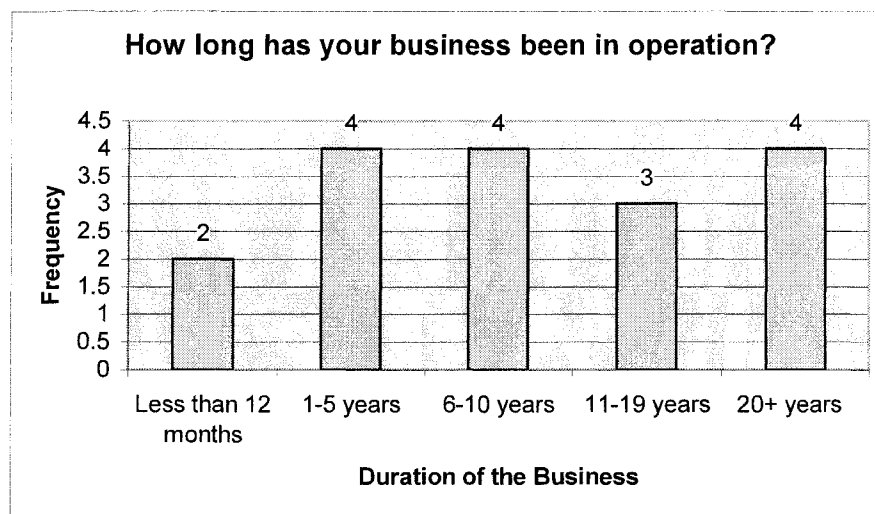


Figure 5.9 shows an almost uniform pattern when describing the duration of businesses. This suggests that self-employment businesses are an area of consistent growth. However, one cannot discount that some new businesses may be the result of opportunities becoming available through the vacancy chain and therefore the number of businesses may not actually be increasing in some cases. As shown in Figure 5.10

below, leasing or purchasing from another owner are ways in which a business can be acquired but this can be viewed as a replacement in the ownership rather than the creation of a new separate business entity. However, 10 respondents established their business from original start-up, which in this case demonstrates an actual growth in numbers.

Figure 5.10: Acquisition of the Business

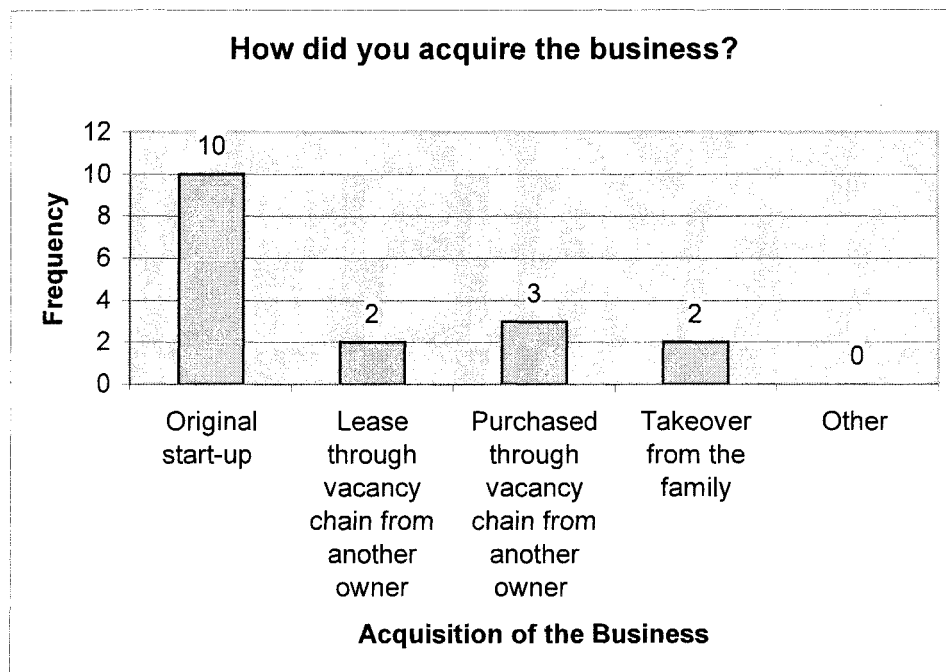
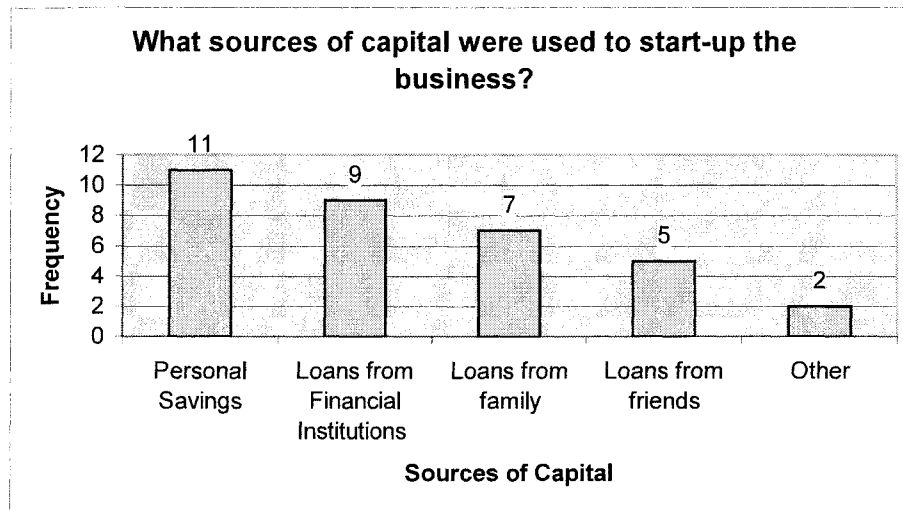


Figure 5.11: Sources of Capital



A combination of sources of capital was used by those surveyed to establish their business with the majority stating personal savings, loans from financial institutions and loans from family as the main components. In reference to 'Other' sources of capital used, whether additional or alternative, 2 respondents marked this option but only one commented on what was used by stating '*Market Research Funding from The Prince's Trust*'. Seeking funding for business creation is an interesting point to note. If one respondent has successfully managed to acquire funding, one might question why others do not do the same with the numerous owners of takeaways and restaurants. However, on close examination of the data, the respondent who specified The Prince's Trust as a form of capital was the same aforementioned clerical officer respondent (see Table 5.2) whose self-employed occupation was a market store and presumably not a catering trade business (although there is no mention of what the market store sells).

Figure 5.12: Family-Run Business

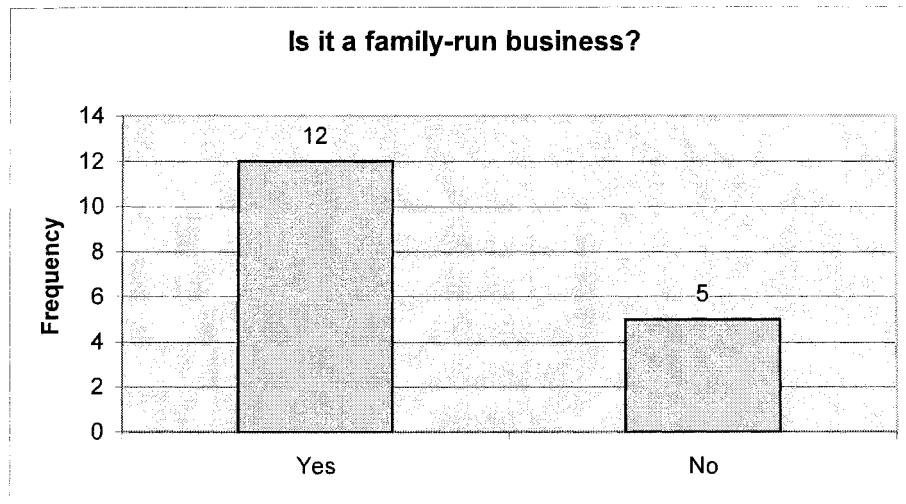
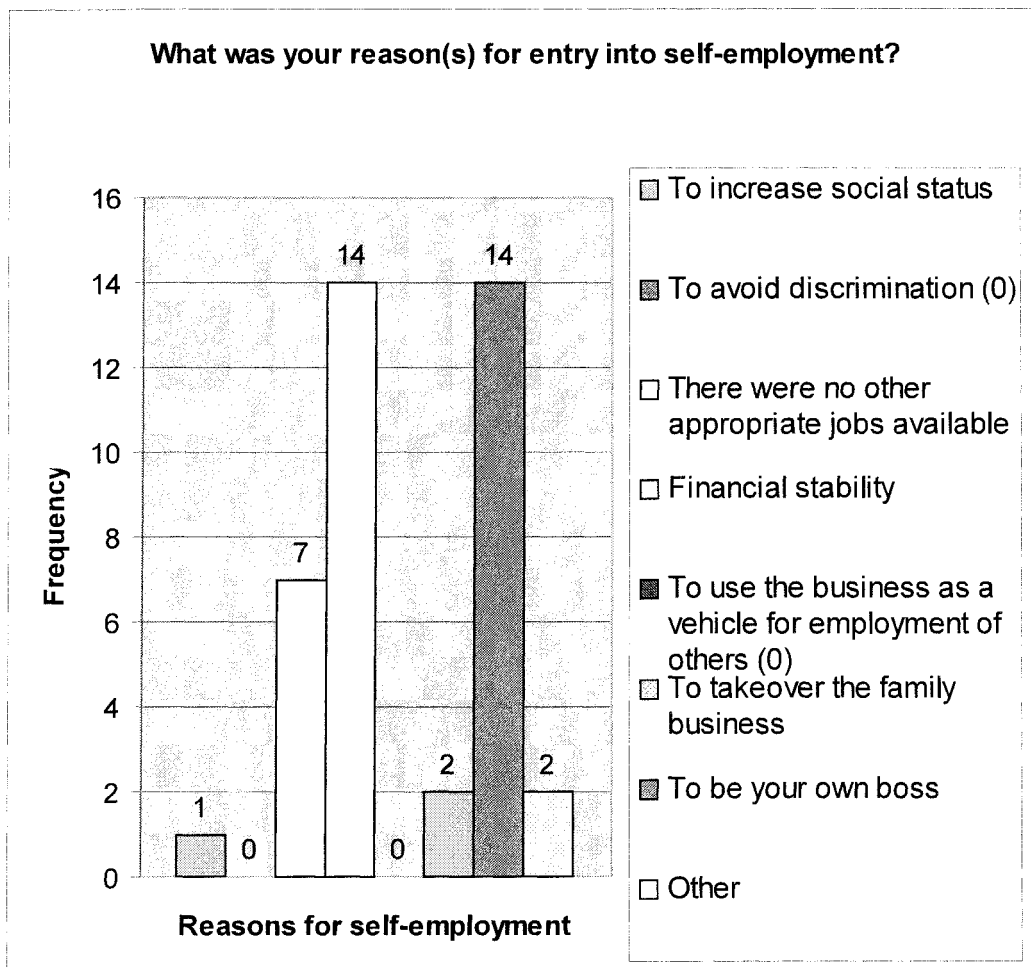
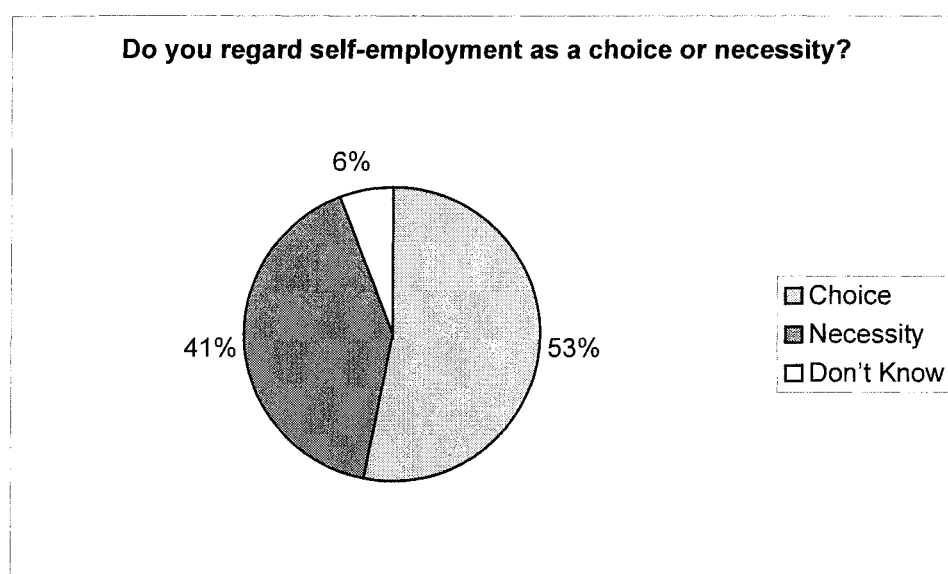


Figure 5.13: Reasons for Self-Employment



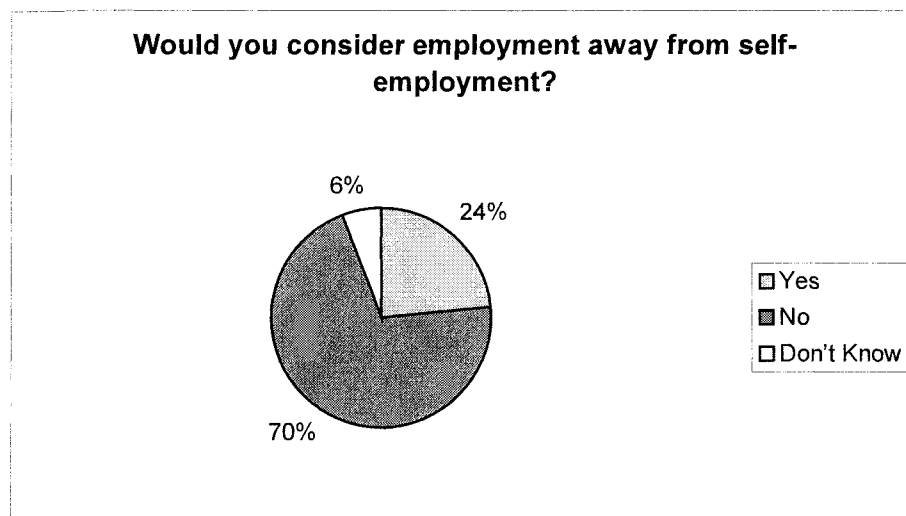
Of the 17 businesses, 12 are family-run but surprisingly none of the respondents claimed *'to use the business as a vehicle for employment of others'*, which would include family, as a reason for entry into self-employment. The standard motivations including *'financial stability'* and *'to be your own boss'* were the reasons highlighted by the majority of the respondents which conforms to the motivations as identified by Metcalf *et al.* (1996) in their study of Asian immigrant entrepreneurs. It is important to note that *'to avoid discrimination'* was not viewed as a reason for entry into self-employment but 7 respondents stated that *'there were no other appropriate jobs available'* referring to perhaps a lack of UK education or experience as obstacles in occupational attainment and progression. The 'Other' category contained 2 responses: *'to introduce Chinese culture to the UK'* and *'husband only qualified to be a chef'*. The second statement seemingly alludes to a husband and wife business partnership and that qualifications (or lack of) are a major determinant of occupational choice.

Figure 5.14: Self-Employment – Choice or Necessity?



When asked about their view of self-employment as a choice or a necessity, 53% (9) of the sample stated it was a choice whilst 41% (7) held the opinion that such occupations were a necessity, showing an almost even division with only 6% (1) remaining undecided.

Figure 5.15: Employment away from Self-Employment



Although 4 respondents, accounting for 24% of the self-employment sample, replied 'Yes' to 'Would you consider employment away from self-employment?' 5 people answered the follow-up question although the instructions on the questionnaire stated to proceed to the next section if they answered 'No'. As a result, the question 'If you were to move away from self-employment, what type of occupation would you pursue?' was answered by not only the relevant 4 people who ticked 'Yes' but by an additional respondent. Regardless of this human error, all comments have been recorded and are shown in the table below.

Table 5.3: Employment away from Self-Employment

If you were to move away from self-employment, what type of occupation would you pursue?
Computer programmer
I would like to have a job which is related to my major, such as management in many business fields. I also hope be a high level manager because my previous experiences allow me to be.
Martial Arts teacher/cooking teacher
Office work, hopefully in human resource management
Working professional

Three of the answers stated seem to be related to an area of education and is likely referring to the application of a college or university degree. That is, computing, business and human resource management. A '*working professional*' is a vague response but again, this may also refer to the continuance of education and an occupation related to that field. The remaining respondent suggested that moving away from self-employment, possible alternative occupations pursued could be a martial arts instructor or cooking teacher but these may in fact be regarded as self-employed occupations. It is conceivable that the respondent may have equated the term self-employment to the catering trade.

5.2.3 Section B – Employment and Self-Employment Issues (The Employment Sample)

The following section refers to the 19 respondents that account for the sample of Chinese in employment. Respondents were asked several questions relating to their employment and self-employment issues. Similar to Table 5.2, Table 5.4 shows the current occupation of each respondent alongside his or her previous occupation(s).

Table 5.4: Current and Previous Occupations (The Employment Sample)

Current Occupation	Previous Occupation(s)
Accountant	Local government
Adult education teacher	Social worker, research assistant, receptionist, call centre salesperson
Air Hostess	Working in takeaway, cabin crew
Bar host (4 star hotel)	Paperboy, kitchen worker, counter worker, glass collector, banqueting waiter, restaurant waiter, bar host, plasma (TV) installs.
Cashier (takeaway)	-
Chef	Chef
Chef	Chef in China. Chef in UK
Chef	Chef in Malaysia, Singapore, Australia
Chef in takeaway	Always cooked
Customer service (telecoms)	-
Part-time cashier (takeaway)	Cashier for Sports Soccer, Cashier for Topman
Part-time waiter (recent student – graduate)	Waiter, barman, labourer, work experience surveyor, waiter
Service assistant (takeaway)	Sales assistant at Currys, service assistant in takeaway
Student/waiter	Chef assistant, waiter
Student/waiter	Waiter
Support worker	Librarian, mentor for young offenders. Support worker/note-taker for disabled students
Takeaway Chef	Kitchen worker, chef assistant, chef
Waiter	Personal assistant to the ambassador
Waitress	-

Of the 19 respondents in employment (and not self-employment) only 6 had occupations outside of the catering trade, namely accountant, adult education teacher, air hostess, bar host (4 star hotel), customer service (telecoms) and support worker. Interestingly, both the air hostess and bar host had previous occupations including working in a takeaway and waitering. Taking this into account, this leaves only 4 respondents who had not experienced any work associated with the catering trade.

It is assumed that the numerous entries of chefs and waiters refer to Chinese restaurants and takeaways but it is possible that some may not. For example, a waiter could work in an Italian restaurant but if this was the case, the respondent may have stated this. Therefore, it is reasonable to conjecture that these entries are for Chinese places of work.

Figure 5.16: Co-Workers of Another Race

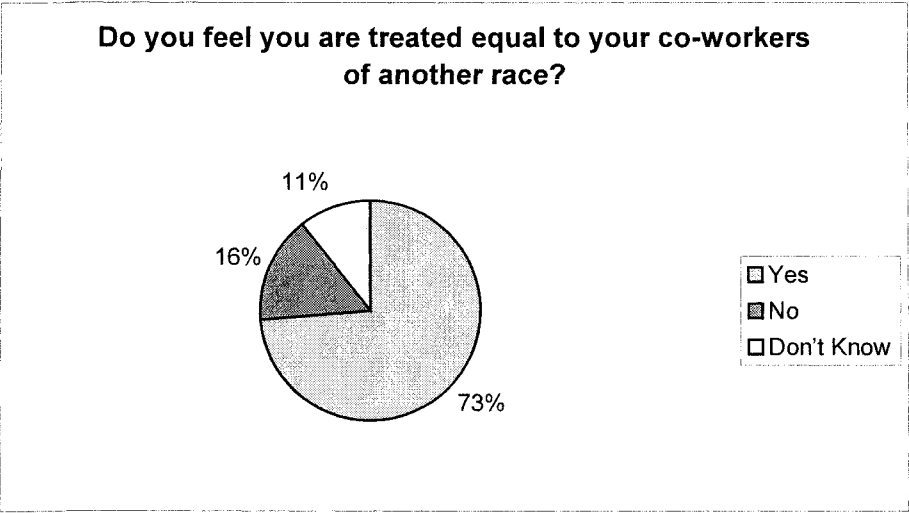
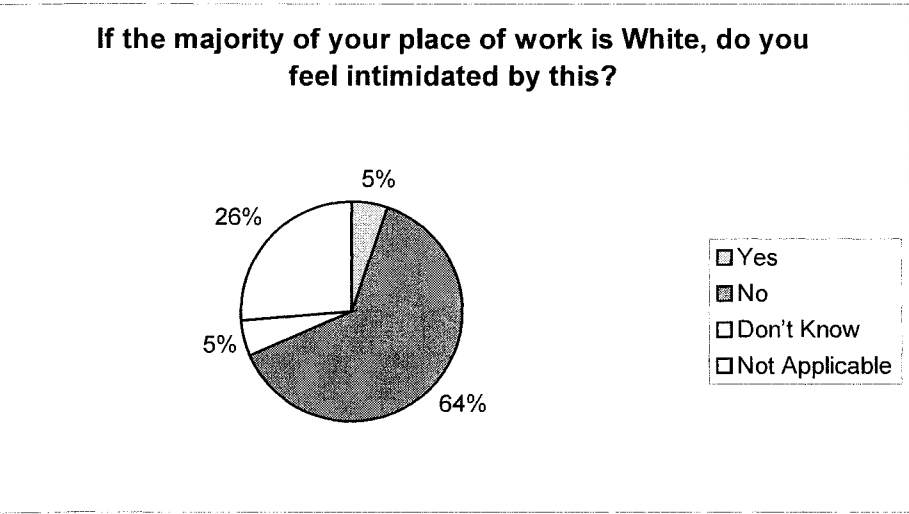


Figure 5.17: Intimidation in the Workplace



Of the sample in employment, 73% (14) felt that they were treated equal to their co-workers of another race and 64% (12) were not intimidated by the rest of their workplace being largely White. However, alarmingly there were those who disagreed where 16% (3) felt that they were treated unequally and 5% (1) felt intimidated by a mainly White place of work.

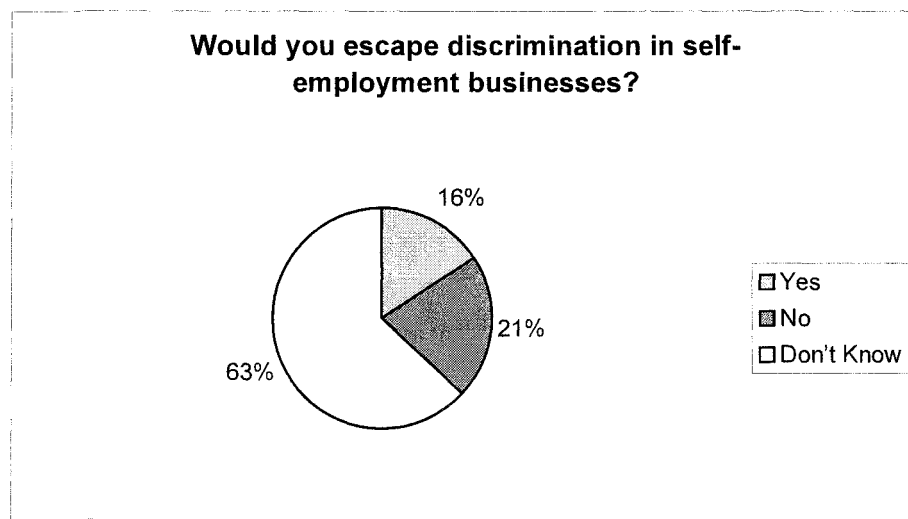
Table 5.5: Reasons Against Self-Employment

What are the reasons you are not in self-employment?
Career decision
I have a full time job
I have a full time job
Insufficient capital
Lack of capital to be self-employed
Lack of funds
More freedom working for others
No money to start up my own business
Not as much responsibility
Only work part-time. Studying
Only working part-time as part of the family business
Prefer to work in a more stable environment. Self-employment is difficult financially too and not necessarily feasible. I feel I am overqualified to be self-employed.
Self-employment is very stressful and very hard work. It is also not financially secure.
Wanted to stay out of a Chinese run job. Also wanted to be an electrician. Parents retired from the family business too.

Table 5.5 lists reasons for not pursuing self-employment. Various statements imply that self-employment had been considered at some point. For example, 4 respondents have expressed a lack of capital or funds which would not have been listed if they had no intention of pursuing self-employment. The last respondent offers a combination of reasons including a career decision and '*parents retired*'. This is likely to refer to the ending of the family business, a takeaway or restaurant, as the respondent also

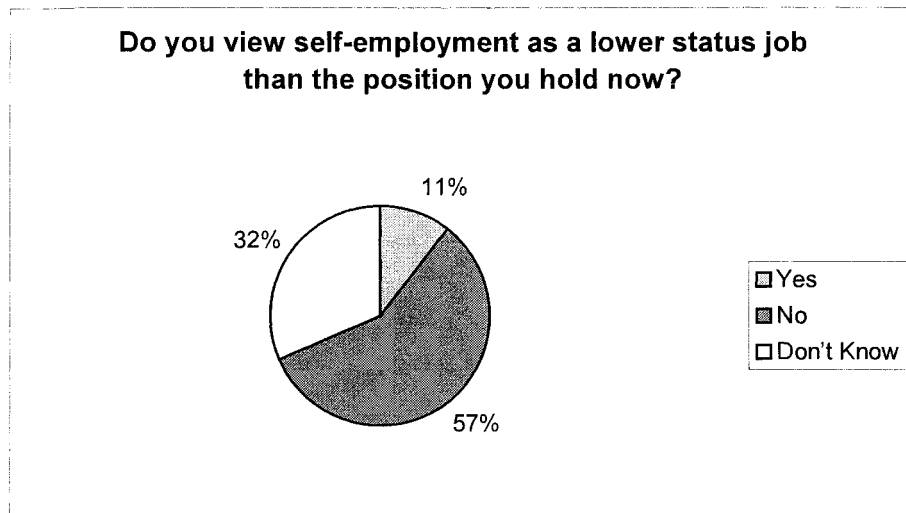
stated that they '*wanted to stay out of a Chinese run job*' perhaps due to stereotypical views, the hard work associated with self-employment as described by another respondent, or simply the career decision of wanting to be an electrician.

Figure 5.18: Escaping Discrimination in Self-Employment



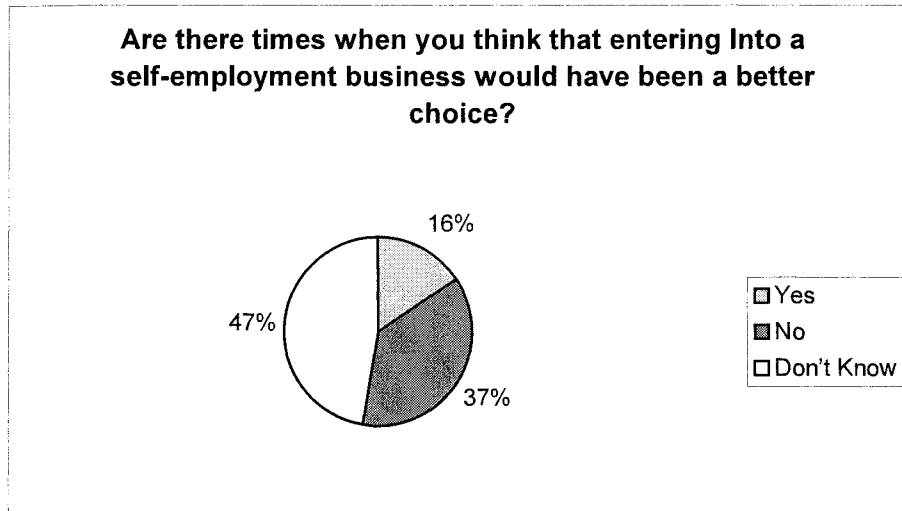
The majority of the sample at 63% (12) were unsure whether self-employment meant escaping discrimination yet 16% (3) agreed that it would and 21% (4) stated that it would not.

Figure 5.19: The Status of Self-Employment



Over half of the sample answered 'No' when presented with the question 'Do you view self-employment as a lower status job than the position you hold now?' but this is to be expected from a sample of employees mainly in catering trade occupations. For example, ownership of a takeaway or restaurant business may be the aim of some of the chefs and waiters in the sample and would be deemed a higher status position than their current occupation. It should be mentioned that there was an addition of a written comment by one of the respondents who answered 'Yes' to the same question, which was '*Did at one point*'. This indicates that the respondent in question has altered their opinion over time.

Figure 5.20: A Better Choice than Self-Employment?

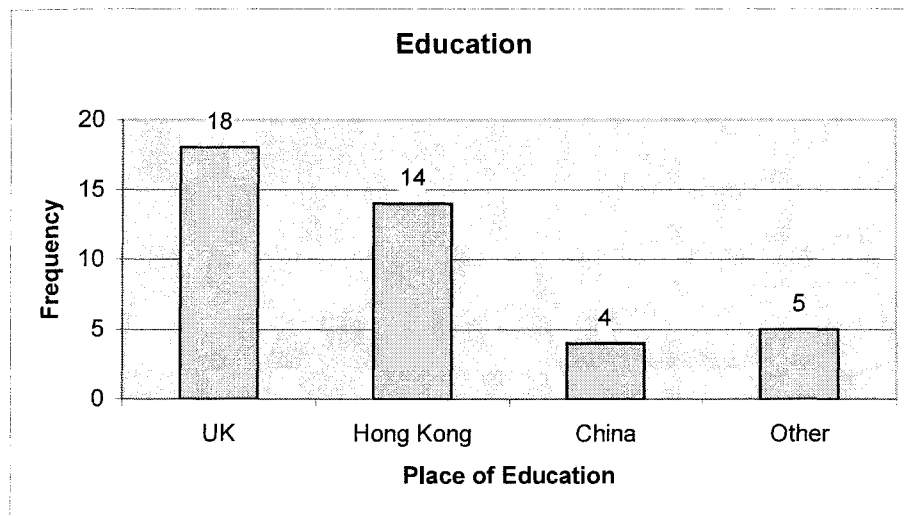


When asked ‘Are there times when you think that entering into a self-employment business would have been a better choice?’ 16% (3) answered ‘Yes’ and 37% (7) responded ‘No’ where some of the reasons for this view can be traced back to the statements in Table 5.5 including ‘*more freedom working for others*’ and ‘*not as much responsibility*’.

5.2.4 Section C – Education

All results from this point onwards refer to the entire sample of 36, therefore combining those in employment and self-employment. This section presents the qualifications of the respondents and their views on educational experience.

Figure 5.21: Education



The 5 respondents who chose the 'Other' category included 3 individuals who had been educated in Malaysia, one in the Philippines and one who asserted '*none*' referring to no education and not simply left blank.

Table 5.6 summarises the qualifications of each respondent (who entered details) and Table 5.7 provides an account of experiences in education.

Table 5.6: Qualifications

Highest UK Educational Qualification	Highest Overseas Educational Qualification	Highest UK Vocational Qualification	Highest Overseas Vocational Qualification
BA (Hons)	-	-	-
BA (Hons) 2:2	-	Advanced GNVQ Distinction	-
BA (Hons) English and History of Art (2:1)	-	-	-
BA (Hons) English degree	-	PG Diploma in Library and Information Management	-
BTEC Travel and Tourism	-	GCSE French & German	-
Building Services Engineering degree	Higher Diploma in Building Services Engineering	-	-
Building Services Engineering degree	Higher Diploma in Building Services Engineering	-	-
Degree BSc (Hons)	-	-	-
Degree graduate	-	-	-
GCSEs	-	Advanced GNVQ	-
GCSEs	-	-	-
GNVQs ICT	-	-	-
HND	-	-	-
Hopefully BA (Hons) if not then A levels	-	-	-
Hopefully degree in Multimedia Computing, BTEC ND IT	-	-	-
MBA International Business Administration	Certificate of college in international trade (in China)	-	-
Masters degree	-	-	-
Mechanical Engineering degree	-	-	-
Performing Engineering Operations – level 2	-	-	-
School	-	-	-
-	Diploma	-	-
-	-	Food Hygiene	Plasterer/Plumber

Table 5.7: Experiences in Education

Was your time at school/college/university a positive or negative experience?
Bullied at school for being the only Chinese there.
Bullied at school for no reason, college/uni a positive experience.
Hard in China/HK.
High school.
No!
Positive
Positive
Positive
Positive
Positive – mixed and developed personal skills with a mixture of people of different status, personality and backgrounds.
Positive because it was fun.
Positive all the way. I was treated like an individual most of the time. This to me was not a bad thing.
Positive as it was enjoyable.
Positive experience.
Positive experience. Learn professional training building services.
Positive experience. Learn the way of thinking British.
Positive, fun.
Positive. It made me realise that conventional jobs/life was a con and that only a few controlled the many.
Positive. Learnt to read and write.
<i>Primary school</i> – was happy, had a lot of friends. <i>Secondary school</i> – negative experience because I did not fit in with peers and was bullied for being Chinese. <i>University</i> – Positive experience – made friends with both English and Chinese students.
School was reasonably positive, although I still experienced prejudice in the form of name-calling in a few isolated incidents. At university I was accepted by peers and teachers alike but experienced prejudice from people outside the educational environment.
Was OK
Yes, I would say all my time at education was positive. I started to learn basic knowledge of a specific field – international trade, although they were just words in books, which were leading to the field.

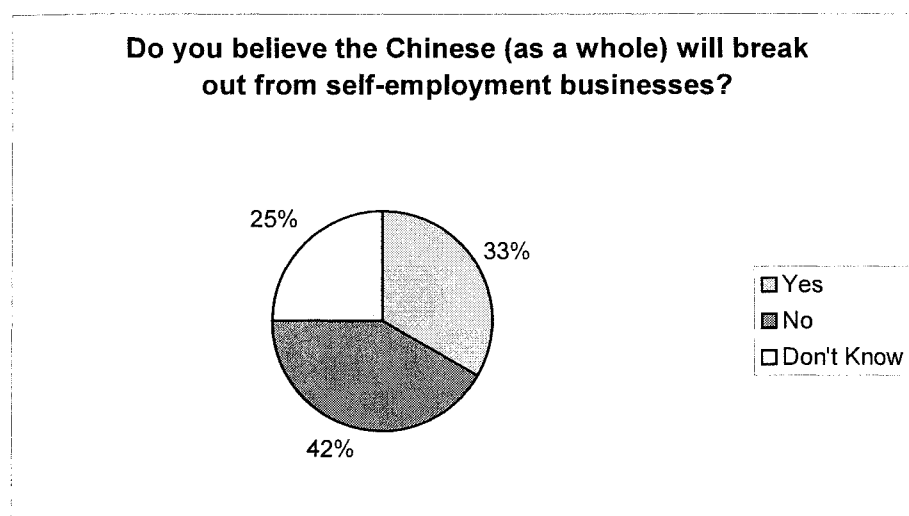
Of the 36 respondents, 23 commented on their experiences at school/college/university with a large number stating ‘*Positive*’. However, a distinction between experience at school and university has been identified by 3 respondents, all of them stating that time at university was a lot more positive due to

bullying at school because of ethnicity which can be defined as acts of racism or direct discrimination. Additionally, of notable mention is the respondent who exclaimed 'No!' which was written across 4 lines, perhaps signalling a strongly negative experience.

5.2.5 Section D – Expectations of Future Generations' Involvement in the Labour Market

This section summarises the views of the respondents in terms of expectations of future generations of Chinese in relation to the labour market.

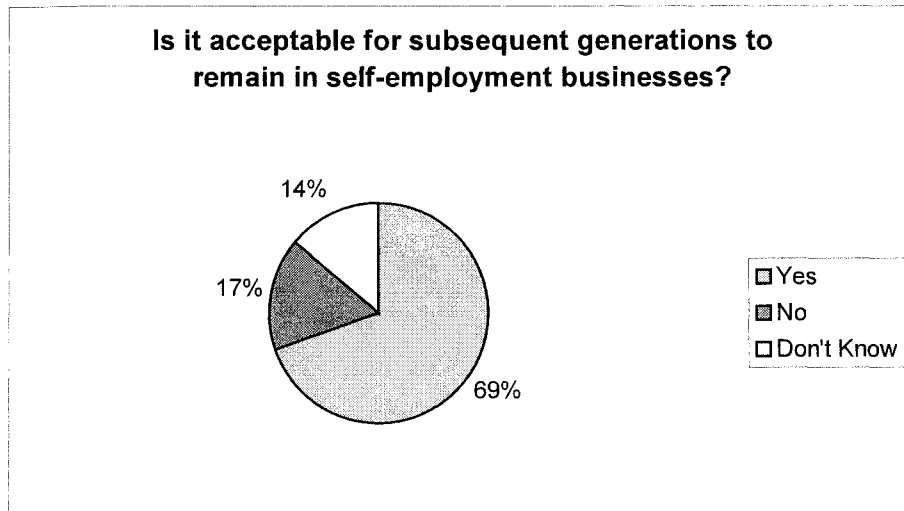
Figure 5.22: Break Out from Self-Employment



The future outlook for the Chinese with regards to remaining in self-employment businesses as perceived by the sample does not show an overwhelming agreement towards one viewpoint, where 33% (12) believed that the Chinese (as a whole) will

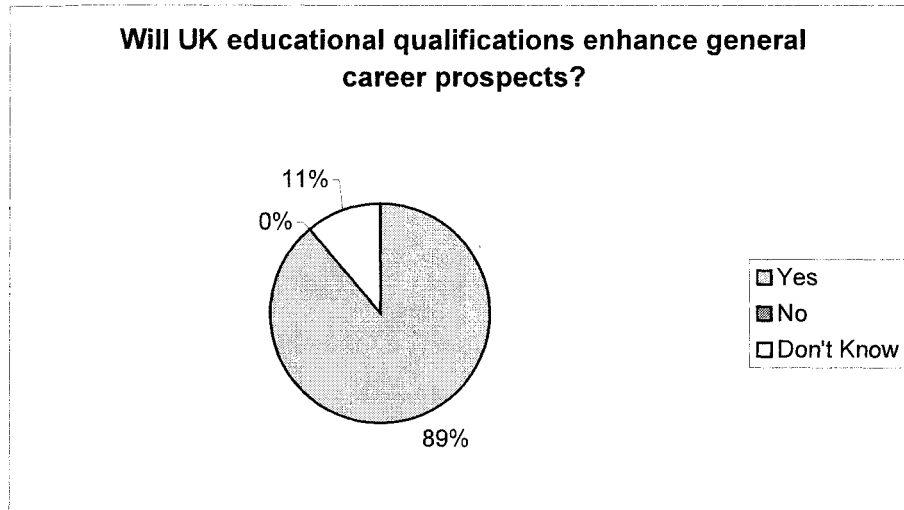
break out but 42% (15) disagreed. A quarter of the sample remained uncertain and therefore selected 'Don't Know'.

Figure 5.23: Remaining in Self-Employment



A large proportion of the sample at 69% (25) acknowledged that it is acceptable for future generations of Chinese to remain in self-employment businesses. This is not particularly surprising given the motivations and advantages shown in Figure 5.13 by those in self-employment.

Figure 5.24: UK Educational Qualifications and Career Prospects



Of the sample, 89% (32) maintain that UK educational qualifications will enhance general career prospects as shown in Figure 5.24. Significantly no respondent suggested that they would not but 11% (4) were undecided. Although no additional space was provided for comments, one of the respondents wrote '*Dependent on qualification in what field*' accompanied with their entry for 'Don't Know'.

5.2.6 Section E – Social Attitudes and Ethnic Identity

The following section summarises issues surrounding social attitudes and ethnic identity including both racism and discrimination.

Figure 5.25: Racist Behaviour

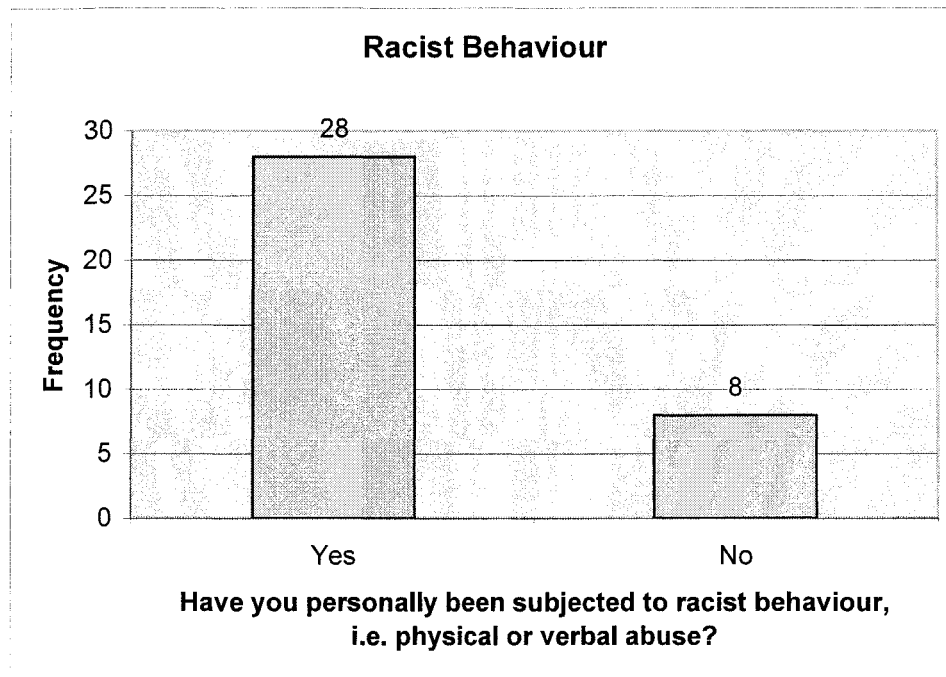


Figure 5.26: Racial Discrimination

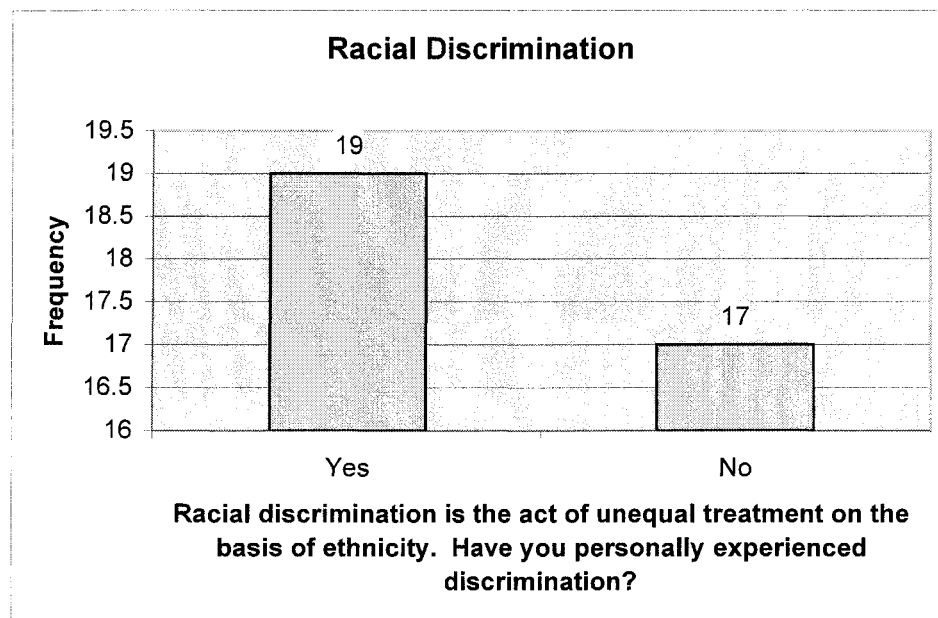
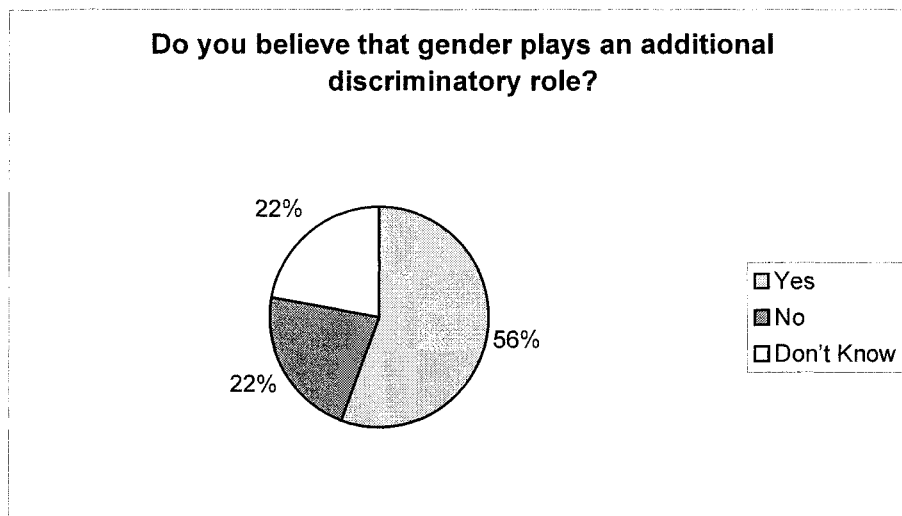


Figure 5.27: Does Gender Play an Additional Discriminatory Role?



Both racist behaviour and discrimination had been experienced by a large number of the sample at 28 and 19 respondents respectively. Racism has been recorded by a higher number of people and some of these incidents will undoubtedly refer to experiences at school as previously indicated by several respondents (in Table 5.7). Of the sample, 56% (20) believed that gender plays an additional discriminatory role as observed in Figure 5.27. It should be noted that 13 respondents of the entire sample were female therefore demonstrating that some male respondents also agreed that gender is considered as an additional discriminatory factor. Interestingly, the 56% do not include all of the females present in the sample, as some are accounted for in the 22% (8) who answered 'No' and the 22% that answered 'Don't Know'.

Figure 5.28: The Chinese Community

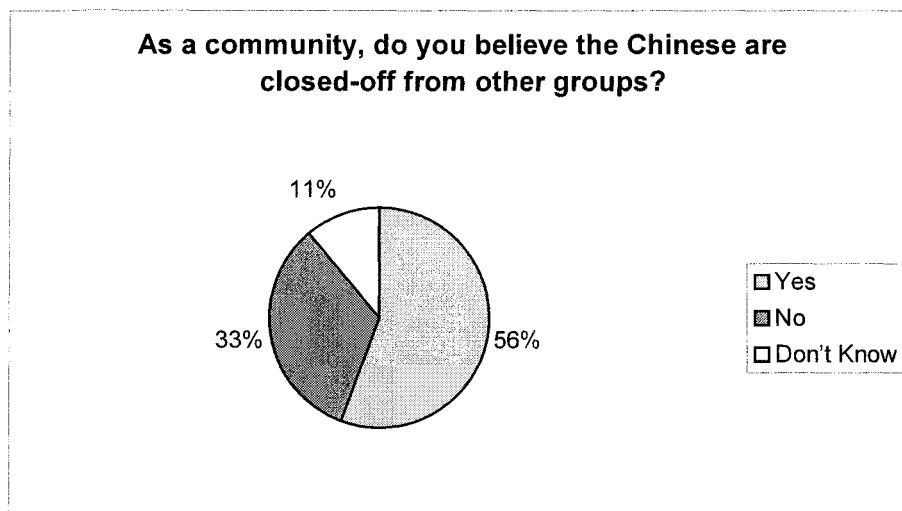
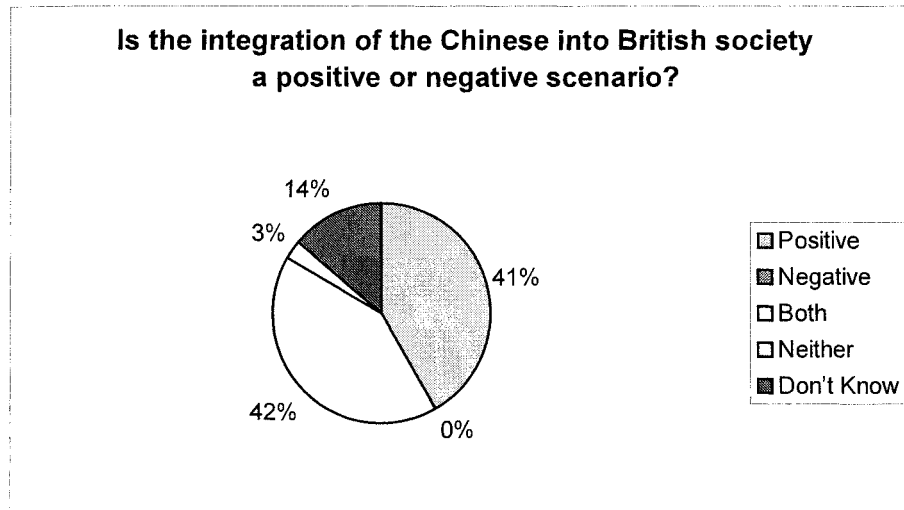


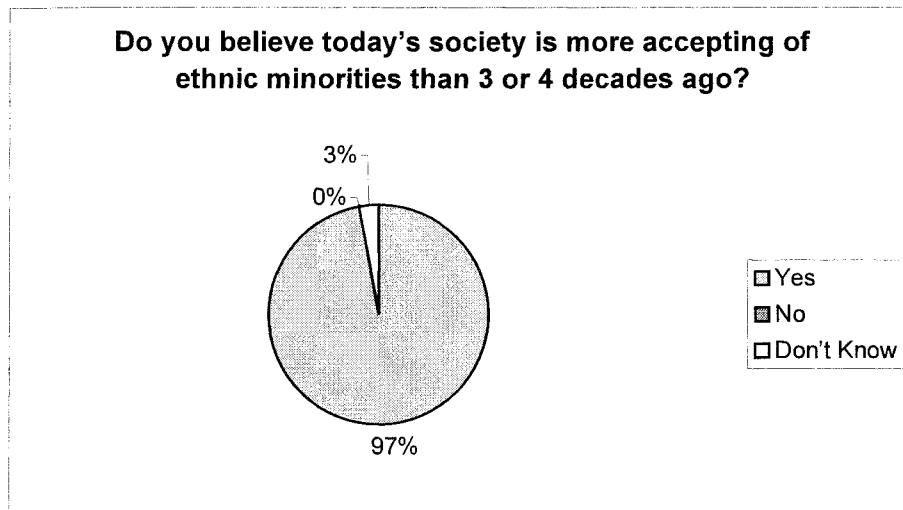
Figure 5.28 shows that 56% (20) of the sample believed that the Chinese community are closed-off from other groups and 33% (12) disagreed. This proportion appears to be largely accounted for by respondents who have resided in the UK for a considerable time between '16-20 years', '21-25 years' and '26-30' years, perhaps suggesting that these are mainly second-generation Chinese. Two respondents who agreed that the Chinese are a closed-off group have provided additional comments (although again this was not asked for as no space was provided). One stated '*But due to language difficulties rather than of choice*' whilst the other suggested '*It's not a bad thing*'.

Figure 5.29: Integration into British Society



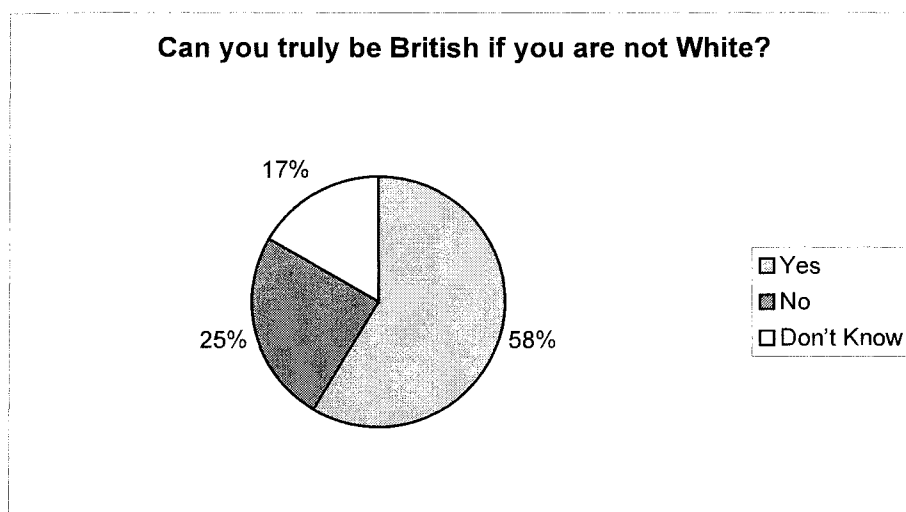
The question 'Is the integration of the Chinese into British society a positive or negative scenario?' was intended to refer to the British public as a whole. No respondent viewed the integration of the Chinese into British society as a singularly negative scenario but 42% (15) claimed that it is both positive and negative. Only one respondent remained indifferent suggesting that integration is neither a positive or negative situation. However, the choice of answers will undoubtedly have been influenced by interpretation of the question. For example, some respondents may have selected a positive scenario meaning for the Chinese, whilst others may have selected the same option referring to the White British.

Figure 5.30: The Acceptance of Ethnic Minorities



An overwhelming 97% (35) of the sample believed that today's society is more accepting of ethnic minorities than 3 or 4 decades ago as shown in Figure 5.30. Only one respondent accounting for the remaining 3% was undecided.

Figure 5.31: Being British

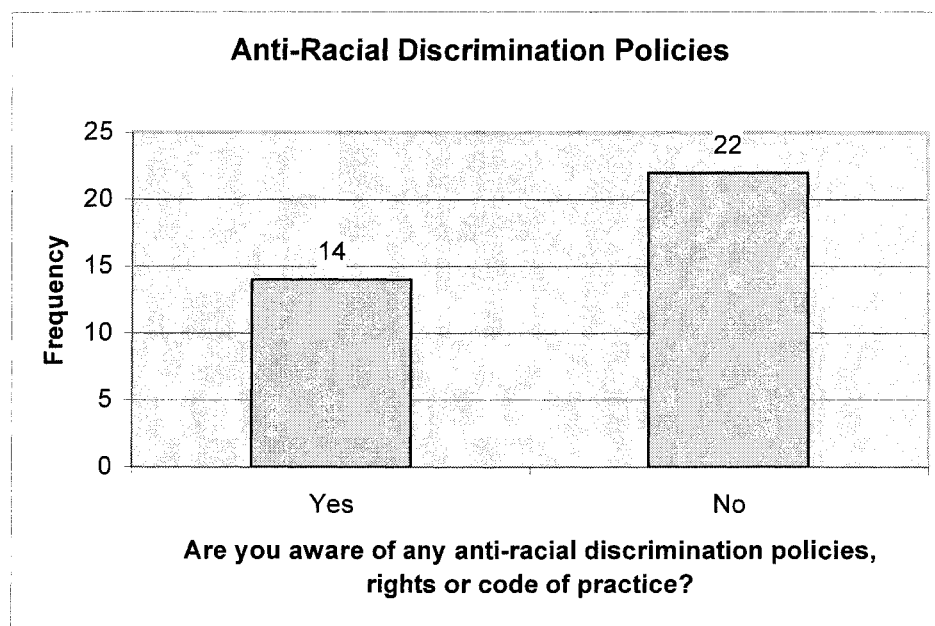


When asked ‘Can you truly be British if you are not White?’ 58% (21) answered ‘Yes’, 25% (9) answered ‘No’, and 17% (6) were uncertain showing mixed views across the sample.

5.2.7 Section F - Perceptions of Policy

The following section is entirely related to anti-racial discrimination policies, the awareness of any such policies and their effectiveness.

Figure 5.32: Awareness of Anti-Racial Discrimination Policies



In reference to the awareness of anti-racial discrimination policies, rights or code of practice, 14 respondents accounting for 39% of the sample were aware of some form but only 6 entered any details as shown in Table 5.8 below.

Table 5.8: Awareness of Anti-Racial Discrimination Policies

Are you aware of any anti-racial discrimination policies, rights or code of practice?
Did a Masters module on racism at work, could write an essay as a reply.
Equal Opportunities Act.
Equal Opportunities Act. Race & Discrimination Act.
Equal Opportunities Policy – most organisations have one.
When I was looking for a job, nearly every application form came with a policy of equal opportunity, especially jobs in councils, universities and hospitals.
Sunderland BNP

Tables 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11 shows comments expressed by the sample in relation to three related questions associated with anti-racial discrimination policies.

Table 5.9: The Impact of Current Policies

What do you think the impact of current policies has been?
I do not know many of the policies. I think it has a certain extent of impact to encourage employment of ethnics but not very big. It is subject to the understanding of actual people who do the recruitment and the capability of the candidates.
It depends on the situation. If you have a racist interviewer you won't get the job even though the Act is there.
More positive than before. However racism is still rife in certain work places.
Not enough done to stop racism.
Not enough power in police force.
Positive
To ensure that Chinese are treated equally in employment and recruitment.

Table 5.10: Limitations of Policies

What are the shortcomings/limitations of current policies?
Could write an essay as a reply.
Does not seem to benefit us at all. The police force are racist themselves.
I think it will be more helpful if a percentage of ethnic employees could be always kept within the whole members of employment.
Not enough has been done to make the policies serious.
The rules are set but not everyone abides by them.

Table 5.11: How to Reduce Racial Discrimination

How might racial discrimination be reduced?
Better communication between groups.
Better education.
Better integration from the ethnic minority side. Ethnic groups tend to segregate themselves rather than the society ostracizing them.
By law. By educating people from a young age.
Communicate better, equal rights.
Different upbringing.
Educated from an early age.
Education and positive integration of multi-cultures.
Equal rights.
Government and employees should have more open and flexible behaviour to employ ethnics, not only on policies on paper, which could help raise the social status of ethnics. More communities should be set up and spread cultures and living habits of ethnics to British people to help understanding and respect.
If we experience this on any level – minor or more serious, we should complain and address it immediately as an ethnic minority. It is tempting to remain silent so as not to be seen as awkward. Chinese people need to make their voice heard. Also, closer attention should be paid to racism in its more simple forms. i.e. use of derogatory terms, name-calling, stereotyping.
Ignore it.
In time everyone is going to have to get used to it, if they like it or not.
Inviting the English to more open cultural days so they understand us better or going into schools.
Less abuse towards people with different coloured skin.
Mix more.
More equal rights, work as a community.
More laws and policies have to be put in force and punishment has to be dealt more seriously.
More opportunities.
Need to be treated more as equals.
No idea, leave it to the politicians.
Punishment has to be taken seriously. Racism as a whole has to be perceived as breaking the law but to date, not much has been done.
Report it.
The British should be educated from a young age and know the consequences of racial discrimination.
There's laws already enforced but people don't always abide by them. As time passes and more Chinese appear in this society, they will be more accepted.
Through education from young. Make it legislation.

Table 5.12 provides any additional comments that respondents wished to add.

Table 5.12: Additional Comments

Any other comments you may have would be greatly appreciated
Any form of racism can be upsetting and demeaning. I do also think that racism in the North East is more apparent than in areas further South (I don't mean London). The people in Newcastle need to be made more aware to the feelings and needs of the Chinese people.
Doing research for my dissertation on property – when researching Chinese they often refused professional help according to source, which left them disadvantaged in lease negotiations. They only tended to seek help from other Chinese (I don't know if this is an old perception or if this is still apparent). In one case as there was only one Chinese-speaking lawyer readily available, they charged more than the average lawyer.
From my experience of living in the UK, most of the British people are very friendly and kind. I enjoyed my life here, to have my family and lots of friends. I think racial discrimination comes from lack of understanding which leads to disrespect and hatred. What I want to suggest to reduce racial discrimination includes the understanding and respect from ethnics to British people. I always remember this country belongs to them. I would not fail if I just do what Romans do.
I feel the British are much more accepting of the Chinese but there will always be the odd one or two who won't - However such is life – the same could be argued for the disabled, elderly people, etc.
Interesting questions.

5.3 The Interviews and Focus Group Session

Following from the collection of questionnaires, the next stage of the research project was to initiate the semi-structured interviews. From the 36 questionnaire respondents, 10 people stated that they would not object to a follow-up interview as indicated by leaving their contact details on the last page of the questionnaire. The proposed timetable for the interviewing period, established in March 2005, was for commencement to begin in mid-July 2005 with a final deadline ending on 20th September. In theory, this seemed like a plausible length of time to conduct 10 interviews and in practice this largely remained the case. The first interview began on 22nd July 2005 with the final session held on 7th September 2005. However, only 8 interviews were conducted during this period due to various obstacles. This is a recognised limitation of the methodology, as the interviews (as well as questionnaires)

are entirely voluntary, therefore not wanting to participate further is an option available to all those surveyed. After attending a workshop entitled 'Completing a PhD' in early November 2005 and discussions with my principal supervisor, it was decided that the 2 remaining interviews would not take place. One of the main issues raised in the workshop was the acceptance of a cut-off date for specific tasks and to follow set deadlines to facilitate the flow of research to completion.

The 8 interviewees consisted of 6 males and 2 females, where there were 3 self-employed respondents, 4 employees within the catering trade and 1 in employment elsewhere. All were born in the UK with the exception of one male born in Hong Kong. Therefore, this individual was the only first-generation Chinese to be interviewed. The others were second-generation and in one case, one interviewee described his position as possibly third-generation. His mother, although born in Hong Kong, arrived in the UK at a very young age thus he expressed that his grandparents were first-generation, his mother second-generation therefore making him third. This is an interesting point as it raises the issue of how others classify themselves as to which generation they are. Further complexity in the classification of generation that may be taken into account is whether both parents were raised and educated in the UK. Depending on the age they were when they migrated to Britain, one parent may indeed be classed as second-generation and the other first, therefore arriving at a situation that could possibly be termed 'generation 1.5'. Regardless, for simplicity, those born in the UK are considered by myself as second-generation or third-generation, even if either one of their parents were educated (primary and secondary) in the UK from an early age.

All interviews were conducted in English to eliminate any translation errors during the transcription stage. Furthermore, due to the various Chinese dialects, not everyone speaks the same dialect (if any at all in the case for some second-generation Chinese). I myself speak Hakka which is considered a dying Chinese dialect, whereas others speak Cantonese. Mandarin is increasing in popularity but this is mainly due to the influx of students from China.⁵³ Interviews were held at a variety of locations including pre-booked rooms at the university library, the Chinese community centre and the actual premises of one of the interviewee's place of work.

All interviewee respondents did not object to being recorded using a digital dictation machine. This directly increased the quality of such information, in that accurate transcriptions were produced for each interview. The length of interviews varied greatly with each person, with the shortest recorded at 22 minutes and longest at 50 minutes. However, the duration of the interviews is by no means an indication as to the quality of information derived. In fact, the shortest interview proved to be one of the most distinctive, raising issues not revealed elsewhere in the other interviews.

Further to the interviews, a focus group session took place on 7th December, held in a private room of a restaurant in Stowell Street (Chinatown). Permission to use this room was given by the owner of the restaurant who I have known for many years. This seemed like an ideal place to hold the discussion, given the layout of the room and the restaurant was an easily recognisable location for the respondents to find. The purpose of the focus group was to further explore some of the main issues raised in

⁵³ Newcastle is a prime example of a city that attracts many overseas students due to the two universities (Newcastle University and Northumbria University) and nearby colleges.

the interviews. Of the 8 interviewees, 4 attended the discussion session. The main issues of interest raised are presented below.

5.4 The Catering Trade

It is widely acknowledged that the Chinese are concentrated mainly in the catering industry and the occupations of those interviewed reflect this statement. Of the interviewees, 7 respondents had occupations relating to the catering industry although the actual jobs differed, whilst only one had an occupation elsewhere, within telecommunications. Interestingly, this individual expressed that working in this chosen occupation was a stop-gap to essentially pay for loans taken out as a student and perhaps in the future would consider setting-up a business within the catering industry. It should be mentioned that the respondent's parents currently run successful Chinese restaurants away from Newcastle and that following in their occupation was a choice always presented.

One of the most striking features of those interviewed was the characterisation of young successful entrepreneurs. Two interviewees had each both been exposed to working in the catering trade from a relatively young age and decided to continue along this career path as a full-time occupation. At the time of the interview (August 2005) Mr C, a 21 year old male, was currently working part-time in the family takeaway business but was about to embark on a new business venture primarily set-up by himself with help from his family. The emerging business was to be a self-employment Japanese restaurant away from Newcastle where he would be both manager and co-owner, along with his father in a supporting role. In reference to the theme of the restaurant, Mr C explained:

It's not a Chinese restaurant, it's a Japanese restaurant. Japanese 'teppan yaki' cooking. We thought we'll go for a business risk because now you see a lot of Chinese restaurants and never see Japanese. So we thought we'll try and open up a Japanese restaurant down Hartlepool and see how it does. Hopefully the risk will pay off.

This seemingly demonstrates the awareness of a newly developing area of the catering industry, or at least by the Chinese. The fact that an increasing number of Japanese restaurants are established and operated by Chinese raises an issue of authenticity. Similarly, many Indian cuisine restaurants are managed by Bangladeshi and Pakistani minorities, as previously mentioned in Chapter 3, relating to immigrant entrepreneurship.

Mr E, a 25 year old male Chinese restaurant owner and manager, had previously worked in various roles in the restaurant trade, namely waiting tables and then in a managerial capacity. It was these earlier experiences that he accredits to his present occupational path. Skills were acquired through these various jobs for different restaurants with the eventual goal to establish his own.

Neither of these two interviewees had considered employment away from the catering trade, each stating their preference for being self-employed rather than waged work. Despite emphasizing long hours of work and more stress than the average employee, largely due to additional tasks outside of business hours including stock delivery intakes and food preparation, both expressed that a lot of money could be earned indicating an obvious financial motive. Moreover, the additional difficulties over waged work that comes with the responsibility of operating their own restaurants, was actually a factor that had attracted them to enter self-employment. Each cited the

ability to operate in an environment requiring a strong degree of multi-tasking as a welcome challenge.

5.5 Is the Catering Trade Diminishing?

The emergence of restaurants and takeaways is often attributed to the first-generations of Chinese lacking English language skills and educational qualifications leading to a dominance in catering trade occupations. Whether there is an overcrowding in such occupations is an interesting issue and if that is the case, where will the UK-educated Chinese seek employment? One might expect those armed with proficient English language skills, qualifications and an understanding of the British culture to move away from the catering trade and into other occupations but when asked if the catering trade will diminish in the future, all respondents uniformly agreed that this will not happen due to the constant demand for Chinese food but changes will and have occurred. Mr B observes:

I do see a lot of businesses popping up everywhere now and I think it'll just be the point where if two businesses are too close, it's not customers who are going to stop eating there it's going to be their loss for being too close and it'll be Chinese taking out Chinese sort of thing and not because people have stopped eating Chinese food.

One interviewee likens the existence of Chinese takeaways to fast food chains and are a memorable feature of the entire food industry. One would not expect McDonalds to diminish and similarly Chinese takeaways will continue to remain. As Mr C explains:

It's just like you've got your fast food restaurants, you've got your McDonalds, KFC or Burger King and I don't think you would ever see them disappearing. It's just like, there is a lot of money to be made from the food industry, so if anything it will expand. I don't think it will diminish.

Similarly, Ms B responds:

Diminishing...? It's difficult to say. People like to eat out and more and more people are having more disposable income meaning there's more of a marketplace for it. So... you know... if maybe the country goes into recession then yes, businesses will be forced to close but while there's a market there, I don't see that it will diminish at all.

Ms A suggests that the growing catering trade is not solely to do with second or third-generation Chinese choosing to remain in such occupations but the continuing influx of overseas Chinese. She describes a scenario where relatives, such as cousins from Hong Kong, may come over to the UK to study and work part-time in the family business and if studying proves difficult, they may continue to work in the takeaway or restaurant full-time.

A success story emerging from the expansion of the catering trade was relayed by one of the respondents. Mr F, the only first-generation Chinese interviewed, established a different self-employment business, which began from operating his own takeaway. Recognising the need for constant kitchen maintenance of his own takeaway, he offered his services to friends who were also in the catering trade and eventually created a shop-fitting business. The benefits of this parallel-run occupation was low costs, as he already possessed the tools needed to maintain and outfit kitchen units and the fact that going to the customers meant that there was no need to hire or purchase any additional premises. The business has successfully been in operation for over 20 years and has expanded to include restaurant decoration themes. Incidentally, customers are no longer solely Chinese but anyone in need of his services. Likewise, Mr F comes to a similar viewpoint to Ms A in relation to the growing number of Chinese from overseas stating that:

In China there's more Chinese, overpopulated so they move elsewhere and most of them move to Britain and some of them are chefs and they open up their own catering

store and also they hire people as well, Chinese people and once they successfully know how to cook and do other things, they open their own. It's like a cycle.

5.6 Owning One's Own Business

There is an overall pride in owning one's own business in the catering trade as acknowledged by many of the interviewees. Ms B comments, "You can be self-employed giving it 100 per cent and be far more successful than someone in employment." Similarly Mr A suggests, "I would say if you are self-employed it gives you more respect based on that. You're doing something on your own and making something on your own."

Mr B stresses the numerous skills needed to operate a self-employment business and firmly believes that owning a takeaway or restaurant is a position at least comparable to a university graduate job but in many ways, is actually a lot higher.

Mr B: I think a lot of people find that getting an education here is all about going to university, doing this, getting degrees. However, with a lot of the older generation, they came here, they haven't got any education, no GCSEs, nothing but you would notice that if you did put it to general knowledge and if you say who's brainier, the older generation would outsmart people who are going to uni. The people who are getting degrees and all this kind of thing, if you look at what they know and what they've been taught, then when you look and see the parents, who have their own business, their parents are really multi-skilled in all of those different categories, like marketing and all different kinds. If you're a chef, which a lot of people have to go to university or college to get a degree in cooking but they've already got that and can prove that they are a good cook and they didn't have to do no education or stuff for it. When it comes to all the money, all the accounting skills, they're basically their own accountant. Stock takes, they will be the person doing the stock take and know the ins and outs of the business. Technically the people who have their own business, they've got all sorts of degrees but it's just not on paper, it's all in their heads.

Likewise Mr D states, in reference to managing a takeaway, "There is skill in it. Not just anyone can open up a business. You still have to have some kind of professional set of mind to be able to run your business successfully."

5.7 An ‘English Job’

The term an ‘English job’ has often been used by family and friends to refer to a job away from the catering trade. It seems that this term is used widespread amongst the Chinese community as witnessed in the following exchange:

MC: You labelled another job as an ‘English job’, is that how the Chinese see a job away from the takeaway business, the catering trade?

Ms A: Yeah,

Mr D: I think when we word it, it kind of does mean in that meaning of yes an English job.

Ms A: It’s 9 til 5 whereas we don’t do 9 til 5 like that.

MC: So generally any job away from the takeaway is labelled an English job?

Mr D: Yeah.

Mr B: I’ve actually found that myself with discussion with friends but I was just wondering if that was just us saying that but it looks like other people use that term also.

This demonstrates that the Chinese do distinguish between jobs in the catering sector and occupations elsewhere. Therefore, this supports the framework presented in the methodology chapter where there is a distinction between the Chinese employment structure and the White employment structure.

5.8 The Chinese Culture

Several key features were identified as being integral to the Chinese culture. The most pronounced trait recognised by the respondents interviewed was heritage, represented by traditional festivals and beliefs. The celebration of Chinese New Year is a prominent cultural tradition. Additionally, the Moon Festival was highlighted by several interviewees but their understanding of the event appeared to be limited suggesting a loss of the actual significance behind traditions. As Mr B describes:

It's just when a lot of Chinese families and friends gather to have a meal and celebrate the lunar cycle and everyone just has a good time and is happy and thankful for what they've got and the people around them and they all have fun.

Other than this description, no other details were mentioned. In essence, the Moon Cake Festival can be likened to Thanksgiving Day in the US.

The bond between family members was also an important feature, characteristic of the Chinese culture according to several respondents. Mr B believes that the overall impression of a representative Chinese family is one where the bond between parents and children is very strong and others seemingly repeat this throughout the focus group session.

Mr B: I think Chinese families are more tight and more close. There's a better bond between them. With a Chinese family, you won't hear about how the son's getting kicked out at 18 and no matter what, you would always see the family through. The children would only leave when they get married unlike British families, you do something wrong and the parents will kick you out the house and make you sleep in a bus stop.

Following from the closeness of the family, the eldest son is considered the primary figurehead of the household once they have gained successful employment. Mr D explains:

Well about the Chinese family in general, you're brought up very closely to your parents because... well basically they provide for you up until you've got yourself a job and the Chinese culture is that the eldest son will provide for your parents in the future. So it's like once your parents have cared for you, you care back for them in the future and the culture is it's usually the eldest son, the parents actually live with the eldest son and the eldest son's wife.

Ms A commented on the differential treatment between the males and females in her family. Despite being older than her brother, he was still considered to be the head of the family amongst all the siblings. However, Ms A's parents consistently urged him

to be more successful than the sisters whereas they intended for her to find some form of employment and eventually get married. The reason given by Ms A for the difference in aspirations held by her parents was that the males will have to eventually provide for their own family whilst females will be married into another family.

Often when the term culture is mentioned, religion is an associated feature. The majority of the Chinese in this study did not follow any religion. The two that did, Ms A and Mr B, followed distinctly separate faiths. Ms A, a devout Christian, mentioned the growing trend of Chinese following Christianity including members from the older generation. Mr B maintains that many of the Chinese traditions follow around their own gods and in that way tradition is religion. Any event of incense burning is a sign of paying respect to these gods as observed in the Kwan Dai religion that Mr B followed. The Kwan Dai is often represented as an altar or small shrine that can be seen in some Chinese places of business and is primarily a Buddhist belief symbolizing protection from evil spirits and hence good fortune and prosperity.

Given that the focus group was held in December, the traditional Christmas celebrations were noticeable with decorations in homes and stores. Perhaps this prompted the discussion towards the celebration of Western holidays. The theme of celebrating Christmas and Easter may initially seem irrelevant but it proved an interesting aspect of the integration into British society by the Chinese with its deeply rooted traditions and culture.

MC: What is the difference between the Western culture and the Chinese culture?

Ms A: I don't celebrate Christmas.

MC: Your whole family don't celebrate Christmas?

Ms A: No.

MC: Well what about any of you others?

Ms A: Well his does (*pointing to Mr D*) and mine doesn't because my church doesn't believe in Christmas.

Mr B: We celebrate Christmas.

MC: When you celebrate Christmas, do you actually put up a Christmas tree?

Mr D: Yes.

MC: Well Ms A you mentioned...

Ms A: It's because of church, religion.

MC: Don't Christians celebrate Christmas?

Ms A: No because the Bible doesn't tell you when Christmas is.

MC: I thought Christmas was a Christian thing?

Ms A: It's a commercial thing now!

MC: Does Christmas have nothing to do with Christianity?

Ms A: Well yes but why do you celebrate Christmas? Is it because you believe in Jesus or... it's a commercial thing isn't it?

Mr B: That's a good point. I agree because when we celebrate Christmas...

Ms A: It's just presents for you.

Mr B: ... we use it as a family reunion sort of thing. Once a year just to get together with your family which is quite distant apart. As Ms A says just to exchange presents and get cool gifts.

Ms A: But do you actually believe in Jesus and stuff like that? It's just commercial.

Mr B: No it's all commercial. We just want presents. Going to feel great on Christmas!

(Several people laugh)

Mr B: What about Easter?

Ms A: Does anyone really celebrate Easter? You don't really care why, you just want presents.

Mr B: I think everyone just wants the chocolate eggs.

MC: But Easter is a part of Christianity isn't it?

Ms A: Yeah but do you actually know what Easter is for? Come on?

MC: That's a good question. Do any of you know what Easter is about?

Mr E: Well it was around the time when Jesus apparently arose from the dead if you believe that.

Ms A: Well that's one point right, where's yours? (*Question directed to Mr B*)

Mr B: Eggs symbolizes birth.

Ms A: It's like new life and stuff like that.

Mr E: So where does the Easter rabbit come from? The Easter bunny?

(*Everyone laughs*)

Ms A: It's commercial. It's a commercial thing and you've all fallen for it.

Although this was a light-hearted argument, the idea of commercialism is an issue of significance. Both Christmas and Easter are primarily used as occasions for family gatherings rather than for any religious importance as expressed by Mr B. With reference to Chinese New Year, Mr B perceives the tradition as becoming absorbed into British society to a point where Chinese New Year cards are available in standard greeting card shops.

Mr B: I think sooner or later Chinese New Year, Chinese celebrations will get commercial but I don't think it's mostly Chinese people who are making it commercial. Sometimes you actually see card shops near that time of year actually do put out Chinese New Year cards.

However, this seemingly demonstrates the acceptance of Chinese New Year as a recognisable celebratory period by the British and hence, identification of integration.

5.9 Being British

The Chinese born in Britain would be classified as British citizens as indicated on their passports but the idea of being British is an interesting issue. 'Can you truly be British if you are not White?' was asked in the questionnaires and although it was not an intended question to be asked in the interviews, the natural progression of the majority of the interviews led to it being raised. The responses varied to some degree.

At one extreme, Ms B prominently observes that:

At the end of the day, you're born in the country of your origin it makes you British whoever you are. Just because I happen to be not a White British citizen doesn't make me any less of a British citizen.

Similarly Mr B suggests:

I think you can because British is the country. You live in the country, you're born in the country. It's not about your colour, it's about where you live and where you were brought up and what passport you hold and how long you've been here for.

In answering the same question Mr C describes of a recent scenario where he took a telephone order at the takeaway he worked at, only for the customer to appear somewhat bemused when collecting his meal.

Mr C: Just because you don't have the same colour doesn't mean you're not the same person inside. When I speak to customers on the phone, they actually think I am British and they're really shocked when they come in the shop. One time I was talking to a customer and he came in the shop and he was going '*I swear it was an English person on the phone*' but it was me. He couldn't believe it because it was the first time he met a Geordie Chinese.

It should be noted that surprisingly, this was a recent situation. The identification of people's perceptions as an influential factor of behaviour is also expressed at the other extreme, as Ms A believes that holding a British passport does not necessarily mean you are British as expressed in the following excerpt:

Ms A: Because people don't think you can speak English though by looking at you until you say something to them. Some people do react differently when you speak English to them because they do think you're from China or something. Whereas if you go back to Hong Kong, people think that you can speak Chinese.

MC: Speak because of your appearance?

Ms A: Yeah.

MC: But what about your passport? Your passport would say you are a British citizen. Do you not think you are British?

Ms A: No. When you look at your passport you do think that you are British though. It's just what people think of you really.

Between these two viewpoints lie the responses of two more interviewees. Mr D seemed initially unsure of whether he was British but eventually concluded that being raised in the UK and holding a British passport indicated that he was indeed a British citizen. Mr E also confirms that he is British but suggests that some Chinese won't feel British due to adhering to their traditional roots. One can surmise that Mr E is referring to the first-generation of Chinese in this case. He explains that:

With me being born over here, I class myself as English. I've always had a mixed group of friends whilst my parent's generation, they've always been within the Chinese community. They didn't really mix with the English people so they kind of exclude themselves from that and also had to deal with a lot of racism.

5.10 Discrimination and Racism

The following excerpt from the focus group session provides an account of some examples of racism that the respondents had personally encountered.

MC: In one of the interviews, someone mentioned 'racism is to be expected'. What are your views on this statement?

Mr B: It shouldn't be but it is.

Mr E: Unfortunately it's just part of life. People are free to express their opinions. Even if people have racist views, they're free to express them the same as those that don't have them. You can't control people's views.

(Long pause)

Mr D: I don't think it's just the Chinese that get racist remarks but they... Sorry what was the question?

Mr E: Is racism to be expected?

Mr D: I would say in this day and age, that comment about racism is to be expected, it doesn't just apply to Chinese. As Mr E said, it's just a personal perception, a personal view on anyone really. It's not just aimed at Chinese. If you are a racist person then you're racist to everyone not just the Chinese community. So racism is to be expected. It doesn't matter whereabouts the world you are, I think it's still going to be expected.

Ms A: People comment on if you are fat or skinny or whatever. It's not all about race. It's not just race that they pick on you for. It could be looks.

MC: Continuing on from the same theme, if it's to be expected, can you tell me about any incidents of racism that you may have personally encountered?

Mr D: There was one incident at school, it was my first year at high school, it was a guy above my year and for no apparent reason he kept kicking my legs during in the corridors for no apparent reason. I didn't know who he was, he was just picking on me for being Chinese because I was actually the only Chinese person at that school throughout all the years. It happened during one break and it happened during another break so obviously I took some action and asked him what was going on. Why are you picking on me basically and basically he was making racist remarks plainly because I was Chinese. I was the only Chinese at school so we ended up in a fight.

(Pause)

MC: Anyone else?

Mr B: I didn't go through much. I remember there was an Indian lad who bullied me which I thought was just ridiculous because in a way, he was being racist, he was being racist towards me. I wanted to be racist towards him. However, that was the one time where I just let it go because I didn't want to stoop down to his level. That was the only one I remember but other ones are just when you are out on the streets, say after school, say if you're out in the park with your mates and a bunch of other lads come along, they'll try and find a target and they would straightaway go for the Chinese or the different race. Fortunately I had good friends with me at the time so they backed me up all the time. So there was only incidents outside of school because our takeaway was quite close to the school so everyone knew my dad so they weren't that racist really. With my sisters going to the school beforehand, everyone really knew who I was. They didn't really want to be racist. It was just outside of school when people didn't know who you were and wanted to pick on you.

Mr E: The only sort of experience of racism that I encountered has been basically name-calling but after a time, you get used to it. I think as Mr B was saying, you don't want to sink to their level.

Mr D: Well never mind back in school, I think name-calling it happens all the time. Whether you are just walking down the street, you'll still get that one person who is going to make fun or make a sly comment no matter where you are. You will still get that one racist person.

Mr E: Well there's things as basic when people are saying '*we're going to go out for a Chinkys*' instead of saying going for a Chinese.

Mr D: Yeah.

Mr E: People don't perceive it as a racist comment but it is.

Mr D: Exactly, yeah.

(Pause)

Mr B: I think racism when we were little wasn't as bad as we thought it was. When we were little we thought it was bad. From say a lad's point of view, someone will call you a name and you end up fighting in the yard and it gets broken up within a mere couple of minutes. When you grow up, out on the streets or say getting the Metro and someone calls you a name, you hear incidents where people are pulling knives out on you just for your race. People get murdered just because of your colour. It's when you're out now, it's those odd incidents but it's a bigger effect. It's not just having a little scuffle in the schoolyard. You could be on the ground bleeding afterwards just because of someone thinking of your colour.

MC: So you tend to avoid such encounters?

Mr B: Say now, if someone started calling you names on the Metro, you would think more about it because you do hear a lot of incidents where people do carry knives and they're just being stupid and being racist, pulling a knife on someone just because they're racist and do stuff like that.

Mr D: I think sometimes racism can come from the effect of drinking because the English culture is obviously to wait for the weekend and to go out drinking and have their good time.⁵⁴ For instance say, if someone came into the takeaway, they may not be a racist person but they might make a few racist remarks because they're drunk. Basically, they only want the food at the end of the day but because they are drunk, they can't make sense of nothing. There has been times when someone's made a racist remark in the takeaway but someone else has pulled them for it and said '*hey, there's no need for that*'. So you do get different views.

MC: Another customer?

Mr D: Yeah, another customer.

⁵⁴ See Hollands (1995) and Chatterton and Hollands (2001) for more information on the 'English drinking culture' or 'going out', specifically in Newcastle.

Mr B: I think it's great when that happens. Like say you've got a Westerner who understands and would go up to another Westerner and saying '*hold it*'. Just start evolving with it. Just go with the times and stop being so caveman and so racist because that's what it all is. It's just going back to the olden times. It's going backwards, not forwards.

MC: Ms A, what about you?

Ms A: Nothing really. Just name-calling but it's not so bad as the name-calling for boys. Back at school I don't think I got called any names. Probably behind my back but like, that's it.

MC: Right.

An interesting point of note is the identification by the respondents that it is not only the Chinese who suffer from racism. This may seem like a simple observation but it is an important one as it demonstrates that the respondents are not solely 'playing the race card'. Mr B states that racists are racist to everyone and not just the Chinese and Ms A asserts that race is just one distinguishable factor used as a basis for inferior treatment but other factors are also used in bullying such as physical appearance.

The effects of alcohol was also recognised as an influential factor of observed racist behaviour. Mr C observes that racism encountered when working at the takeaway mostly occurred towards closing time when drunken customers would appear. During the interview with Mr E, he remarked that:

You don't get every customer coming in, getting drunk and then becoming racist. It's only a select few but it does always seem to be once alcohol is involved when it comes to the surface but it is more a question of ignorance than anything else.

Ignorance is a seminal factor of racism. The above excerpt of discussion from the focus group acknowledged the use of the word 'Chinky' as a term used by some to describe a Chinese takeaway. It is however a derogatory racist remark, yet people continue to use this term. Often it is used intentionally as in name-calling to

demonstrate racist behaviour but sometimes it is used in an unconvoluted way alluding to unawareness that the term is a racist remark. I myself have witnessed both on numerous occasions. In reference to that term, Mr B describes:

Some people when I was younger actually thought that wasn't racist because their parents were using it, as Mr D said. When I started hanging around with those people, they were basically 'charvers' and it was because of that, the parents would just say that so they would say it and I remember when there was a big group of us and they wanted to come to my takeaway and said that word. I was like '*well you're not going in saying that*' and they were actually there, not even joking around and they thought it wasn't racist. They actually turned around and said, that's not racist and I had to actually tell them that it was racist.

The subject of racism was also raised when inquiring as to whether a greater representation of Chinese in other occupations was a scenario people would like to see.

MC: Would you like to see a better representation of the Chinese in the police force, emergency services and armed forces?

Mr B: I would like to see it but I just think it won't happen.

MC: Why would it not happen?

Mr B: I think it's all about racism. It'll be very tough for someone Chinese trying to get into the forces. If they did actually pass the interviews and get through, it could be a nightmare just being there, off colleagues and other workers. Say if it was the army, I think you would just get bullied out of it. In the police force, even the people you arrest will just give you a lot of grief for it as well.

Ms A: There's always stories, not just on race though because some people can always get bullied on for whatever reason anyway. It's not all about race.

MC: Right.

Ms A: There's always reports on TV, how like some soldiers have been killed for no reason but for being bullied and that's the same race as well.

Mr E: Then those same soldiers will just come forward saying that's just part of being in the army.

Ms A: Exactly.

Mr E: It's just soldiers being soldiers.

Ms A: It's always going to be there.

MC: What's always going to be there?

Ms A: Bullying.

MC: Bullying but not specific due to race?

Mr E: Well racism is always going to be around in some shape or form. You cannot control public opinions.

Ms A: Yeah, you can't get rid of it.

Mr E: It's people's own personal opinions.

Mr B: I think there's only a lot of bullying on like say the English people in the army because there are no Chinese people there to bully.

The last statement by Mr B referring to bullying amongst Whites in the army was followed immediately by the question: "Then what about other minorities?" There are indeed other ethnic minorities in the army so their treatment or perception of treatment by those interviewed was an interesting viewpoint. As Mr B replies:

I would think if we are talking about Blacks and Africans, it's sort of racist as well but people won't bully them because they think they're a tough kind of generation. Say people look at Indian people and just think, yeah we can bully them because they'll take it and Chinese sort of the same but when they come to say Black people they'll just go, no we don't want to bully them because they'll probably fight back, hit them back.

Mr E: I think it will probably go a lot more unseen because with Blacks and Africans, etc, it's a lot more, there's been lots of publication of it happening. There's been a lot of government initiatives trying to put a stop to it because of such cases and what not and the same with the Indian community, whereas the Chinese community, they just seem to get on with it. They don't seem to kick up a fuss about racism. They just accept it.

This highlights the issue of different perceptions of ethnic minorities as well as how the Chinese community view themselves. Mr D stated in his interview that Blacks are often stereotyped as violent due to media influence. Going from Mr E's statement, he

seems to believe that the Chinese don't cause any undue disturbances and prefer to remain quiet on the subject of racism but this causes a severe disadvantage. If incidents of racism are not acknowledged or reported, then the problem will not be made aware of to others. There is a certain parallelism with the viewpoint held by Mr C who suggested in his interview that:

I think it's just because they don't want any trouble with the British because the British just welcomed them and like, as a gift really, the Chinese try to keep out of trouble as much as possible. They don't want to cause any disturbance between the British.

This seemingly pertains to a closed-off community as will be discussed later in this chapter.

5.11 Different Treatment of Ethnic Minorities

When asked if other ethnic minorities are treated better, worse or the same than the Chinese, 5 interviewees claimed that the Chinese are treated better. Media was identified by 3 of the interviewees as playing a strong role in the influence of people's behaviour and perception of others. Perhaps due to the interviews taking place recently after the events of the 7/7 London bombings, the influence of media attention proved a very up-to-date subject. As Ms B describes:

News has a big part to play in everything and with the current affairs going on at the moment, people try to scare other people into what they believe is right and wrong and a certain cross-section of the public will believe that and will take it to heart but you know the average person will just realise what they are trying to do so... I think at the moment, Arabs are getting a pretty rough ride of it all because of the recent events and obviously it's very topical and maybe in that respect it's taken away from the Chinese.

Likewise Mr A refers to the same example in addition to the events of 9/11 in the US:

I think the Chinese actually get a better deal than most ethnic minorities. I think if you look at the Westgate Road area now, you see a lot of African communities there, a lot of Asian communities coming up and especially with 9/11 and the London bombings, that also sticks a lot of stigma towards the Asian communities, like the Pakistanis, the Muslims.

Mr D arrives at a similar viewpoint but mentions neither terrorist attack as a specific focus but highlights the use of media in creating persistent negative stereotypes that remain in the public-eye:

I think it depends on what ethnic minority you are. If you think, well if you are Black then as I say because of the Black community you hear of them being violent. Even if you weren't violent you'd still have that appearance because of how society is this day. You see people as what they are or you assume people by what their colour is, so I think for instance being Black you're obviously related to being violent, with you being Indian... I think, I would say probably Indian and Chinese are more or less the same. Like you being Caribbean or something, it gives that impression with you being Black, from what stories you hear on the news, etc that they are violent people.

Both Ms A and Mr F believed that the White British treat all ethnic minorities the same but would not add further comment as to their reason why. Contrary to the other interviewees, Mr E believed that other ethnic minority groups were treated better by the White majority and directly relates it to their greater representation:

I think the Bangladeshi and Pakistani community is treated somewhat better than the Chinese community but I think that's mainly due to because they've been within England for a lot longer than the Chinese people have been. You have a lot more community festivals and things geared towards the predominantly Pakistani and Bangladeshi Asian community whereas not towards the Chinese.

Interestingly, one interviewee (Mr A, a 23 year old male) was of mixed heritage (Chinese and English) and raised the issue of differential treatment at his place of work from both customers and staff. As a waiter for a Chinese restaurant, customer discrimination amounted to some racist comments but he claimed that it was not always intentional. Many of the more elderly customers spoke to him very slowly as if to suggest at his lack of English language proficiency. However, being born and

raised in the UK, his English was extremely fluent and he chose to respond to such comments by simply speaking the way he does which seemed to bemuse many of the customers. He describes:

I've been working in restaurants on and off since I was 16. You always get the snide remark. Not always intentional. You get '*Can you get me a taxi home?*' and you say '*I'm sorry I've tried getting a taxi for you but there's none available*', so '*How about a rickshaw?*' or something like that. A lot of the older customers, they still are very closed-minded. They don't believe that I was born in Newcastle and they speak to me in broken English. Like, '*Can you get me a drink?*' (*Said very slowly*) and stuff like that. It's like '*Yeah, no problem*'. They don't realise that I'm actually born in Newcastle and they just see it as Chinese.

In terms of employer discrimination he believed that being mixed race meant that he was treated slightly different to the other Chinese waiters insofar as others would get extra shifts and if overall work performance was poor, he would be the first to be singled out. However, some of this differential treatment may be due to many of his co-workers being family relations to the owners of the restaurant as he revealed later in the interview. Family labour is an important part of the catering trade and is discussed in further detail later in this chapter.

5.12 Stereotypical Views

Following from negative stereotypes linked to differential treatment of ethnic minorities as highlighted above, there too exists a stereotypical view of the Chinese as acknowledged by several interviewees. The running of restaurants and takeaways are typified by long hours of manual work, including the preparation involved before opening and cleaning duties at closing time and in a sense can be viewed as working class occupations. However, Ms A commented that during her school years, classmates would often make remarks about her family and other Chinese families running takeaways as being very wealthy. She explains, "All the kids used to think

we were rich. That's how they perceived us, that Chinese people are rich and that we get new stuff every week. That's what they used to say to me."

Although accumulation of wealth is associated with Chinese catering businesses, Mr B suggests that the management of takeaways and restaurants is viewed as a stereotypical scenario or characteristic and therefore looked down upon by the White majority. However, stereotypes exist for all groups as Mr B describes:

I think every group gets stereotyped. Everyone gets thrown into a group, that's just human nature. Indians have their corner shops, Westerners will think down on it still but they obviously have more money than the people who are going in buying. Well they do drive Vito vans but they drive Mercs as well. Chinese people have their Lexus' and English people have Ford Escorts.

Likewise, Mr D has also experienced situations where he too has recognised that the Chinese are perceived as wealthy by others as he states, "most people would think that when you're out with friends, they'd think you'd have loads of money. When you were little, even if you had the same amount of money, everyone would think that you had double or triple the amount in your back pocket."

5.13 Self-employment – Choice or Necessity?

Pang (2002: 148) asserts "Chinese immigrant/ethnic restaurants are ubiquitous in most western cities and indeed even in developing countries." Takeaways and restaurants are immediate mental associations that are identified when hearing the term 'Chinese' which demonstrates the existence of a perceived stereotype but seemingly, many Chinese hold the same view (Leung 2002a, 2002b). This raises an important aspect of occupational attainment in respect to self-employment and the creation of businesses in the catering sector. The question of whether self-

employment is a choice or a necessity is largely determined by the unique experiences of the individual. One cannot state that entry into self-employment is a choice for all Chinese and similarly, one cannot state that it is a necessity for all those involved. As shown in Figure 5.14, 9 respondents who were in actual self-employed occupations considered it as a choice, 7 held the opinion that it was a necessity and 1 respondent was unsure. This shows a diverse set of answers and does not sway towards one common decision. It is therefore the individual's circumstances and experiences that shape the decision of entry into self-employment. Although the questionnaire only asked those in self-employment whether they considered it as a choice or necessity, the views of several respondents not in self-employment were expressed during interviews and the focus group session adding further detail from an alternative perspective.

It seems appropriate to recall the breakdown of the interviewee sample. The interviewees consisted of 3 self-employed respondents, 4 employees within the catering trade and 1 in employment elsewhere. All of the interviewees considered self-employment in the form of restaurants and takeaways as a definite choice. It is important to mention that this view comes from 7 respondents who were born and educated in the UK referring to second-generation Chinese and only 1 who was born in Hong Kong. Contemplating the 7 second-generation respondents separately, analysis reveals that they are only referring to their own generation when viewing self-employment as a choice.

As detailed previously, two interviewees, Mr C and Mr E, were restaurant owners and managers at a relatively young age stating that they chose to follow this occupational

path purely because of a financial decision and the benefits that come with being your own boss. Furthermore, the Hong Kong born respondent, Mr F, established both a takeaway and a shop-fitting business and insisted that such occupations was also a choice for himself and likewise stated a financial advantage as a major determinant.

Again if we consider the views of the second-generation respondents interviewed, when commenting on their parent's generation, the overall outlook was believed to be that self-employment was a necessity. Mr D described the situation of his mother's experience in the UK labour market indicating that her entry into self-employment did not appear to be a choice. He explained:

Well you see in my case, my mum came over here when she was very young, when she was 4 years old, so she actually went to school here and because she lacked in the English language, she didn't do too well at school. I think by the age of a teenager she actually left school and now she actually regrets it, not going through education because of the opportunities she could have had. I mean she did actually start off with an 'English job' but she actually ended up working at a Chinese takeaway because of her marriage to my dad, obviously who came over to England as a chef. With him being a chef, she obviously follows the husband into the career he is in to form a family business.

Many takeaways are in fact run by a husband and wife partnership as acknowledged by Ram and Jones (1998).

It is feasible to assume that low levels of education and qualifications of immigrants could be a main determinant of occupational attainment and progression. Moreover, low levels of education or at least UK recognised qualifications could be considered as a reason for entry into self-employment. However, this was only directly suggested by one of the respondents during the focus group stage but rather it was language difficulty that was stated as the major factor for first-generation Chinese moving

towards self-employment. Language difficulty was also identified as a reason for a closed-off community and this is further discussed in the relevant section below. As Mr C comments:

When my parents came over, they didn't speak very good English and the only thing they could offer to the British public is their food.

Ms A in reference to her parents and the establishment of their family takeaway business implied that a lack of English meant that they could only use whatever skills they had to form a business where knowledge of cooking was perceived as the most viable choice. Similarly, Mr D asserts that his grandparent's decision for self-employment was a necessity. In his words:

That's the only thing they were skilled in. They had the skills of obviously making Chinese food so obviously the best thing is to go into a food business.

Offering the British public a new eating-out experience or a taste of foreign cuisine is now an important part of the UK economy. It is difficult to imagine a town or city without the influence of ethnic minority businesses, especially within the catering trade. Interestingly, The Bank of England estimated that "there are 15,000 ethnic minority businesses in Greater London alone, generating thousands of millions of pounds for the economy each year and employing over two hundred thousand people in full time and part time work" (Bank of England, 1999: 11). Of course not all of these businesses are within the catering trade or indeed related to the Chinese but these figures demonstrate a large contribution to GDP portraying a picture of successful immigrant entrepreneurship and ethnic minority participation in the labour market. Similarly, one would expect that the numerous takeaways and restaurants

including Chinatown in the city of Newcastle would contribute largely to the local economy.

Overall, the necessity for self-employment of first-generation Chinese can be mainly attributed to both language difficulties and limited employment skills. However, these factors are not applicable to those born and educated in the UK. Table 5.6 in the summarised the qualifications of each respondent surveyed. Many had obtained university degrees from the UK suggesting that the large number of self-employment businesses creating a dominance in catering trade occupations is indeed a choice for second-generation Chinese and may not be a result of a lack of educational qualifications. That is, a UK education allows for occupational attainment away from the catering trade providing that discrimination does not play a role. It should be noted that some of those that held degrees were not born in the UK and therefore a lack of UK recognised qualifications may not be a main reason for self-employment, for at least this sample. Interestingly 4 respondents held overseas qualifications including 3 holding diplomas, where only 2 stated the subject. Both respondents stated a Higher Diploma in Building Services Engineering and the remaining fourth respondent held a Certificate of College in International Trade. However, 16 respondents had no UK educational qualifications, of which 14 stated no educational or vocational qualifications at all. Almost contradictory, this may seemingly suggest qualifications as a barrier but it is also feasible that respondents may not have wanted to state their qualifications thus rendering these results inconclusive.

Further justification of self-employment as a choice and that a lack of qualifications may not be a reason for entry, comes from Mr B who states:

My four aunties, they went into education and three of them have got degrees in different subjects and all four of them, one's got a takeaway and the other three have got restaurants which are doing really well.

The statement reveals that self-employment was a choice for Mr B's relatives, even after educational attainment in the form of a degree. However, the acquisition of catering trade knowledge possibly obtained from being raised around a family business may have been a direct factor that allowed the choice to be presented as an alternative form of employment. This is further discussed in the related sections below, entitled '*Working For The Family Business*' and '*An Easy Option*'.

As a whole, self-employment was considered as a choice by those interviewed but when looking at the larger sample of those solely in self-employed businesses, this suggests a more diverse outcome. However, this sample is comprised of both first and second-generation Chinese where those who stated self-employment was a necessity can largely be accounted for by first-generation and likewise, second-generation account for the majority of respondents who believed it was a choice. In retrospect, it would have been interesting to gain the views of the 19 respondents in employment by including the same question (Do you regard self-employment as a choice or necessity?) within their questionnaire set.

5.14 Working for the Family Business

A further dimension is added to the choice or necessity debate when looking at the employees of family takeaway businesses. Although these employees are not self-employed themselves, an interesting situation occurs which brings a new aspect to what is meant by occupational choice.

Two of the interviewees, Ms A and Mr D, were university students working part-time in the family takeaway business. Much of their discussions centred on the possibility of continuing to work in the same environment after gaining their degree qualifications. Ms A indicated that working in her parents takeaway was not a choice as the “family comes first” corresponding to Song’s (1995, 1997a, 1997b) concept of the ‘*family work contract*’. In several papers, Song provides accounts of Chinese families and their obligations and commitment to continuing the family business and this is an issue that is seemingly repeated throughout some of the interviews.

MC: How did you arrive at your current occupation?

Ms A: It’s a family thing really. No choice.

MC: No choice?

Ms A: No choice.

MC: Why do you say there’s no choice?

Ms A: Because your parents don’t understand English so you have to help them out.

(Slight pause)

Ms A: It’s not a choice.

MC: Well, what if you were working full-time elsewhere, then what would happen?

Ms A: No because you have to think about the family first though. To help them.

This signifies the presence of a strong family work contract to such an extent that it seems to determine future occupational choice in this case.

Likewise, interviewee Mr D explains:

Mr D: ... as you grow up, you get kind of dragged into helping out in the shop.

MC: Dragged into helping out? So it’s not a choice?

Mr D: Not really, no.

MC: Why is it...

Mr D: Because it's a family business. It's like family commitment. We all kind of help one another, don't you? So obviously when I was old enough, I started to help out in the takeaway.

In Song's study of 25 Chinese families in the South East of England, she determined that "none of the Chinese young people I interviewed wanted to remain in the Chinese catering industry (at least in their primary careers)" (1997: 358). Likewise, Leung (2002b: 139) found that amongst the younger and more educated generation, "as long as better alternatives exist, the catering business is not considered as a desirable occupation." It should be noted that Leung's study is based in Germany but the important point is that the respondents in question had experienced education the same as the majority of the population and not an overseas education. This was consistent with what I found when interviewing both Ms A and Mr D but other interviews produced a more diversified outcome. As previously mentioned, Mr C used his knowledge of working in the family takeaway business to establish his own restaurant thus remaining in the catering trade in what he described as a challenging and rewarding position. He asserted this was entirely a choice and had not even considered an alternative employment route.

Both Mr C and Mr E stated that family was a source of help with their business, although to varying degrees. Mr C suggested that his brother would perhaps be called upon to help waiter in the restaurant but this was not a definite outcome as his restaurant had yet to be opened at the time the interview was conducted. Mr E stressed that a number of family members helped with the day-to-day running of the business but there was no mention of who these family members were. Siblings could

obviously be representative workers but other family relations such as uncles, aunties or cousins are another plausible source of workers. Additionally, the extent to which family members helped out, for example full-time or part-time, and in what capacity was not mentioned. Incidentally, it is not uncommon for those in full-time employment outside the catering trade to still in fact work part-time in the family business. This relates well with the work of Waldinger *et al.* (1990) who view the use of family members as a source of labour as an important resource to draw upon in the running of immigrant businesses.

From the interviews, a common picture emerges. For second-generation Chinese (in education) whose parents are in self-employment, especially for the case of a takeaway business, the decision to help with the running of the business is considered a necessity as described by Mr D and Ms A (the university students). However, following the same route to a full-time occupation is indeed a choice.

Mr B regrets the decision of not continuing the family business stressing the differences in lifestyle between waged work and the family business. He explains:

My family started off 3 generations of passing down the takeaway making a living. My granddad managed to support and provide for 5 kids and my mam and dad also supported 5 kids and we ended up selling it when we got to my generation but it was something I shouldn't have done. When you do notice the dramatic changes from having a takeaway and then going out living and trying to work 9 til 5 hours in an 'English job' if we call it that, it's a bit harder than when your family has got their own takeaway and your money. You get more money basically. I think it's quite a number one job really.

This demonstrates that the succession of passing down a takeaway business is a choice but the financial gains to support a comfortable living appear to be a fundamental attraction. Furthermore, Mr B suggested that working for the family

business as an employee is easier than being an employee elsewhere. It is the skills acquired during this phase of 'training' which may lead to self-employment full-time, whether the continuance of the family business or the establishment of a new business entirely.

5.15 An Easy Option

Analysis of the interviews and focus group reveals that there is a common belief amongst the sample that catering trade occupations were a relatively easy option to enter in several ways. This does not refer to solely self-employment but rather any occupation within the Chinese catering trade. For example, Mr A implies that the catering trade is an easy way to make money for the Chinese due to the community facilitating as a network of employment information. In his words:

Because it's a lot of contacts. I think the Chinese community sticks together a lot and I think you can get a job fine frying fried rice, a job with a hat because you know someone who knows someone or work in a bar at someone's restaurant. Plus I don't even think you have to be a great cook to work in a Chinese restaurant. I think some takeaways or some restaurants can get by just because people like the food especially Westerners and even if it's not that great, they'd still buy it. There's always constant demand in this type of work.

Significantly, Mr A has mentioned that the Chinese community sticks together and the reasons for this are discussed in the relevant section below. The contacts stressed in the above interview excerpt does not mention family but this would be an immediate and important form of relational contacts in respect to the availability of employment.

As Mr C claims:

Most of the Chinese people now do have restaurants or takeaways, or their parents do, or their brothers and sisters. So basically every family has a takeaway or restaurant.

Family ownership of a takeaway or restaurant therefore creates jobs but to recall Figure 5.13, none of the self-employed respondents surveyed in the questionnaire asserted that a reason for entry into self-employment was to use the business as a vehicle for the employment of others. Although this was not identified as a motivation, in practice, jobs for others (including family members) are created.

Ms A also asserts that working for a family takeaway over waged work elsewhere is an easy option. She suggests:

Because obviously when you're in employment, you get everything each month don't you? Your payment, wages and stuff like that whereas you work for your parents or whatever you get paid straightaway sort of thing.

This is not self-employment but again, an employee of a self-employed family business. There does appear to be some confusion as to what is actually meant by 'self-employment' but this is a finding in itself. Several respondents during the course of the interviews mentioned the term self-employment when they were actually referring to family employees of a business. It seems that in general, self-employment was used as a collective term to refer to anyone who works in the family business and not specifically the owner. Bearing this in mind, one might question the accuracy and authenticity of the 17 questionnaire respondents who completed a Chinese in self-employment questionnaire. Depending on their interpretation of the term, it is possible that some of these entries may have been people who worked for the family business and not actually the owner. This is a drawback of the questionnaire stage of the methodology. The contacts used to distribute the questionnaires via snowball sampling may also have their own interpretation of what it means to be self-employed as well as the respondents who actually completed the surveys. In hindsight, perhaps

a statement should have been included on the questionnaire for Chinese in self-employment stating respondents should be the owner. Alternatively, an additional verbal instruction stating the same definition could have been relayed to the snowball sampling contacts on distribution of the questionnaires.

Ram and Jones (1998: 17) in reference to the establishment of takeaway food shops reveal that “many Chinese owners began their careers working for parents or relatives; hence the Chinese business community might be seen as exceptionally well-trained and experienced via this kind of family business ‘apprenticeship’ tradition, more so than in most other ethnic groups”. Even those not wanting to follow into the same career but have worked in a family takeaway have acquired some of the skills needed to operate such a business. Again, if we recall that Mr D and Ms A worked for the family business part-time, they both claimed that although they would prefer an occupation outside of the catering trade, they would always have an alternative occupation to fall back on. It is important to restate that their participation in the family business was viewed as a necessity but they held aspirations of moving away from the catering trade after completing their university degrees. Essentially, for these two respondents, the establishment or continuance of the takeaway business was viewed as a backup and is something that could be easily done given the inbuilt knowledge due to the aforementioned apprenticeship role. Similarly, this possession of a stock of knowledge, or human (and social) capital, was hinted at by Mr B who claims “self-employment is something that’s almost in your blood”. The family work contract and the associated skills obtained from working in the family business play a role in ‘path dependency’ (Arthur 1989, Krugman 1991). David (1985) suggests that products, scenarios or outcomes that appear first in the market or industry, survive

because they are the original foundations and hence create a sense of 'lock-in'. Therefore, it may be difficult for second-generation Chinese to breakaway and disassociate themselves from the catering trade. The issue of 'path departure' is an individual choice that subsequent generations face.

An easy option may also refer to the existence of a niche market where the Chinese in self-employment are entrepreneurs with a competitive advantage in the catering trade. That is, they possess cultural specific skills over other competitors (the White majority) required to operate a Chinese food business. As stated earlier, Mr C was in the process of establishing a restaurant after acquiring skills from his part-time involvement in his parent's takeaway. The significance is that the restaurant would be Japanese but according to Lu and Fine (1995) only Chinese people can be seen as authentic providers of Chinese food and therefore this creates a protective niche. They explain how "ethnicity often becomes a marketing tool, part of an entrepreneurial market" (1995: 535). However, this is a situation where although authenticity may be questioned, expansion of or more accurately entry into another niche has been observed. This again highlights the expected perceptions of cultural or ethnic sensitivities of British society, which appears not to go beyond visual appearance as suggested by Barrett *et al.* (2001).

The authenticity of food is an issue of interest and was raised during one of the interviews. Mr A recognised the differences of some of the Chinese restaurants in Newcastle and in particular their adaptation to the British public and therefore the food is not truly authentic but Westernised to some extent. Part of the Westernisation of food is obviously a business decision as restaurants and takeaways rely on a regular

customer base and therefore food will be tailored to the largely White British needs. Further to this, Mr A suggested that the presentation of food is tailored to capture different markets. For example, he cites the names of several restaurants that are catered to the English and others that are mainly catered to the Chinese or where the same restaurant has two separate menus for each group. Lu and Fine state that “the presentation of authentic Chinese food is prevented by social, cultural and economic constraints of the market, coupled with the perceptions of those constraints” (1995: 540).

Due to the authenticity of Chinese food being Westernised or somewhat downgraded to tailor to the public’s tastes, the existence of takeaways and restaurants should not necessarily be viewed as belonging to the Chinese culture but as Leung suggests, “rather, it ought to be seen as a cultural co-production between those who serve and those who consume (2002: 143). However, Mr A suggests that in places with greater integration of ethnic minorities, the White British are willing to try traditional Chinese food and therefore authenticity remains. As he comments in his interview:

I’ve heard it’s different in London. Apparently you go to Soho and a guy in an office, a White guy, an English guy will go in (to a restaurant) and quite happily order ‘*Fung Jow*’ (chicken feet) and he likes the ‘*dim sum*’. Then I suppose, London is a lot more multi-national and international and I think that’s an area where the Chinese community has integrated itself well.

An additional viewpoint of how occupations in the catering trade might be considered as easily accommodating is presented in Table 5.5, where 4 respondents in employment had offered statements amounting to a lack of capital and funds as a reason they were not in self-employment. It is important to note that they have not stated that they did not wish to pursue this form of employment and therefore if a lack

of funds is the only barrier to self-employment, then this may seem like a relatively easy option.

5.16 A Closed-off Community

Recalling Figure 5.28, 20 respondents (56%) believed that the Chinese community are closed-off from other groups. The reason for this separation from other groups was discussed in the interviews and focus group where three principal factors had been observed: family, language difficulty and racism.

As previously explained, the formation of family and the extended community creates employment opportunities but a perceived drawback is that this may isolate the community somewhat as suggested by some of the sample. By occupying family or community created employment in the catering trade, the Chinese remain within the same circle forming a sense of enclosure. As Mr A explains:

I wouldn't even say that they actively try to come out of the Chinese group. They stick together a lot. A lot of that is to do with family because they do have big families. A lot are related either to cousins or stuff. Looking for work, any favours, stuff like that.

Language difficulty was identified as a major determinant in the creation of self-employed ethnic businesses in the form of restaurants and takeaways but this too was a driving factor which was mentioned as an explanation for a closed-off community. By living and working in a foreign country, the first-generations of Chinese would logically band together establishing the foundations for a community. Ms B suggested that for her parents there was an element of comfort in surrounding themselves with similar individuals and talking to each other in their native language. This forms a group of people, immediately distinguishable from the White majority

and therefore where a distinct separation can be made, distancing between groups can occur. However, due to language barriers, the grouping together of the Chinese was a necessity for economic and arguably social progression. It is easier for a group of people to integrate rather than a single individual.

All interviewees uniformly indicated that the first-generations that came over to the UK remained very much isolated due to high levels of racism. Small numbers of Chinese meant that they were a susceptible target for racial abuse and this is highlighted in the excerpt below taken from the interview with Mr E.

MC: If we talk about the Chinese community, do you believe the Chinese are closed-off from other groups?

Mr E: I think they were in the past. They're not as closed-off now. I think the Chinese community was very defensive towards letting people into it but now, like I say, with Newcastle mainly itself becoming such a mixed place, there's a lot more people from England now and defences are being lowered.

MC: Why do you think they were so defensive in the past? You mean the first-generations that came over?

Mr E: Yes.

MC: Why do you think they were so defensive?

Mr E: I think because the level of racism that I know my parents suffered was a lot greater than it is now, so those defences would naturally go up and the Chinese community seemed to group together and live together in order to avoid that and combat that... but as the racism is reducing, I think attitudes are changing from both sides.

The sharing of incidents of racism and grouping together to combat this is in effect the concept of 'bounded solidarity' as described in the literature review chapter. To recall, different individuals who have experienced similar situations may collectively

draw strength and knowledge from each other hence the formation of a network of trust or indeed a tight community, which by definition will be closed-off.

Experience of high levels of racism will create a strong motivation for maintaining a closed-off community. Broudy *et al.* (2007) suggest that exposure to racism influences the way people view or perceive ongoing and future experiences. Anything that detracts from familiarity may be viewed as potentially prejudicial thus influencing behaviour. This barrier to integration created as a direct result by first-generation Chinese will be difficult to break down, as racism is not something that is easily dismissed. Some of the older generations may hold strong views of opposition against a more open community because of racist experiences in the past and may not change their attitudes. However, as generations move on, Mr B deduces that the current generation will eventually become the older generation. Therefore, it is the views of each subsequent generation that will shape the views of the community as a whole. Interestingly, although racism was more apparent for the older generations when they first arrived in Newcastle, as noted in an earlier section, Mr C suggests that there was little mention or reporting of racist abuse at the time by the Chinese community as they close themselves off from the British as a 'gift' for welcoming them into the country.

In reference to the Chinese community being closed-off, Mr A, a recent university graduate in Estate Management Property, commented on his final year dissertation about landlords and tenants where one participant of his study happened to be Chinese, identifying a fundamental drawback of a confined community:

Mr A: ... I found an interesting scenario where the Chinese don't actively seek any professional help because they're not Chinese. In one case, a girl was looking for legal help but the only legal help available that spoke Chinese ripped her off, like a 500 quid job which should have been 30. Just because he could. He was the only Chinese. So they do stick together, although I think a lot of it is to do with language. If they learn to speak English better or associate with English a lot more, situations like this may not happen. With the Chinese, if they need something doing they'll go to someone Chinese offering that service or try to.

This relates to the concept of the 'principal agent' problem in economics, where one party has more information than the other thus creating the possibility for opportunistic behaviour. It seems that in at least this reported case, the motivation for profit led to this type of behaviour put into practice. However, this is only one incident and cannot be viewed as characteristic of the Chinese community as a whole.

Although the three factors, family, language difficulty and racism have been influential in creating a closed-off community, many respondents had suggested that the strength and impact of these influences differed with generation. Several respondents were under the impression that there is a tendency for second-generation Chinese to actively seek to integrate better with British society but by receiving a UK education, this would partly be self-acting in itself as interaction with the White majority in the form of teaching staff and classmates is an inevitable outcome.

As Mr E discusses of the distinction between generations:

The younger generations are becoming more and more Westernised sort of in jobs and the way of life and they tend to mix more with the White English community. Older generations just tend to keep themselves to themselves in terms of work and family.

The belief that the Chinese are opening up stems mainly from an increase in numbers, according to several interviewees. Both Ms A and Mr F acknowledge that greater numbers of Chinese equates to a greater community that can better integrate itself into

British society. Second-generation Chinese with the advantage of a UK education believe that language difficulties are no longer a barrier for their generation and in that way, the community is integrating itself. Likewise, there was a widespread belief amongst those interviewed that there were high levels of racism in the past and this was very much a cause of isolation. With a more visible Chinese population, several interviewees insisted that this meant that racism reduced simply due to larger numbers. As Ms A comments:

It's a bigger community. So it's not so... like the English don't not ever see a Chinese person now. There's more of them on the streets now than it was back then. It's a numbers thing.

However, Mr D believes that an increase in overseas Chinese potentially has a negative outcome for Chinese born in Britain. He explains:

British-born Chinese. It can be negative for those because of more overseas students coming over, their English isn't great so people assume that British-born Chinese are the same as them because they can't distinguish between who was born over here. For instance, I heard in one case, we were in a queue to buy some food and the people in front were White and obviously the next customer to get served was them and that was by a Chinese but they still waited for an English person to serve them... because obviously they thought that he would not understand.

This accounts for the reduction of two of these factors leaving family bond or family connections (in particular with respect to employment) as the remaining feature that has not lessened over time as generations have progressed.

5.17 Is Discrimination a Factor in the Decision to Enter Self-Employment?

The survey indicated that none of the sample in self-employment considered 'to avoid discrimination' as a factor in their decision to choose this occupational path. Likewise, discrimination did not appear to be a direct factor for entry into self-

employment by those interviewed personally. This reveals that discrimination is not considered as a major influential factor in occupational choice. However, discrimination was not dismissed entirely as almost all of the interviewees suggested that it may be a cause stating that they had heard of stories from other Chinese people, whether family relations or friends.

Mr F implies that discrimination may be a motivation for some, to pursue self-employment but claims the only reason he has not encountered any negative experiences in the workplace is the fact that he has solely been working in the catering trade, in a Chinese environment. The perception that discrimination may occur is further compounded by Ms B's comment that she has not been at her current place of work (a telecommunications company) long enough to observe if discrimination is a factor that will hinder occupational progression.

It is relatively easy for discrimination to be labelled as a factor for entry into self-employment but as Mr A points out, being discriminated against is about perception and interpretation of the incident. He explains:

I've heard of people not being able to work in teams and not being able to work with other people but is that really discrimination? It's more of an individual problem.

Although discrimination in the workplace was not found to be a primary explanation for entry into self-employment, analysis of economic theory suggests that discrimination will be mainly removed in this situation as well as other occupations within the Chinese catering trade, and this was discussed in Chapter 2.

5.18 Becker's 'Taste' for Discrimination and Self-Employment

Chapter 2 presented the main theories of discrimination from an economist's point of view. The only theory that is partially applicable to the situation of the Chinese catering trade is Becker's model as the other theories have already been disregarded. To recall Becker's model, discriminatory employers are effectively willing to place a monetary value for their ability to discriminate in the form of sacrificing profit. They act as if employing ethnic minority workers imposes some form of additional non-pecuniary cost. This taste or preference for discrimination belonging to employers is represented by Becker as the discrimination coefficient. If we apply Becker's taste-based model to the situation of Chinese self-employment businesses, the conventional understanding of the discrimination coefficient becomes immaterial. Employers in this case are obviously the owner of the business and therefore discrimination would not take place as they have created the job for themselves. Additionally, in the case of hiring other Chinese workers, employers of restaurants and takeaways will not hold a preference to discriminate against members of their own ethnic group. Moreover, as revealed in the survey, interviews and focus group, family members are often employees which again renders the concept of the discrimination coefficient as irrelevant.

Becker's theory can also extend to 'customer discrimination' and this is where the versatility of the model can be applied. In this scenario, discriminatory customers will employ their preference to discriminate by not going to Chinese restaurants or takeaways. If the majority of the population held this view, then businesses dependent on regular customers for income generation would not be able to survive. However, the existence of the many numerous businesses in the Chinese catering

trade seems to prove that this is not the case in reality. It may be that the strength of the discriminatory coefficient differs for each individual customer. For example, racist remarks from customers have been recorded as an occurrence at the places of work mentioned by the interviewee sample. The importance is that racial abuse is a direct form of discrimination but in a way, racist customers are not discriminating by choosing to buy Chinese food. Their preference to discriminate is not being fully acted on. This implies that either the discrimination coefficient is somehow balanced by the customer where they choose to be racist yet still want to order a meal or that racism is not really applicable to Becker's theory. In the latter case, racism would be considered as a distinctly separate problem from discrimination requiring a different analysis as to the causes.

Remaining from an economic standpoint, racist remarks from customers would increase their own utility or satisfaction. This creates an advantage for one party of the transaction. Customers may be able to purchase their meal and increase utility or a non-pecuniary benefit by stating racist comments. On the other side, this presents the employer with a choice. Employers or owners will be able to generate income from racist customers but at the same time experience abuse or alternatively refusal to serve will mean sacrificing profit. However, arguably the refusal or eviction of racist customers may be viewed as some form of satisfaction on the employer or owner's behalf where in effect, profit has been substituted for a (possibly higher) gain in utility elsewhere. Having attempted to apply Becker's theory to the situation of racism, it should be noted that several interviewees suggested that racist remarks from customers were often as a result of drunken behaviour. In this case, the discriminatory coefficient could be replaced by some other variable to denote the

effects of alcohol or at least can be incorporated as a combining factor that offsets racism.

Racial discrimination in employment was only experienced and recorded by one interviewee respondent. However, this was not discrimination in hiring or promotion but rather employee discrimination. This is an extension of Becker's taste theory. Mr C previously worked at a retail store and commented on an experience of discrimination arising from a co-worker who resented working alongside him and other ethnic minorities at this place of work. For Becker, the outcome of such a situation, in theory, may be an adjustment in wages, an increase for the discriminatory employee effectively being paid a compensating wage premium for their incurred 'cost' of working with ethnic minorities. In practice, this was not the case. The discriminatory employee worked elsewhere in the store suggesting segregation to some extent and perhaps a reduction in overall productivity due to less teamwork and commitment relating to a loss of synergy. However, the true impact may only be a marginal decrease in productivity as there was only one discriminatory employee.

Discrimination or escaping discrimination was not viewed as a main determinant of choosing self-employment over waged work despite theory suggesting that it would be largely removed under such circumstances but racism was highlighted as a leading problem in society.

5.19 The Causes of Racism

It is useful to recall the CRE definition of racism:

“Racism is the belief that some ‘races’ are superior to others – based on the false idea that different physical characteristics (like skin colour) or ethnic background make some people better than others.”

(http://www.cre.gov.uk/legaladv/rra_discrim.html)

By definition, by acting on racism in the form of verbal or physical abuse and harassment, this is a form of direct discrimination. On the theme of racism, Blank *et al.* (2004: 56) state that “verbal antagonism includes casual racial slurs and disparaging racial comments, either in or out of the target’s presence,” is a clear form of hostility and can create a hostile environment. It was racism as a form of discrimination that was the most prevalent issue raised when commenting on experiences of discrimination and whether it played a role in occupational choice. Examples of racism were previously highlighted in the form of an excerpt taken from the focus group session as well as the comments made in Table 5.7 referring to experiences in education.

Racism had been experienced by the majority of the sample as shown in Figure 5.25 signifying that this is an observed problem and one that may be viewed as more widespread than actual racial discrimination in the labour market. Of the sample surveyed, 28 respondents had been personally subjected to racist behaviour in the form of physical or verbal abuse whereas 19 felt that they had experienced unequal treatment on the basis of ethnicity indicating that the separation between racism and racial discrimination had been understood.

Several accounts of racism discussed in the focus group occurred when the respondents were in their school years but it was revealed that racism continues to be a problem beyond this period. Both the effects of alcohol and ignorance were acknowledged as influential factors of the causes of racist behaviour. Ignorant behaviour was suggested as a direct result of upbringing and environment, pointing out that parents play a major role in determining what is viewed as racist. As Ms B comments, “if parents have a belief, 9 times out of 10, the child will have the same belief as well.”

Although potential causes of racism have been identified, the importance is that racism continues to remain a problem. According to the focus group sample and several other interviewees, there was an overall perception that to some extent racism is to be expected. Mr B stated that when his parents moved to the UK from Hong Kong and established a takeaway business, the amount of racism they were subjected to was believed to be perhaps something that comes generally in this country and considered the norm. Mr D exclaims, continuing the same theme, “if you think back to the first-generation of Chinese that came here, you were a pure foreigner and you wouldn’t get no respect from no one.” Furthermore, some respondents from the study by Hollands (1995) on youth culture in Newcastle reinforce this view by suggesting that racism can be expressed as a general attitude.

Having demonstrated that racism is an ongoing problem, a reduction since the first Chinese arrivals to the UK has been acknowledged by the sample. Various verbal comments were made during the interviews and the survey revealed 97% of the sample believed today’s society is more accepting of ethnic minorities than 3 or 4

decades ago. Although this points towards a more positive outlook of integration, examination of the causes of improvement illustrates a different picture. The main reason suggested by several respondents for greater acceptance (or perhaps tolerance) and less racism was solely due to an increase in the number of Chinese creating a larger and more visible representation. In short, a larger group is less susceptible than smaller groups or individuals.

A reduction of racism can and has occurred according to the sample but its removal from society was not something that was viewed as entirely possible. Mr D maintains that racism will not be completely eliminated and this is a view shared by many of the other interviewees. He explains:

Well I think that problem (racism) can't be reduced because it's not something outspoken. You don't say to someone we'll not employ that person because of such and such. Then in that case, somewhere the law will catch up to them whereas it's more of a discrete thing. As I say, it's personal opinion and obviously you wouldn't blurt out something like that to another co-worker unless you knew that person was against that person as well.

It is personal opinions that drives racist attitudes and consequently may inform racial discrimination in the labour market. Racial abuse may be curtailed by legislation in the workplace but this may feed into discriminatory behaviour, in hiring for example, where discrimination can be hidden or discrete. In this case, racist employers choose to abide by regulations but their racist attitude is expressed via the discrimination coefficient rather than abusive remarks. It is this problem that relates back to the 'audit studies' or 'situation tests' for discrimination as described in the literature review chapter.

5.20 Awareness of Anti-Racial Discrimination Policies

Section F of the questionnaires was based on anti-racial discrimination policies where several questions were left open for respondents to enter their own views in order to gain an insight into the knowledge and perception of any such policies. Likewise, the interview schedule contained several questions relating to the awareness of policies and the promotion of racial equality. Importantly, there did not appear to be a wide understanding of any anti-racial discrimination policies. Some had observed posters referring to the 'Kick racism out of football' campaign and others alluded to some sort of law that forbids against discrimination but this form of legislation was never actually named correctly. Despite the fact that the commencement of the Race Relations Act can be traced back to over 40 years, none of the interviewees had acknowledged its existence. However, the existence of equal opportunities was stated by Mr D after having worked part-time at various retail stores.

Ms A was under the impression that the posters using football as a measure to combat racism and discrimination had only been in effect for the last couple of years. Incidentally, to my knowledge, I would also agree with this statement and it is only in recent years that I have been aware of such poster campaigns. On further investigation, surprisingly, the 'Kick racism out of football' campaign actually began in 1993 by the CRE. Incidentally, none of the respondents had heard of the CRE.

The influence of parents was a major theme identified as a source of racism. The way that parents act directly affects the way in which their offspring behave. Additionally, the passing of time from one generation to the next was also repeatedly stated as a

means of combating racial discrimination and this too was linked to the behaviour of parent and child.

Mr B: It's just going to be a basic, everyone will have to sit and wait. It's not going to happen overnight. Sometimes I think it's going to wait for the people who are racist, for them to have kids and for us to have kids. The kids of our generation, to forget about what their parents did and hopefully their parents won't teach them anything about racism and to be racist. Everyone will end up forgetting it as generations go on because the parents won't be teaching the kids how to be racist, so the kids will forget it and the kids will have their kids and they wouldn't even be able to teach them how to be racist because their parents didn't teach them anything about it. Give it three decades.

There was an overall sense that racism and discrimination was being challenged at school via education on the problem. As Ms B professes:

I think now, they're tackling it more in schools and that is at the end of the day where you need to tackle issues like this. The more time and generations go on, the better I do feel it is going to get but it was something that was very much swept under the carpet for years and years and years. You find that most people who have had a bad experience, you find out it's from the parents in the first place anyway, so if you tackle discrimination not only at the higher level, the parents, but the child itself, then it will get better as generations go on.

Similarly Mr D states:

It is being put into force through education, to teach children in education but if the parents are racist anyway, even say if they go to them and say '*let's have a chinkys*', the kids are going to grow up with using that word and they're going to think it's OK. Whereas yes, there is education about bullying or racism but I think it's just a matter of time. It's getting less and less rather than more. As I said from before, obviously from the first-generation to the third-generation it's changed a lot. Whether it will drown out or not, I wouldn't be certain on that.

In short, a combination of education and the progression of time were considered as the main factors that would see a reduction in racism and discrimination.

The survey as well as the interviews showed a deficit in the awareness and consequently understanding of policies. Only 39% (14) of the sample (see Figure 5.32) was aware of the existence of any policies and one of these comments can be notably singled out immediately. The statement of '*Sunderland BNP*' seems to be a misinterpretation or misunderstanding of the question yet it reveals that such an organisation is easily identifiable, at least by one respondent, when presented with the term discrimination.

Several interviewees stated the awareness of a '*Race Discrimination Act*' when it is the Race Relations Act. Further to this, an '*Equal Opportunities Act*' was also stated in the survey and by interviewees when actually referring to equal opportunity policies within organisations. The degree of understanding differed across respondents and this can be traced back to where the information was obtained. For example, as mentioned in the previously, the 'kick racism out of football' campaign had been observed by some interviewees on posters demonstrating knowledge acquired from public advertising and promotion. In other cases, equal opportunity policies had been stated in regulations at places of work outside of the catering trade. Table 5.8 shows that one respondent had observed a policy of equal opportunity on job application forms citing councils, universities and hospitals as the main advocates, at least from their experience. The other source of information appears to be derived from university education as stated by one respondent who on two occasions stated they could write a lengthy reply for two of the questions presented in section F, relating to the awareness and limitations of current policies (see Table 5.8 and 5.10). The respondent claims "*Did a Masters module on racism at work, could write an essay as a reply*" and this highlights that such information has been taught through

education and not obtained from other sources. Unfortunately the respondent does not elaborate on any further details.

Having determined three separate sources of anti-racial discrimination (and anti-racism) policy awareness and encouragement, namely public advertisements, statements on job vacancy literature and, education, one might wonder why a greater proportion of the sample had not shown a greater recognition of any policies. This can largely be explained by the occupational profile of the obtained survey sample where 17 respondents were in self-employment and 13 in employment were employees within the Chinese catering trade. Collectively, this means that 83% (30) of the entire sample worked in the catering trade. This immediately excludes one source of policy awareness. Those wanting to remain in self-employment or within Chinese catering businesses as employees will not search for employment elsewhere and therefore bypass any information regarding promotion of equal opportunities stated on job application forms. Respondents who aimed to stay in Chinese catering businesses as their primary careers may not have engaged in further education at university and again this will mean bypassing another source of knowledge and information. However, it is important to note that not all degree courses will teach a module on racism or discrimination, as this is obviously dependent on the course and syllabus content. This leaves only policy awareness in the form of public advertisements as the main form of promotion.

Despite an almost self-enclosure away from policy awareness, which may be regarded as an unintentional outcome of remaining in the catering trade, there was a general consensus amongst the sample that more action needs to take place in order to reduce

racial discrimination. Table 5.10 shows several comments relating to the shortcomings or limitations of current policies suggesting potential drawbacks due to people's own personal opinions. Both '*the police force are racist themselves*' (which may refer to an actual incident experienced or media news) and '*the rules are set but not everyone abides by them*' refers to an individual's preference, opinions and behaviour which can be expressed as Becker's discrimination coefficient. As Mr E stated in the focus group session, "You can't control people's views". Therefore, increasing promotion of policies won't actually stop discrimination but it will increase the knowledge of discriminated parties and perhaps may be construed as a basis to form official complaints or legal action.

Table 5.11 lists suggestions on how racial discrimination might be reduced but the majority of responses seem to refer to a reduction in racism and not directly labour market discrimination. Improved education has been mentioned numerous times as well as highlighted during several interviews and the focus group but this is not to be confused with a university taught module about racism and discrimination at work but rather in a more simple manner. Better education in this case signifies the teachings of what is considered as racist comments and the encouragement of equal respect for others regardless of ethnicity. Improved integration between groups has also been stated as a possible suggestion but several interviewees believed that with more UK-born and consequently UK-educated Chinese, integration with the White majority will occur naturally. Attending school will by definition create a more mixed and integrated environment. Therefore, as time progresses, improvements in general society will follow. It is the alleviation of racism in society that seems to be considered as a higher importance than racial discrimination in the labour market.

Other respondents have leaned towards suggesting that discrimination needs to be addressed as a more serious situation and any incidents should be reported. In contrast and somewhat contradictory, one respondent asserts '*No idea, leave it to the politicians*' in reference to potential solutions to reduce discrimination, which suggests that this individual is not themselves perceiving discrimination as a serious problem.

The increased accumulation of knowledge, awareness and creation of policies to combat racism and discrimination will not necessarily mean that the Chinese will move away from the catering trade. The advantages of owning a business and the additional benefits that family can bring as a resource are strong links that facilitates an ongoing catering trade industry. Ultimately moving away from catering businesses is a choice. Likewise, the focus group sample uniformly agreed that they would like to see an increased representation of the Chinese in the police force, emergency services and armed forces but again this would be the choice of the individual. Increased representation may help to break down stereotypes but will only occur if the Chinese choose to pursue such occupations. This leads to an important issue: '*Should the Chinese move away from the catering trade?*' and this is discussed in the next chapter.

Finally, Table 5.12 provides a list of additional comments that respondents left at the close of the survey. A distinction is made by one respondent in terms of regional areas suggesting that experiences of racism are more apparent in the North East than areas towards the South. This corresponds to the aforementioned comment stated by Mr A that areas such as London have a more integrated and more visible Chinese

community and this perhaps leads to less racism. Another respondent makes reference to the saying '*When in Rome do as the Romans do*' where they seemingly suggest that the Chinese should follow the British way of life as a means of assimilating into society and to respect that it is not their country. This again relates to the idea of greater integration. However, UK-born Chinese may not share this view, as the UK will in effect be their own country. Another respondent claims, "*I feel the British are much more accepting of the Chinese but there will always be the odd one or two who won't - However such is life – the same could be argued for the disabled, elderly people, etc*". This again relates back to the idea and confirmed finding from the interviews and focus group that although to be racist or discriminatory is morally wrong, it is still a personal opinion or judgement and therefore will be difficult to remove from society. Importantly, race has not been identified as the only distinguishable factor indicating the awareness of discrimination in other forms, at least by one respondent. Again, victimisation and harassment was identified in the focus group session as an occurrence for other groups and not just ethnic minorities. In essence, those who wish to treat other people with disrespectful behaviour will do so to anyone where an exterior characteristic or some factor can be used to form a distinction from themselves whether it is race, age, sex, religion or physical appearance. Therefore, racism continues to remain because people have a preference to be racist and/or discriminatory.

5.21 The Researcher and the Researched

Hollands (2003: 159) comments that there is "a tendency for critical theorists to develop and utilise a 'unitary' notion of the researcher-researched identity and theoretical framework." That is, the researcher and research subjects share a

common theme. This present study, for example, the researcher and the researched group are of the same ethnic and regional background arguably increasing rapport during the interview and focus group stage. If a researcher of a different ethnicity to Chinese had conducted the same study, one would likely expect a different outcome and set of results. As the Chinese remain a largely closed-off community, especially in the case of the older generations, it is perhaps difficult to imagine an 'outsider' being able to derive data and information in excess of this study. In particular, the qualitative stages would be affected more than the anonymous (on behalf of the researcher) questionnaire surveys. Supporting evidence of this view comes from one of the interviewees who revealed an interesting feature of the Chinese community, only to ask for the information to be removed from the interview transcription at a later date. The issue was only discussed due to the researcher's shared knowledge and, in my opinion, would not have been raised in front of a non-Chinese researcher. Again, to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of the interviewee, the issue will not be identified or discussed.

The generation, age, gender and social class of the researcher combined with the locality of the study all influenced the outcome of the research. As a researcher of the Chinese community and growing up in a catering trade environment, a vast amount of knowledge had already been accumulated in the form of living the experience of the studied group. As previously mentioned, the stock of knowledge gained from life experience can be viewed as an extensive period of participant observation. This equips the researcher with an already detailed understanding and comprehension of the studied group, which amounts to a methodological advantage. Moreover, other non-Chinese researchers will not possess this unique supplementary information.

Although, the study originally aimed to examine and reach the Chinese in the wider labour market and not just within the catering trade, the outcome was primarily a study of second-generation Chinese, especially during the qualitative stages. This suggests that generation played a role in who might participate in research studies. This may be due to language difficulties (as the research was conducted in English), a general unwillingness to be open to study or the second-generation wanting to provide a 'face' or 'voice' for the current Chinese community. The lack of first-generation respondents for interviews and the focus group is an important issue. Their views would likely be different from the views held by subsequent generations. The failure to engage directly with more than one first-generation Chinese respondent means that their contribution, opinions and experience leaves a gap in the research. First-generation involvement in this study was largely restricted to secondary accounts from the second-generation. As time, generation, as well as future studies of the Chinese progress, it may be the case that direct access to the first-generation may go under-researched and consequently unrecorded. This is due to no fault of the researcher, or future researchers, but rather it is a result of the characteristics of the first-generation and the founding Chinese community.

Following from the impact of generation, age was a factor that influenced the outcome of the qualitative information. The majority of interviewees were in their 20s, like myself, and this shared age bracket may have influenced the results. Sharing ethnicity, background and age with the research subjects meant that communication was established quickly and the interviews themselves felt very much like an informal conversation with several respondents. Moreover, having met each of the focus group members already at the interview stage, the session was relaxed, friendly and

enjoyable. One only needs to recall some of the laughter in the excerpts presented earlier in this chapter to gain a sense of the atmosphere. Indeed, after the focus group session had ended, several respondents commented that they enjoyed the experience and to my knowledge, all respondents are still in contact with each other. This demonstrates that relationships can be built on shared characteristics and experiences, which refers back to the concept of bounded solidarity. Similar to the study by Hollands (2003: 163), I also felt that I did not come across “as a ‘researcher’ in the traditional sense.”

Due to the voluntary nature of the methodological approach adopted and the anonymity of the researcher at the questionnaire stage, one cannot conclude that a female ethnic researcher conducting the same study would result in more female interviewee participants. However, this is not to say that the results would be unaffected by the gender of the researcher. Indeed, a female researcher will have a greater shared experience with female respondents in the interview stage. As expressed during Ms A’s interview, she commented briefly on how her younger brother was regarded as the head of the family after her father. Arguably, a similar second-generation female Chinese researcher would be able to better comprehend this situation than myself and hence the interview may lead to a more discursive account or experience of what it means to be Chinese and female.

The fact that the research takes place in Newcastle also provides methodological advantages. As a member of the Chinese community and as an active participant through community work, the contacts used during the snowball sampling stage were extremely valuable. An outsider researcher would be unable to employ my use of

social capital and perhaps their first point of contact would be an attempt to identify community leaders. As previously mentioned, I already approached community leaders with my study and was declined any offer of involvement. An outsider may experience the same outcome but with the added difficulty of identifying community leaders in the first place. Additionally, generation or age may be an overlapping factor with locality. It is reasonable to assume that a first-generation Chinese researcher would be able to better engage with community leaders and hence a different set of results may be an outcome. Again, the shared background and familiarity of the researcher with the studied group can cause greater interaction.

The familiarity with locality was also an advantage when using and indeed, choosing, venues for the interviews and focus group session. Again, as already detailed in the methodology chapter, some interviews were held in the Chinese community centre (which was also used as a drop-off point for returning questionnaires) and the focus group was held in a private room of a well-known (by the Chinese community) restaurant in Chinatown. These advantages of location were capitalised upon which would not be available to other non-Chinese (or arguably any other Chinese) researcher. It is the unique relationship of the researcher with the Chinese community that is the prominent feature that makes this study a truly original piece of work.

Social class can also affect results. All of the interviewee respondents had experience in the catering trade environment. Although Ms B was currently working in an 'English job' (in telecommunications), the fact that her parents owned several restaurants meant that she was aware of the working lifestyle and culture associated with the catering trade without directly being involved. All of these respondents

therefore came from working-class backgrounds, the same as the researcher. However, those working away from the catering trade will have different views and issues that they may wish to raise. This is especially important in the area of racial discrimination in employment. However, the sample obtained for the interviews did not cover those in employment distinctly away from the catering trade, with the exception of Ms B. If we recall the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2, over time, the Chinese may move away from the initial four primary branches of occupations into other areas, armed with UK educational qualifications and an understanding of British society. Although the framework is theoretically valid, insufficient time has elapsed and generations have not progressed enough to substantiate and verify where or if the majority of the Chinese will move away from the catering trade. It is likely that future generations of Chinese will have different views of the previous generations, just as the second-generation believe they are different from their parent's generation. Therefore, generation may overlap with social class.

My ethnic background as a member of the Chinese community and growing up in a family takeaway business is considered as a strong pathway to research. The fact that I share many traits and experiences with the studied group is crucial in demonstrating that I, as a researcher, show a true and sincere interest in the subject area as opposed to a 'passive' researcher conducting a project for someone else. Malbon (1999) stresses the importance of researcher affinity with research subjects as a principal methodological advantage, especially in the use of a qualitative approach to investigation.

5.22 Summary

The questionnaires have produced a vast array of information regarding a variety of issues but all are related to the experiences of the Chinese in the labour market. Due to the small sample size of 36 respondents, no generalisation can be offered by these results. However, as explained in the methodology chapter, the aim of the research in the absence of a representative random sample was to provide a richer level of detail that can be afforded by simple statistics. In essence, the questionnaire surveys acted as a launching platform to access the Chinese community and hence the collection of data derived from the qualitative methods adopted.

The high concentration of the Chinese in the catering trade will continue to remain and increase according to the sample studied. Second-generation Chinese viewed self-employment or the continuation of the family business as a choice with the emphasis being placed on a financial motivation and the opportunities and benefits that family can provide. In essence, it is the formation and utilisation of a stock of social capital that creates opportunities. Self-employment in the catering trade was not regarded as a negative scenario as described by Pang (2002: 149) who likens such businesses to “a hidden form of racial discrimination, where an entire immigrant community is condemned to the ungrateful task of filling the insatiable cosmopolitan belly of the (post) modern urbanite”. The second-generation Chinese believed that self-employment was a genuine business opportunity and were not forced to enter the catering trade. However, self-employment was considered as a necessity for the first-generations of Chinese that came to Newcastle, largely due to language difficulties which blocked occupational attainment and progression. The application of cooking skills were deemed to be the most appropriate way to make a living in Western

society offering the British public something different and eventually becoming an integral part of the UK economy. Discrimination was not perceived as a direct factor for self-employment but racism was highlighted as a factor, which formed a tight community, and subsequently as a result the Chinese became a somewhat closed-off group.

Contrary to the success of those surveyed and their ability to use family as a source of help, Bates (1994: 671) suggests “heavy use of social support networks typifies the less profitable, more failure-prone (ethnic minority) small businesses”. It seems that the reliance of the Chinese network in the catering trade is perceived as a successful one. Although, self-employment has been found to be an overall choice for second-generation Chinese, it can also be viewed as a backup occupation for others due to the skills that are gained from growing up in the takeaway lifestyle, as was the case for Mr D and Ms A, the two university interviewees.

Although in theory, staying within Chinese-owned businesses removes racial discrimination in the form of discriminatory employers, this excludes the Chinese from policy awareness in organisations or other places of work. However, it is not racial discrimination in the labour market in the form of low wages, unemployment or in promotions that is viewed as the most serious problem that the sample faced but rather racism in its wider reaching forms in society. This is a central finding of the study. The next chapter discusses the implications of the results and any relevance to the current literature.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 provided a report of the results obtained from the questionnaire surveys, the semi-structured interviews, focus group session and an interpretation and analysis of those results. This chapter discusses the implications of the main findings and their relative importance to the current available literature.

6.2 The Link with Studies of Racial Discrimination and Immigrant Entrepreneurship

Although racial discrimination was one of the principal areas of the research, the project differs greatly from the quantitative studies cited in the literature review. Where Blackaby *et al.* (1994, 1998, 2002) attempted to measure discrimination in the form of wage differentials and occupational attainment for example, this study was more concerned with a qualitative approach and hence experiences of discrimination in order to determine whether any importance was attached to this by the Chinese when making labour market decisions. However due to the nature of the sample obtained, where the majority of respondents held occupations within the Chinese catering trade, experiences of discrimination in employment elsewhere were limited. Likewise, occupational progression away from self-employment businesses proved to be a restricted theme of the research. Therefore, the emphasis of the study leaned towards an examination of the Chinese catering trade as a whole where discrimination was identified as a problem but in the specific form of racism. This is considerably different to employer discrimination as investigated via audit studies (Heckman, 1998) and correspondence tests (Hubbuck & Carter, 1980; Simpson & Stevenson,

1994). Racism, although a direct form of discrimination, does not seem to be incorporated in studies testing for discrimination in employment and recruitment, as evidenced in the literature review. Therefore, this study is an important and valuable addition to the available literature on discrimination as it looks at a specific form. In doing so, a gap in the literature is filled. As suggested by several interviewees, racism was a more wide-ranging problem of society whereas discrimination referred mainly to labour market experiences. One must remember that by definition, racism expressed as physical or verbal abuse is a form of direct discrimination but discrimination does not itself have to be racist. In some respects, the research is similar to the work of Metcalf *et al.* (1996) and Basu (1998, 2004) on the interaction between culture and self-employment of South Asian groups. The reasons for entry into self-employment and the associated experiences have been explored but again, the small sample size obtained meant that the research was on a much smaller scale but of a more in-depth qualitative nature. In terms of the theory of how self-employment business opportunities are formed, evidence of the mixed embeddedness approach adopted by Kloosterman *et al.* (1999) seemingly runs throughout the research. That is, a combination of factors including social capital and the available (limited) opportunities that presents themselves to the Chinese are reasons for the dominance in catering trade occupations. The concept of mixed embeddedness as described by Kloosterman *et al.* (1999) suggests that immigrant entrepreneurship contains one of three strands relating to the environment including social, economic and institutional aspects. Analysis has demonstrated that two of these themes are covered in the situation for Chinese self-employment businesses. The identification by many respondents that family support and resources are instrumental in business development covers the social standpoint. Staying within the Chinese catering trade

due to the attraction of profit accumulation can be deemed a rational decision, avoiding risk associated with other areas of occupation and therefore this covers the economic standpoint. Arguably, only the institutional perspective referring to the accessibility of various institutions that promote equality is neglected. Although such a strand exists in the form of the CRE, none of the respondents had heard of the organisation and therefore this is not an acknowledged aspect of embeddedness.

The strongest direct link to the available literature is that of the work produced by Song (1995, 1997a, 1997b) investigating Chinese families via the use of interviews. Where Song adopted an entirely qualitative approach, this research study has an aspect of quantitative data and arguably a (limited) degree of randomness as evidenced from the use of snowball sampling questionnaire distribution. It should be noted that whilst Song was interested in examining members of Chinese families who operated solely in catering trade businesses, this thesis differed by attempting to access a broader number of respondents, including in other areas of work as observed via the use of two sets of questionnaires, those in self-employment and those in employment. Although the returned questionnaires for those in employment outstripped the number for the self-employment questionnaires, analysis revealed that the majority of employees were in fact employees within the catering trade. Additionally, due to the voluntary nature of accepting or declining a follow-up interview, all but one of the interviewees held occupations within the Chinese catering trade. As a direct result, the composition of the sample meant that the research focused mainly on catering trade occupations. Incidentally, an interesting finding from the analysis is what the Chinese understand by the term 'self-employment'. Some respondents equated the term to the catering trade as a whole, and others used

the term to describe the family business, even if they were not the owner but an employee. Consequently, discrimination in the restaurant and takeaway scenario are not from the employer but from customers. Therefore, the theories of the causes of discrimination from an economist's perspective, as outlined in Chapter 2, are not directly applicable to this almost reversed situation. The theories associated with imperfect competition in the form of crowding models and the statistical theory all assume that discrimination is a result of the employer's behaviour, whether intentional or unintentional. However, in the case for Chinese family-run businesses, the employer is from an ethnic minority background and therefore the discriminatory behaviour as described by such theories does not apply to the Chinese catering trade industry. It is the behaviour of customers that is the source of discrimination here and arguably only Becker's taste for discrimination can be applied. This has been discussed in the previous analysis chapter. The research as a whole is unable to compare directly to any of the studies mentioned in the literature review as a unique methodology has been adopted, centred on a framework of ideas based on prior knowledge from an ethnic minority standpoint. Again, if we acknowledge Gill (1994), detailed in Chapter 2, different quantitative studies contain different aspects and variables and therefore direct comparisons are incompatible. This is especially true in the case for measuring occupational differences including quantifying discrimination. Arguably, comparing qualitative experiences is an easier and more useful examination. Therefore, results obtained from the interview discussions can be compared with the views of similar Chinese individuals investigated by Song (1995, 1997a, 1997b). Similarly, the work of Chau and Yu (2001) seems particularly relevant for comparison, as the study discusses the social exclusion of the Chinese. In some respects, this present study can be viewed as a follow-up to the work of Chau

and Yu (2001) in that it explores the experiences of the Chinese in Britain. It adds to the currently limited available literature on the Chinese, thereby potentially stimulating further discussion and research on an under-researched topic.

6.3 Integration

As revealed in Figure 5.28 in Chapter 5, 20 respondents from the survey questionnaires believed the Chinese to be a closed-off group as a whole. There was a general consensus amongst the interviewee sample that this was due to high levels of racism experienced by first-generation immigrants but importantly, second-generation Chinese were beginning to open up and integrate better into British society due to improved English language fluency skills and as a direct result of UK schooling. Everyday interaction with a largely White population, particularly at school, dictates a direct form of integration. Several interviewees commented that during their time at school, there were very few other Chinese students, if any, beyond their siblings. As a result, forming friendships with members of the White majority group was by definition social integration. Glaeser *et al.* (2007) suggests that schooling teaches people to interact with others and is important for raising the benefits of group participation.

Although racism was highlighted as a factor responsible for creating a closed-off community, one cannot state that there is no effort on behalf of the Chinese to seek integration. By looking at the establishment and formation of restaurant and takeaway businesses, an explanation of a sense of closure can be derived but at the same time, an element of integration is also observed. Moreover, a close family bond was identified by the research as a feature of the Chinese. It follows that an

interpretation of this may be that the Chinese aim to replicate or pursue similar tight relationships elsewhere. Therefore, a closed-off community may not in fact be an intentional objective.

The catering trade offers many Chinese a path to both occupational and social progression. During the interviews and focus group session, it was often stated that the Chinese possess a strong work ethic, moulded from a tight family background and an outlook on life that adheres to the respect for all others. Such characteristics, or indeed values, have been put forward as reasons for the entrepreneurial success of the Chinese. Although restaurants and takeaways can provide financial rewards, one cannot state that this is a guaranteed outcome for all catering trade businesses. Moreover, accumulation of profit is only one indicator of progress and therefore this may mask serious costs involved in participation in the catering trade industry. For example, long hours of work and sacrifice of social activities are necessary to operate a catering trade business and this will be further discussed later in this chapter.

6.4 The Development of Chinese Catering Trade Businesses

As previously mentioned, the majority of the Chinese work in the catering trade industry. In terms of self-employment, ownership of restaurants and takeaways are the most common forms of business establishments. Takeaways are perhaps the more viable route for immigrant entrepreneurs, given the lower overhead costs and lower reliance on additional staff outside of the family. Gatfield and Youseff (2001) agree that family catering businesses are generally simple, small structures but due to the complex multi-tasking skills involved and the association with family labour, eventually such businesses evolve into what they term 'Chinese business clans'.

Alesina and Giuliano (2007) confirm the idea of family being viewed as an important economic unit where strong relationships influence behaviour and attitudes. Restaurants, due to their larger-scale premises will by necessity require a greater amount of resources in terms of capital and labour inputs and thus the ‘business clan’ will expand outside of immediate and extended family members to non-family employees. Evidence from Basu and Altinay (2003: 38) suggests that “family businesses generate an imbalance between family life and work, in favour of the latter, especially at business start-up,” where emphasis is often placed on drawing upon the majority of all sources of social capital to the point of exhaustion. This relates back to the four-fold typology in categorising the balance between work and family life, as expressed by Baines *et al.* (2003) which was discussed in Chapter 3.

There are essentially two main ways in which a catering trade business can be newly created. First, if we take for example a restaurant, establishment next to an alternative Chinese restaurant in close proximity can see the eventual formation of an ethnic district or more commonly labelled as a local Chinatown. Other businesses will follow such as small-scale grocers, wholesalers to supply the restaurants and small stores that cater for the Chinese. In essence, the creation of all four occupational paths shown in Figure 2.4a, the Chinese self-employment structure, as presented in Chapter 2. This shows that the theoretical framework of ideas is useful in viewing the occupational attainment of the Chinese. Remaining with the restaurant business entity, by definition, competition plays a major factor in financial success and therefore owners will either differentiate their service, themes or attempt to charge lower prices in order to attract customers. Such entrepreneurial behaviour has been witnessed in Newcastle’s Chinatown as explained by several interviewees. In

particular, Mr A cites several examples of restaurants and their strategy towards success. In his words:

A few years ago, I think if you can remember on Stowell Street everyone went buffet crazy. Everything as £5 all you can eat. I think that was a saturation of the market and I think there is competition. I mean *Mango's* and *Treasure* are opened late and they're constantly thinking of new ideas to try and compete with each other and it's not going to happen where you see the new *Landmark* restaurant, that's quite contemporary and it's more of a bar. The *Mandalay* in Jesmond, that's quite contemporary and it's more towards nouvelle cuisine. So it's been an influence of the UK market and it's integrating itself slowly and I think a lot of Chinese would think '*How are we going to make money? I'll go into a takeaway, I'll go into a restaurant*'.

The buffet-style restaurants that Mr A mentions, again raises the issue of the authenticity of foreign foods. Restaurants of this type primarily cater for the White British public and as such, the food is largely Westernised as a result of imposed constraints to meet the needs of the customers (Lu & Fine, 1995 and Leung, 2002b). Authenticity is sacrificed for a greater profit margin or indeed simply business survival but arguably some truly authentic foodstuffs may appear too 'foreign' for the general British public. This is a business decision in order to capture a regular customer base. Moreover if we recall Mr C, his new business venture was a Japanese restaurant demonstrating entrepreneurial decision-making in identifying a new or possibly an extended market niche. However, again as noted by Mr A, some restaurants cater for both the majority population and for the Chinese themselves with different menus for each customer base.

The formation of a Chinese business district is beneficial to the local economy and gives the Chinese a visible representation as a separate ethnic group. Therefore, restaurant formation in a concentrated area can be viewed as a path towards social integration. Although a Chinatown is used as a central place of gathering for the

Chinese community, it can also be likened to a tourist attraction for the larger White British public and hence interaction between groups and a form of social inclusion.

The second main way in which a catering business can be established is the example of a takeaway, which differs to that of a restaurant. In this case, setting up close to a direct competitor is unlikely to be the aim but rather distancing in terms of location. Due to the small-scale formation of a takeaway business, the limited availability of physical capital and labour resources, owners seek to locate a customer base away from competition. As previously highlighted, takeaways are often husband and wife partnerships utilising family as a source of labour. As a direct result, takeaways tend to be isolated from one another and therefore widely dispersed across regions. A largely scattered number of small-scale family business units suggest that physical distance creates a barrier to integration. In predominantly White areas, a single Chinese family business is an immediate distinction from the majority group and consequently may potentially be subjected to higher rates of racism as opposed to a combined concentration of Chinese businesses in the aforementioned scenario of a restaurant. Chau and Yu (2001) confirm that this isolated form of labour market participation can lead to social exclusion.

Although owners of catering trade businesses are identified as the same members of a unified Chinese community, simultaneously and somewhat contradictory, competitive market forces dictate that owners are also business rivals. Pursuit of profit maximization may in fact reduce interaction amongst Chinese business owners and therefore erode a strong collective community presence, ultimately leading to reduced social integration on a combined level.

Barrett *et al.* (2001) acknowledge the significance of the actual area of business residence in identifying different types of firms and subsequently the extent to which an ethnic niche is able to provide a protected market. The main points of note and worth considering in more extensive research according to their study of sectoral distribution of South Asian businesses in Britain include:

- *South Asian firms in distant White areas* - In areas where the majority of the local population are White and located a large distance from any major South Asian concentration, ethnic firms are confined to Indian restaurant or takeaway businesses or small-scale retailing embodied in corner shop type stores selling general groceries. Barrett *et al.* (2001) refer to corner shop type stores as 'CTNs' – confectioners, tobacconists and newsagents thus encompassing the entire range of products sold in such small-scale stores. Moreover, these businesses contribute very little to the number of all firms in the area. The proprietors and their families are often the entire ethnic minority population in such White dominated areas. Essentially, ethnic-owned firms act as a middleman position to provide goods and services to the general local population and not a minority dominated market. In this case, the provision of ethnic products will not be a primary concern.
- *South Asian firms in South Asian areas* - Ethnic business activity is markedly different in predominantly South Asian areas when compared to that of distant White areas. Due to the majority of the population belonging to a South Asian background, the number of stores catering for such groups are greater in number and in the range of goods and services they offer. Specialist clothing

and even recorded music and video stores are not uncommon. In fact, the number of confectioners and tobacconists are lower than in other areas perhaps indicating that South Asians have a lower consumption level for these products. Alternatively, this pattern may reflect the decision to cater for members of their own ethnic community rather than for the general White population.⁵⁵ Barrett *et al.* (2001) stress the importance of ethnic group concentration in determining business patterns and to illustrate their point, state the example of the area of Ealing (West Greater London) in being almost entirely comprised of ethnic minorities at 90.2% with the majority belonging to a South Asian group. Such a large proportion of ethnic minorities has created an area with immediately identifiable cultural influences on business activity. The main high street contains many large stores supplying goods with the ethnic customer as the target audience and the range of goods and services are so pronounced that the area attracts other non-local South Asian customers.

- *South Asian firms in nearby White areas* - Areas of a White majority close to densely concentrated South Asian catchment areas feature distinctly different patterns of business activity than the other two aforementioned scenarios. South Asian firms are significant in number and may be attributable to existing ethnic entrepreneurs from the areas of concentration expanding businesses or simply setting up a new business in an area readily accessible to Whites and minorities alike. However, clothing stores selling specific garments are less prominent but the ever-present small-scale grocers,

⁵⁵ Arguably, CTN products are sold to cater for the White majority. For example, an off-licence store should in theory have no or very few Muslim customers buying alcohol as a result of religious obligations.

confectioners and tobacconists are considerable. In this case, local demand for ethnic-based products may be relatively small but general everyday consumer durables such as newspapers and groceries will be required regularly thus sustaining demand.

The actual area of location influences the composition and types of South Asian businesses established. The products and services on offer are determined by the ethnic concentration of the catchment area and seemingly cater for the majority group in each scenario. Regardless of the ethnicity of actual customers, ethnic minority businesses are an integral part of the local economy. The first scenario of South Asian firms in distant White areas can be likened with the aforementioned described scenario of the formation of a Chinese takeaway in an isolated location. The second scenario of South Asian firms in South Asian areas is similar in some respects to that of the restaurant establishment scenario. Although the concentration of businesses in a Chinatown can be viewed as an ethnic area, there are no similar heavily concentrated areas of residence as observed for South Asian groups. Finally, there are no densely populated catchment areas of the Chinese to liken with any similar scenarios with South Asian firms in nearby White areas

If we consider the hours of work for Chinese catering trade businesses, one can conclude that they can be deemed anti-social. Whereas interviewees referred to 'English jobs' as being '9 to 5pm', 5 days a week and the traditional non-working weekend, catering trade occupations meant serving the public to meet their needs. Mr E, a restaurant owner and manager, commented on his average working week stating that it eventually amounted to anywhere between 60 to 70 hours, including working

lunch times, weekday nights and weekends therefore consequently reducing available time for other social activities. In essence, life revolves around the business. Likewise the university student respondents, Mr D and Ms A, both commented on their weekend participation in the family takeaway business, whereas similar White individuals were free to engage in social activities. The 'choice' to work for the two university respondents is a primary example of the spillover effect of a family business on family life, as acknowledged by Basu and Altinay (2003). Moreover, 'going out' or enjoying nightlife is an identifiable and somewhat stereotypical characteristic of Geordies and social interaction of this type can be likened, in a sense, to the formation of a community (Hollands, 1995 and Chatterton & Hollands, 2001). Therefore, a cost of social integration is observed and indeed balanced by profit accumulation. The separation of time for social activities means that similar Chinese individuals will likely band together causing increased bounded solidarity but at the same time, strengthening a degree of distinction from the White majority.

As the thesis has shown, family participation, as an element of social capital was found to be a major asset in the operation of self-employment businesses. This confirms the view shared by various authors including Ram *et al.* (2001) and Wheelock *et al.* (2003). During the interviews and focus group stage, many instances of family members assisting as kitchen-hands and waiters were discussed and arguably one of the most interesting aspects, the participation of the two university students in their family places of work.

Growing up within a self-employment business offers unique opportunities and experiences ranging from simple observation to apprenticeship roles. The children of

the owners of the business can develop skills that can be used in everyday home life, such as culinary skills and general kitchen maintenance. However, such skills (in addition to others) can be used to a greater extent if they choose to pursue a full-time career in the catering trade. Again, this is a particularly interesting aspect of university students working part-time in the family business. As Baines *et al.* (2003) suggest, the impact of having self-employment parents results in a mixed experience. Working and contribution to the family business can provide a sense of self-worth and achievement in addition to learning and using a variety of skills. However, the cost of such opportunities is less family time spent away from the business and as this thesis has suggested, in one case, Ms A claimed that family always comes first, even when it would be time for her to look for employment after graduating from university. This view is shared by Basu and Altinay (2003: 34) who explain that “the family is willing to sacrifice in times of need because of a common interest in the survival of the business.” Furthermore, Baines *et al.* (2003: 42) suggest that the demands on both time and commitment for all family members, the owners and their children, can in some ways be viewed as “an extreme form of self-exploitation,” and can be the result of remaining within the safety offered by stereotypes, which is discussed in the next section.

Although the picture painted so far seems to suggest that takeaway formation leads to a closed-off group, it is erroneous to conclude that the Chinese do not socially integrate with the wider population. The very fact that takeaways (and restaurants) serve the British public, this is a form of integration in itself. The functioning of the private market is essentially a form of integration. By establishing a takeaway business in an isolated area, this is a form of social progression. One might suggest

that it is limited to a simple business and customer interaction or a commodity or service transaction but studies have shown that in many cases, value is attached to some of these ‘over the counter’ relationships. This is not particularly surprising as Borghans *et al.* (2006) suggest that people skills are an important determinant of labour market outcomes and this is especially true for service-oriented occupations where such skills are required in the operation of takeaway and restaurant businesses. Song’s 1995 paper examined Chinese families running takeaways in Greater London and found that many respondents referred to incidents of racism and drunkenness when serving customers. This was consistent with the views of several respondents for this research study. However, Song also notes that long-term friendships with regular customers were also formed and viewed as a positive aspect. Although such friendships with customers were not highlighted during the interviews and focus group, there was mention of satisfaction being gained when other customers resolve the drunken and racist behaviour of the ‘ignorant few’ as labelled by Mr E.

However, especially in the case for first-generation Chinese, visiting restaurants and takeaways were the first experiences of contact with the Chinese for the White British public and this would undoubtedly form and shape perceptions as a whole and consequently the creation of stereotypes. These initial stereotypes will negatively impact upon subsequent generations of UK-born and educated Chinese. Parker (1994) confirms that such negative stereotypes exist. As Mr D suggests, the growing number of university students from China with varying levels of English language fluency skills detracts from the UK-born generation and therefore feeds into stereotypical perceptions. This is an interesting point to note, as the Chinese are not a homogenous group. As previously mentioned, there are three main dialects spoken

throughout the Chinese community. Cantonese and Hakka speaking Chinese are predominantly from Hong Kong whereas Mandarin speaking Chinese are from China. Mr A, who maintains that there is a definitive distinction between groups and perhaps even a suggested form of rivalry, has observed differences. He comments:

I would say the Cantonese in Newcastle are the biggest dominant group but I have seen sort of discrimination between each sort of sub-group with the Hong Kong Chinese and the Chinese Chinese from China. Just little things like the way they talk about each other. I play football on Sundays with Chinese and sides are split up. There's Chinese Chinese from China. Then there's the Hong Kong Chinese who play on one side with them and then there's the British-born Chinese. There's a slight rivalry sometimes. I see different attitudes and different interests as well.

The country of origin may influence the decision to enter self-employment. One might assume that immigrants from Hong Kong can be expected to be entrepreneurial due to the economic freedom and free market policies associated with the country. Indeed, the use of social capital to establish a business in the absence of formal UK education and qualifications can be deemed entrepreneurial behaviour even if the decision was based upon a necessity for survival. On the other hand, immigrants from China following a communist economy may have a different outlook towards occupational attainment and in the area and industries they pursue. However, this is merely speculation and cannot be confirmed due to the sample studied. Furthermore, 7 of the interviewees were UK-born Chinese where their parents originated from Hong Kong and only one was first-generation. The added aspect of different generations causes further complexity and differences to the Chinese as being viewed as a uniform group. As Mr B states:

Everyone does class you as which generation you are when it comes to work, when it comes to marriage, when it comes to almost everything. Everyone compares on how the first-generation did things and then they compare it down to how the third-generation are doing things now and how it could be a bit opposite to the first-

generation job-wise. The first-generation would not work outside of the Chinese community as much.

6.5 Safety in Stereotypes?

The view that the Chinese are nothing more than providers of food in British society can adversely affect integration, especially for the UK-born Chinese. However, there is an element of safety and security in continuing catering trade occupations which in turn may reinforce stereotypical images. Consequently, it might be argued that stereotypes afford some degree of safety.

To stay within the Chinese catering industry, often associated with financial success, this can be deemed rational, risk averse, utility maximizing behaviour. For example, if a family business has already been established and proven successful, continuance of the same business by subsequent generations will likely prove financially successful too. Movement away from the catering trade and potentially experiencing discrimination in other occupations may be viewed as a risky venture. However, interestingly and almost contradictory, the Chinese are often associated as risk-taking in their leisure time. From personal observation, betting shops and casinos throughout Newcastle often have a strong presence of Chinese. Several casinos have recognised that many of the Chinese are heavy gamblers contributing to a large share of their customer base and have even subsequently lifted their dress-code policies in order to accommodate these individuals. For example, these casinos appreciate that after long hours of work in catering trade occupations, a period or activity for relaxation is necessary without the additional need for dressing in smart attire. It seems that the outlook of risk associated with work and lifestyle appear to differ from each other.

The research confirms and supports the findings of Kloosterman *et al.* (1999), in reference to drawing upon non-traditional sources in the form of social capital for business operation. Family labour was mentioned as instrumental in establishing a business but also knowledge from relatives in similar businesses was viewed as an important stock of information. The value attached to family support can be viewed as an element of security and therefore affirms the idea of safety being attached to the catering industry and perhaps stereotypes of Chinese running these businesses. Additionally, the Chinese community itself was considered as a network facilitating job vacancy information. If we recall Mr A's comments from Chapter 5, there are a lot of contacts as many Chinese in similar businesses know each other and hence information is spread in this way forming a network of trust which is especially the case for extended family members. This again provides a degree of safety and security.

Dorsett (1998) speculates that the concentration of minorities and subsequent generations remaining in the original first-generation businesses may be due to a need to retain a community and a sense of security. Although this may be true, analysis has shown that the second-generation remain largely in self-employment due to the recognition of a genuine business opportunity leading to profit accumulation. Interestingly, the results have also found that 'social entrepreneurs' for the Chinese exist, as described by Harding (2003). These entrepreneurs aim to improve community needs and relations as opposed to solely profit accumulation. This is demonstrated by one questionnaire respondent who stated that a reason for self-employment was '*to introduce Chinese culture to the UK*'

During the focus group session, it was suggested by several respondents that Indians were identified as a group associated with financial success comparable to or higher than that of the Chinese. Research supports this claim as Berthoud (2000a) found that in general the Chinese, Indians and African Asians fared better than other ethnic groups when referring to the ethnic penalty. However, much of the alleviation or limitation of the ethnic penalty can be directly attributed to self-employment businesses and therefore Indian and Chinese minorities may be viewed as somewhat parallel groups. Likewise, Metcalf *et al.* (1996) found that pull factors associated with self-employment for Indians were primarily related to the pursuit of profit and creating a high-status job requiring managerial ability. This is similar to the reasons put forward by Mr C and Mr E, again supporting that there are some similarities between Chinese and Indian groups. As a result, this image of success may afford some degree of safety.

Another interesting issue is that of extended family relatives from outside of the UK which again may perpetuate stereotypes. Ms A suggested in her interview that in many Chinese families such as her own, cousins from Hong Kong would pursue an education in the UK. During this period, they would often be expected or drawn upon as a source of labour in the family business. Ms A further commented that in the event of poor educational performance, the opportunity exists to potentially continue in the catering trade. An important feature of the current labour market participation of ethnic minority groups is the impact of increasing foreign labour. Salt and Clarke (2001) state that according to all readily available sources on the migration of labour, the UK has experienced climbing rates during the 1990s. The consistency of such increasing inflows will shape the profile of the labour market for the future.

However, the various routes at which migrants are able to enter the country complicate the recording of a numerical measurement for all sources of foreign labour. Therefore, a mix of Chinese whether British-born or from Hong Kong would have implications on the homogeneity of the Chinese as a group and stereotypical perceptions.

Another issue of note that affects the perceptions of the Chinese as a uniform group is that of mixed marriages and relationships, often associated with the younger generation. Mr A, of mixed heritage, had commented on being viewed as Chinese by customers at his place of work and subjected to the same forms and levels of racism but arguably racism could be experienced from the Chinese too. Interestingly, when commenting on whether he felt he was British, Mr A suggested that there is also an element of regional identity. Being a 'Geordie Chinese' meant that he was British and this was also raised by several other respondents. Therefore, there is a regional aspect of identity which also distinguishes and detracts from the Chinese as a uniform group.

The research has also revealed several factors that feed into the endurance of stereotypes. Throughout the interviews and focus group, there was an overall sense that the Chinese were viewed as a somewhat quiet group. Again if we recall from the previous chapter, Mr C suggested that this was a gift to the British for welcoming them into the country and this in turn strengthens the stereotype of typical Chinese businesses. Also contributing to and compounding the invisibility of the Chinese, outside of the catering trade, is the influence of media attention. Analysis revealed that the events of 9/11 and the 7/7 bombings in London led several respondents to

believe that this shifts the focus onto an identifiable 'opposing' group which is subjected to increased racism. Confirmation and support comes from Nairn *et al.* (2006) who identify media as playing a role in portraying ethnic groups and hence the formation of perceptions by the larger White population. Additionally, Ms A claimed that there was a perception of the Chinese as being very rich. Basu (2004) claims that family businesses are often operated so that 'rounding out' experiences can be afforded relating to activities or benefits to experience a more comfortable or richer lifestyle. However, although this can be viewed as a positive feature, it may in fact compound social exclusion and increase racism. As Ms A suggests, jealousy from other pupils during her time at school was often a noticeable occurrence where comments were made that her family would get new clothes every week despite this not being the case.

6.6 Should the Chinese Move Away from the Catering Trade?

Looking back at the theoretical framework for analysis presented in Chapter 2, the majority of the sample resided in Structure A (Figure 2.4a), the Chinese self-employment structure, specifically in Occupational Path A. However, the reasons for staying in self-employment businesses, contained in this path, differ with generation. The first-generations of Chinese with limited English language skills saw the creation of takeaways and restaurants as necessary for survival. On the other hand, subsequent UK-born and educated Chinese choose to continue these businesses primarily motivated by the pursuit of profit accumulation and the additional benefits that self-employment affords, such as being one's own boss. This is similar to the findings of Basu (1998) who concluded that the identification of business opportunities and acting upon them was a more realistic view, rather than out of necessity, for entry into

self-employment for the majority of their studied sample of South Asian businesses. The combination of stories from both sides has produced a high concentration of Chinese in the catering trade where saturation may occur. Therefore, an important issue is the possible movement of the Chinese away from self-employment businesses.

According to all of the interview respondents, the high concentration in the catering trade will not diminish as Chinese restaurants and takeaways are an important and integral feature of the UK economy. Chinese catering trade businesses provide the White British majority something different to eat. It is an area of constant business and demand as restaurant owner Mr E succinctly deduces, “I can’t see the catering trade diminishing. People always need to eat and I’m always going to be here providing food for them” (*laughs*).

If anything, an increase in the catering trade has been observed and will likely continue to grow and expand in the future. Chinese takeaways and restaurants provide a different experience for the general British public and generates income for the local economy. The multiplier effect determines that income generation leads to redistribution effects and therefore a more positive outlook as a whole. However, from an economic perspective, choosing to remain in the catering trade will mean forgoing the next best alternative or opportunity cost which may potentially be a loss of a skilled workforce in other areas of industry. In particular, a loss of skills or level of human capital will be observed if individuals choose to forgo further education. A reduction in overall education may result in the creation of external costs on society. Additionally, research has shown that there is a high financial return to education

(Walker and Zhu, 2003) and one might conjecture that a reduction in educational attainment might lead to lower rates of return but the route to self-employment appears to be a special circumstance.

An interesting issue arises when commenting on ethnic minorities with overseas qualifications where employers may not formally recognise them. Therefore, ethnic minorities may undertake a lengthy period in obtaining UK qualifications. The problem here is that some foreign qualifications may in fact be comparable to UK qualifications to the extent that similar topics are studied at university for example. In this case, in acquiring a repetition of knowledge, the ethnic individual may actually become over-educated, as they already possess the skills needed for the job at hand. Moreover, as acknowledged in the literature review, many studies attempting to measure discrimination fail to separate foreign and domestic educational qualifications and experience.

Although so far a negative scenario of opportunity cost or loss has been depicted, the reality of the Chinese remaining in self-employment businesses, according to the sample, is far more positive. Education in a formal sense may be reduced but arguably an equivalent amount of input is still required. Operating a successful business in the catering trade will require knowledge and skills and this can be likened to education and training. Likewise, as discussed elsewhere in the thesis, those who grow up in a family takeaway or restaurant environment, the family work contract is similar to an apprenticeship. Therefore, human capital levels are not stifled due to lower rates of educational attainment but simply shifted to firm or industry specific skills. These skills may in turn lead to high financial rates of return. It is not a matter

of obtaining no skills through education or training in other areas of work but the acquisition of skills elsewhere. Emphasis has been placed on the complex multi-tasking involved in the running of a takeaway or restaurant business. If we recall from Chapter 5, as Mr B suggested, “technically the people who have their own business, they’ve got all sorts of degrees but it’s just not on paper, it’s all in their heads.” For those who choose self-employment, the ownership of a business is a pareto-efficient outcome.

Remaining with the issue of efficiency, those influenced by the family work contract for example Mr D and Ms A, who worked part-time in the family takeaway business as they were university students, the knowledge they acquired could potentially be utilised for a possible backup occupation. In this case, experience and knowledge gained from ‘helping out’ in the family business could effectively be considered as a sub-optimal outcome. Although sub-optimal may not be perceived as a positive outlook, if we consider an individual without this additional source of knowledge, this limits the choice of that person in finding alternative employment if they are unable to succeed in pursuing their initial career aim. Therefore, having a sub-optimal opportunity to continue the family business can be viewed as potentially a beneficial outcome.

Of the survey sample 69% (see Figure 5.23) held the viewpoint that it is acceptable for subsequent generations to remain in self-employment businesses indicating that the continuance of the catering trade is considered as an important aspect of occupational progression. However, 17% disagreed and this can be partially attributed to the first-generation of Chinese wanting their offspring to pursue different

careers, where the continuance of further education plays a crucial role. Mr D and Ms A, the university student interviewees, each explained that their parents wanted them to pursue employment elsewhere beginning with education, citing the hard work and long hours needed to operate a self-employment business as reasons against following catering trade occupations. However, if they chose to continue the family business, support would be offered and available, again identifying family as a source of help and referring to catering trade occupations as a choice for UK-educated Chinese and not a necessity.

If the Chinese as a whole moved away from the catering trade, a noticeable feature of the UK economy will be lost and ultimately impact upon British society. This itself imposes external costs on society, which may outweigh the external costs that may be experienced if the majority of the Chinese remain in the catering trade. The interviewees did not believe that moving away from catering businesses would increase the economic position of the Chinese. In fact, the ownership of a business was regarded as a high, if not the highest level of economic activity. As Mr D comments, “the Chinese are at the highest economic position, the apex of the economy”. Similarly Mr B contends, “they (the Chinese) have got to be doing something right with these takeaways if you see all the takeaway owners driving Lexus’, Mercs and all this.” Being situated in a high economic position provides a convincing argument for not breaking away into other areas of occupation.

Although improving economically may not occur due to a movement away from the catering trade, several respondents felt that improving socially may result for the Chinese as a whole. Mr D believes that those wanting to move away from Chinese

catering businesses would by definition be adapting to the Western culture. Mixing with the White majority at work would cause greater interaction and subsequently greater integration. Mr D points out that movement to other areas of work, for example a path in the mixed employment structure (Figure 2.4c) of the framework presented in Chapter 2, are a direct result of second-generation Chinese given the opportunity of education whereas first-generation did not have the same option. Interestingly, several respondents also believed that even if the Chinese do not move away from self-employment businesses, experience in education at school for subsequent generations will automatically achieve greater integration. The interaction of Chinese, other minorities and the White majority was also viewed as a way of improving race relations and it was thought that this would see a reduction in racism. A combination of these factors would naturally bring about social improvements and a more open Chinese community.

A potential drawback of the Chinese moving away from self-employment businesses is the implication on family bond. As previously mentioned, the tight bond between family members, often facilitated by the operation of a family-run business, was viewed as characteristic and an important feature of the Chinese culture. A movement away from the catering trade would mean less interaction of family members in the workplace and this might offset a reduced family bond or at least, the reliance of family as a source of labour. An eroded family bond will likely impact upon the extended bond of a community and hence result in a loss of a Chinese identity.

Additionally, if subsequent generations of Chinese moved away from catering trade businesses in large numbers to pursue higher education in the pursuit of employment

elsewhere, a more formally educated workforce will be produced. An overall increase of UK attained qualifications will be observed but simultaneously a loss of skills elsewhere will also follow. The multi-tasking skills associated with the catering trade will diminish as well as the overall entrepreneurial spirit of the Chinese that is often viewed as another characteristic feature. Moving away from examining the Chinese community and looking at the UK as a whole, one might also conclude that the rise in university graduates aiming for professional occupations creates a more educated population but arguably manual labour skills are lost as a result. In essence, the accumulation of skills are important in all forms of employment whether professional-class or working-class occupations.

In short, the interviewee sample believed that moving away from catering trade businesses would not increase the Chinese community economically but may result in improvements socially. However, educational experience in schooling allows for greater social interaction between different communities and the White majority. Ultimately the decision to move away from the catering trade lies with the individual's choice. Analysis has revealed reasons for and against, where reasons to remain in the catering trade in self-employment seem to outweigh motivations for breaking out into other areas of occupation.

The change from employment structure A to structure B (or even C), as presented in Chapter 2 (Figure 2.4a, 2.4b, 2.4c), has not been observed but this can be largely attributed to Chinese family businesses currently being operated by either the original first-generation owners or second-generation. In other words, it is too early to say whether the Chinese will eventually move away in large numbers from occupations

associated with employment structure A. The occupational profile will likely change as the years progress due to increasing numbers of UK-born and educated Chinese, that is, if we assume no discrimination takes place and that the only reason these individuals are 'stuck' in catering trade jobs is due to a lack of educational qualifications. This can only be confirmed as generations progress. Additionally, one cannot take for granted that all Chinese wish to move away from the catering industry. Views will remain divided depending on the individual in question. As previously highlighted in Chapter 5, Song (1997) determined that the younger generation of Chinese in her sample did not wish to stay within the catering trade. This is in direct opposition to the findings of this study where the majority of the second-generation Chinese wanted to stay within the industry. As revealed in the research, the attraction of the pursuit for profit accumulation remains a powerful motive for self-employment. However, one must not dismiss the participation of the family business of the two university student interviewees who concluded that education was pursued to attain a job outside of the catering trade but knowledge gained meant that a backup occupation could also be drawn upon. In this case, there is a question of the value of choice. For those with the potential of establishing a backup occupation based on the family work contract, the attraction to other areas of industry may in fact be devalued due to the relative ease of utilising the various degrees and forms of social capital. A sense of security may adversely affect the effort applied to educational performance and as such, in a sense effectively applying devaluation to education. Alternatively, negative experiences of working in the family business may spur the individual to actively pursue employment elsewhere. In essence, choice lies with the personal experiences and circumstances of each individual.

6.7 Economic Anti-Racial Discrimination Policies

Chapter 2 outlined the various measures that have been put into practice to combat racial discrimination. It was important to discuss existing policies to demonstrate whether the Chinese are aware of such policies. The questionnaires and interviews identified that they are not widely understood or in the majority of cases, even known about. To recall, no respondent had heard of the CRE and several acknowledged a 'Race Discrimination Act' yet it is the Race Relations Act. In this section, the main frequently recommended anti-discrimination policies are briefly discussed from an economist's perspective.

6.7.1 Wage Intervention

Direct wage intervention by legislation is a possible measure to counteract racial discrimination. Fixed wages attempt to directly ban wage discrimination so that any two workers of equal ability or in the same position regardless of their ethnic identity, are paid the same amount. In essence, wage is determined in accordance to productivity which is as it should be. Alternatively, intervention could take the form of minimum wages which aims to reduce the opportunity for wage discrimination against low wage groups. However, wage intervention as a policy measure is flawed, as there exists the initial decision for an employer who discriminates when hiring. The outcome of such policies could simply be a shift from wage discrimination to hiring discrimination. Arguably, direct wage intervention will reduce the productiveness of the workforce as a guaranteed wage will discourage a hard-work ethic and hence motivation.

6.7.2 Increasing Competition

There is also the idea of increasing competition which is in line with Becker's theory as described in Chapter 2. That is, competitive pressures on discriminatory firms will result in their removal from the market or their actual takeover in favour for non-discriminatory firms. This is generally consistent with a laissez-faire approach where market forces are viewed as an automatic adjustment to equilibrium. Therefore, removing any obstacles that hinder competitive forces will promote equality. It is likely that such policies to promote competition will only derive results in the long run. In addition, the number of discriminatory firms is also a problem. If the number of discriminatory firms excessively outstripped non-discriminatory firms, it is unlikely that competition from non-discriminatory firms will have any immediate impact. The escalation of the correct message will undoubtedly take considerable time to spread.

The assurance of competitive forces will have virtually no impact on discrimination in the presence of monopoly power. If we assume that a discriminatory firm has some form of market dominance in the product they sell, non-discriminatory firms may not be able to enter the industry due to barriers to entry such as restrictions for example. Enforced government legislation would be of primary importance in this case. Lundahl and Wadensjo (1984) question the effects of competition and argue that the effectiveness of different policies will differ over time and with the specific cause of discrimination, implying that an optimal strategy would involve a mixture of different measures which will need to evolve as circumstances change. Furthermore, Blackaby *et al.* (1994: 274) commenting on the view that "competition, rather than legislation,

would be the more effective instrument in driving away discrimination” report that “our findings suggest that this optimism was not warranted.”

If we take the crowding hypothesis of discrimination, any policy that is capable of reducing barriers to entry from the crowded sector to the uncrowded sector such as improving labour mobility can be viewed as a viable measure to reduce discrimination and wage differentials.

6.8 A Framework for a Successful Anti-Racial Discrimination Policy

Forbes and Mead (1992) suggest that a successful framework to combat racial discrimination needs to acknowledge several features in order to be effective. Each feature is briefly explained below.

- *Legislation* - Precise definitions of direct and indirect discrimination must be formally recognised by the law, as it is an integral part of enforcing anti-discrimination measures. In identifying racial discrimination as a criminal and civil offence, the wider implications are acknowledged and therefore leads to two paths in which those discriminated against can take up action.
- *An Independent Agency* - Outlawing discrimination, by itself, is an insufficient measure to eliminate discrimination. Ethnic minorities must be aware of their rights and so too must companies and society be prepared to accept these individuals and respect their customs. The establishment of an agency that deals with issues relating to racial equality is a significant advantage to ethnic minorities in their struggle for equality. Such an agency is necessary to carry

out formal investigations of a discriminatory nature and to provide help for those that need it from an unbiased position. The agency will work alongside the law and promote equality in general.

- *Industrial Tribunals* - The issue of discrimination warrants separate tribunals or specialists in this area to ensure that all complaints receive appropriate attention. This would be a considerable step-forward, as it will increase awareness of the extent of discrimination as an issue of fundamental importance.
- *Industrial Relations* - Fostering good race relations between employers and workers and even business partners will improve the working environment and general efficiency. Arguably, by having a multi-cultural firm, new markets may be penetrated and increase potential business and profit. Overseas firms may be attracted to a company that actively pursues racial equality and will likely gain an admirable reputation. Other firms may follow suit and adopt similar policies in order to enhance their own reputation. In essence, anti-discriminatory pressure becomes an influential factor for consideration.
- *Ombudsman* - An official investigating complaints against organisations is an additional measure of support for victims of discrimination. This approach is usually pursued in areas relating to a more general nature rather than the acknowledgment of a specific legal obligation that has not been followed.

The incorporation of these elements into currently active policies accompanied with the evidence presented in the literature review that racial discrimination in employment still exists, questions the success of such measurements. Formal definitions are identified by legislation (as defined in the introductory chapter) including a difference between discrimination and racism. An independent agency is in operation as the CRE exists as an external body dealing with issues of discrimination and provides access to help which covers both industrial tribunals and an ombudsman as suggested by the framework. Furthermore, these recommended strands of policy framework have little relevance to the associated experiences of racism in the Chinese catering trade environment. This is an important finding, as it shows that discrimination and racism should be treated separately when under study. However, this is not to say that they are completely ineffective. Indeed, any measures that aim to promote the awareness and recognition of racial discrimination as a problem is a step in the right direction. It is the extent of the reach of such policies that needs to be addressed. As revealed in the analysis, by working within the catering trade, the Chinese exclude themselves from much of this information. Therefore, although policy measures exist, policy awareness may not, as demonstrated by the lack of information provided by respondents relating to Section F (Perceptions of Policy) of the questionnaires.

6.9 Policy Recommendations

In reference, to the need to relate policy changes to reforms in attitudes, political as well as social, Kushnick (1971: 236) argues that “to be effective, anti-discrimination legislation cannot operate in a vacuum. It must be accompanied by positive governmental programmes designed to eliminate the social problems which cause and

exacerbate racial prejudice.” Therefore, the need for alternative paths or routes must be followed to resolve this issue and to fill the policy gap.

Society in general will benefit from the equal opportunity policies of organisations by promoting the appreciation of diversity, in turn reinforcing the acceptability of different cultures and social recognition. In creating an unprejudiced environment, a more stable economic and political climate will develop therefore enhancing equity and efficiency in all areas, business or otherwise. Ethnic minority members may feel that they no longer suffer exclusion from career opportunities to the same extent and as a result, observe a more tolerant society. The psychological profiles of those discriminated against in the past may improve and promote well-being resulting in a more productive and healthier worker. Firms seeking to reduce or eliminate racial discrimination in employment will not only demonstrate commendable attempts at improving race relations but also represents enhancement in overall efficiency. Non-discriminatory employers will arguably benefit from increased productivity in the practice of hiring the best candidate regardless of race.

The adoption of voluntary measures by individual firms and organisations is perhaps the most plausible and constructive path to further development of policies, as they should in theory counteract, to some degree, the limitations of alternative but obstructed policies. This route would allow the most freedom in the design of policies and is able to take into account the opinions and feedback from current employees to accommodate a more extensive programme of action. However, this policy option requires willingness on behalf of employers and the heads of organisations to readily accept racial equality and fairness of opportunity as a priority

issue and to actively follow a relevant course of action. In this case, organisations may be unsure on how to proceed and the need for a code of practice becomes appropriate. A code of practice is an important stage in creating a solid foundation on which to establish anti-discrimination policies or to remodel existing ones and also helps to raise awareness of discrimination in the labour market and the need for equality. It focuses on broadening familiarisation and comprehension of anti-discrimination legislation across organisations and the general public as well as the promotion of equal opportunity measures that can and should be adopted. However, a code of practice is only an advisory role and therefore it is unable to legally enforce any of the policy initiatives it has helped to develop.

Analysis of the interviews and focus group has revealed four areas or strands for policy recommendation, which go beyond equal opportunity organisations. These ideas lean towards the removal of racism in society and not solely discrimination in the labour market therefore reiterating the view that the respondents seemingly suggested. That is, widespread racism is a more prevalent problem than labour market discrimination. First, upbringing was identified as a cause of racism. It has been suggested by several respondents that to educate and promote an environment of diversity and respect at an early age would help to alleviate the problem of racism. Second, media influence was identified as playing a role in the creation of perpetual negative stereotypes. It follows that media may prove useful in reducing or correcting stereotypical views. This overlaps with the third strand where an increase in the promotion of different cultures was stated by several respondents as an important area of integration and hence the formation of a more knowledgeable and equal society. In reference to combating discrimination, Ms B states:

Definitely promoting. Days whereby integration can be between cultures, so you'll have a day where everybody from different races, different origins, taste each other's food, get to know what each other's beliefs are about and that way take away the fear element because fear is a very big factor in discrimination and racism.

Likewise, Mr E suggests:

I think it's slowly being reduced at the moment and I just think people need to continue down the same path that they are, promoting mixed events, understanding each other's cultures and being able to express their individual cultures in mixed company.

Media will play an important role in promoting such events. Promotion of different cultures does actually take place in Newcastle. The celebrations of Chinese New Year with the traditional lion dance and martial arts demonstrations are essentially used as platforms to display an awareness of the Chinese culture. Additionally, every year an Asian Arts and Music festival in the form of the Mela⁵⁶ (Sanskrit for 'gathering') event is held at Exhibition Park to promote the Bengali, Hindi, Pakistani and Punjabi cultures. Interestingly, the Mela event is a true multi-cultural gathering as the Chinese lion dance is often invited to participate in the festival.

Lastly, time or perhaps more accurately generation has implications on the level of racism experienced. There was an overall sense that as time progresses, each subsequent generation will experience less racism and discrimination as society moves towards greater diversity and equality. A combination of the aforementioned three strands and an increase in UK-born and educated Chinese would lead to this outcome.

⁵⁶ For more information see: http://www.newcastle.gov.uk/core.nsf/a/mela_home

6.10 Sample Size Limitations

The number of respondents who returned questionnaires limited the study to a relatively small sample where no general conclusions can be asserted to be representative of the entire Chinese population in Newcastle. This is a recognised limitation of studies based on voluntary responses. Likewise, the small number of respondents who agreed to participate in the follow-up interview stage and focus group session limited the study. The interviewee sample consisted mainly of second-generation Chinese therefore only relatively capturing and examining one side of the Chinese group and in effect somewhat neglecting the views of others including the original first-generation arrivals from Hong Kong and other countries such as China. However, this is not to say that all of these views were completely unaccounted for. Many of the second-generation interviewees acknowledged the experiences of their parents, thus providing a valuable insight. Although involuntary participation may be the dominant reason for a small sample size, in the case of the first-generation Chinese, limited English language fluency and reading skills may also be a factor. Supporting this view, several interviewees claimed that they were regarded as translators for their parents which often involved such tasks as reading letters, writing shopping lists and translating stories on the news. This again relates well with the findings from Song's (1995) second-generation interviewees who acted as 'guide dogs' for their parents to the 'English world'. However, if a truly random sample could have been obtained instead of the use of snowball sampling, the problem of voluntary responses remains and therefore arguably a greater sample size may not have been a definitive result. Regardless, it would have been interesting to see the results for a sample with a higher number of employees in occupations away from the catering trade.

6.11 Have the Research Questions Been Answered?

Taking the thesis as a whole, the Chinese community in Newcastle upon Tyne and their dominance in the catering trade industry were investigated, as there is an identifiable gap in the available literature about this group. To recall, the majority of studies relating to both racial discrimination and immigrant entrepreneurship examine mainly South Asian groups. The Chinese have a visible presence in the labour market and in British society, yet seemingly and somewhat confounding, they are not afforded the same attention to research as other minority groups. This is a weakness and shortcoming of research into the diversity of ethnic groups. The topic of discrimination was defined in Chapter 1 where a distinction was drawn between the various forms. Importantly, it was identified that although racism and discrimination are different, acts of racism are acts of unfavourable treatment and hence, racism is defined as a direct form of discrimination. The existence of discrimination in the labour market has been identified as an ongoing problem where evidence from past studies has been presented in Chapter 2. Additionally, the rise in immigrant entrepreneurship has also been examined in Chapter 3 where a link with discrimination has been put forward by some as a reason for entry into self-employment. Therefore, Chapter 3 bridges the literature review on studies of racial discrimination in the wider labour market to the case study that was undertaken on the determinants of occupational choice for the Chinese in Newcastle. The dominance of self-employment businesses can be partly due to racial discrimination, which has been emphasised by Jones *et al.* (1994) and Metcalf *et al.* (1996) but discrimination is only one aspect of occupational choice. The results obtained from this original case study will be discussed in the context of directly attempting to answer the two overlapping principal research questions.

6.11.1 Question 1 - Is Self-Employment a Choice or a Necessity?

The first research question was asked in an attempt to explain the high number of self-employment businesses and high concentration in the catering trade. Depending on the generation of Chinese, the answers differed as to whether self-employment was indeed a choice or necessity. Of the 17 individuals in self-employment obtained from the questionnaire survey, 9 believed it was a choice, 7 viewed it as a necessity leaving only 1 undecided. However, age range differed for this group and no additional reasons for respondents stating their chosen answer could be derived. Therefore, the interviews and focus group session provided the depth of qualitative information in order to express the necessary views. As such, it was believed that for the majority of first-generation immigrants, self-employment was based largely out of necessity due to language barriers and unsuitability to other areas of employment. Entry into the food industry was seen as the most logical choice as a different cultural background to the British meant that a different experience and service could be offered.

As time progressed, many subsequent UK-born Chinese are still operating within the catering trade. Significantly, the reasons for this are different to that of the prior generation. The two interviewees, Mr C and Mr E, who ran their own restaurant business, claimed that the attraction of profit and the challenge involved were strong motivations for choosing self-employment over waged work elsewhere. This relates well to the findings of Borooah (2001) in reference to Indians and Black-Caribbeans where age (in turn relating to generation) determines differences in occupations. Arguably it might be suggested that a greater spread of occupations is to be expected from second-generation Chinese (and other minorities) with their greater knowledge of British society, interaction, English language fluency skills and a UK education.

However, as analysis has shown, continuance of catering trade self-employment occupations will continue due to the attraction of financial stability and success.

The use of family in various ways and hence the application of social capital were considered as a valuable resource. The connection to family should not be underestimated. The two university students, Mr D and Ms A, who worked in the family takeaway business part-time claimed that it was an expected obligation to ‘help out’ and therefore not really a choice but in terms of pursuing the catering trade as a full-time occupation, this was a choice. It should be noted that there was an overall sense of pride attached to how the Chinese have progressed and created catering businesses.

6.11.2 Question 2 - Does Discrimination Play a Role in Occupational Choice?

The second research question overlaps with the first. If self-employment is a necessity, is part of this necessity to do with discrimination? That is, does discrimination in the labour market in the form of unsuccessful occupational attainment or progression, force the Chinese into self-employment businesses? This is indeed a plausible factor given the evidence presented in Chapter 2, which examined the extent of racial discrimination, where there is a vast body of work that identifies it as a problem in the labour market. This study showed, from the questionnaire survey, no respondent claimed that ‘*to avoid discrimination*’ was a reason for entry into self-employment. However, discrimination was recorded by 19 respondents but the questionnaires are unable to distinguish whether such incidents were experienced in employment. Again, the qualitative information gained from the interviews and focus group acknowledged discrimination. None of the interviewees

confirmed that discrimination was a reason for self-employment for themselves personally but significantly, neither did they deny the possibility that it exists as a motive for others. Mr E even goes so far as to say that he has heard of stories from friends and relatives where discrimination in the labour market proved an eventual factor for self-employment. Although, the actual interviewees did not consider discrimination as playing a role in occupational choice, the discussions revealed that discrimination was apparent in the form of racism from customers and alarmingly this was to be expected in the catering environment. Racism itself was identified as a problem but it related to the choice of the individual. People can choose to be racist or not leaving the interviewees to conclude that racism can be experienced anywhere regardless of occupation or industry. A similar view is echoed by Hall and Carter (2006) who maintain that exposure to discrimination can take place in employment, academic, and public domains. Therefore, with respect to directly answering the second research question, discrimination may or may not play a role in occupational choice but in the form of racism, it is a continual problem.

As a result of the relatively small sample size and despite the in-depth quality of information derived from the qualitative methods used, the findings are limited as previously discussed. Therefore, one cannot attach any generalisation to the findings even though the research questions have been directly answered to some degree.

Where studies have used interviews as a method of research (Song 1995, 1997a, 1997b and Leung, 2002), this present study used a quantitatively-based questionnaire in order to access the Chinese community and to gain an interview sample, thus rendering a mixed methodology. The balance between both the quantitative and

qualitative dimensions of the research was not equal. However, this is not to say that it is an incorrect approach. Indeed, the emphasis is on more qualitative work, as this is needed to truly examine the research questions set. In hindsight, using my own personal contacts as interviewees may have produced a greater number of interviews without the need for the questionnaire stage. However, by choosing the interviewees, no degree of randomness is afforded to the study. Moreover, results from interviewees with a previous connection to the researcher may be heavily biased. Also, the removal of the questionnaire stage would have forgone the outcome of a limited response rate but this was an important finding in itself. The fact that many questionnaires were unreturned suggests that respondents may not have wanted to take part in the study or that the process of distribution did not cover a wide enough area of distribution. The end result of the chosen methodology and the relatively small sample size for the questionnaires is useful for other researchers aiming to investigate the Chinese community. This would be especially useful during the design phase of the methodology.

6.12 The Importance of the Research

There are a number of reasons why the findings of this study are important and these will be discussed in turn. The labour market decisions and outcomes of future generations of Chinese will undoubtedly affect the economy, whether positively or negatively. As previously discussed, movement away from catering trade occupations into other areas of work would by definition create a situation of integration in the workplace. However, this may offset a potential breakdown in family bond which was identified as an important characteristic of the Chinese group. Alternatively, remaining in the catering trade may continue to provide a sense of financial stability

and keep the family bond intact but a reduction in educational attainment might be observed thus impacting upon education and society as a whole. Moreover, due to the nature of market forces and the profit motive, Chinese catering businesses face competition from other Chinese and therefore financial stability and security cannot be assured. Furthermore, as stressed by Chau and Yu (2001), this may lead to further social exclusion.

From the study, it appears that stereotypes remain. Although the decision for second and third-generation Chinese to enter self-employment is largely a choice as opposed to the necessity of first-generation immigrant arrivals, this enforces the stereotypical view of a Chinese family business. However, such stereotypes can provide an element of safety in terms of employment and community formation. Therefore, this is a factor that influences occupational choice but at the same time, stereotypes can lead to experiences of social exclusion and racism.

The first-generation Chinese were considered and viewed by the interviewee sample as a closed-off group due to a combination of various factors including language difficulties and high levels of racism. Subsequent generations are opening-up to greater integration due to their increased involvement in British society in the form of UK schooling but also greater representation of Chinese in numbers creates a more visible ethnic group. Diversity should be viewed as a welcome addition to British society and the second-generation Chinese recognise this.

As previously discussed, the awareness of anti-racial discrimination policies by the Chinese is indeed limited despite the discussion of existing policies in Chapter 2.

However, analysis has revealed four strands for policy recommendation, which differs from equal opportunity legislation. This is an important revelation and will be of interest to policy makers. To recall, upbringing, media, promotion of different cultures and the progression of time are all factors that affect or influence the opportunity for racism and discrimination and hence acting on these factors can lead to an improvement in society.

The timing of the study is also of great importance. As generations progress, the more difficult it will be to directly access the first-generation of Chinese. There appears to be several obstacles in reaching this group including experiences of racism, social exclusion as a result of the type of labour market participation in the form of restaurants and takeaways, and a language barrier. All of these factors help to compound a general unwillingness for the Chinese to be open as research subjects. However, as previously discussed, their views and related issues were considered and relayed through secondary accounts by the second-generation. There is nothing to suggest that the first-generation will open-up to research in the future. Therefore, their primary accounts or views may never be fully investigated. Furthermore, with the progression of time, the next generation of older Chinese people will differ from the current first generation due to their experiences in the UK. It is the progression of time and generation that validates the importance of the timing of this present study.

The findings of this study are an important advancement in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship research. In particular, the quantitative results obtained from the study via the use of questionnaires has demonstrated that there exists a problem in accessing detailed information about the Chinese community as a whole. This was

also discovered by (Parker, 1995). The only freely available data was the census population count but even this number was found to be an estimate at best. Therefore, in the absence of an easily accessible sample, a mixed methodology approach was adopted with a heavily qualitative angle to conducting research into this group. This proved to be a unique and challenging study. By effectively writing the researcher into the research, this is a unique viewpoint. The use of a mixed methodology bridges the gap between entirely quantitatively-based studies (Blackaby *et al.* 1994, 1998, 2002) and entirely qualitatively-based studies (Song, 1995, 1997a, 1997b; Leung, 2002). By using a mixed methodology, this too, increases knowledge on the use of different approaches to research and therefore should also be considered as a contribution to methodological approaches.

Anticipating a low response rate to the questionnaires, again, an assumption based on prior knowledge of the Chinese community, follow-up semi-structured interviews were used as the second stage of research. Whereas Song (1995, 1997a, 1997b) only used interviews to engage the research subjects, a focus group session was also conducted thus expanding the research methods employed. Indeed, the three stages of research can be viewed as a filtering process in order to derive richer and arguably more in-depth qualitative information. It is important to restate that underpinning the three stages of research is the theoretical framework, which is essentially formed upon an extended period of participant observation. Therefore, the mixed methodology adopted is a more comprehensive approach to research rather than simply relying solely on quantitative or qualitative methods. Moreover, the low response rate of the questionnaires suggests that the scope of a purely quantitative study would have been extremely limited.

The theoretical framework for analysis is a unique path to research. By attempting to categorise paths to occupational choice and attainment, different issues are raised and explored via the chosen tools for the methodology. The importance here is that the researcher's role is directly integrated into the methodology. The framework for analysis is based on prior knowledge and presents a theoretical pattern of occupational progression as observed by the researcher as a member of the Chinese community. This stock of knowledge is a strength of the research as affinity with the research subjects allows for a better understanding of the studied phenomenon (Rhodes, 1994). The theoretical framework can also be adapted to investigate other ethnic minority groups as a starting point to research. The versatility of adapting the framework of occupational progression to other ethnic groups is an important strength and allows ethnic researchers to directly incorporate their own knowledge and use of social capital into the study. In essence, personal knowledge of the investigated area is applied and hence during the course of the research, the researcher's own knowledge increases.

Empirically, the rich qualitative data is an important contribution to research. Where studies have suggested that second-generation Chinese do not want to continue in the catering trade, this study, however, has demonstrated that this viewpoint is not a general consensus. Indeed, several respondents considered self-employment in the catering trade as an opportunity. Despite the social exclusion faced by the first-generation, subsequent generations wanting to remain in the catering trade would experience social integration naturally as a result of an upbringing in the UK, including both schooling and an understanding of the British culture. This accompanied with greater numbers of Chinese means the growth of a larger

community and a more visible presence in society. It is important to state that the community is growing in numbers but also in diversity due to the different dialects and generations. Therefore, the composition of the Chinese community is changing. Where, Brook (2004) categorised the Chinese as simply 'Other', it may be the case that the category 'Chinese' is no longer accurate.

The research project has attempted to fill a gap in the literature of the Chinese as denoted by several authors (Parker, 1994; Pang and Lau, 1998; Parker 1995) but as has been revealed, a low participation rate indicates that no generalisation can be attached to the results. The study has shown that there is still a need for further research into the Chinese. In particular, the study demonstrates that accessing the first generation of Chinese is extremely difficult and this can be traced back to language difficulties and an unwillingness to open up from a closed-off community.

6.13 Further Research

This section suggests potential areas for further research. As already discussed, sample size was a fundamental drawback of the research and therefore obtaining a larger sample size would prove a useful avenue to pursue. However, as this thesis has revealed, voluntary participation remains a vital factor in the completion of questionnaires, interviews and focus groups. Regardless, a larger sample size especially in the case for interviews, would allow for a potentially wider range of issues to be explored but this is dependent on the interviewee's responses.

Additionally, the sample leaned heavily towards those employed in the catering trade. Employees in other areas of the labour market were limited and it may be this very

group of people who have the most to say about experiences of discrimination in the workplace. Therefore, attempting to gain a more varied sample in terms of areas of employment would also be a useful avenue for further research but again, voluntary participation is a determining factor.

Family or family bond was identified as an important characteristic of the Chinese culture. Examination of the various generations within a single family may be an interesting extension for research. The accounts of different family members may help to provide further information about the working and experiences of running a family catering business or indeed occupations elsewhere. Research focused on family formation may also directly take into account the views of the first-generation of Chinese rather than relying on secondary accounts from their children, as was often the case during the interviews and focus group session. However, language difficulties may limit the involvement of first-generation Chinese for research but this itself raises the possibility of conducting research in Chinese. Although this may make the research more accessible to potential first-generation respondents, additional complexity is created, as the use of translators would be required for the various Chinese dialects. Furthermore, translation itself can often be associated with errors. Following from the different dialects, the Chinese are not a homogenous group. Several interviewees highlighted that there is a large representation of college and university students from China and Hong Kong. Examination of this group in relation to their perceptions of discrimination and racism, as well as their occupational progress or aspirations, will likely differ from the UK-born Chinese.

Several areas for further research have been raised. However, it may be the case that research of a larger scale may not be able to take place until generations progress. Analysis revealed that many of the Chinese remain in the catering industry and therefore this immediately restricts the potential sample gained for employees in other organisations or areas of work. Time and generation was identified as an important factor in the experiences of the Chinese. Until such adequate time has elapsed, small-scale qualitative studies will remain to offer an insight into the experiences of the Chinese in the labour market.

6.14 Summary

The study has focused on the Chinese in Newcastle upon Tyne and their experiences in the workplace, mainly within the catering trade environment. By focusing the project on two related principal research questions, the subject areas of racial discrimination and immigrant entrepreneurship are linked together. Interestingly and significantly, racial discrimination was not a direct factor attributed to choosing a self-employment career, according to the obtained sample, but the benefits derived from social capital, in particular family help, was a critical determining factor. The original case study has provided and explored a wide range of issues in relation to the Chinese catering trade. The small sample size indicates that the reliability of the data collected is not sufficient to draw general conclusions but it is the validity of the findings that is the area of importance. These findings will help to further academic discussion about immigrant entrepreneurship, racial discrimination and the versatility and different dimensions of the problem. The study also provides a valuable insight into the experiences of the Chinese in the catering trade, revealing the complexity of the decision to enter self-employment and the associated differences attached to

occupational choice with first and second-generation Chinese which explains the continuance of such businesses. However, the Chinese have experienced social exclusion due to racism inherent in pursuing self-employment but as has been discussed, at the same time, social integration is also an outcome. By serving the British public, this is a form of integration into the larger British society.

The dissertation is useful to ethnic researchers who are unable to separate themselves completely from the studied group in question. The shared background and experience of the researcher and research subjects and the use of social capital to facilitate the methodology all helped to produce a unique project. The study itself cannot be replicated exactly by any other researcher. The characteristics of the age, sex, social class of the researcher and familiarity with the locality are all factors that have influenced the research and arguably, the quality of the qualitative data derived from the interviews and focus group. Also, the timing of the study appears to be a special factor. Considering the researcher's position in relation to the research subjects, conducting the same investigation in perhaps 10 or 20 years time would produce a different set of results. Again, this is entirely dependent on the voluntary participation of the respondents. In essence, the research has shown that there are still problems accessing the Chinese group for study, and in this case, even from a member of the same ethnic group.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

The thesis has examined the Chinese community in Newcastle upon Tyne and their experiences of employment and self-employment, largely within the catering trade. The labour market participation of the Chinese in the catering industry is a complex and intriguing issue. On the one hand, takeaway and restaurant self-employment businesses can be viewed as an attractive option for immigrant entrepreneurs, drawing upon the use of the various forms of social capital. On the other hand, the creation and dominance of such businesses has led to experiences of social exclusion and importantly, racial discrimination but in a specific form, racism. The identification of racism as a specific form of discrimination is an original contribution to research.

The literature review has concluded that the existence of racial discrimination is a serious issue, which occurs in the labour market. It was important to examine this literature in order to determine the extent of the problem and the way in which discrimination is treated under investigation. Importantly, studies relating to labour market racial discrimination, for example Blackaby *et al.* (1994, 1998), do not incorporate the presence of racism, which is significant, as this study revealed racism to be a wide reaching problem. Racism itself can be expressed as discrimination. Instead of hiring the most productive applicant, discriminatory employers let their preferences take precedent over rationality. Not only is discrimination an economic issue but also the preferences of society and political interventions play a significant role in determining outcomes. The persistence of wage differentials between White members of the population and those of an ethnic minority background is a cause for concern, especially amongst the Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups who have been

identified as the most severely disadvantaged. There is much evidence consistent with the hypothesis that ethnic minorities suffer from significant labour market disadvantages caused by discrimination. However, the disadvantage can partially be explained by the lack of or non-recognisable overseas educational qualifications of the first-generations of families to arrive in the UK from foreign countries. The fact that employers use educational background and qualifications as a proxy for the potential productivity of future employees suggests that the older generation of ethnic minorities stood little chance in securing satisfactory employment, if at all (due to language barriers). If this is indeed the case, then an increase in UK-educated ethnic minorities will necessitate an increase in access to occupations of a higher and more professional status accompanied with the generally associated higher earnings and career prospects involved. Although some improvements in occupational status and wages have occurred, this can be accounted for by not only increased educational qualifications but also the increased self-employment patterns of ethnic minorities that have emerged over the years. This is a positive advancement towards the closing of the wage differential gap but once these improvements are compared to the White population, they are only marginal given the circumstances thus confirming discrimination as an incessant present problem.

Contrary to the findings of the literature review, the respondents involved in the study did not regard racial discrimination in the labour market as a main problem. The results from the larger questionnaire sample indicate that some respondents of the survey had been discriminated against but they did not specify whether this was within employment or elsewhere. Only one interviewee (in employment) had personally experienced co-worker discrimination. However, due to the small sample

size and the fact that the majority of the sample held occupations within the Chinese catering trade, actual examples of discrimination in the form of wages, employment and promotions were not observed but importantly neither were they discarded completely. As Ms B suggests, the only interviewee currently in an occupation away from the catering trade, the short time she has spent at her current place of work is not really long enough to observe discrimination in promotions. Consequently, the existence of racial discrimination in the labour market is not denoted as a main finding by the sample but rather it was racism as a form of discrimination that was a more significant and wider social problem. Physical and verbal abuse was acknowledged by the sample but in reference to society as a whole and not solely within the workplace. This conforms to Song's view that "Chinese people must contend with derogatory and stereotypical notions of being Chinese, which are imposed (rather than 'chosen') upon them by the wider population" (1997b: 359). Several examples of racist remarks were highlighted during the interviews and focus group session but many believed that racism was due to upbringing and in some cases, drunken behaviour. However, the interviewees and focus group members did not view racism in the form of customer comments in catering businesses as a reason to move away from self-employment businesses, which differs to the respondents in Song's research (1997b) but instead uniformly agreed that racism could occur anywhere and not just within the takeaway or restaurant scenario.

The majority of the Chinese in the labour market are largely identifiable as a group associated with the catering trade in the form of restaurants and takeaways, where several researchers have emphasised that racial discrimination can be a strong motivation to enter self-employment (Jones *et al.* 1994; Metcalf *et al.* 1996). Such

businesses have over time become a visible feature of the UK economy and hence can be viewed as a part of British society. It appears that the background for the creation of such businesses differs to the reasons for its continuation. Essentially, the study has revealed that self-employment was a way of overcoming labour market disadvantages in the form of limited language skills and educational qualifications of the first-generations of Chinese and therefore, businesses were created largely out of necessity. The choice to continue to remain in the catering trade is a decision that subsequent generations are presented with. Armed with a UK education and an understanding of the British culture, it follows that second-generation Chinese are able to move away to other areas of industry and occupation. The research has shown that there is an overwhelming view that self-employment is indeed a positive choice for the second-generation Chinese. The attraction of profit, which affords a relatively high standard of living together with the freedom and the challenge involved in running a self-employment business, have all been championed as major driving influential factors but interestingly so too has the importance of family. Family has been identified as an important source of capital. They are able to provide labour, experience and knowledge, all of which make self-employment occupations a relatively easily accessible form of employment. However, 'helping out' in the family businesses was viewed as the norm by the two university student respondents who claimed that this was not really a choice, therefore confirming the operation of Song's family work contract (1995, 1997a, 1997b). Additionally, both interviewees suggested that this form of learning about the family business afforded them with the necessary skills required if they ever wanted to continue the same business as their full-time career. In effect, a backup occupation is created in the event that their pursuit for primary employment elsewhere failed. This was viewed as a positive

feature. Indeed, self-employment is not simply a job but due to the long hours associated with running one's own business and the effect on family members, as a source of capital, it becomes a way of life for all those involved.

Moreover, discrimination was not viewed by the self-employment sample as a decision for running their own business. Although discrimination may be a determinant of occupational choice for some, the sample studied looked towards the more positive aspects as reasons for their path to self-employment. To recall, the use of social capital in the form of family assistance and knowledge, the existence of niche markets, an element of safety in stereotypes and the benefits that self-employment affords including being one's own boss. Therefore, the decision to enter self-employment was found to be an issue that considers a variety of factors, only one of which can be discrimination.

Jones (1979) in his article discussing the origins and development of the Chinese in Britain concluded that the Chinese, in general, were not interested in integration or even learning English and preferred to remain as a closed-off group retaining a sense of invisibility. Over two decades later, the younger generation of Chinese with their English schooling has by definition resulted in greater interaction between the Chinese and the White majority. By acquiring UK educational qualifications, this creates potential job opportunities away from the catering trade, which Jones (1979: 401) believed would offer "a much fuller and less arduous lifestyle than that afforded by catering". However, the financial gain and independence associated with self-employment catering businesses was viewed by the majority of interviewees and focus group members as factors contributing to an arguably richer lifestyle than

alternative forms of employment elsewhere. For example, if we recall Mr B's viewpoint, the expensive cars that many Chinese business owners seemingly drive can be seen as a status symbol of financial success and therefore self-employment can result in the accumulation of wealth. Although this is only one person's perception, the success of self-employment business owners was a view echoed throughout the focus group session. However, true success may be exaggerated due to the associated costs involved in running a Chinese catering business. These include the long hours of work required, to some extent social exclusion and the experiences of racism encountered by customers. Some of the attitudes and perceptions of the Chinese as a closed-off community remain but overall, greater integration was viewed as a positive advancement. Although the ownership of a takeaway or restaurant was viewed as a rewarding position financially and seen as a job involving complex multi-tasking skills, the perspective of working as an employee for others in the catering trade was not raised by the interviewees beyond working for the family business. A larger and more diverse sample may have raised this issue in discussion.

As previously mentioned, the Chinese are viewed as a group heavily concentrated within the catering trade. However, as revealed in the discussion chapter, the Chinese are not a homogenous group for a variety of reasons. First, generation plays a large role in the outlook of the Chinese, with regards to both employment opportunities and social experiences. The first-generation created self-employment businesses out of necessity and experienced high levels of racism leading to social exclusion from the wider British public and the formation of a closed-off community. The second-generation, with their UK upbringing and education affords them with the ability to move away from the catering trade. Moreover, social integration occurred naturally

due to UK schooling. The decision to continue to pursue a career in self-employment was a choice for the second-generation, thus creating a distinction between generations. Second, the fact that subsequent generations are exposed more directly to the British society has increased the likelihood of mixed marriages and relationships, which again is something that differs to the first generation of Chinese. Third, different dialects reflect different groups within the Chinese community. Cantonese, Mandarin and Hakka are all dialects spoken throughout the community. Fourth, the increasing numbers of Chinese students from China also diversifies the community as a single uniform group. As previously mentioned, due to the varying levels of English language proficiency, this can strengthen stereotypical perceptions of the Chinese. Lastly, an element of regional identity is another factor that detracts from the Chinese as a homogenous group.

A lack of anti-discrimination policy awareness and understanding was identified from the research but this can largely be accounted for by the composition of the sample. That is, the majority were in the Chinese catering trade therefore excluding themselves from the awareness of equal opportunity policies within other places of work and the promotion of equality via legislation, which would be included on application forms and organisational literature. Despite this limitation, potential solutions were offered by the respondents. In particular, combating racism as a form of discrimination. Such policy suggestions included improving education of acceptance and respect for all ethnic minorities, learning about diverse cultures via promotion from the ethnic minority side and interestingly, doing nothing. By essentially taking a step back from direct intervention, several respondents believed that as generations progress, the increase in people from ethnic minority backgrounds

in education and the labour market would see integration occur naturally. Greater integration and acceptance will cause a reduction in racism and hence discrimination.

The dissertation brought together two overlapping areas of research, racial discrimination and immigrant entrepreneurship relating to the occupational choice of the Chinese. As a result of the voluntary nature of the respondents, the case study that followed examined the experiences of social exclusion and racism through the Chinese catering trade. Ultimately, to discriminate is a choice, and as the research has shown, so is the decision of subsequent generations of Chinese to enter into self-employment businesses. While the research has revealed some important aspects of the issues surrounding occupational choice for the Chinese, due to the nature of the sample and its small size, the study does not categorise or generalise the Chinese population as a whole or even the Chinese solely in Newcastle. The research remains primarily a small-scale qualitative study adding to the contribution of knowledge and discussions about an under-researched group. In particular, the identification of racism as a more wider ranging problem in society than racial discrimination in the labour market is a highly notable and significant finding.

The uniqueness of the thesis, in terms of the researcher's background and direct influence on the studied group in respect to shared ethnicity, a methodology based on prior knowledge, and the use of social contacts to initiate the snowball sampling technique, provides a singular and distinguished investigation. The contribution to knowledge, methodologically (including theoretically) and empirically is an important addition and advancement to the currently limited literature on the Chinese community.

APPENDIX 1

PILOT QUESTIONNAIRES:

CHINESE IN SELF-EMPLOYMENT

CHINESE IN EMPLOYMENT



Newcastle Business School

The aim of this questionnaire is to investigate issues relating to the experiences of the Chinese in the North East labour market and the determinants of occupational choice.

All respondents are anonymous and data collected will be used for research purposes only.

CHINESE IN SELF-EMPLOYMENT

Section A - Personal Information

Q1. Gender (Please tick)

- | | |
|--------|----------------------------|
| Male | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Female | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
-

Q2. Age Range (Please tick)

- | | |
|-------------|----------------------------|
| 18 – 24 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| 25 – 29 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| 30 – 34 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| 35 – 39 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| 40 – 44 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| 45 – 49 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| 50 or older | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 |
-

Q3. Marital Status (Please tick)

- | | |
|-----------|----------------------------|
| Single | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Married | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Separated | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Divorced | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| Widowed | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
-

Q4. Place of Birth

- UK ☐ 1
Hong Kong ☐ 2
China ☐ 3
Other (Please state)

Q5. Nationality

Q6. Religion

Q7. How long have you resided in the UK?

Q8. If you were not born in the UK, what was your reason for migration? Please state:

.....
.....
.....
.....

Section B – Employment

Q1. What is your current occupation? Please state:

Q2. Which one of the following best describes the nature of your business: (Please tick)

- Business owner ☐ 1
Franchise ☐ 2
Contract worker ☐ 3
Other (Please state).....

Q3. What was your previous occupation in your 'home' country? Please list all previous occupations in order from earliest to most recent.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Q4. How long has your business been in operation?

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| Less than 12 months | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| 1-5 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| 6-10 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| 11-19 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| 20+ years | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
-

Q5. How did you acquire the business?

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| Original start-up | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Lease through vacancy chain from another owner | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Purchased through vacancy chain from another owner | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Takeover from the family | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| Other (Please state)..... | |
-

Q6. How long did it take to establish the business (including the search and preparation involved)?

.....

Q7. Is it a family-run business? (Please tick)

- | | |
|-----|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
-

Q8. Does family play a major role in the business? Please explain:

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Q9. Is family labour employed in the business? (Please tick)

- | | |
|-----|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
-

Q10. Is extended family labour used in the business? (Please tick)

- | | |
|-----|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

Q11. Do you employ any non-Chinese workers? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

If NO, please go to Q12 otherwise proceed to Q13.

Q12. Would you consider employing any non-Chinese workers? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Q13. Would you consider employment away from self-employment? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

If YES, please go to Q14 otherwise proceed to Q15.

Q14. If you were to move away from self-employment, what type of occupation would you pursue? Please give details:

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Q15. What was your reason for entry into self-employment? (Please tick all that are applicable)

To increase social status ☐ 1
To avoid discrimination ☐ 2
There were no other appropriate jobs available ☐ 3
Financial stability, to increase social status ☐ 4
To use the business as a vehicle for employment of others ☐ 5
To takeover the family business ☐ 6
Other (Please state)

Q16. Do you regard self-employment as a choice or necessity? Please give details.

.....
.....
.....

.....
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.....

Q17. Do you feel self-employment affords more benefits than working for an employer? Please explain:

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Q18. Were there any barriers to self-employment that you came across in setting up your business? Please explain:

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Q19. What sources of capital were used to start-up the business? (Please tick all that apply)

Personal Savings	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Loans from Financial Institutions	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Loans from family	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Loans from friends	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
Other (please state).....	

Q20. Did you begin working as an assisting family member first before becoming self-employed? (Please tick)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

If YES, please go to Q21 otherwise proceed to Q23.

Q21. At what age did you begin working in the family business?.....

Q22. Did working in the family business from a young age influence your decision on the amount of further education undertaken? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q23. How many hours per week do you work? Please state.....

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Q24. Do you believe your skills are 'matched' to your employment? Please explain:

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Q25. Have you been subjected to racism from customers? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

.....

Q26. Is racism a regular occurrence in your occupation? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

.....

Q27. Does religion play a part in business?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Section C - Education

Q1. Where were you educated? (Please tick all that are applicable)

- UK ☐ 1
Hong Kong ☐ 2
China ☐ 3
Other (Please state).....
-

Q2. Please state your highest UK educational qualification held?

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Q3. Please state your highest overseas educational qualification held?

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Q4. Please state your highest UK vocational qualification held?

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Q5. Please state your highest overseas vocational qualification held?

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Q6. Where did your job skills originate? (Please tick)

- Family ☐ 1
Friends ☐ 2
Formal training ☐ 3
Other (Please state)

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Q7. Have you experienced *racism* in education? Please explain

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Q8. Have you experienced *discrimination* in education? Please explain

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Q9. Was your time at school/college/university a positive or negative experience? Please give a brief account.

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Section D –

Expectations of Future Generations' Involvement in the Labour Market

Q1. Do you believe the Chinese (as a whole) will break out from self-employment businesses? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1

No ☐ 2

Q2. Is it acceptable for subsequent generations to remain in self-employment businesses? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1

No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q4. Do you regard the end of the family business due to the next-generation not following this route as a positive or negative view? Please explain

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Q5. Will UK educational qualifications enhance general career prospects? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Section E –
Social Attitudes & Ethnic Identity

Q1. Have you personally experienced racism? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q2. Have you personally experienced discrimination? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q3. Are people more accepting of ethnic minorities today? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q4. Do you believe that gender plays an additional discriminatory role? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q5. As a community, do you believe the Chinese are closed-off from other groups? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q6. Is the integration into British society a positive or negative scenario? Please explain

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Q7. Do you believe today's society is more accepting of ethnic minorities than 3 or 4 decades ago? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

.....
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.....

Q8. Can you truly be British if you are not White? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Section F -
Perceptions of Policy

Q1. Are you aware of any racial discrimination policies, rights, code of practice? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

If NO, please go to Q5.

Please give details

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Q2. What do you think the impact of current policies has been?

Please give a brief account

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Q3. What are the shortcomings/limitations of current policies?

Please give details

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Q4. Do you believe equal opportunity employers are more likely to hire an ethnic minority over a White individual of an equivalent standard?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q5. How might racial discrimination be reduced? Please give details

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Q6. What are your views on positive discrimination? Please give a brief account

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Any other comments you may have would be greatly appreciated:

Please record how long it took to complete this questionnaire

If you would not object to a follow-up interview, please leave your contact details on the following page. This will be detached from the questionnaire so that respondents cannot be identified.

Thank you for your time.

.....

Name:

Address:
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.....
.....

Telephone Number:

Email Address:



Newcastle Business School

The aim of this questionnaire is to investigate issues relating to the experiences of the Chinese in the North East labour market and the determinants of occupational choice.

All respondents are anonymous and data collected will be used for research purposes only.

CHINESE IN EMPLOYMENT

Section A - Personal Information

Q1. Gender (Please tick)

- | | |
|--------|----------------------------|
| Male | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Female | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
-

Q2. Age Range (Please tick)

- | | |
|-------------|----------------------------|
| 18 – 24 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| 25 – 29 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| 30 – 34 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| 35 – 39 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| 40 – 44 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| 45 – 49 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| 50 or older | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 |
-

Q3. Marital Status (Please tick)

- | | |
|-----------|----------------------------|
| Single | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Married | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Separated | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Divorced | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| Widowed | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
-

Q4. Place of Birth

UK ☐ 1
Hong Kong ☐ 2
China ☐ 3
Other (Please state)

Q5. Nationality

Q6. Religion

Q7. How long have you resided in the UK?

Q8. If you were not born in the UK, what was your reason for migration? Please state:

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Section B – Employment

Q1. What is your current occupation? Please state:

Q2. What was your previous occupation in your 'home' country? Please list all previous occupations in order from earliest to most recent.

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Q3. Do you feel you are treated equal to your co-workers of another race? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Q4. At your current place of employment, is there a mix of other ethnic minorities? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Q5. Do you believe that other ethnic minorities are treated better or the same than the Chinese? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q6. If the majority of your place of work is White, do you feel intimidated by this? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2
Not Applicable ☐ 3

Q7. Have you personally experienced racism in the workplace? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

If Yes, was this intentional or ignorant remarks?

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Q8. Have you ever confronted co-workers on their use of inappropriate language/remarks? I.e. racist comments. (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Q9 Do you believe your skills are 'matched' to your employment? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1

No ☐ 2

Q10. Did you use the job centre to find your current employment? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1

No ☐ 2

Section C –
Self-Employment Issues

Q1. What are the reasons you are not in self-employment? Please give a brief account.

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Q2. Would you escape discrimination in self-employment businesses? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1

No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q3. Do you view self-employment as a lower status job than the position you hold now? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1

No ☐ 2

Q4. Is it acceptable for subsequent generations to remain in self-employment businesses? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1

No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q5. Do you regard the end of the family business due to the next-generation not following this route as a positive or negative view? Please explain

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Q6. If your parents run a self-employment business, did you 'help out' when you were younger? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2
Not Applicable ☐ 3

If No, please proceed to Q9.

Q7. Do you feel a sense of responsibility to continue working in the family business? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q8. Do you still 'help out' in the family business even though you have a full-time job? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1

No ☐ 2

Q9. Are there times when you think that entering into a self-employment business would have been a better choice? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1

No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q10. Do you believe being Chinese and female causes additional problems? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1

No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Section D - Education

Q1. Where were you educated? (Please tick all that are applicable)

UK ☐ 1

Hong Kong ☐ 2

China ☐ 3

Other (Please state).....

Q2. Please state your highest UK educational qualification held?

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Q3. Please state your highest overseas educational qualification held?

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Q4. Please state your highest UK vocational qualification held?

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Q5. Please state your highest overseas vocational qualification held?

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Q6. Where did your job skills originate? (Please tick)

Family ☐ 1
Friends ☐ 2
Formal training ☐ 3
Other (Please state)

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Q7. Have you experienced *racism* in education? Please explain

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Q8. Have you experienced *discrimination* in education? Please explain

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Q9. Was your time at school/college/university a positive or negative experience?
Please give a brief account.

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Section E –
Expectations of Future Generations' Involvement in the Labour Market

Q1. Do you believe the Chinese (as a whole) will break out from self-employment businesses? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Q2. Is it acceptable for subsequent generations to remain in self-employment businesses? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q4. Do you regard the end of the family business due to the next-generation not following this route as a positive or negative view? Please explain

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Q5. Will UK educational qualifications enhance general career prospects? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Section F –
Social Attitudes & Ethnic Identity

Q1. Have you personally experienced racism? (Please tick)

- Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q2. Have you personally experienced discrimination? (Please tick)

- Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q3. Are people more accepting of ethnic minorities today? (Please tick)

- Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q4. Do you believe that gender plays an additional discriminatory role? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q5. As a community, do you believe the Chinese are closed-off from other groups? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q6. Is the integration into British society a positive or negative scenario? Please explain

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Q7. Do you believe today's society is more accepting of ethnic minorities than 3 or 4 decades ago? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q8. Can you truly be British if you are not White? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Section G -
Perceptions of Policy

Q1. Are you aware of any racial discrimination policies, rights, code of practice?
(Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

If NO, please go to Q5.

Please give details

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.....

Q2. What do you think the impact of current policies has been?

Please give a brief account

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Q3. What are the shortcomings/limitations of current policies?

Please give details

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Q4. Do you believe equal opportunity employers are more likely to hire an ethnic minority over a White individual of an equivalent standard?

Yes ☐ 1

No ☐ 2

Please explain

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Q5. How might racial discrimination be reduced? Please give details

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Q6. What are your views on positive discrimination? Please give a brief account

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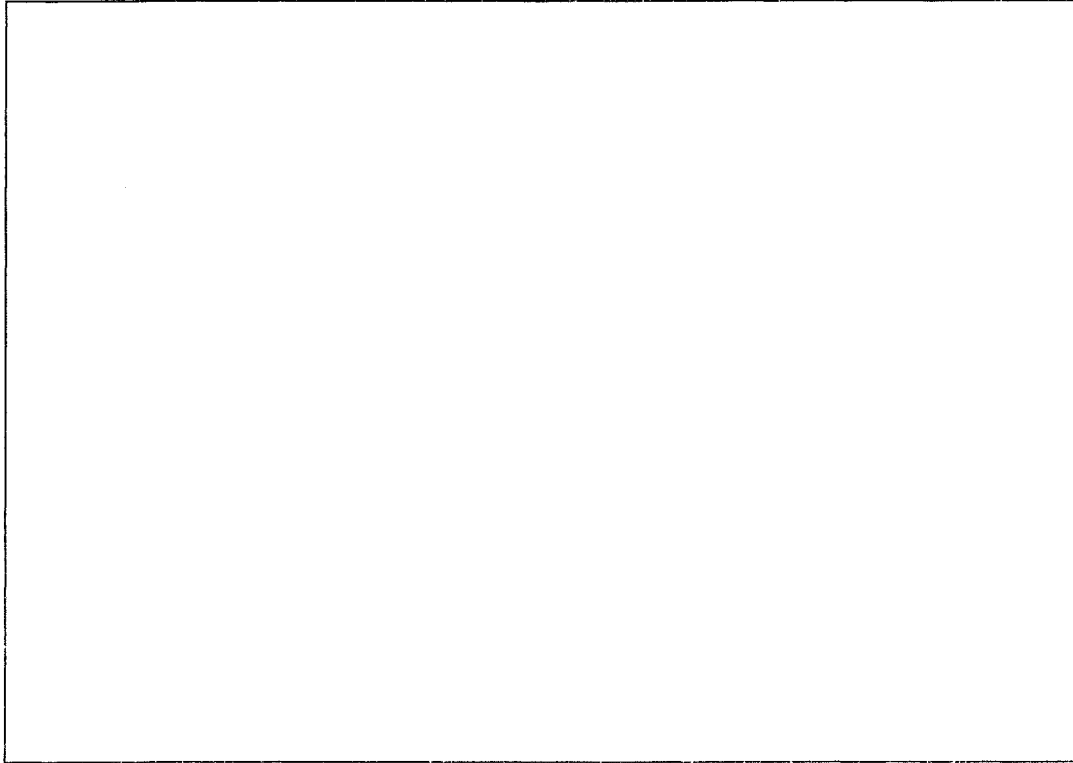
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Any other comments you may have would be greatly appreciated:



Please record how long it took to complete this questionnaire

If you would not object to a follow-up interview, please leave your contact details on the following page. This will be detached from the questionnaire so that respondents cannot be identified.

Thank you for your time.

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Name:

Address:
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Telephone Number:

Email Address:

APPENDIX 2

FINAL QUESTIONNAIRES:

CHINESE IN SELF-EMPLOYMENT

CHINESE IN EMPLOYMENT



Newcastle Business School

The aim of this questionnaire is to investigate issues relating to the experiences of the Chinese in the North East labour market and the determinants of occupational choice.

All respondents are anonymous and data collected will be used for research purposes only.

CHINESE IN SELF-EMPLOYMENT

Section A - Personal Information

Q1. Gender (Please tick)

- | | |
|--------|----------------------------|
| Male | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Female | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
-

Q2. Age Range (Please tick)

- | | |
|-------------|----------------------------|
| 18 – 24 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| 25 – 29 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| 30 – 34 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| 35 – 39 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| 40 – 44 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| 45 – 49 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| 50 or older | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 |
-

Q3. Marital Status (Please tick)

- | | |
|-----------|----------------------------|
| Single | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Married | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Separated | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Divorced | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| Widowed | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
-

Q4. Place of Birth (Please tick)

- UK ☐ 1
Hong Kong ☐ 2
China ☐ 3
Other ☐ 4
(Please state)

Q5. Nationality

Q6. Religion

Q7. How long have you resided in the UK?

Q8. If you were not born in the UK, what was your reason(s) for migration? Please state:

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.....

Section B – Employment

Q1. What is your current occupation? Please state:

Q2. Which one of the following best describes the nature of your business: (Please tick)

- Business owner ☐ 1
Franchise ☐ 2
Contract worker ☐ 3
Other ☐ 4
(Please state).....

Q3. Please list all previous occupations in order from earliest to most recent.

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Q4. How long has your business been in operation? (Please tick)

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| Less than 12 months | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| 1-5 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| 6-10 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| 11-19 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| 20+ years | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
-

Q5. How did you acquire the business? (Please tick)

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| Original start-up | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Lease through vacancy chain from another owner | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Purchased through vacancy chain from another owner | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Takeover from the family | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
- (Please state).....
-

Q6. What sources of capital were used to start-up the business? (Please tick all that are applicable)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Personal Savings | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Loans from Financial Institutions | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Loans from family | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Loans from friends | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
- (Please state)
-

Q7. Is it a family-run business? (Please tick)

- | | |
|-----|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
-

Q8. What was your reason(s) for entry into self-employment? (Please tick all that are applicable)

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| To increase social status | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| To avoid discrimination | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| There were no other appropriate jobs available | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Financial stability | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| To use the business as a vehicle for employment of others | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| To takeover the family business | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| To be your own boss | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 8 |
- (Please state)

Q9. Do you regard self-employment as a choice or necessity? (Please tick)

- Choice ☐ 1
Necessity ☐ 2
Don't Know ☐ 3
-

Q10. Would you consider employment away from self-employment? (Please tick)

- Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2
Don't Know ☐ 3

If YES, please go to Q11 otherwise proceed to Section C.

Q11. If you were to move away from self-employment, what type of occupation would you pursue? Please give details

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Section C - Education

Q1. Where were you educated? (Please tick all that are applicable)

- UK ☐ 1
Hong Kong ☐ 2
China ☐ 3
Other ☐ 4
(Please state).....
-

Q2. Please state your highest UK educational qualification held (if applicable)?

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Q3. Please state your highest overseas educational qualification held (if applicable)?

.....
.....

Q4. Please state your highest UK vocational qualification held (if applicable)?

.....
.....

Q5. Please state your highest overseas vocational qualification held (if applicable)?

.....
.....

Q6. Was your time at school/college/university a positive or negative experience?
Please give a brief account.

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.....

Section D –

Expectations of Future Generations' Involvement in the Labour Market

Q1. Do you believe the Chinese (as a whole) will break out from self-employment businesses? (Please tick)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> 3

Q2. Is it acceptable for subsequent generations to remain in self-employment businesses? (Please tick)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> 3

Q3. Will UK educational qualifications enhance general career prospects? (Please tick)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> 3

Section E –
Social Attitudes & Ethnic Identity

Q1. Have you personally been subjected to racist behaviour, i.e. physical or verbal abuse? (Please tick)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

Q2. Racial discrimination is the act of unequal treatment on the basis of ethnicity. Have you personally experienced discrimination? (Please tick)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

Q3. Do you believe that gender plays an additional discriminatory role? (Please tick)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> 3

Q4. As a community, do you believe the Chinese are closed-off from other groups? (Please tick)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> 3

Q5. Is the integration of the Chinese into British society a positive or negative scenario? (Please tick)

Positive	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Negative	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Both	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Neither	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

Q6. Do you believe today's society is more accepting of ethnic minorities than 3 or 4 decades ago? (Please tick)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> 3

Q7. Can you truly be British if you are not White? (Please tick)

- | | |
|------------|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Don't Know | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

Section F -
Perceptions of Policy

Q1. Are you aware of any anti-racial discrimination policies, rights or code of practice? (Please tick)

- | | |
|-----|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

If NO, please go to Q4.

Please give details

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Q2. What do you think the impact of current policies has been?

Please give a brief account

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Q3. What are the shortcomings/limitations of current policies?

Please give details

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Q4. How might racial discrimination be reduced? Please give details

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Any other comments you may have would be greatly appreciated:

Please record how long it took to complete this questionnaire

If you **would not object to a follow-up interview**, please leave your contact details on the following page. This will be detached from the questionnaire so that respondents cannot be identified.

Thank you for your time.

.....

Name:

Address:
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.....
.....

Telephone Number:

Email Address:



Newcastle Business School

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All respondents are anonymous and data collected will be used for research purposes only.

CHINESE IN EMPLOYMENT

Section A - Personal Information

Q1. Gender (Please tick)

- | | |
|--------|----------------------------|
| Male | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Female | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
-

Q2. Age Range (Please tick)

- | | |
|-------------|----------------------------|
| 18 – 24 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| 25 – 29 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| 30 – 34 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| 35 – 39 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| 40 – 44 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| 45 – 49 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| 50 or older | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 |
-

Q3. Marital Status (Please tick)

- | | |
|-----------|----------------------------|
| Single | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Married | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Separated | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Divorced | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| Widowed | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
-

Q4. Place of Birth (Please tick)

UK	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Hong Kong	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
China	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 4

(Please state)

Q5. Nationality

Q6. Religion

Q7. How long have you resided in the UK?

Q8. If you were not born in the UK, what was your reason(s) for migration? Please state:

.....
.....
.....
.....

Section B – Employment & Self-Employment Issues

Q1. What is your current occupation? Please state:

Q2. Please list all previous occupations in order from earliest to most recent.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Q3. Do you feel you are treated equal to your co-workers of another race? (Please tick)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> 3

Q4. If the majority of your place of work is White, do you feel intimidated by this?
(Please tick)

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Don't Know | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Not Applicable | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
-

Q5. What are the reasons you are not in self-employment? Please give a brief account.

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Q6. Would you escape discrimination in self-employment businesses? (Please tick)

- | | |
|------------|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Don't Know | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
-

Q7. Do you view self-employment as a lower status job than the position you hold now? (Please tick)

- | | |
|------------|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Don't Know | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
-

Q8. Are there times when you think that entering into a self-employment business would have been a better choice? (Please tick)

- | | |
|------------|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Don't Know | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
-

Section C - Education

Q1. Where were you educated? (Please tick all that are applicable)

- | | |
|-----------|----------------------------|
| UK | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Hong Kong | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| China | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
- (Please state).....
-

Q2. Please state your highest UK educational qualification held (if applicable)?

.....

.....

Q3. Please state your highest overseas educational qualification held (if applicable)?

.....

.....

Q4. Please state your highest UK vocational qualification held (if applicable)?

.....

.....

Q5. Please state your highest overseas vocational qualification held (if applicable)?

.....

.....

Q6. Was your time at school/college/university a positive or negative experience?
Please give a brief account.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Section D –

Expectations of Future Generations' Involvement in the Labour Market

Q1. Do you believe the Chinese (as a whole) will break out from self-employment businesses? (Please tick)

- | | |
|------------|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Don't Know | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

Q2. Is it acceptable for subsequent generations to remain in self-employment businesses? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2
Don't Know ☐ 3

Q3. Will UK educational qualifications enhance general career prospects? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2
Don't Know ☐ 3

Section E --
Social Attitudes & Ethnic Identity

Q1. Have you personally been subjected to racist behaviour, i.e. physical or verbal abuse? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Q2. Racial discrimination is the act of unequal treatment on the basis of ethnicity. Have you personally experienced discrimination? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

Q3. Do you believe that gender plays an additional discriminatory role? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2
Don't Know ☐ 3

Q4. As a community, do you believe the Chinese are closed-off from other groups? (Please tick)

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2
Don't Know ☐ 3

Q5. Is the integration of the Chinese into British society a positive or negative scenario? (Please tick)

- | | |
|------------|----------------------------|
| Positive | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Negative | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Both | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Neither | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| Don't Know | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
-

Q6. Do you believe today's society is more accepting of ethnic minorities than 3 or 4 decades ago? (Please tick)

- | | |
|------------|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Don't Know | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
-

Q7. Can you truly be British if you are not White? (Please tick)

- | | |
|------------|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Don't Know | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
-

Section F -
Perceptions of Policy

Q1. Are you aware of any anti-racial discrimination policies, rights or code of practice? (Please tick)

- | | |
|-----|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

If NO, please go to Q4.

Please give details

Q2. What do you think the impact of current policies has been?

Please give a brief account

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Q3. What are the shortcomings/limitations of current policies?

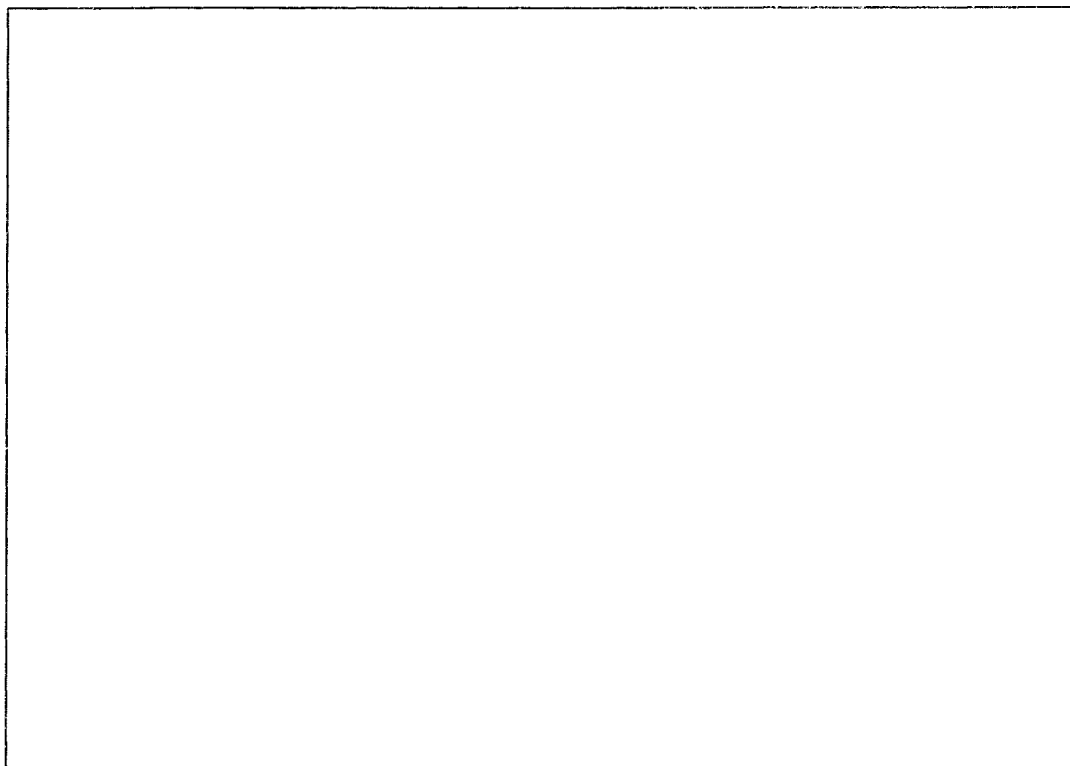
Please give details

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Q4. How might racial discrimination be reduced? Please give details

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Any other comments you may have would be greatly appreciated:



Please record how long it took to complete this questionnaire

If you **would not object to a follow-up interview**, please leave your contact details on the following page. This will be detached from the questionnaire so that respondents cannot be identified.

Thank you for your time.

.....

Name:

Address:
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Telephone Number:

Email Address:

APPENDIX 3

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

Semi-structured Interviews – Outline questions

Start – Explain to the interviewee that all information is for research purposes only and they will be entirely anonymous.

Key Stages

- 1st Stage - Visual observation – record gender.
 - 2nd Stage - State age. (What is your current age?)
 - 3rd Stage - Where were you born? (To ascertain whether first, second or even third generation).
 - 4th Stage - State occupation to determine which interview set will be used, i.e. employment or self-employment (What is your current occupation?)
-

Self-employment

1. How did you begin your path to self-employment? For example, what were the reasons you chose this occupation and how did you acquire the business?
 2. Does family play a major role in the business? If so, then what role do they play?
 3. Where did your job skills originate?
 4. Would you consider employment away from self-employment? If you were to move away from self-employment, what type of occupation would you pursue?
 5. Do you regard self-employment as a choice or necessity and why?
 6. Do you consider discrimination as a reason for self-employment?
 7. What are the benefits of self-employment over employment?
 8. Does religion play a part in business?
 9. Were there any barriers to self-employment that you came across in setting up your business?
-

Employment

1. How did you arrive at your current occupation?
2. Is there a mix of other ethnic minorities at your current place of employment?

3. Do you believe any of your co-workers resent working alongside or for someone of another race?
 4. Do you believe being Chinese has affected, in any way, your ability to progress in your occupation?
 5. Is discrimination a problem at work?
 6. What are the benefits of employment over self-employment?
 7. Have you ever considered self-employment?
 8. Do you view self-employment as a lower status job than the position you hold now?
 9. Would you escape discrimination in self-employment businesses?
-

Questions for both sets

1. Is racism a regular occurrence at your place of work?
 2. Do you view a UK education as a means of securing a good job?
 3. Tell me a little about your experience in education (school/college/university). Did you feel that you were treated unequally in any way?
 4. As a community, do you believe the Chinese are closed-off from other groups?
 5. Does the integration into British society involve any loss of own culture?
 6. Will the Chinese ever be assimilated into the UK to the point where the catering trade diminishes?
 7. Does generation play a role in the experiences of the Chinese?
 8. Do you believe that other ethnic minorities are treated better, worse or the same than the Chinese?
 9. Are you aware of any anti-racial discrimination policies?
 10. Do you believe enough is being done to promote racial equality? (How might racial discrimination be reduced?)
 11. Do you believe equal opportunity employers are more likely to hire an ethnic minority over a White individual of an equivalent standard?
 - 12. Finally, would you like to add any other comments?**
-

Thank you for your time and reassure the interviewee that everything is strictly anonymous.

THE END

Focus Group – Outline discussion questions

Start – Explain to respondents that all information is for research purposes only and they will be entirely anonymous.

Key Stages

- 1st Stage - Any objections to recording.
 - 2nd Stage - Introductions and state occupations – Any names mentioned will be excluded from the transcription or at least anonymised (e.g. changed to a label, Respondent A, 001, etc).
-

1. How do you think the White British perceive the Chinese?
 - 2a. What do you identify as being the key features of the Chinese culture?
 - 2b. Is there a loss of the Chinese culture with the integration into British society?
 3. Do you believe the Chinese community actively seek to integrate into British society?
 4. What are your views of self-employment being a second choice occupation?
 5. The majority of the Chinese are in the catering trade. Do you think the Chinese community would improve their economic and social position if they moved away from the catering trade and into other occupations?
 6. Would you like to see a better representation of the Chinese in the police force, emergency services and armed forces?
 7. Are the experiences of today's generation of Chinese better than the first generation that came over to the UK with respect to general society and the labour market? Please explain your answer providing examples/scenarios where possible.
 8. Do you believe that female Chinese face additional discrimination compared to male Chinese?
 - 9a. 'Racism is to be expected' was an issue identified in one of the interviews. What are your views on this statement?
 - 9b. Can you tell me about any incidents of racism that you may have personally encountered?
 10. What measures can be taken to reduce racial discrimination?
-

Thank you for your time and reassure all respondents that everything is strictly anonymous.

THE END

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